Participation of women in development

With particular emphasis on people participation in the Fiji pine forestry sector

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Abstract

The study examines the degree and authenticity of women's and men's participation at four levels of the development arena: The development organisations of Development Assistance Countries (DAC), the New Zealand Development Cooperation Division of the Ministry of External Relations and Trade (MERT), the Fiji Pine Limited and the two participating case study villages of the Fiji Pine project; Vakabuli and Tau. The thesis starts with the premise that the degree of participation depends on the question: who controls the central institutions of a given society?

For the development organisations of the Development Assistance Countries, strongly positive, significant correlations were seen between the independent variable of the Proportion of Women Parliamentarians and the dependent variables of the UNDP Gender Index, Proportion of GNP spent on Development cooperation and the Proportion of Development Budget spent on Women in Development. These results present strong evidence that a high proportion of women power-holders are influential in improving development solidarity and gender equality at the policy level.

Compared to most Development Assistance countries, nominal women's representation in the Ministry of External Relations and Trade of New Zealand's Development Cooperation Division was above average with an increasing number of women in mid-hierarchy positions. Overall, the study of the Development Cooperation Division found a low level of gender awareness and a high variability of conceptual understanding of participation among the survey participants.

Within the organisation of Fiji Pine Limited significant inequality was found in regard to women's access to training. Furthermore, as was the case with the Development Cooperation Division, the degree of gender awareness was low and the conceptual understanding of participation highly variable among the survey participants.

The village case study found that for women, patriarchy is most strongly pronounced during adolescent, early marriage and the reproduction phase, and that patriarchal control reduced with age. Women were found to participate to a low degree, and in a passive mode in project implementation. While women had access to most of the project's inputs and benefits, they practically never had control over them.

Overall, the men and women of Vakabuli and Tau villages were participating in a passive mode which was characterised by minimal information flow, little project related knowledge, little project co-responsibility and inadequate conflict solving structures. The study found that women could be more actively involved in the tree nurseries, tree planting and tree weeding in the area of independent contractors. The second avenue for active women's participation was professional women extension workers, forestry managers and project administrators.

Overall, the thesis confirmed the view that the degree of participation in development is a function of the importance of the roles played by gender in their society's central institutions.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BCA	Benefit Cost Analysis
BNA	Basic Needs Approach
CDC	Commonwealth Development Corporation
DAC	Development Assistance Countries of the OECD
DAC-Survey	Survey conducted with bilateral and multilateral development organisations
DEA	Department of External Affairs
DEV	Development Cooperation Division of MERT
EAD	External Aid Division
EIB	European Investment Bank
F	Female
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations
FPC	Fiji Pine Commission
FPL	Fiji Pine Limited
FPL-Survey	Survey conducted with FPL
GDI	Gender sensitive Development Index
HDI	Human Development Index
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IRR	Internal Rate of Return
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NLC	Native Land Commission
NLTB	Native Land Trust Board
NZ	New Zealand
M	Male
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MERT	Ministry of External Relations and Trade
MERT-Survey	Survey conducted with the DEV of MERT
ODA	Overseas Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PO	Participant Observation
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal
UN	United Nations
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WID	Women in Development

GLOSSARY

Koro	**Village**
Sevusevu	**Greeting ceremony**
Vuvale	**Household**
Vakabuli	**Case study village in Lololo estate**
Tau	**Case study village in Nabou estate**
Taukei	**People of the land**
Turaga	**Chief**
Turaga - ni - Koro	**Village Chief**
Turaga - ni - Mataqali	**Chief of sub-clan and land owning unit**
Turaga - ni - Yavusa	**Chief of clan**
Turaga - ni - Vanua	**Chief of tribe**
Tokatoka	**Extended family**
Tabua	**Whale's tooth**
Yaqona	**Common Fijian drink**

Chapter 1

Introduction

"Women hold up half the sky, says a Chinese proverb. Yet, the work and worth of women's contribution to socio-economic development has remained "invisible" in almost all continents". [1]

The primary reason to take up a study on the participation of women in development is fittingly illustrated in the above proverb. The more specific motivations are the increased awareness and factual knowledge that women play a central role in the process of development. This is aptly illustrated in a statement by the International Labour Office (ILO): "Why focus on women?":

> **"Because it is established beyond doubt that women's labour, whether paid or not, combined with their household work plays a substantial, if not predominant, economic role in all parts of the world today" (ILO, 1991, The Window of Opportunity).**

Another important reason lies in the contradiction that, on one hand it is widely acknowledged that women play a central role in development and, on the other hand, the rewards of their contribution is far from being equitably shared among the genders. The situation is summarised in a statement by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP):

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[1] Institute of Cultural Affairs International, 1987:127.

"Women constitute half the population; perform two thirds of the hours worked; are registered as only performing one third of these hours; receive one tenth of the world's income and have one hundredth of the world's property registered in their name" (UNDP, 1989. Women in Development. A 10-point framework of analysis).

It appears that the world community has realised the important role women play in development and acknowledge a need for more socio-economic equity between the genders. One result of this awareness (not necessarily acceptance) was the international Women's year in 1975, the UN Decade for Women 1976 to 1985 and two international conferences on women in Copenhagen 1980 and in Nairobi in 1985 (Tinker and Jaquette, 1987:419). The UN women's decade concluded with a set of "forward looking strategies for the year 2000". In my opinion these strategies are a start to change the social and economic situation in favour of women in general and, the non-elite women, in particular. Notwithstanding, the forward looking strategies are inexplicitely formulated and therefore tend to remain non-committal. Furthermore, their abstract, generalised content lacks cultural specificy which tends to foster the generalised package approach so often criticised in development. An extract for the agricultural sector is presented:

"Development strategies and programmes, as well as incentive programmes and projects in the field of food and agriculture, need to be designed in a manner that fully integrates women at all levels of planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation in all stages of the development process of a project cycle, so as to facilitate and enhance this key role of women and to ensure that women receive proper benefits and remuneration commensurate with their important contribution in this field" (The Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, July, 1985).

A final consideration for the study was an attempt to go beyond the rhetoric and to explore with the help of examples to what extent women are involved in various modes of participation, what causes under-representation of women in decision-making positions and how can such situations change to more equal participation.

Having discussed the relevance of the research topic and explained the major reasons for doing the study the second half of this chapter introduces the reader to the overall research framework and gives a brief introduction to each chapter. The focus of the thesis moves from the broad to the specific. It looks at participation of women in the development organisations of the Development Assistance Countries (DAC). This is followed by an analysis of the New Zealand Development Cooperation Division (DEV) who acts as major financial supporter to the Fiji pine project. The second half of the thesis examines the organisational structure of Fiji Pine Limited. This is followed by a study of two case villages within the pine forestry project.

Chapter 2 reviews the literature on development theory and discusses frameworks of the social construct of gender relations. This discussion forms the theoretical background to conceptualise the idea of participation which is the basis for the field research. Chapter 3 outlines the specific research objectives and the methods used for the study. Furthermore, it contrasts the advantages and disadvantages of the instrumental/technocratic and the interpretative research approaches. The discussion is important for clarifying requirements of objectivity and subjectivity in development research. Chapter 4 begins with a description of the extent to which women participate in the development organisations of bilateral and multilateral development organisations. The second half of the chapter is searching for the causes of the current organisational structure. Chapter 5 attempts a more detailed analysis of the Development Cooperation Division of New Zealand's Ministry of External Relations and Trade. In addition, the focus of the study is on qualitative aspects of participation as perceived by the employees of DEV.

Chapter 6 describes the organisational structure and the views on participation held by the ethnic Fijian staff of the Fiji Pine Limited. The organisational structure as it stands today is not a purely Fijian construct but a result of more than twenty years of close collaboration with several technologically advanced countries such as New Zealand, Australia, United Kingdom and the USA. Chapter 7 describes the two case villages ***Vakabuli*** and ***Tau*** with a focus on the socio-cultural setting of its ethnic-Fijian inhabitants. The study explores the question: can and would women wish to participate to different degrees during certain life phases?

Chapter 8 builds on the previous chapter but looks more specifically at the pine forestry project. It focuses on who is doing what and differentiates between access and control of resources. The second half of the discussion evaluates the authenticity of participation in general, and women in particular.

Finally, suggestions are made to change the mode of participation from passive to a more active. The chapter draws heavily on the conceptual frameworks outlined in detail in Chapter 2. Chapter 9 summarises major findings and presents recommendations for change.

Essentially, the study hypothesises that: the degree of participation in development is a function of the importance of the roles played by gender in their society's central institutions, but the specific institution (s) defined as central vary among societies. Development organisations represent central institutions in the contexts examined by this thesis.

Chapter 2

Participation; concept and practice

2.1 Introduction

Development theories and practical development approaches differ significantly in their attitude to participation. One way to classify the degree of participation is into "strong" and "weak" variants. The strong variant of participation makes people the centre of development. The approach is characterised by people's self-determination through organised effort with the aim of acquiring power and control over their lives. It is an active process. In contrast, the weak variant is characterised by the delivery of a pre-determined development package from specialised, external aid agencies who decide unilaterally what is best for people. Most bilateral and multilateral support belongs to the weak variant. It is a passive process (Gabriel, 1990:17, Freire, 1970, Wisner, 1988).

The concept of participation *per se* is a holistic one and obviously includes gender relations. This chapter sets out discussing development theory and the conceptual framework of participation. Development processes inherently involve all actors of development, but for reasons still to explore they tend to centre around men without specifically addressing women.

Following a discussion on development theories and their major effects, the question of why women are at best ignored or at worst damaged will be explored in greater detail by evaluating Schlegel's theory on sexual stratification. Her framework will be followed by a brief discussion of the widely held assertion that women are universally subordinate to men. Together with this theoretical background an attempt is made to find an operational definition for participation which may be useful for analysis in later chapters.

The second half of the chapter will move away from theory and focuses more pragmatically on approaches and strategies of participation such as basic needs, women in development, empowerment, and the role of development agents such as governments and non-government organisations (NGOs).

Finally, the supposed advantages and disadvantages of women-only projects, sustainable development, equity, efficiency and social institution-building is examined.

2.2 Development theory and gender

Before theories can be constructed it is necessary to clarify the concept "development". It is, in my opinion, not possible, nor useful to attempt a universal definition of "development" because its meaning depends on individually-held values and perceptions which are strongly reflected by the cultural context in which they are developed and applied.

Some definitions of development include: [1]

- spontaneous process of gradual evolution towards higher stages of organisation.
- process of exteriorisation of a potentiality to maturisation.
- process of continuous structural-functional transformation to greater specialisation.
- self generation, complex, ongoing process of change resulting in more complex self-revealing structures.
- gradual unfolding to a fuller working of details (Oxford English Dictionary, 1973).
- movement of entire social system upwards (Myrdal, 1975:328).
- process by which the members of a society increase their personal and institutional capacities to mobilize and manage resources to produce sustainable and justly distributed improvements in their quality of life consistent with their own aspirations (Korten, 1990 b:67).

Common to all these frameworks is the perception of development as a process. I perceive development as ***"the movement of the entire social system from a state of poverty, inequality, oppression and deprivation to a state of sustained satisfaction".*** This understanding contains a dynamic concept of choices and leaves freedom for different perceptions of satisfaction.

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[1] The sample is not necessarily representative because there are many different definitions in circulation. The first four frameworks of the list are some of the definitions discussed in the Massey University course "Development and Underdevelopment". They are given here as noted down by the author with the aim, to show that development is commonly understood as a process.

Development theorists ask the question: why is the world divided into rich and poor countries? These theories centre around two paradigms: modernisation and underdevelopment (Ponter, 1990:8-9). The modernisation school borrowed its basic ideas from Weber and Durkheim (Webster, 1984:43). Their ideas are manifest in the ideal-typical and the socio-psychological models. Common to both are the assumptions that development started at a specific time, and, before that mysterious time, all societies were "un-developed" (Hoselitz, 1970:11-29, McClelland, 1970:177-198, Rostow, 1956:90-114, Smelser, 1966:119-130).

Those of the modernisation school thought that development can be achieved in any cultural context by universally applying "modern" western type culture and following behavioural norms such as: literacy, rational-scientific attitudes, western-technology, democracy, nuclear family, bureaucracy and industrialisation. In practice it is assumed that the package has to be applied in its entirety to be effective and that development is an internal process thus ignoring historical, political and economic forces. Stereotyped, patterned dichotomies such as traditional/ modern, ascription/achievement, diffuseness/specificy are used to evaluate the progress of the modernisation process. Finally, it is assumed that the "correct" application of these prescriptions will automatically generate economic growth which trickles down as an equitable benefit (Webster, 1984:41-64).

The advent of aid delivery from the rich to the poor countries coincided with the creation of the modernisation theory of the 1950's and 1960's. [2] Because of its simplistic, optimistic, ethnocentric and technocratic view, the modernisation approach was extremely powerful during the last three development decades and still dominates multi- and bilateral aid thinking in slightly modified versions. The emphasis of contemporary development assistance remains on economic growth.

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[2] In the modernisation approach the "external" development aid is mainly targeted at changing internal processes. A possible contradiction between theory and practice is that the external force of development aid tries to shape internal processes despite the fact that modernisation focuses on internal changes. However, the question is, who initiates these internal changes? Is it Western ethnocentrism?

Modernisation strategies on the whole affected women negatively: Firstly, these theories were written by men for men in sexist language, inadequately aware of women's economic and social needs and their significant economic and social contribution to society.[3] [4] Secondly, the crudeness of modernisation theory has led to the crude application of technology biased projects. These projects tended to displace women from their traditional role as producers to low status domestic tasks, thereby facilitating the domestication of women. Ironically, this process of displacement and domestication was further cemented by the introduction of women's programmes emphasising western-type home economics. [5] Furthermore, the introduction of modern Western technology affected traditional patterns of the division of labour with the result that men, with the help of labour saving technology, became increasingly underemployed. Women, on the other hand, worked longer hours because traditional patterns of labour-division shifted in favour of men.[6]

Various writers have suggested that these two major effects of modernisation were preceded and facilitated by European colonial rule which introduced, in many countries, ***private property rights*** in favour of traditional ***communal property rights*** thus allotting legal land ownership and providing collateral to the head of the family, considered to be male (Buvinic and Berger, 1990:695-705). [7] Such initiatives have consequences on the welfare and status of women. Firstly, women depended increasingly on men for their livelihood security. Secondly, women lost their collateral to receive credits. Thirdly, because women were displaced from the land-based productive sector development programmes provided inputs to the legal landowners denying them access to inputs such as training, technology and credit. As a result women were forced to work as casual labourers to earn livelihoods in a more dependent work environment.

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[3] Sexist language *per se* does not cause the exclusion of women from development but it reflects the thinking of that time.

[4] Examples of male bias and sexist language used in modernisation theory by major theorists:

"From the standpoint of allocating **his** productive time. **He** thereby experiences" (Smelser, 1966:38-41).
"have quite universally been regarded as **"new men"** (Hoselitz, 1970:24).
"and then classify **him** as an under- or over-achiever" (McClelland, 1970:184).
"A new class of **business-men** emerges and acquires control over the key decisions determining the use of savings" (Rostow, 1956:30).

[5] Rogers, 1980:22-28, Stephens, 1986:32-35, Ahmad, 1980:425-438, Buvinic, 1986:653-664, Tendler, 1989:1033-1044, Bruce, 1989:979, Moghadam, b:1335.

[6] Ahmad, 1984:71-74, Boserup, 1970:80-81, Adams, 1991:163, Kelly, 1981 b:414-419.

[7] Most authors on the discussion of the effects of modernisation generalise their assertions for the Third World countries. They do not specifically refer to regions or countries.

It is now well established that a higher proportion of income earned by women compared to men goes to improve family welfare (Boserup, 1970, Rogers, 1980, Buvinic, 1986, Ahmad, 1980, Ahmed, 1983 and 1985, UNRISD, 1990:16-17, Loutfi, 1987).

There are, however, several encouraging effects of modernisation which include increased food production and more work for landless women and men. Furthermore, in some instances technology such as clean, reliable drinking water and fuel-wood plantations have reduced the workload of rural women considerably and have the potential to improve livelihood security (Whittington et al., 1990:269, Chambers et al., 1989). Notwithstanding these favourable effects there is now ample evidence that the crude application of technological modernisation has, overall, primarily benefited elite families and has not reduced poverty. [8] Others have argued that the basic weakness of the "modernisation impact model" was its failure to take into account the relations of gender, class and ethnicity (Wilson, 1985:1017-1035). In my opinion, the exclusion of women from co-owning productive resources such as land and forests is sufficient evidence to suggest that rural women as a whole have lost out in their role as valued co-producers (Rogers, 1980, Boserup, 1977).

Modernisation theory had its partners among the liberal (capitalist) feminists who assumed that all women can be "liberated" within the capitalist system (Boserup, 1970). [9] Liberal feminists did, however, recognise social inequalities inherent in modernisation but believed this was of a temporary nature and, most importantly, that patriarchy would certainly be abolished in the process of capitalist modernisation. Evidence suggests that modernisation, be it capitalist or socialist, has not abolished patriarchy (Hegel, 1992:101-110, Molyneux, 1981:1019-1037). A major product of the liberal feminists is the "Women in development (WID)" approach now implemented by many aid organisations.

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[8] Buvinic, 1986 and 1989, Boserup, 1970, Ahmed, 1983, Tendler, 1989, Deere, 1985, Papps, 1992, ILO, 1984.

[9] "Liberal feminists are critics of liberal modernization theory but do not redefine power or economic development. Male domination and discrimination are seen as key barriers" (Staudt, 1986:326). "The biases of the modernization theory are evident in (Boserup's) presumption that the introduction of commercial agriculture was generally beneficial, except for the consequent decline in women's status" (Benaria and Sen, 1981:287).

It is important to realise that WID was conceived by liberal middle-class feminists for their well educated middle-class counterparts in the Third World as an alibi to modernisation theory (Gabriel, 1990: 7-12, Loutfi, 1987: 111-124).[10] [11] The fact remains that after more than two decades of capitalist development women are hardly ever central to state power. [12]

In this climate of dissatisfaction with the modernisation approach a set of three theories were developed during the late 1960's and early 1970's: dependency theory, systems-theory and articulation of modes of production. All three theories owe something to the works of Karl Marx (Webster, 1984:65-97).

Simply stated dependency theory assumed that development of the rich countries simultaneously accelerates underdevelopment in the now poor countries because of exploitation and unfair trade. The remedy seems to be equally easy: if the rich countries give up their economic dominance or if poor countries stop the rich ones from exploiting them a more equal development process could take place (Webster, 1984:85). It was believed that the metropolis (rich) always exploit the satellites (poor) in an unidimensional direction thus causing poverty (Blomström and Hettne, 1984:69-70). The dependency school contrasts with the modernisation school by emphasising global economic and historical factors causing underdevelopment and poverty (Worsely, 1984:16-17).

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[10] "Liberal feminists in the WEST, most notably Betty Friedan, have argued that the separation of the domestic and public spheres and the confinement of women within the home, are the roots of their economic marginalization. Likewise, WID writers beginning with Boserup, have persuasively demonstrated that the process of economic modernization in the Third World are marginalizing women, both economically and socially. Meanwhile, the liberal modernization perspective continues to believe that underdevelopment lies in the diffusion of values and social structures; that the basis for development lies in the diffusion of values, capital, technology and political institutions from the West; and that all societies can and will traverse the same path of development as the West. WID thinkers fully subscribe to this view" (Bandarage, 1984:497).

[11] **Women in development (WID)** aims at integrating women into development processes. In fact, women have always been a part of human development but were not allowed to participate as equal partners in all aspects of development. Therefore, WID-strategies can result in further dividing men from women instead of uniting men and women in a gendered, interdependent relationship. Some development agencies have realised this danger and are using the concept of **Gender in Development (GID)** emphasizing gender relations.

[12] Staudt, 1986:330, Bandarage, 1984:495-500, Fernandez, 1981 a:268-274, Benaria and Sen, 1981:279-298, Lewis, 1986:9-34.

The second theory associated with the underdevelopment paradigm is Wallerstein's world system's theory. Wallerstein saw the world as one economic system divided into four divisions: core (rich), periphery (very poor), semi-periphery (a state in between the two extremes) and the external arena (untouched by capitalism). The strength of Wallerstein's model lies in the attempt to explain the ramifications of capitalism on the First, Second and Third World and to identify agents of change (Ponter, 1990:18-19). A disadvantage of the model is its abstract divisions of the world in four categories which does not sufficiently take into account the heterogeneity of societies (Harrison, 1988:95).

The third theory considers articulation of modes of production which is considered as the central, concept of orthodox Marxism (Ponter, 1990:19). In the framework societies are grouped into four types: capitalist, feudalist, socialist and primitive communist. It refers to interrelations and the dynamics of modes of production in a given system over time. For example, in many circumstances capitalism tends to dominate and eventually replace the earlier modes of production (Worsely, 1984:23-377). The strength of the concept lies in its power to analyse complex social relationships. However, this model still has to also prove its worth for solving development issues.

Marxist based development theories have been criticised for the following reasons: Firstly, the absolute vision of the future, that predictions are certainly going to happen. Secondly, the personification of society although society is an abstract concept which has no thoughts, feelings and values in itself. It is individual human beings who bring about change. Thirdly, biologism, meaning that human needs are reduced to biological needs thus ignoring the feasibility of the framework in real social settings. [13] [14] Finally, a lack of pragmaticism which left the door open for the more pragmatic modernisers to continue development in an ad hoc fashion with all its positive and negative effects. Women and men development hypothesizers realized that development theory has come to an impasse (Booth, 1985:761-787, Sklair, 1988:697-709, Bandarage, 1984:495-515, Worsley, 1984:23-44). Their feeling of helplessness is aptly portrayed:

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[13] Therefore, gender is reduced to sex.

[14] "This cultivation of the minds of the few necessarily depends upon the cultivation of the fields by the many, a primordial inequality which the Chinese rightly see as one of the "Three great differences" that go back to the beginning of class society- between mental and manual labour; between town and countryside; and between industry and agriculture- **a list which omits the oldest man-made inequality of all, that of gender"** (Worsely, 1984:44).

> "Where do we go after the end of the great metanarratives - or competing paradigms - of modernisation theory and dependency theory, neither of which was able to fully account for industrialisation in South-East Asia or of continued under-development elsewhere?" (Moghadam, 1991 a:215-216).

It was mainly the Marxist-feminists who associated themselves with the underdevelopment paradigm and it can not be easily ignored that the Marxist perspective to development is analytically and ethically superior to the modernisation paradigm because it is a framework with the potential to address central questions of power relations and inequality. [15] Nonetheless, Marxist-feminists have not yet contributed much to the theory and practice of development and are part of the theoretical impasse and its practical implications of the widening gap between the rich and the poor (Sklair, 1988:703, Bandarage, 1984:505-507).

The neglect and silence of both liberal- and Marxist- feminists to address central questions such as the degree of oppression of women under capitalist and socialist systems, the changing relations between women and men under different development approaches and political systems, and the cultural and psychological consequences which helped radical feminists to establish themselves. [16] The merit of radical feminism rests in their objective to look at personal relations in a political way and to open up the debate for a more holistic understanding of social relations between women and men, a discussion so far grossly ignored (Bandarage, 1984:495-515). [17]

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[15] "Unlike the liberal perspective, the Marxist perspective argues that the poverty of the vast majority of women - and men - under capitalism is not a mere aberration. It is a structural feature of a social system which puts the profits of a few before the human needs of the many. Poverty is simply the symptom; exploitation is at its roots" (Bandarage, 1984:500).

[16] The different philosophies and objectives between the socialist system of the former Soviet Union and the social democratic systems of various West European countries is acknowledged. There is mounting evidence to suggest that none of these systems has completely abolished patriarchy (Molyneux, 1981:1019-1037, Berger, 1992:101-110).

[17] "Marxist feminists must grapple with what has thus far (thus far means: during modernisation) been an over-reliance on bloated bureaucratic institutions, as leaders attempt to socialize both the economy and services in ways that redistribute resources to more than the privileged few" (Staudt, 1986:328). " Those who man the bureaucracy and particularly the decision making positions are often the same people (as during modernisation), **with the same gender ideologies,** as those who manned them before the revolution. Whether they have digested more than superficially any of the party ideological overlay calling for female emancipation (if the party ever stressed this feature) is questionable" (1986:328).

For the radical-feminists patriarchy is the focus of the discussion. For example, Moghadam (1991 a:215-247) hypothesised that the process of "modern" development contributed to the dissolution of patriarchy, and that socio-economic development, particularly paid employment for women, contributed to gender equity. [18] However, her hypotheses has not been adequately tested and there is in fact evidence that contradicts her proposition.

Researchers such as Benaria and Sen (1981:290) have argued that liberating tendencies are often accompanied by new forms of women subordination, for example, increased restriction of extra-domestic movement. Furthermore, Rogers (1980), Ahmed (1984), Stephens (1985) and Lewis (1986) provided evidence from a wide sample of Third World countries indicating that modernisation strategies did not benefit women economically and socially, nor did it abolish or significantly alter patriarchy.

China, former Eastern-Europe and the former Soviet-Union are preferred candidates for Marxist- and radical-feminists to demonstrate what government legislation can do to bring about gender equality. Molyneux (1981) and Hegel (1992) suggest a superior legal status of women in socialist countries. However, both agreed that socialism was in no case able to remove patriarchy because men's attitudes did not change quickly. Moreover, in most situations women who participated in professional life paid a high price for performing a double job: paid employment and unpaid domestic family tasks. It appears that emancipation of women in socialist countries too suffered from a top-down approach similar to capitalist development strategies. In both systems, women were not really allowed to develop in their own right.

This section is summarised with three leading points: so far, development theory created by Western women and men has not contributed much to reduce poverty; theoretical assumptions have to be drawn from poor Third World women and men and not from elite middle-class academics to arrive at practical, cultural specific concepts and solutions. The approach so far is highly paternalistic and far removed from a more holistic understanding of human development; any future theory must address relations of power as the focal point.
Power of women to make development decisions and to distribute development benefits. Such theory needs courage and would necessarily be revolutionary.

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[18] "Patriarchy crumbles under the weight of urbanisation, industrialisation and proletarisation" (Moghadam, 1992:226). "The problem with this position, as with radical feminism in general, is the lack of sensitivity to the interrelations between sexual and other forms of social oppression such as class and nationality. This insensitivity is attributable, at least partly, to radical feminism's rejection of Marxism" (Bandarage, 1984:505-506).

What are possible reasons for the chronic under-representation of women in decision-making roles that prevents women from active participation? The next section suggests a theoretical framework within which to address central issues such as rewards, prestige, power, status and ideology.

2.3 A framework of gender relations

The variability of gender relations between different cultures is well illustrated in many anthropological cross-cultural case studies. They contrast markedly in their more holistic approach with the development theories discussed in the previous section which largely ignore the issue of gender relations as a social construct (Partridge and Warren, 1984, Messerschmitt, 1991). Because of the more holistic approaches used in anthropology several of their research techniques are used for this study. In this section Alice Schlegel's (1977) eclectic theoretical framework of social stratification is outlined and its relevance to women's participation emphasised. It is important to realise the inherent culture-specific dynamism in gender relations. In the context of development praxis, concepts are easier accepted if they are eclectic and simple to operationalise. In my opinion the work of Schlegel (1977) is a good example:

> "What we find is that even in the more male-dominant societies, women do not simply accept or adjust to a subordinate status, but may strive to check male dominance in some way, thereby achieving a measure of autonomy for themselves. And in more egalitarian societies, the relation between males and females is not characterized by the independence of one sex or the other but by a necessary interdependence of equals" (Schlegel, 1977: x Introd.).

It would indeed be easy to adopt a dogmatic "cooking book" approach to deal with gender issues in practical project management. However, dogmatism is incompatible with authentic, democratic participation. Indeed, the incompatibility of participation with universally applicable dogmatic approaches may well be a major reason for the widespread failure of Third World development.

Schlegel's theoretical concept is based on social stratification which centres around three dimensions: rewards, prestige and power. If different stratas of society systematically receive or hold different amounts of rewards, prestige or power, society is divided into classes. If the same differentiation is found between sexes then gender inequality exists. Her framework of sexual stratification distinguishes "simple" societies from "complex" societies.

Simple societies are equated with tribal communities and complex ones with technologically advanced societies. The meanings of "simple" and "complex", are however, value loaded and inherently ethnocentric. Equally value loaded are comparisons of traditional/modern and underdeveloped/ developed. I prefer to replace these terms by the more value neutral, ***subsistence- and market economies.*** These terms will be used in the subsequent discussion.

The first dimension to examine are ***rewards.*** Schlegel (1977:5-7) stressed the different forms and meanings of rewards in subsistence and market economies. In the former, where women and men often work together as a corporate unit, material rewards are replaced by prestige which is defined as valued social roles. In market economies women and men most commonly participate in marketable production. For this mode rewards consist of material goods. In market economies two scenarios can be observed: women and men participate equally in production but receive differential rewards, or men primarily participate in production and receive all material rewards themselves. Examples for differential rewards are race, sex, valued skills, tokenism, exploitation of minority groups or inadequate non-enforced legislation. It is common in market economies to give highly rewarded tasks to men. It seems many women are still sufficiently socialised by their parents and society to accept this inequality.

The second dimension is ***prestige.*** It is closely associated with rewards. Prestige is the amount of deference granted to an individual, group or institution (Schlegel, 1977:7-8). Individuals can achieve prestige, irrespective of gender, through professional or political achievement, wealth, power or highly valued skills. However, central is that prestige depends on perceived values and on the extent these values can be translated into power which in turn grants access to resources. Prestige granted to social classes is evident in many societies, for example, in the British aristocracy or the Hindu caste system. Of central interest for participation is the question whether prestige is systematically granted to either women or men or primarily to one of them.

The third dimension is ***power*** and perhaps most easily observable in everyday life. Schlegel (1977:8) defined power as "the ability to control one's own person or the life of others." Baron and Greenberg (1990:411) defined power as "the capacity to change the behaviour or attitudes of another in a desired manner". This definition emphasises on the "other" and not on the "self". For the purpose of analysing women's participation it is critical to perceive power in the more holistic way of Schlegel and to understand power primarily as an instrument for individual change.

A further distinction of power *per se* with the more precise meanings of authority and autonomy is useful. Authority is legitimate power based on the belief that a person's power is recognised by an organisation or society. Autonomy means freedom from control by others. The relevance of power, authority and autonomy for sexual stratification becomes evident if we examine whether men in reality control activities of women to a greater extent than women do for men's activities. Who controls more, is dominant.

There is plenty of evidence that suggests men dominate over women: men dominate social, economical and political power positions. This is illustrated in the low number of women in executive positions of universities, corporate companies and in government; men frequently do not take women's freedom seriously as is suitably illustrated in the increased reporting of sexual harassment in mixed sex work places (Baron and Greenberg, 1990:231-232).

The discussion leads to a fourth dimension: "Do areas controlled by women include institutions that are central to social organisation?" (Schlegel, 1977:9). This question is crucial because society develops differently when women receive rewards, prestige and power in their traditional environment (often the household or subsistence economy) compared to women who participate on an equal power base in highly valued central institutions. [19] What are central institutions? The answer depends on economic and social systems. Government departments, universities, the army, the police, courts and large corporations are examples of central institutions in market economies because they are considered strategic and usually are viewed as important. In subsistence-economies central institutions can include the extended family, the household, religious ceremonies and their gods/ goddesses, marriage, and conceivably government and church institutions with the power to allocate resources.

A definition of central institution:

"one that establishes priorities in the allocation of time, goods, and personnel, and legitimizes motivation and justification for action" (Schlegel's ,1977:19).

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[19] Traditional women environments are clearly culture-specific. For example, domestic and reproductive tasks belong to the traditional women environment in European culture. In subsistence economies, besides domestic and reproductive tasks production often belongs to the traditional environment of women as well.

As a result of above discussion a practical question arises: To what extent does gender establish priorities in the allocation of resources and do what extent do they share positions of power and authority in central institutions? Chapters 4 to 8 of this thesis focus on these issues. Another important dimension to look at is gender related status. How is status between gender determined? Most evident is the biological division of humanity into female and male for the simple reason of reproduction.

Major consequences of the biological determinant are social and economic ones: women as females are the only ones able to reproduce and most commonly accept the responsibility for child-rearing, although the physical and emotional tasks of child-rearing can successfully be taken over by men. This implies that the dominance of women as child-rearers is a social construct and not a biological necessity. A second social construct is the existing structure of the work place which does not allow women to share equally the positions of power because they are more frequently absent from their jobs.

Schlegel (1977:24) argued that the procreative system is dominantly determining the division of labour with procreation understood as all activities which bring a child to reproductive age and status. The social implication is sexual stratification because in many societies low value is attached to child-bearing, most noticeably in the affluent market-economies. If division of labour by sex was not an important determinant of sexual status there would be no reason to exclude the majority of women from participating in central institutions. This shows that it is not primarily important what people do but how tasks are valued by society. Another possible factor of status to men and women is the structure of the kin group. Status depends on the answer to the question who holds power of inheritance, the rights to form marriage alliances, and who controls the means of production. Societies exist where women hold considerable power because of their social relations.

Social organisation is highly relevant to participation in development. If women can organise themselves into powerful interest groups and engage in traditional men-activities such as politics, economic- and social decision making, men might accept women as partners. Social organisation of women that excludes men radically from participation can be counter-productive. In case of radical women-only solutions, men presumably become curious about the objectives of their women's goals and feel threatened in their traditional role of power and authority. As a result men may be reluctant to accept women into central institutions. This is a central point to be considered for "women-only projects" because women and men live in the same, interdependent world.

Ideology is another determinant for sexual status because people perceive and are aware of themselves and the others. This is illustrated in female and male symbolic oppositions. For example, the Hopi Indians speak of the "right-handed" nature of females linked to the earth which is perceived as less valuable, and the "left-handed" nature of males linked with the world beyond to be considered of higher value. Another example are the Kwaio of Papua New Guinea who associate women with pollution, femaleness with wife-givers, and maleness with wife-takers. In contrast, in many affluent market-economies masculinity and femininity is expressed in fashion and design. However, the attachment of symbolic gender oppositions seems to be more emphasised in agriculturally based societies. The single, universal fact remains that all societies divide into female and male (Schlegel, 1977:33).

So far, the discussion focused on the relations of rewards, prestige, power and ideology as determinants of social and sexual stratification. A second focus was placed on variables for sexual status. Biology, social relations, relations of production and ideology are all interconnected and determine sexual status. However, a central factor for gender equality/inequality depends on: Who participates in the central institutions and how is power shared among gender?

Gender equality in development programmes can be assessed by observing which development opportunities are equally encouraged and actively promoted for both gender. It can be assumed that societies denying equal opportunities to half the population are not making optimal use of human resources and are therefore far from attaining fairness in regard to gender relations.

Schlegel's theory focuses on power, rewards, prestige and status and asks a crucial question: Who shares power in central institutions? I consider this framework useful to analyse women participation in development institutions and development projects. While power, prestige and rewards are central elements of several theories, the concept of ***central institution*** was the determining factor in the choice of this theory as the basic framework for analysis. The major assumption for this thesis is that all institutions dealing with rural development are considered central because they have the power to allocate resources.

Having outlined a theoretical framework to analyse gender relations, the next section briefly addresses the controversial but relevant question: Are women universally subordinated to men?

2.4 The universality of women's subordination ?

The question, are women universally subordinate to men is important for the discussion of women participation. The widespread belief of universal women subordination tends to reinforce stereotyped, undifferentiated approaches to development processes. This brief summary presents current views.

Sherry Ortner generalised women's secondary status as an universal fact in every culture. She based her argument on the dichotomy of "nature versus culture" and asserted that all cultures place higher values on culture than on nature (Ortner, 1974:72). Marylin Strathern observed a domestic/wild dichotomy among the Hagens of Papua New Guinea which had similarities to the nature/culture, domestic/public dichotomies. For example, some male/female contrasts among the Hagen were: wealth/poverty, public/ domestic, safety/danger, spiritual/non-spiritual, exotic/ mundane and wild/domesticated (Strathern, 1980:204). Michelle Rosaldo too supported the view of universal women subordination. Her argument is based on the dichotomy of domestic versus public and was closely linked to Ortner's model of nature versus culture. Women as universal child-bearers cannot expose themselves to public life to the same extent as men do and are therefore forced to restrict their lives to the domestic sphere (Rosaldo, 1980:393-401).

The controversy of the universal women subordination remains because the concept of subordination depends on society's (value) judgement of dichotomies such as those proposed by Ortner, Strathern and Rosaldo. Universal is the fact that only women can reproduce.
It can not be assumed, however, that reproduction is not valued highly by many societies with a strong subsistence and agricultural base because power, stability, security, prestige and inheritance depend on successful reproduction.

Some feminist theorists are less general and universalistic and base research more pragmatically on what women do rather than on the analysis of symbolic valuations (Moore, 1988:30). Eleanor Leacock disagreed with Ortner and Rosaldo and argued that motherhood, which is a strong argument for the distinction of nature/ culture and the dichotomy of domestic/ public, cannot be seen as an adequate explanation for the universality of women subordination.

Leacock also argued that women's status does not depend on the roles of motherhood nor on the domestic/public dichotomy but rather on factors such as access to resources, work conditions and the distribution of rewards (Leacock, 1981). She received support from a number of researchers, such as Schlegel (1977), Sanday (1981), Chafetz (1988) and Kanter (1977).

Karen Sacks argued that the premise "baby making is incompatible with culture making" is a recent one. She further argued there is no evidence to suggest universal male superiority, but only of variable degrees depending on culture (Sacks, 1979:65-95). Peggy Sanday debated that men and women are using energy for different activities and purposes, and that energy used by women for reproduction cannot be used for activities in public life (Sanday, 1974:189-206). Therefore, it is justified to assume that men do have an advantage over women in regards to public influence (Sanday, 1974:205).

Thirteen case studies published by Schlegel (1977:345-357) on sexual stratification showed degrees of stratification which ranged from extreme sexual stratification in some situations to near equality. Extreme gender inequality was observed among women in Sicily and Hindu India. In both cases material wealth was an important factor for the degree of stratification because only wealthy families are in a position to exclude women from productive tasks. Near equality was observed in modern Israeli culture and among the Bontocs of Indonesia. In the Israeli kibbutz the community has taken over many of the traditionally domestic tasks. However, the system did not naturally evolve but was rather a planned experiment. In Bontoc society women and men seem to share all the tasks which can be shared rather than complementing each other in a system that naturally evolved over a long period of time. A critical aspect of these case studies is the question whether it is possible to measure equality and whether generalisations of equality are justified? In my opinion, generalisations for such complex issues with so little empirical evidence are not scientifically convincing. Schlegel concluded that in all societies, irrespective of the degree of male dominance, women do not silently accept and adjust to subordinate status. Women invariably check male dominance and gain culture specific freedom. In equalitarian societies equality is not achieved by individual freedom but rather by an accepted interdependence among equals (Schlegel, 1977:x, Introd.).

The review of this section indicates that there is little evidence to suggest that women are universally subordinate. Most societies have different, culture specific levels of interdependence among equals or unequals. However, gender equality has not yet been adequately researched because of cultural specificy, the complexity of the topic, and its low research priority.

In the context of development, the treatment of women as universal subordinates is counter-productive. Successful development depends on open-minded approaches.

This section has explored frameworks of development theory, gender relations and addressed the question of universal women subordination. The next step is to look at concepts of participation, to bridge the gap from the conceptual to the operational, and to accept the challenge of sustainable development.

2.5 Conceptual frameworks of participation

This section fulfils a central role in the chapter because it binds together the more abstract frameworks of the earlier discussion with the tangibles of participatory strategies of real social situations. The discussion begins with a review of current definitions on participation. This is followed by presenting a model which is closely associated with the thoughts of Schlegel as previously stated (section 2.3). The second half of the section discusses different concepts of participation with the aim to gain more clarity.

Roget's International Thesaurus (1988) lists the following verbs for participation: ***participate, partake, contribute, have a hand in, take part in, join in, have a voice in.*** For the meanings of these verbs Roget's gives associations of processes such as: ***engage oneself, be a party to, take an active part in, perform a part in, be enfranchised, help decide.***

Development "makers" use these verbs frequently to describe policies and actions for participatory development. The results of participatory policies and actions indicate a wide variability of concepts. In many instances, participation results in the routine of handing out welfare benefits which tend to undermine human dignity and self-confidence (Buvinic, 1986:653-664, Rahman, 1990:307-314).

Oakley and Marsden (1984:19) list a number of definitions for participation which are used by different development agencies. The list illustrates the variety of views:

> Participation is considered a voluntary contribution by the people to one or another of the public programmes supposed to contribute to national development but the people are not expected to take part in shaping the programme or criticising its content (In: Oakley and Marsden, 1984:17).

Participation means in its broadest sense, to sensitize people and, thus, to increase the receptivity and ability of rural people to respond to development programmes, as well as to encourage local initiatives (Lele, 1975).

Participation includes people's involvement in decision-making processes, in implementing programmes...their sharing in the benefits of development programmes, and their involvement in efforts to evaluate such programmes (Lisk, 1981).

Popular participation in development should be broadly understood as the active involvement of people in the decision-making process in so far as it affects them (Uphoff and Cohen, 1979).

Community involvement means that people, who have both the right and the duty to participate in solving their own health problems, have greater responsibilities in assessing the health needs, mobilising local resources and suggesting new solutions, as well as creating and maintaining local organisations (World Health Organisation (WHO), 1982).

Participation is considered to be an active process, meaning that the person or group in question takes initiatives and asserts his/her or its autonomy to do so (In: Oakley and Marsden, 1984:17).

The organised efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situations, on the part of groups and movements of those hitherto excluded from such control (Pearse and Stiefel, 1979).

The processes by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social, and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress. This complex process is made up of two essentials: It entails the encouragement of the participation by the people themselves in efforts to improve their level of living with as much reliance as possible on their own initiative; and the provision of technical and other services in ways which encourage initiative, self-help and mutual help and make these more effective (United Nations, 1975).

Because women are often excluded from participation, development agencies created separate definitions for women in development. These definitions are sub-paradigms of the particular organisation's overall development policy and/or concept, as the following examples illustrate:

Policy for female participation of the United Nations Development Programme: to have the legal right - as well as access - to the available means for self-improvement and societal improvement is to be integrated into the development effort (Boserup and Liljencrantz, 1975).

> Technical packages appropriate to the requirements of the smallholder frequently bring the greatest benefit to the farm when the tasks they simplify are the ones women perform (The World Bank, 1975).

> Participation by the people in the institutions and systems which govern their lives is a basic human right and also essential for realignment of political power in favour of disadvantaged groups and for social economic development.....rural development based on growth with equity will require full integration of women, including equitable access to land, water, other natural resources, inputs and services and equal opportunity to develop and employ their skills (FAO, 1981).

> It must be remembered that development efforts which are not directed to redress the inequalities between specific groups tend to reinforce existing inequalities between men and women. At the same time, however, it has been pointed out that it is a tactical error to implement programmes only for women. Enhancing women's ability to participate actively without treating them as a segregated population requires and extremely delicate balance (W.W. Vagliani and B. Grossat, 1980. OECD, Paris).

A wide variability of what is meant by participation is evident in these examples. A useful working definition which includes major elements of the framework on gender relations discussed in the previous two sections was developed during the ILO workshop on "social participation in development". The definition is used by the ILO and the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD). It is, in my opinion, one of the most radical frameworks so far developed by an international organisation:

> ***"The organized efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situations, on the part of groups and movements hitherto excluded from such control" (Goulet, 1989:165).***

The five central elements of the definition are:

1/ ***organised efforts;*** systematic, and involving more than one person.

2/ ***control over resources;*** legitimate power over resource allocation and management.

3/ ***regulative institutions;*** institutions with power to decide and act.

4/ ***social situations;*** to involve people.

5/ ***hitherto excluded from control;*** people who in the past did not have participative power and were excluded from the basic human right of self-determined development.

The UNRISD definition recognises the close relationship of participation to the legitimate power to act. It may be recalled that several ideas of authors discussed in the review on basic theoretical orientations and feminist theory are incorporated in the UNRISD definition.

The authors, and their main theoretical focuses, are:

Chafetz (1984 and 1988): who focuses on the control of means of production, the replaceability of women and participation in highly valued activities.

Kanter (1977): who emphasises opportunities, power and relative number (tokenism).

Parker and Parker (1989): who focuses on the scarcity of tasks and indirectly on expert power.

Sanday (1974): who concentrates on female material control and female political participation.

Leacock (1978): who emphasises on control over access to resources, work conditions and distribution of rewards.

Schlegel (1977): focuses on power, rewards, prestige in central institutions.

Most of these theorists mention power and access to resources as central factors for gender inequality. Schlegel, in addition to power *per se*, adds power in central institutions as an additional qualifying factor. The UNRISD/ILO definition thus addresses several fundamental points relevant to participation in a gendered world.

In considering participatory frameworks it is possible to identify modes of participation ranging on a continuum from passive to active. Passive indicates that needs are pre-determined by some elite authorities. Active indicates a political process where actors (women and men) control their own lives in all aspects. Passive is frequently equated with "weak", and active with a "strong" variant of participation (Wisner, 1988, Gabriel, 1990, Oakley and Marsden, 1984). These terms will be used extensively for the discussion of strategies in participatory development.

The passive approach to development was succinctly illustrated by Illich (1970:37). The passive concept always involves as a pre-requisite an authority that tells people what is best for them. Illich distinguished three modes of education: ***teacher-as-custodian, teacher-as-moralist and teacher-as-therapist.*** [20]

[20] Liberating education is the basis for active participation. Such education deals with relations of power and is necessarily political. In this thesis education is closely associated with active participation, hence the analogy.

All three modes have their counterparts in past and current approaches to development participation. For the purpose of this discussion the teacher is synonymous with development agent such as government and non-governmental organisations.

The ***"teacher-as-custodian"*** acts as a master and provider of an universal pre-determined development approach. Without the illusion of initiating active development processes, the actors persist in extending a pre-determined modernisation package. Bilateral and multilateral development agencies do most of their work in this mode. The latest approach which emphasises structural adjustment and economic growth can be seen as a revival of the early tradition (Rahman, 1990:307-314, Wisner, 1988, Gabriel, 1990).[21]

The ***"teacher-as-moralist"*** ensures that all people feel themselves as "children" of the same state. Development efforts tying education, health or welfare-hand-outs to religious beliefs belong to this category. It is mainly the traditional missionary structures (liberating education is absent from the curricula) who emphasise moral values as central variables for sustained development.

The ***"teacher-as-therapist"*** feels authorized to involve him/herself into the personal life to stimulate growth. Bilateral and multilateral agencies, after abandoning their custodian approach and before embarking on structural changes, made attempts to involve clients in order to heal the wounds of the unsatisfactory modernisation approaches. [22]

Strategies of the therapeutic mode include community development, cooperative movement, the French variant of "animation rurale" and popular participation. Common to all is the objective to promote development by mobilising and organising the people in order to achieve prescribed national development goals (Clark, 1991:13, Korten, 1984:299-309).

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[21] The point is made clearer in the following quote:

"I suggest, also the single most important intellectual error in any otherwise committed efforts toward social change for people's liberation, which seek to **indoctrinate** the people in a vertical relation with them, and give priority to structural change over liberation of mind. Only with a liberated mind which is free to inquire and then conceive and plan what is to be created, can structural change release the creative potentials of the people. **In this sense liberation of the mind is the primary task, both before and after structural change"** (Rahman, 1990:313). In my opinion, liberation of the mind has not yet had the chance to take place in most Third World situations.

[22] The word "client" is used by purpose because it describes the particular relationship of sales-person and client. Development participants are often clients with little bargaining power. Ironically, foreign donor agencies are in a strong negotiating position if aid receiving countries are poor, unstable, highly interdependent and low in self-confidence.

Although these approaches are successful in particular circumstances and emphasize self-help they still have serious drawbacks: Firstly, the needs of the people are pre-determined by development planners, mostly men. Secondly, the programmes are predominantly administered by government officials who bring with them "red-tapism" and all the associated negative images and realities of government administration. Thirdly, gains from these programmes mostly benefit the richer who own legal land titles as a secure productive base. Most women are excluded from benefits tied to land ownership. Finally, foreign and local donor agencies, whether government and non-government, are not sufficiently sensitive to the strategic human needs of the rural poor. Furthermore, development agents have little access to intimate knowledge which is crucial for successful development approaches. [23]

Applied research into the area of people- and equity based development strategies, a domain of social anthropology and sociology was neglected until recently (Chambers 1983, Gabriel 1990, Epstein and Ahmed 1984). So far, these disciplines did not contribute much to find more effective and equitable development approaches. The failure of social scientists to actively participate and to create a counter force to the dominant technocrats (economists included) resulted in even more emphasis on economic development instead of a more balanced socio-economic approach [24] (Gabriel, 1990:102-127, Myrdal, 1975:327-331, Partridge, 1984:18-30, Chambers, 1983:47-74).

Parallel to the passive development practices of the past thirty years were people well prepared to propose alternative concepts of participation that emphasised the question of power, control of resources and self development [25]

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[23] Clarke, 1991:14-16, Oakley and Marsden, 1984:20-24, Friedmann, 1984:210-211, Wisner, 1988:13-52, Gabriel, 1990:32-34, Weigel, 1986:1423-1434.

[24] "Economists have never been scared of constructing macro-models and producing economic plans for a nation and for the whole world. To illustrate this peculiarity of my profession, I used to point out that if you place an economist in the capital of an underdeveloped country and give **him** a few assistants, **he** will on demand produce a plan for development of that country. **No anthropologist, sociologist, psychologist, or what have you, would ever think of behaving in this way"** (Myrdal, 1975:330).

It is still a common reality in many influential development organisations such as governmental planning departments as well as in bilateral and multilateral development agencies to find economists and technocrats as the dominant development planners. They obviously have the ability to create quick and acceptable solutions.

[25] Korten, 1984 and 1990, Wisner, 1988, Gabriel, 1990, Weigel, 1986, Oakley and Marsden, 1984, Heyzer, 1990, Tendler, 1989, Friedmann, 1984, Freire, 1970, Illich, 1970.

Educationists such as Illich (1970) and Freire (1970) introduced new revolutionary ideas of active participation that originated from social action in South-America and developed simultaneously with the dependency theory proposed by Gundar Frank. These concepts are simple and emphasise empowering of the poor. This essentially means to provide free choices and the rightful share of resources to enable the poor to do what they find is best for them, thereby, achieve self development. Obviously, the concept of empowerment is highly political.

> "In the culture of silence the masses are mute, that is, they are prohibited from creatively taking part in the transformations of their society and therefore prohibited from being. Even if they can occasionally read and write because they were taught in humanitarian- but not humanist -literacy campaigns, they are nevertheless alienated from the power responsible for their silence" (Freire, 1970:30).
>
> "If we have faith in men, we cannot be content with saying that they are human persons while doing nothing concrete to enable them to exist as such" (Freire, 1970:83).

Unlike the creators of the underdevelopment paradigm, Freire (1970) and Illich (1977) were pragmatists committed to propose solutions for empowerment, self-determination and action. Illich (1977:60) asserted that the awakening awareness of new levels of human potential and the use of creative powers is leading to development whereas underdevelopment implies the surrender of social consciousness to prepacked solutions. Freire and Shor (1987:12-13) shared the opinion that education always is a political act and therefore learning cannot be value neutral. The transformation of society becomes possible by helping people develop a critical consciousness about their lives.

The power of consciousness to transform society lies in its reflection of reality, for example, the existence of exploiting power structures. It is therefore the root of development and contrasts with the term "grass-root development" in so far as the former is strongly political. It emphasises the non-elite arena. Grass-root approaches address basic human needs of the poor and not necessarily structural inequalities. Active participation involves a political process of gaining political, social and economic awareness. Its result is development action. In my opinion, participation and development cooperation can never be value-neutral. Values of the "development initiators" are frequently reflected in development programmes. To avoid development from misbehaving, participants must be allowed to incorporate their value system into the process of development. To do so, means self-analysis which hopefully leads to self-development.

The UNRISD was the first to develop a concept of participation that acknowledged that authentic, non-elite participation involves power and control (not just access) of resources (Goulet, 1989:165-178). The ILO emerged as the forerunner among the large international development organisations to acknowledge that empowerment is likely to be the only way to achieve socially sustainable development (Oakley and Marsden, 1984:VI).

While empowerment is a gender neutral process of social, political and economic education, which can, result in the awareness of women that their development opportunities are suppressed by patriarchy. Therefore, empowerment embraces all levels of society and is likely to be uncomfortable (Faulkner and Lawson, 1991:16-47, Vasoo, 1991:1-7, Young, 1986: 9-20).

Three key reasons can be identified why empowered participation of the poor has not yet found its way into practice: the concept is inherently political and challenges existing power structures and is therefore not in the interest of governments; government donor agencies and receiving governments consider "empowerment" as political interference because donor agencies would have to dictate their terms more strongly and sometimes more ethically (Riddell, 1986:24-43); empowerment of women would forcefully challenge patriarchy. This is not in the interest of men who dominate positions of power (Buvinic, 1986, Carmen, 1989:264-272).

Despite the fact that development theory has reached an impasse and no new participatory paradigm has yet emerged, "participation" has become a fashionable goal for development agencies in both the First and the Third World (Rahman, 1990:307-314, Goulet, 1989:165-178, Oakly and Marsden, 1984:17-35, Korten, 1984, 1986 and 1990 ab).

A useful approach to analyse the level of participation in practical project management was proposed by Goulet (1989:166-169) and Oakley & Marsden (1984:27-29). They first ask the question whether participation is understood as a goal or as a means. The answer to this question depends on whether participation is meant to be authentic or ornamental. For example, problem solvers who want to get the job done within prescribed time limits would view participation as a means to achieve the goal (Goulet, 1989:166). On the other hand, if participation is understood as a political process that enables people to determine their own future and where time is not strictly limited, participation would be viewed as an end (Oakley and Marsden, 1984:27-29).

Where participation is to be seen as a ***means and an end,*** project owners actively involve themselves in analysing and solving their problems. This process is time consuming but a pre-requisite for sustainable development which heavily depends on sustainable social organisation (Lele, 1991:607-621, Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith, 1992:369-383). Authentic participation, in my opinion, must be taken as a ***means and an end*** to achieve sustainable social and economic results. Furthermore, participation does not end with the completion of a project. It is a perpetual concept adaptable to new circumstances and passed on to future generations.

The second question posed by Goulet (1989:166) deals with the scope of the arena of development. Basically, the arena can be large in case of nations or small in case of families or spouses. Programmes covering whole nations are often not capable of democratic decision-making because of size and bureaucratic complexity. Programmes which target individual families primarily offer pre-determined aid packages. [26] Families which are not organised as interest groups have little leverage as a unit of power. Authentic participation is thus facilitated by groups of people with similar objectives and goals. During pre-colonial times the organisational units of resource management were primarily based on kinship groups who owned the means of production communally. They followed ethical standards that guaranteed sustainable resource use (Gregersen, et al., 1989:131-138).

Many of these traditional management systems have lost their functionality during modernisation. It is increasingly the NGOs who try to substitute traditional social systems. They tend to act as mediators and facilitators for more active participation. However, NGOs too, can often not adequately substitute traditional social organisations and portray a second best solution (Korten, 1990 ab, Buvinic, 1986:653-664, Sanyal, 1991:1367-1379, Bratton, 1989:569-587 and 1990:87-118).

Goulet's third question deals with the originating agent of development. Basically, participation can be induced by an authority from above, non-expert, non-elite groups from below or an agent external such as NGOs, foreign donor or a charismatic leader personality (1989:166-167). In the situation where governments induce participation it is basically for the purpose of achieving pre-determined development targets. Most of this type of participation is in the form of waged labour, food for work or similar welfare programmes. In sum, it is a passive form of participation mainly aimed at reaching quantitative targets on time.

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[26] If families organise themselves as groups they become a more powerful lobby to determine development approaches and outcomes.

Participation generated from below can be a result of a threat to the livelihood of the concerned. Therefore, it is often a strong fear of loosing livelihood security which transforms passive communities into active ones. An excellent example is the "Chipko-Andolan" movement in North-India where thousands of women successfully demonstrated against felling of trees because a central productive asset was at risk (Institute of Cultural Affairs International, 1987:133).

External agents such as NGO's, missionaries, charismatic personalities, academics, politicians, business and community leaders mostly aim at improving the people's economic and social environment. Major drawbacks of these agents are the risk of paternalistic attachment which creates dependence. In addition, little professionalism, ad-hocism and extension of welfare oriented programmes are common problems among a whole range of agents (Buvinic, 1986:653-664, Cabarle, 1991:3-9, Tendler, 1989:1033-1044). NGOs are receiving increased attention from western donor agencies because they promise more efficient and equitable aid-delivery and seem to use a more fitting approach to reach the poorest of the poor.

Goulet's fourth question addresses the moment at which participation is introduced. This question is closely inter-connected with the previous three questions. Authentic participation involves people from the stage of problem analysis to the organisation of functional management groups. This approach respects independent decisions of people and insists that the people act as legal owners of the project. By contrast, passive participation usually involves people during the prescribed course of implementation because an increased workforce is required (Korten, 1984, 1986 and 1990 a,b, Goulet, 1989).

The Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations (FAO) has developed a useful methodology to actively involve people during the entire project cycle. The approach consists of: community problem analysis, participatory baseline, participatory monitoring, community evaluation and participatory impact monitoring. This is a good start to help project planners be more aware of basic requirements for active participation. Unfortunately, the FAO framework largely ignores the more implicit political dimensions of land tenure, gender relations, equality, equity and efficiency.[27] To assess whether participation has some authenticity it is important to observe at what stage of the project cycle people have been involved.

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[27] It is acknowledged that all development projects have political dimensions because they do not exist in a social vacuum. However, for project planners to explicitly address political issues can be uncomfortable.

This observation, however, is not sufficient to assess whether the project has a political dimension. Empowerment can only be assessed by observing the degree to which women and men participate in all developmental aspects at all levels of society (Goulet, 1989:168, Faulkner and Lawson, 1991:16-47).

A fifth question, not posed by above authors, involves gender. The question of gender is extremely important because it is generally difficult to create genuine participation for the poor, and for poor women in particular. In this context it is important to remember that development efforts that are not directed to redress inequalities between groups tend to reinforce inequalities between women and men (Vagliani, 1980:7). This statement implies that it could be a tactical error to detach women from mainstream development by creating separate women projects. Similar approaches in Europe resulted in the degradation of women to lower status professions such as home-economics, primary school teaching, basic health care and supportive office work (Buvinic, 1985:71-81 and 1986:655, Leigh, 1991:427-444, Loutfi, 1987:111-124, Rogers, 1980).

The ILO acknowledged in 1919 the importance of providing meaningful employment opportunities for women (Buvinic, 1989:1047) and recognised the following as major obstacles for active participation: Firstly, obstacles at the operational level comprise over-centralised planning, lack of co-ordination, inappropriate technology, irrelevant project content and lack of local structures. Secondly, at the cultural level resistance to change is viewed as a major hindrance to participation. Finally, at the structural level unequal access and control of resources provokes resistance of power-holders to empower the hitherto excluded (Oakley and Marsden, 1984:30-31).

In my opinion, the sequence from operational to structural is not logic and should be reversed to the order: structural, cultural and operational. Such a revised order is likely to solve a number of the problems associated with lack of participatory interest, the reasons being that the hitherto excluded from power will determine their specific and strategic development needs and take charge of all operational steps. The sequence is crucial but so is the content.

The list of participatory obstacles presented by Oakley and Marsden is also considered incomplete because it excludes political and economic interests of development authorities.[28] These interests influence structural, cultural and operational variables. For example, the enhanced domestication of Third World women during the process of modernisation (Rogers, 1980, Boserup, 1977, Buvinic, 1985 and 1986). The ornamental approach to accepting women as half the world's population, and therefore as equals, is reflected in the extremely meagre allocation of funds for research and action on women's issues (Buvinic, 1989:1045-1957, Ross, 1988:231, Gabriel, 1990:72-73, Tendler, 1989:1033-1044).

The obstacles to increased participation are equally valid for women and men but more exacerbated for women because of distinct power differentials in favour of men (Loutfi, 1987, Ahmad, 1986, Buvinic, 1986, Boserup, 1970). At the structural level the cause is mainly the under-representation of women in positions of power. Hirschmann (1991:1679-1694), however, points out that the informal, invisible political power of women can strongly influence decision-making of men.

In a cross-cultural study of ninety subsistence-economies Ross (1986:843-858) found that high internal, but low external conflict, low male organisational solidarity, and warm and affectionate child rearing to be conducive for women participation in decision-making. Ross, however, ignored the structural inequalities of society as a whole which mostly operate outside the kin group and affect women most severely. In my opinion, in spite of the implicit decision-making power of women, a larger visible representation of women in positions of power would create projects of different design.

In contrast, to include women into mainstream development, there is some evidence that women-only organisations increase socio-economic differentiation and reduce the political influence of women in society. The point is highly relevant for development approaches and is supported by a number of authors (Vagliani, 1980:7, Tendler, 1989:1044-1089, Buvinic, 1985, 1986 and 1989, Heyzer, 1990:92). It is argued that in these situations, the influence of women on structural change is small and can only be increased by sharing power more equally among women and men and among class and ethnicity.

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[28] Development authority is used here for development organisation. Development-cooperation is sometimes viewed as an authority, e.g. Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA). In this context authority is a result of the power to allocate resources and the creation of unequal negotiating leverage. Therefore, development authority is not compatible with any form of authentic participation for sustainable development.

In a cultural context, "resistance to change" must be viewed as an excuse of development planners to understand and accept the culturally specific perception of change (Buvinic, 1985 and 1986, Rahman, 1990:307. Culturally adapted development strategies can result in more equitably shared power structures. As long as women are absent from these structures their voice is not heard and can therefore not result in action. This situation has resulted in a trend for women to develop their own micro-structures in which small scale and culturally appropriate self-development takes place (Loutfi, 1987:111-124, Rahman, 1990:307-314, Ahmad, 1986:31-35, Korten, 1990 a:1-12).

At the operational level poor women face a number of additional constraints. Active participation is time consuming. As a result, it is mostly the better off women who select themselves to participate. Such women often belong to a different class and have no motivation to speak for the powerless. To create change, poor women must have access to uncompromised participation. As long as poor women cannot actively participate their true needs will not be established (Lee and Weeks, 1991: 220-226, Loutfi, 1987:117). In addition, authentic human needs of the poor in general, and of women in particular, are difficult to establish. Poor women play a triple role consisting of reproductive, productive and community tasks which leaves no time to participate in development programmes which ironically are designed exactly for the poorest of the poor. The eternal invisibility of poor women tends to reinforce the need for stereotype home-economics programmes which often are not relevant or too complex for rural women, and have largely proven ineffective in poverty projects (Tendler, 1989:1033-1044, Buvinic, 1985:71-81, Moser, 1989: 1799-1801). Finally, and one of the most stubborn obstacles, is the misconception held by men and many influential women about "appropriate roles" of poor women. These stereotypic beliefs affect women at all possible levels of development (Loutfi, 1987:120, Buvinic, 1986:653, Heyzer, 1990:98).

In my opinion, participatory constraints viewed as crucial by governments and development agencies will be resolved to a large extent if poor women and men receive their rightful opportunity and responsibility to determine their own future. Any alternative to genuine empowerment of the non-elite must be considered as artificial and uncommitted in solving world poverty problems which affect women more than men.

The discussion showed how elusive concepts of development and participation are and how easily they are influenced by perceptions and values of those who deal with development. With a background of more clarity on participatory concepts the next section focuses on practical strategies and approaches and the lessons learned from past experience.

2.6 Strategies of women participation

The previous section addressed a number of concepts of participation and concluded that empowerment of the poor through liberating education is the only serious alternative to authentic, sustainable development. [29] This proposition is supported in principle by a number of multilateral-, bilateral- and non-governmental development organisations (Oakley and Marsden, 1984:10, Young, 1986:9-20, Faulkner and Lawson, 1991:16-47, Wisner, 1988:13-19, Buvinic, 1985 and 1989).

The effectiveness of development on the rural poor is well summarized by 120 influential NGOs who met in Rome in 1984 to discuss the world hunger problem:

> "Governments and the aid establishment have had their chance. More people today are hungry, more rural families continue to be forced off their land, more and more land is being destroyed. For nearly all of us, rich and poor, the prescriptions of aid and agribusiness have made things worse not better".
>
> "Faced with programmes with fancy titles such as "integrated rural development", the ordinary small farmer had little or no opportunity to exert control over the aims and directions of development efforts. Nor did millions of women farmers".
>
> "These rural women have been by-passed in most of the so called "integrated" programmes and projects. Before we abandon the basic needs approach (BNA), we have to find out why particularly women were left out and whether a true implementation of basic needs would enable them to gain power" (In: Wisner, 1988:17-19).

Realistically, governments cannot be completely replaced by NGOs in the delivery or as facilitators of development. In my opinion it is important to pragmatically assess what governments and NGOs can do well and what they cannot do well. Several smaller development agencies, famous for taking poverty and gender issues seriously, such as the Scandinavian bilateral aid organisations, British OXFAM, the Ford Foundation and the ILO are increasingly supporting NGOs because of their dissatisfaction with government implemented poverty alleviation projects (Korten, 1990 a:1-12, Tendler, 1989:1033-1044, Buvinic, 1989:1045-1057).

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[29] Authentic development must be just, sustainable and inclusive of all people. Any other type of development is bogus and ultimately anti-developmental. Authentic development action is pro-people and pro-environment. It contributes simultaneously to increased human well-being and environmental sustainability. Neither can be measured adequately in purely economic terms (Korten, 1990 a:4). Korten partly re-asserted what has been discussed in detail in this thesis that, sustainable development is only possible with authentic participation. Korten, however, omitted the central variable, that of power.

In my opinion, many large bilateral and multilateral donors, perhaps as a result of frustration, have largely reverted to the modernisation paradigm with the following package of approaches (Korten, 1990 a:3):

- Economic specialisation to realise comparative advantage.
- Extraction of resources for export to earn foreign exchange for industrialisation.
- Partnerships between large countries and companies.
- Mobilisation of foreign equity.
- Foreign borrowing to stimulate domestic economy.
- Economies of scale in order to be competitive.
- Conversion of small land holders and the poor men and women in general into a "modern" labour force.
- Low labour cost to attract foreign investment.

The view of the critics:

- The revival of the traditional approach of modernisation is biased toward the affluent consumer and neglects the poor.
- It undervalues natural resources.
- Emphasises economic output without reference to sustainability.
- Economic and political power is concentrated in the hands of few.
- It institutionalises absentee land ownership and thus undermines the sense of community and resource stewardship.
- It creates even more dependency on the availability of wage labour thus reducing livelihood security.
- Large scale industrialisation attracts millions of rural people into urban centres which gives tremendous negotiation leverage to companies because of labour surplus.
- Does not address the question of equity, gender, environment, culture and intertemporal resource allocation and, therefore cannot be economically, environmentally, culturally and socially sustainable.

In view of these contradicting development approaches four major questions need to be addressed: First, what are basic human needs and has the "basic need approach" ever been seriously tried? Second, what can governments and non-governmental organisations do well and what can't they do well? Third, which strategies are specifically promising to empower rural poor women? Fourth, what are the major lessons to be learned from mainstream development projects? These questions are discussed in the following sections of this chapter.

2.6.1 The basic needs approach

The basic needs approach (BNA) was always concerned with removing of poverty and was an answer of the World Employment Conference (ILO) in 1976 to the earlier approaches that failed in alleviating poverty (Weigel, 1986:1424). In its most basic form it deals with biological needs such as food, water, shelter, clothing and sanitation (Streeten et al., 1981:25). Furthermore, a number of development professionals believed that meeting of biological needs would automatically motivate people to modernise more easily. This simplistic model is a product of the modernisation school and again indicates biological reductionism. The advocates of biological needs neglected the most important variable that human beings are social and cultural beings. Therefore, basic human needs must be more holistic, culturally specific and non-universalistic. [30]

The ambition to define "basic needs" has ended in widespread controversy (Weigel, 1986, Wisner, 1988, Gabriel, 1990, Young, 1986, Friedmann, 1984, Moser, 1989). As a result of the dispute and the increased frustration of the unsatisfactory performance of the BNA several "basic need typologies" were developed. Galtung (in Wiesner,1988:28) proposed security, welfare, identity and freedom needs as basic human needs. This typology is useful because it is wide enough to leave space for cultural-specific interpretation and adaptation for those who can cope with open-ended situations. [31] The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in 1976 proposed an extended catalogue of basic needs that emphasized variables concerning "quality of life" (in Wiesner, 1988:29). It included: health, education, employment, quality of employment, personal economic situation, physical environment, administration of justice and aspects of inequality as well as social justice. The approach of the OECD differed from Galtung in its precision and thus reduced the number of possible interpretations.

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[30] UN declaration of Human Rights(Article 25(1), 1948: Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond control (From: Wisner, 1988:25). In my opinion, very much a western abstract.

[31] Typologies tend to be problematic because they tend to generalise. However, in the situation of the BNA, typologies at least, have helped to overcome the impasse.

Not satisfied with these two BNA typologies Weigel (1986:1423-1434) proposed a new typology in order to find universal basic needs that are capable of cross-cultural application. Weigel based his research on empirical data from the natural as well as the social sciences and divided basic needs into two sets; an universal set comprising existence, intelligence and sociality needs; and a time-relative set that includes minimum-existence, intelligence and sociality needs which change over time. Both sets if applied carefully are useful concepts. Young argued that meeting of women's basic needs display a considerable degree of ambiguity, because different people look at different classes of women (1986:9-20). Furthermore, several feminists went far in universalising women subordination (section 2.4). To assess basic human needs it is important to be aware of gender relations and to distinguish between practical and strategic gender needs. [32]

How can authentic basic human needs be established? The answer is simple. Ask the people concerned. [33] This process of asking the poor what they want and thereby start a process to make them in-charge of their own development is extremely difficult for many people working in development. Asking low status people and thereby learning from the poor is new and frequently viewed as difficult by elitist development professionals (Chambers et al. 1989).

The basic needs approach can be applied in the "weak" or in the "strong" variant or somewhere in between the two (Wisner, 1988, Gabriel, 1990). The weak BNA is characterised by the fact that the poor are out of touch with efforts to satisfy their own needs. The state tends to intervene and replace biological and physical deficiencies such as food, housing, health and formal education.

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[32] A useful explanation for practical and strategic gender needs was developed by Moser (1989:1803-1804).

Strategic gender needs: those needs which are formulated from the analysis of women's subordination to men, and deriving out of this strategic gender interest identified for an alternative, more equal and satisfactory organisation of society than that which exists at present, in terms of both the structure and nature of relationships between men and women.

Practical gender needs: those needs which are formulated from the concrete conditions women experience, in their engendered position within the sexual division of labour, and deriving out of this their practical gender interests for human survival.

[33] Important in this process of establishing basic human needs is the distinction of "needs" and "wants" and whether needs imply "rights".

In practice it is often a "shopping list" approach and it is doubtful whether needs or wants are satisfied. It is apparent from this discussion that the weak BNA corresponds with the passive variant of participation, At the most it addresses practical gender needs and demonstrates little scope to reverse the accelerating spiral of poverty (Wisner, 1988:42, Gabriel, 1990:18).
In contrast, the "strong" variant of BNA asks about the causes of poverty and tries to understand the ongoing struggle of the poor. It emphasises authentic participation and strategic gender needs. In this process the poor become visible and articulate, not as potential welfare cases, but as creators of their own development (Korten and Carner, 1984:206). The "strong" variant corresponds with the active mode of participation where the poor are viewed as a rich source of knowledge emancipated to start self-development if they receive control of their equitable share of resources in a democratic decision-making arrangement (Gabriel, 1990:18, Wisner, 1988:42, Young, 1986:19, Heyzer, 1990:94, Korten, 1990 b:54).

The literature suggests five hallmarks of the "strong version" of BNA: [34]

1/ The "need" discussion is ***open ended and continuous*** because basic human needs can considerably differ and change from the typologies mentioned earlier. For example, Third World women frequently mention control of their sexuality or expanded freedom in a class system as a basic human need. Most of the large donor agencies do not explicitly mention control of sexuality as a basic need. Obviously, needs change over time because of external and internal forces.

2/ The internal and external contradictions will emerge which are ***conflicting and not harmonising*** because the meaning and importance of basic need differs among individuals, most noticeably between women and men as well as classes and ethnicities, conflict is inherent. The successful solving of conflicts by a group often leads to group solidarity and sustained action.

3/ The ***discussion is political*** because the process involves people with different interests, values and ambitions. The most common conflicts concern the region, gender and class and mainly deal with resource allocation.

4/ The discussion will ***identify regional, class and gender conflicts*** which is most commonly caused by uneven development between regions because of historical events or distinct regional differences of resource wealth; control of resources and access to benefits by class.

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[34] Sources: Wisner, 1988:45-52, Gabriel, 1990:19, Young, 1986:9-20, Heyzer, 1990:94, Buvinic, 1986:653-664, Tendler, 1989:1033-1044, Korten, 1984 and 1986, Powell, 1988:161-167, Friedmann, 1984:210-222.

5/ The process is ***struggle based and not modern*** because neither the capitalist nor the socialist modernisers favour the strong approach of the BNA because it involves conflicts that do not necessarily lead to high consumption on the one hand, or to modern type development, gender and class equality, on the other hand. The outcome is determined by the participants themselves and is open ended.

There are no textbook answers on how to trigger off the process of a genuine basic need discussion (Oakley and Marsden, 1984). Powell proposes a set of steps that are useful for people teaching/facilitating participation (1988:161-167). He identified communication that instils self-confidence, self-reliance and self-sufficiency as the most important task of a facilitator. As an illustration, two applied approaches that achieved empowered participation in India and Brasil are presented in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1

Approaches and methods to participation through empowering: examples from India and Brasil.

India	Brasil
Approaches	
conscientisation	critical faculty
mobilisation	participation
assertion	organisation
organisation	articulation
involvement of poor	solidarity
community action	training
technical appropriateness	reflection
no permanent dependence	
action	
Methods	
contact village	selection of target group
spread contact	formation of groups
survey	action inside the group
discussion	action outside the group
confidence building	autonomy of group
discussion of problem	
decision of action	
formation of action groups	

(Source: Oakley and Marsden, 1984:68-69)

Empowering for participation is a process of education in the opposite direction. The participants educate the facilitators as well as themselves. It is a process of emerging ideas which eventually lead to action. In contrast to the weak variant of participation, the outcome (action) of the empowered participatory variant is not pre-determined by an external development authority. The processes of empowering illustrated in Table 2.1 indicate a series of steps which frequently occur in participatory processes: contact, confidence, friendship, group structuring, membership, solidarity, formalisation, organisation, collective discussion, decision, action.

Agents which stimulate the process of empowerment are either organisations who facilitate access to resources or are facilitators who develop, together with the community, a pedagogy appropriate for the political and social situation. This task is often done by volunteers who require excellent communication and coordination skills as well as access to people with specialist skills and power. Facilitating skills are rare and not necessarily produced by formal education institutions, a fact that makes the task even more difficult (Oakley and Marsden, 1984:76-81, Campbell, 1988:98-116, D'Souza, 1988:146, Powell, 1988:161-167). Having shown the difficulties with defining basic needs and the variety of BNA the following discussion emphasises the question: What can governments and non-government organisations do well and what can they not do so well?

2.6.2 Government and Non-Government Organisations

Simply stated, two groups of agents can act as initiators or facilitators of development: governments and NGOs. This section discusses their roles in development and contrasts advantages and disadvantages of their participation in development.

Bureaucratised development approaches are characterised by central planning, central allocation of resources coupled with strong control mechanisms. In sum, development is managed from the capitals of many Third World countries (Korten, 1990 a,b, Oakley and Marsden, 1984). These structures have by and large been able to cope with development demands of the first three development decades (around 1950 to 1980). It was the time of large scale projects in the infrastructure, formal education and health sectors (Korten, 1986:221-224). In these sectors governments did reasonably well, most noticeably the countries who chose a socialist political orientation such as China, the former Soviet Union and Cuba. Countries who chose the capitalist way tended to increase the gap between rich and poor with the exception of a few countries of East Asia (Korten, 1990 b).

Several authors reported significant progress in government implemented health and education programmes. However, the same authors are also of the opinion that participation, and particularly the involvement of women in these areas, would have made these efforts far more cost- and programme-effective (Wisner, 1988, Warren, 1980, Gabriel, 1990, Leigh-Doyle, 1991, Korten, 1984 and 1986 and 1990 ab).

Government institutions have three major advantages in the role of development agent: they have a large and often underutilised professional expertise; they have the scope to pursue programmes nation-wide if its content is simple and easy to replicate. Appropriate policies combined with standardised programmes can be effective and benefit many people; most governments are associated with the global community and benefit from good relations in the form of cheap financial support for a variety of development programmes.

Development practice of the late 1970's and the 1980's emphasised rural development, resource management, sustainability and participation in the hope of finding more effective methods to change the situation of the poor. Appropriate management styles required for implementing people- and community-centred development programmes hardly exist in bureaucracies. The primary mandate of government departments is to control, and if necessary to use coercion, and not to promote democratisation. Cooperation is a foreign word for many government officials. This single feature makes governments unqualified for people- based development tasks unless they undergo serious structural and attitudinal change (Korten, 1984, 1986, 1990 a,b, Chambers et al. 1989, Chambers and Leach, 1989, Buvinic, 1985, 1986, 1989).

There are primarily three reasons why rural development tasks demand difficult-to-achieve policies and institutional as well as attitudinal change: rural areas are characterised by substantial variety of social ecology [35] (Parker and Burch, 1991:59-84); most commonly, people who grow up in specific areas are committed to an idea and have the knowledge how best to utilise local resources sustainably; only local people committed to and dependent on their area are accountable in a democratic way. It is thus obvious that centralised, bureaucratic and control-oriented management structures are inappropriate qualifications for sustainable rural development (Korten, 1984:299-310, 1986:1-9, Sanyal, 1991:1367, Bratton, 1989:569-587).

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[35] Social ecology stands for relationships between individuals, groups or power factions of a community.

NGOs have several characteristics that make them considerably better qualified for the task of people-centred development.[36] [37] NGO's mostly have no history, ability or reason to use coercion to control people and are therefore better qualified to develop an atmosphere of trust and friendship. These attributes have been identified as crucial for people's self-development in the previous discussion and are more elaborately discussed by Oakley and Marsden (1984:63-83) and Korten (1990 b:109-128). Furthermore, NGOs have often evolved voluntarily because of a shared set of common social values. Therefore, NGOs have experienced capacity building in their own organisation. In addition, most NGOs are small, regionally based with members that have a good understanding of the local language, culture and economy. These qualifications are better suited to tackle complex social and environmental characteristics such as social and economic variety, diverse natural resource base and diversity of social organisation (Korten, 1986:4-5, Cramb and Wills, 1990:347-360). In addition, the less formal approach of NGO workers facilitate an atmosphere of authentic trust and friendship. [38] Finally, NGOs generally have a higher representation of women on their staff. They tend to address gender issues more seriously and skilfully. This point is especially important because poor women rarely have trusted people with whom they can communicate and thus further enforces the culture of silence (Alton, 1988:221-286).

NGOs too have several weaknesses that inhibit their effectiveness: they tend to attract large numbers of staff with little technical or managerial skills. This low skill level results in inefficient project management all along the project-cycle (Goodman and Love, 1979:1-12, Baum and Tolbert, 1985:49-59, Bratton, 1990:93). In addition, many NGO's remain providers of welfare and so far have not been able to make the transformation to become external facilitators/ promoters of sustainable development.

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[36] There are distinctions between non-governmental organisations which differ markedly in their ideology: voluntary organisations (VO), people's organisations (PO), the public service contractors (PSC) and the government-non-government combination (GONGO) (Korten, 1990 b:85). The discussion in this thesis will not distinguish between these variants and uses non-governmental organisations for any organisation that is not run and owned by a government institution.

[37] People centred development emphasises human well being, stewardship of the environment, self-reliance and sustainability. In sum, active, social, political and economic participation by all.

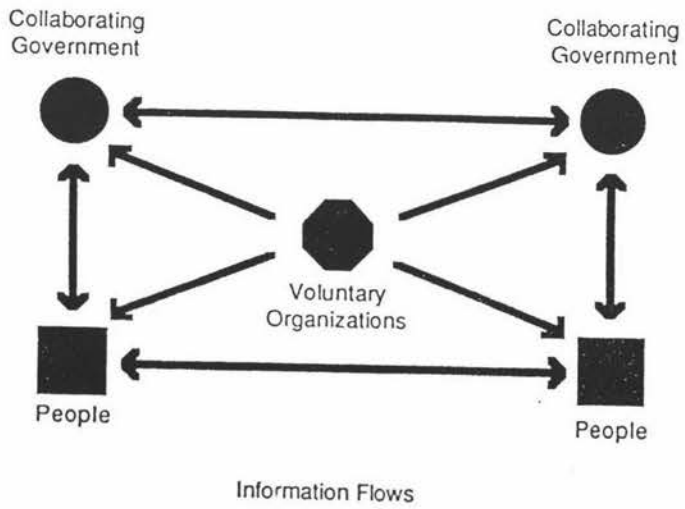
[38] Authentic is used synonymous for political, empowered, self-determined, independent, non-modern, non-harmonising, conflicting. It is, however, not argued that NGOs *per-se* are doing this always. There is a trend of NGOs to be more political in their approach to development. On the other hand many NGOs are specialised deliverers of material (non-social) development inputs. These tasks are done more efficiently by organisations with a non-bureaucratic structure. Therefore, NGOs are found in all realms of development ranging from very similar to government bureaucracy to extreme activist.

Such NGOs tend to create dependency, therefore further fostering underdevelopment (Korten, 1986:309-317, Buvinic, 1986:653-664, Tendler, 1989:1033-1044). Finally, the relatively low skill level of NGO staff provides little scope to learn from experience. Experiences well presented can be effectively used as a leverage for negotiations with government officials. [39]

Several authors presented evidence of large mutual benefits between NGO's, governments and beneficiaries in situations of common interests. In the absence of cooperation NGOs tend to be harassed by government control mechanisms and hampered in their potential to create innovative approaches. The discussion so far has shown that government and non-governmental organisations have an important role to play in development. Most ideally both complement each other to make development processes more effective (Sanyal, 1991:1367, Bratton, 1989:569 and 1990:95, Korten, 1990 b:135-150). Having seen that governments and non-government organisations both have strong points in their favour Figure 2.1 summarises the discussion with a model which tries to bring together these strong points (Korten, 1990 b:147). The next section introduces the reader to desired project outcomes such as efficiency, equity, sustainability and effectivity.

Figure 2.1

Mutual empowerment model of international cooperation.



[39] Well documented means brief and to the point with evidence of visible **development impact.**

2.6.3 Issues of women participation and project outcomes

The desired outcome of a development action is efficiency, equity, sustainability and effectivity. Efficiency is defined by the law of "Pareto" optimality: if at least one person could be made better off without making another person worse off then the intervention is efficient. Efficiency is also maintained if the winners compensate the losers (Oakerson, 1985:22). Equity is closely associated with efficiency and asks: do individuals get a fair (equitable) share from their contribution to a collective undertaking? (Oakerson, 1985:22, Peek, 1988:73-89, Castro et al., 1981:401-427). In reality, many development projects are not efficient nor equitable. An evaluation of 212 mainstream World Bank projects found one-quarter inefficient. Another ILO evaluation of forty large rural development projects concluded that none of them had been successful with regards to equity because the lower half of the poor were excluded from any project benefits (Peek, 1988:73-89).

A major factor for the neglect of the equity and efficiency question is the use of benefit-cost analysis (BCA) and/or the Internal Rate of Return (IRR) as determining variables for project evaluation. Both methods are inherently incapable of addressing distributive factors. It has been established that equity is highly correlated with landownership. This point appears to be a primary reason why women are worse off in rural development projects. [40]

Sustainability has become the most fashionable word in development circles. Sustainability is most commonly associated with the biological/ecological environment. However, the meaning of sustainability is far broader and more holistic. To serve as useful concept, sustainability involves social, cultural, institutional, ecological and economical variables (Lele, 1991:607-621). Most development agencies have not yet reached the level of this more holistic concept and persistently hold on to the more fashionable understanding of economical and ecological sustainability believed to be accomplished with quick-fix strategies such as restructuring and market liberalisation (Lele, 1991:607-621, Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith, 1992:369-383, Bertram, 1986:809-822).

Three points are commonly lacking in the discussion of sustainable development. The differentiation between ecological and social sustainability (Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith, 1992:369). Furthermore, the concept of active participation is so far not associated with sustainable development (Lele, 1991:614-616).

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[40] Peek, 1988:80, Brempong, 1988:483-488, Castro et al., 1981:401-427, Buvinic, 1986:653-664, Grown and Sebstad, 1989:937-952, McKee, 1989:993-1006, Cornhiel, 1988:585-615.

In my opinion, any kind of sustainability is a function of authentic participation and not vice versa. Finally, the success of sustainable development primarily depends on people living in poverty, and among them, mostly the poorest of the poor living in a gendered world.

Besides equity, efficiency and sustainability, another aim of a project is its effectiveness to achieve the objectives envisaged during project design. Project design is strongly influenced by the degree of participation. So far, no comprehensive empirical studies have been conducted to measure the effectiveness of projects which evolved as a result of empowerment, and only a few empirical studies exist for non-empowered mainstream projects financed by US-AID, the World Bank and other large donor agencies.

Finsterbusch and Wicklin III (1987:1-23, 1989:573-593) analysed 52 US-AID projects implemented at the beginning of 1980. These projects were large infrastructure (mainstream of the 1980's), not specifically women oriented nor particularly participatory. The results are summarised below: [41] [42]

> The degree of Community capacity/organisation at the stage of project origin was significantly but moderately correlated (r=.33 ** to r=.54 **) with participation in project design, implementation, redesign and project maintenance.
>
> The level of social benefits was significantly but moderately correlated (r=.34*) with participation in the redesign of projects.
>
> The degree of beneficiary commitment to the project was significantly but moderate to strongly correlated (r=.26* to r=.69**) with expected social, equality, capacity and sustainability benefits.
>
> The project effectiveness was significantly and moderate to highly correlated (r=.44** to r= .75**) with project communication, beneficiary commitment, community capacity/organisation and ownership/control of project.

The data indicate that communication, community organisation and community commitment are essential for improved project participation, project sustainability and project effectiveness. It should, however, be noted that all these favourable project outcomes are likely a result of active beneficiary participation.

---

[41] Mainstream projects means non-specific women or men projects and have the broad objective to involve and benefit all actors. Gender relations are usually more intensely tested in mainstream projects because resources have to be shared and are not additional as in the case of specific women projects.

[42] Significance levels: * = 0.05 and ** = 0.01 level (one-tailed test).

The strong correlation of beneficiary commitment (r=.60** to .75**) with project success is only helpful if the question: What are the processes involved that make people committed? is asked and answered. Several strategies were discussed in previous sections and are further illustrated in the following section.

2.6.4 Practical lessons from mainstream projects

Well documented case studies are valuable sources to learn from so that old mistakes are not repeated. This section summarises the lessons learned from ten mainstream projects from different countries, and the lessons learned from nineteen NGO-facilitated projects in Kenya (women and men, but not home-economic biased) which claim to have used empowered participation (Alton, 1988:221-286). [43]

Tables 2.2 and 2.3 support and summarise observations made in many development projects:

1/ Women are often involved in project implementation and primarily benefit from waged labour (Table 2.3).

2/ Women frequently benefit directly or indirectly from rural development projects but are not consistently involved in all the steps of the standard project cycle. This confirms the relative invisibility of women in many situations (Table 2.3).

3/ Specialised women's organisations tend to be more participatory and address strategic as well as practical gender needs.

4/ Instant and tangible benefits are essential particularly for poor women because the poor have no reserves which allow them to wait for strategic change (Table 2.2).

5/ Despite women's need for immediate tangible benefits, women tend to take a long-term perspective which makes them excellent agents for environmental programmes. This is further supported by women's awareness of the high value and effectivity of traditional social organisation for sustainable development.

---

[43] Tables 2.2 and 2.3 are produced by the author using a wide range of data from the bibliography.

Table 2.2

What did women recommend?

Perceived ranking	Recommendations by women
Most important:	Immediate, tangible benefits, above daily wage labour.
Second:	Traditional forms of social organisation preferred.
Third:	Technical assistance provided by women extensionists.
Forth:	Long term perspective and flexibility in project design.
Fifth:	Management skills provided by women trainers.
Sixth:	Build programme on traditional skills.
Seventh:	Small loans with group guarantee as collateral.
Eighth:	Avoid foreign dependency

Table 2.3

Analysis of women participation in the eight steps of the standard project-cycle of ten mainstream development projects.

Country and sector	PA	P	IF	FF	IMP	E/M	MG	B
NG; Kenya, public transport	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NG; Mali, soap production	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NG; India, > 60 activities	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NG; Bangladesh, agriculture	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
G; Nicaragua, food trade	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
G; Mexico, waste management	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
G; Jamaica, technical training	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
G; Nepal, forest conservation	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
G; India, nurseries	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
G; India, social forestry	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y

Abbreviations: PA = Problem Analysis, P = Planning, IF = Indigenous Finance, FF = Foreign Finance, IMP = Implementation, E/M = Evaluation and Monitoring, MG = Management, B = Benefit, G = Government, NG = Non-Government, N = No, Y = Yes

Alton summarised the most important findings of a self-evaluation exercise with nineteen NGOs in Kenya as: "having given the opportunity to evaluate the progress of their own efforts themselves" (1988:286). According to the women evaluators the success of their work was due to appropriate/adequate technical information, satisfactory management skills and the use of community organisation, communication and ***"folk wisdom".*** "Folk wisdom" can be interpreted as traditional social organisation. If revived and used "traditional wisdom" produces excellent results of sustainable development (Cramb and Wills, 1990:347, Chambers, 1983, McCracken et al., 1988). This point received also a high ranking in Table 2.2. Oakley and Marsden (1984:5) summarised their analysis of participatory projects with the following key findings: The context of participation must be clearly understood; an organisation is required for meaningful participation; the role of the outsider (facilitator, animater) is critical; participation cannot be manipulated in terms of time and the outcome cannot be pre-determined.

Two important issues need further discussion; women-only projects versus mainstream projects, and women participation in formal employment.

In women-only projects women have a better chance to express themselves freely, are encouraged more frequently, and feel themselves better understood in the environment of women staff. The disadvantage of women-only projects are that they address strategic gender needs inadequately; the women are separated from the usual gender relationship and therefore excluded from the fundamental process of power reallocation; the projects generally have limited resources compared to mainstream projects and are therefore severely limited in their scope; and women-only projects often extend welfare aid, tend to augment the home-economics bias, and seldom create effective policy.

Welfare strategies are attractive because they are perceived as "positive sum" interventions which means nobody looses. Welfare funding for women projects are mostly in addition to bulk finance and do not affect men negatively, therefore, strategies that involve women as equals are less favourably perceived by men because they inherently distribute the bulk of funds among men and women producers with the obvious result that men are loosing. In summary, support of productive activities for women is inherently political because both women and men have to share a resource hitherto reserved for men (Buvinic, 1986:653-664).
This point is far more important in situations with women as legal land owners entitled to receive finance. In the same context, Cornhiel (1988:607) provided extensive empirical evidence of women farmers in El Salvador who achieved equal levels of productive value when they received the same support as men.

The central problem of the land dependent collateral was successfully bypassed by an NGO in Bangladesh who decided not to accept land as collateral because it made women depend even more on men (McCarthy and Feldman, 1983:211-236).

Adams (1991:163) asserted that rural women can not be seen as homogenous group and a distinction between female-headed and female only household is important. Female-only households appear to depend more on wage labour for their livelihood compared with female-headed households because the latter usually has considerably more prestige and power. Many authors consider the lack of land ownership by women as the major constraint for meaningful, independent development among rural women (Faulkner and Lawson, 1991:16, Jiggins, 1989:953, Grown and Sebstad, 1989:937-952, Schultz, 1990:457-488, Buvinic, 1989:1045). This point is clearly more urgent for female-only households which mostly depend on waged labour for survival compared to female-headed households which usually have more control over productive assets.

Formal employment of women has increased considerably during the last two decades. Although the number of women in the labour force increased, traditional sexual division with women predominantly occupying low paid, low status jobs remained (Acevedo, 1990:231, Schultz, 1990:457-488, Massiah, 1989:965, Porpora, 1989:269-294). The fact that more women were absorbed by the labour market did not in itself result in reduced poverty.

It has become even more obvious that a more innovative approach for women participation is urgently needed, and three new approaches have emerged: small micro-enterprise development, income-generating projects and vocational training (Buvinic, 1989:1051-1052). An evaluation showed micro-enterprise development to be the most successful. The key to its success was its focus on women and men who already were integrated into market production and who only needed minimal external support (minimalist projects). Further research by Tendler (1989:1033) and McKee (1989:993) found that leadership linked with powerful institutions, participants who were already engaged and experienced in the activity, and the existence of powerful consumer organisations as central variables for success.

The second approach to support poor women and men are the income-generating projects. These projects differ from micro-enterprises in so far that they attempted to integrate the hitherto excluded women into the cash economy. Therefore, all the three success variables for micro-enterprise development do not automatically exist but have to be developed. Many of these projects attracted self-selected women who did not primarily require income generation.

These projects have come under heavy scrutiny by donors because they are not considered sufficiently effective to reduce poverty (Buvinic, 1989:1052). In addition, Chen (1989:1008) observed successful income generating projects in India where there were a large number of poor women participants, a strong demand for the product and recognition of the importance of the products by the donors, (local and foreign) were the critical variables for successful sectoral approaches to promote women's productive status in rural areas.

The third approach is vocational training, the aim of which is to equip women with marketable skills for self-employment. These projects have so far suffered two maladies: the polytechnics continued to teach the traditional home-economics syllabus to women, and relatively small numbers of women attended technical trainings (Buvinic, 1989:1052, Leigh-Coyle, 1991:427-444).

In my opinion this section is well summarised by quoting Buvinic (1989:1054-1055) who persistently emphasises re-distribution of power as the pre-requisite for authentic development.

> "The problem with all these interventions (micro-enterprise, income generation, vocational training) is their restricted coverage and limited ability to remove policy and institutional obstacles and, therefore, their inability to affect the situation of the majority of poor women".
>
> "The Non-Governmental project focus was, however, a rational choice for donors in the 1970s, when women's issues lacked legitimacy, power, or political clout".
>
> "Influencing development policy on behalf of women is clearly the most difficult challenge confronting donors in the near future, but potentially it has the greatest impact. The implementation of gender-sensitive policies can have a positive impact on the majority of poor women who have not been touched by project interventions. If effectively implemented, these policies also often trigger changes that are far-reaching and not easily reversible".

2.7 Summary

This chapter has reviewed theories, concepts, and practices of participation in general, and of women in particular.

It has been shown that women were only marginally involved in creating development theory. The liberal feminists tended to orient themselves on the modernisation paradigm. The Marxist-feminists associated themselves more strongly with the theories of the underdevelopment school.

Dissatisfied with both, the radical feminists attacked the roots of inequality with paradigms of power, politics and participation.

It was mainly the more recent social anthropologists such as Schlegel (1977), Leacock (1981), Epstein (1982), Rothschild (1982) and Fernandez (1981 a,b) who used their more holistic approach for analysing gender relations. Particularly useful for the analysis of participation is the concept which emphasises relations of power between men and women by asking two central questions: Who is doing what for what reasons and in which cultural context? Who and for what reasons controls valued institutions and resources?

In the past, many development professionals tended to act from the belief that women are universally subordinate to men. As a result of this widely held stereotype, poor women in Third World countries were often treated as subordinates by development planners. This point is illustrated by the trivial involvement of women in mainstream programmes. In addition, the home-economics bias of donor agencies has further enforced the domestic and reproductive role of women. Current evidence does not warrant any finite conclusion of the universality of women subordination and rather suggests that people concerned with development maintain an open-mind for culturally specific situations.

The concepts of participation range from passive consumerism to active creation. Characteristics of the two approaches were discussed in detail and are summarised in Appendix 2.1. It is important to note that most approaches of participation are situated somewhere on the continuum between the two extremes.

Many people concerned with development of poor women and men agree that to break the vicious cycle of poverty and to prevent the inter-generational transfer of poverty along gender lines there is no alternative than to deal with structures that create inequality (Heyzer, 1990:94, Wisner, 1988:13-21, Buvinic, 1989:1055, Oakley and Marsden, 1984:80, Tendler, 1989:1042, Young, 1986:12). A strong Basic Needs Approach should be tried again because of the large number of people forced to live in absolute poverty. In my opinion, the BNA has so far not been seriously tried.

Having discussed development theory, gender relations, participatory concepts, strategies and practical lessons of different participatory approaches the next chapter looks at methods of this present research.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

Research into social development ideally requires social research methods which are as much as possible participatory.[1] In this context it is helpful to clarify the question of objectivity in social research. Western scientific methods tend to claim objectivity which implies that research ought to be value neutral. In applied social research such as social development, this approach is sometimes called instrumental or technocratic (Marsden and Oakley, 1991:315-317). The instrumental/technocratic approach relies on quantifiable variables and itself is unsuitable to address the uncomfortable questions of power, politics and gender relations.

In sharp contrast is the interpretative approach which is often used in anthropology. *"This approach places subjectivity at the centre of enquiry calling into question the positivist social science" (Oakley and Marsden, 1991:318).* In my opinion, this approach has the advantage that it does not primarily focus on the "correct scientific method" but rather tends to remain flexible and open ended.[2] A widely perceived disadvantage of the interpretative social research approaches, if taken seriously, is its inability to generalise. Therefore, such interpretations tend to remain locked in cultural relativity (Marsden and Oakley, 1991:324).

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[1] Parker and Burch, 1991:59, Messerschmitt, 1991:145, Imboden, 1978:117-159, Partridge, 1984:1-7.

[2] The research techniques used for this research are not the "correct ones" *per se* because there exists no absolutely right or wrong techniques in (social) development research (Chambers, 1983:47-74, Anyanwu, 1988:11, Altafin, 1991:312-314). My statement does not imply that the scientific method is unnecessary. It rather implies the mutual benefits of using a combination of several approaches.

The distinction between these two approaches is important for the present enquiry which concerns participation: the research uses both instrumental/technocratic as well as interpretative methodologies (both are useful for specific situations); several of the techniques and research environments are not suitable for generalisations because the interpretation of information reflect my personal value system (mostly the case in Chapters 7 and 8); social development research is often concerned with poverty and is therefore justifiably conducted under time-pressure. This implies that a compromise between "pure" academic research and "dirty, solution-oriented" research is often essential in order to respect human dignity (Partridge and Warren, 1984:7, Gabriel, 1990:35-47, Chambers, 1983:47-74, Imboden, 1978:11).

Seven factors determined my research methods: topic, practicality, effectiveness, appropriateness for given situation, time, finance, own-experience, and usefulness for my future working life. This chapter outlines research objectives and research organisation. This is followed by a detailed description of the research methods used for each of the four sub-topics which are presented in Chapters 4 to 8.

3.2 Research objectives

The relevance of research on participation of women and men in the development arena has been discussed in the previous two chapters. The objectives of the present research are:

1/ To analyse the extent to which women and men are involved in bilateral and multilateral development agencies. To search for causes which influence quantitative and qualitative aspects of women-participation within these organisations.

2/ To analyse the extent women and men share power in the Development Cooperation Division (DEV) of the New Zealand Ministry of External Relations and Trade (MERT). To identify causes which explain the existing power structure.

3/ To analyse the extent women and men participate and share power in the organisation of Fiji Pine Limited. To identify facts and causes which explain the existing power structure.

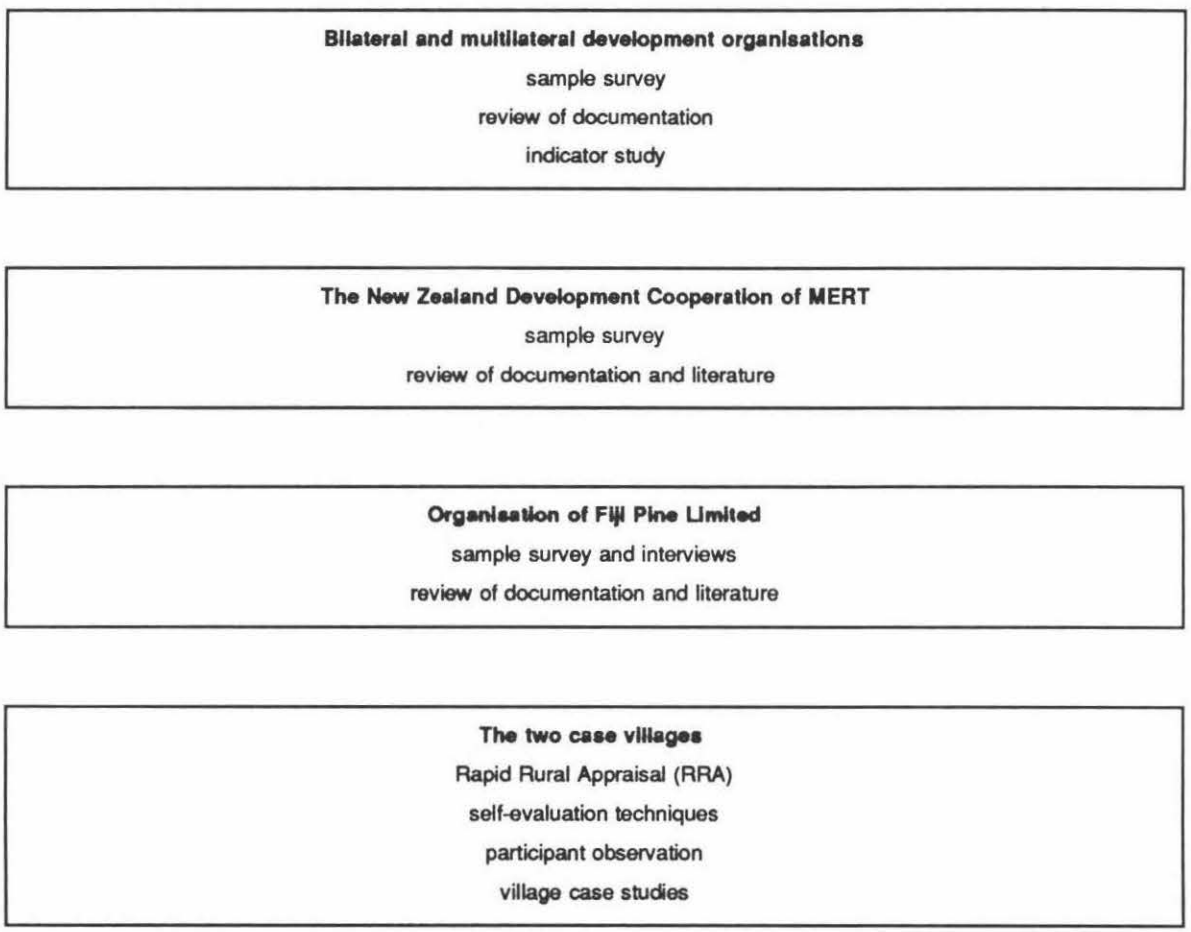
4/ To analyse the extent women and men participate and benefit from Fiji Pine development project with focus on causes for change in quantitative and qualitative aspects of participation.

3.3 The four units of analysis

Figure 3.1 gives a broad overview of the four research areas.[3] Research methods are indicated in the respective boxes and discussed in greater detail in the following sections.

Figure 3.1

Research organisation and methodology.



[3] These four arenas of development were chosen because it is assumed that links exist between the donor (DAC and Multilateral), national development organisations and the intended development beneficiaries. In addition, the author was interested to gain insight and experience in these different arenas.

3.4 Bilateral and multilateral development organisations

The research of women participation in bilateral and multilateral development organisations included a brief survey. Questionnaires were sent to twenty-three bilateral and seventeen multilateral development organisations. A sample of the questionnaire and a list of the organisations are given in Appendix 3.1 and 3.2. Up to two reminder letters, including additional copies of questionnaires, were sent to non-responding organisations. Sixteen bilateral organisations (70%) responded and returned the questionnaire and the requested documentation. Nine multilateral agencies returned documentation (53%) and two returned the questionnaire (12%). To complement the information from the survey and the documents, four sets of additional indicators were used as variables:

1/ The proportion of GNP spent on development cooperation (PGNPODA), nominal disbursement for development-cooperation in 1990 (million $ US).(OECD, Development Co-operation, 1991 Report).

2/ The social investment in development-cooperation (SOCINVST), the real GDP (adjusted for real purchasing power)(REALGDP), the gendered human development index (GENINDX), the human development index (HUMINDX) and the proportion of women in parliament of sixteen countries of the study (WOMPOLIT). These indices cover the year 1988 or are sometimes the mean of up to five years, e.g. 1983 to 1988. (UNDP, Human Development Report 1991).

3/ The aid allocation index indicates the extent to which donors (DAC) base aid allocation on relative needs of partner countries. The index (EFFINDX) is the mean of the annual indeces between 1969 and 1984 (McGillivray, 1989). [4]

4/ The awareness index (AWINDX) indicates how explicit DAC countries and Multilateral organisations stated in their policy papers what they intend to follow in regards to development participation. For this purpose a list of 82 participatory key-words (Appendix 3.3) from major sources of Chapter 2 was created. This was followed by searching for such key-words in the policy documents of the sixteen bilateral and nine multilateral organisations. Equal weight was given to each key-word.

5/ The remaining variables are the result of the survey. They are explained in the systems file in Appendix 3.4.

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[4] The "Relative Need" of a country with large numbers of very poor people would mean to give priority to poverty alleviation. Poverty reduction concerns women to a large extent (see Chapter 2). A high index indicates high regard for relative needs such as poverty, equity, gender, environment etc. (McGillivray, 1989:565).

Because of the small data set, descriptive analysis was done manually from the data file. Unweighed but conceptually related correlation coefficients and their significance were estimated with the SPSS-PC statistics package. System and data files are presented in Appendix 3.4.

The research suffered several constraints. The response to the questionnaire by the multilateral organisations was low and had to be excluded from the major part of the analysis except for the indicator study. As a result, bilateral organisations dominate Chapter 4. Another limitation was that none of the agencies could provide data on a time series, e.g. 1985 to 1992. Most provided data for 1990 and 1992. The analysis therefore includes mostly the 1992 data until stated otherwise. Finally, policy documents which were used to create the Awareness Index were issued sometime between 1961 and 1992. The more recent documents tended to include a larger number of fashionable development jargon, hence the bias.

3.5 The development cooperation division of MERT

The research of women participation in the Development Cooperation Division (DEV) of MERT included a detailed survey which was administered to all forty employees of DEV which were available at the time. A sample of the questionnaire is given in Appendix 3.5. The questionnaire was pre-tested on Massey University Development Studies students. [5] One reminder letter was sent to the persons who did not respond. Furthermore, the author spent one week in the MERT-library for literature research and to assist with the questionnaire. Of the forty questionnaires administered ten were returned (25%). All questionnaires were incomplete. Of the ten respondents seven (70%) were from men and three (30%) were from women. All participants belonged to the top-half hierarchy of the DEV. The low response rate is regretted.

Because of the small and incomplete data set, descriptive analysis was done by primarily using published data from the MERT library. Only the information from some open survey questions were used to describe perceptions about women participation in DEV. For the above reasons statistical analysis was not possible.

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[5] The decision to test the questionnaire on students in Development Studies was based on the assumption that, after having completed their first year of study, they would be conversant with development jargon and would, therefore, represent a large proportion of professional DEV staff.

The research suffered several constraints. The high non- response rate and the incomplete answers to most questions made detailed analysis not possible. Interpretation is therefore based on published data and on my own perceptions of the situation in the DEV. Furthermore, with few exceptions, cooperation from DEV officials of the Development Cooperation was tardy. [6] Reactions to questions were often defensive and secretive. For these reasons Chapter 5 is brief and descriptive.

3.6 Fiji Pine Limited

To study women-participation in the context of a Third World situation research cooperation with Fiji Pine Limited (FPL) was requested. The reasons being that, FPL had collaborated with DEV for the last twenty years; FPL agreed to my research proposal (Appendix 3.6); research cost in Fiji was feasible and allowed the involvement of my family and finally; the study of women-participation in a long term forestry project was of particular interest to the author. [7]

The survey of women-participation in FPL included a brief survey with a reduced number of questions from the same questionnaire used with DEV. This was administered to 41 (25 men and 16 women) employees of FPL. Questions 1, 2, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 24, 29, 31 were asked of the men participants who represented 19% of all male employees. Questions 1, 2, 13, 14, 24, 29, 31 were asked of women employees who represented 95% of women employees. [8] The response rate was 75% for men and 95% for women. Respondents represented 27.2% of the total number of FPL employees. The survey was complemented by interviewing 13 women and 14 men in the sample.

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[6] The offer to discuss the questionnaire while I was there was not used. I assume one of the reasons was time limitations of many DEV employees to fill in the comprehensive questionnaire which had several open-ended questions. In addition, the defensive/secretive behaviour of several officials gave the author the feeling that there was something to hide. However, DEV's organisational structure is similar to many DAC organisations and no real reason to cause defence.

[7] The research in the Third World context of Fiji includes two arenas; the organisational structure of FPL which acts as development agent; two case villages which have participated and benefited from twenty years of forestry development. These two arenas have been chosen because they are interdependent.

[8] The number of questions for the survey administered in the FPL compared to DEV was reduced because of the experience of the DEV survey. The further reduction of questions for the women in FPL was necessary because some questions were considered too technical by the women of whom, none had a background in development management.

The author spent two weeks at FPL headquarters in Lautoka for document study, discussions and to provide assistance with the questionnaire. [9] Because of the small data set descriptive analysis was done manually from the data file. Conceptually related correlation coefficients and their significance were estimated with SPSS-PC statistics package. System and data file are presented in Appendix 3.7.

The research suffered two constraints. The sample did not sufficiently represent the lowest quarter of the bottom-half hierarchy because the concept of participation as formulated in the questionnaire was too complex and not translated into the local language. Furthermore, women were often reluctant to discuss the more intimate issues not contained in the questionnaire, but which were relevant to the broader topic of participation. Likely reasons for this reluctance was the frequent interruptions by men; questions were asked by a man (myself) from a different culture; inadequate space and time to start a relaxed discussion; and in some cases, little interest in the discussion. The latter was more pronounced with younger, single women.

3.7 The case study villages

Two villages in different forest estate areas of FPL have been selected for study: ***Vakabuli village*** in the Lololo forest estate and ***Tau village*** located in the Nabou estate. A detailed description of the two case villages (including map) is given in Chapter 7. These case villages were selected from among several villages proposed by FPL for the reasons that, they were accessible; the village elders agreed to participate and most people of these villages were able to communicate in English.

The case village study methodology differed sharply from the study of organisations presented in Chapters 4 to 6. In contrast to formal survey methods, interpretative methods dominated the village level study. The author and his family spent four weeks in the case village areas. The work was greatly facilitated by the presence of my family which made access to women much easier. [10]

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[9] In contrast to DEV employees, a large number of staff in the FPL was happy to discuss the questionnaire, plus a number of issues not directly related to the survey questions. The favourable cooperation and openness is likely due to the more relaxed working atmosphere in Fiji culture, and less need to "defensively" justify the unequal representation of women in FPL.

[10] The reasons why field work with a family was facilitated could be that women identified themselves more easily with my wife living in a similar situation. In addition, it is likely that, the women too, felt more secure in the presence of a family.

I considered the following four questions (SDC, 1992:13) as basic for this research:

What is being researched?

Research concerned the changes of the communal and individual sphere of responsibility in a gendered world. This realm included qualitative changes as a result of Fiji Pine forest intervention which could have affected awareness, confidence, leadership, independence, bargaining capacity, control versus access, autonomy and tangible changes in better living conditions (Damodaram, 1991:286-293). In addition, the more formal involvement of the village community in project-cycle participation; decision-making, implementation, benefit-sharing and evaluation, was assessed (Uphoff, 1988:44).

How to implement the research?

Two factors to determine the methodology were optimal ignorance and proportionate accuracy. Optimal ignorance refers to the principle of knowing what is worth knowing. Proportionate accuracy refers to the principle of maximum magnitude that is required to see directions of change and thus avoids collecting unnecessary data (Gabriel, 1990:108, McCracken, Pretty and Conway, 1988:12-17). A useful approach to answer the first question was Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) combined with Participant Observation (PO). Basic principles of RRA are described by Gabriel (1990: 109) and McCracken, Pretty and Conway (1988:12-44) as:

1/ The process is ***iterative*** which means "learning as you go". The process helps to use newly generated knowledge for later discussions.

2/ The process is ***innovative*** which means there are no standard methods but multiple approaches which help cross-checking of information. Methods used are: Secondary data review, direct observation, semi-structured interviews, analytical games, stories and portraits, diagrams and self-evaluation techniques.

3/ The process is ***informal*** which means structures are not pre-determined but open-ended results will evolve during the process of enquiry.

4/ The process takes place in the ***community*** which means learning from each other takes place in their accustomed environment of the village.

5/ The process aims at ***listening and learning*** which means that the village people are respected as competent individuals and not as welfare cases.

6/ The process aims at ***being unimportant*** which means that formal "pomp" is avoided, e.g. speeches by officials, flash vehicles etc.

Participant Observation (PO) uses RRA techniques, but the researcher(s) participates more actively in the daily life of the community studied and seeks to go beyond externally visible behaviour patterns in search for perceptions, motives, aspirations and beliefs (Gabriel, 1990:123). Compared to RRA, Participant Observation is more thorough, time-consuming and intimate which requires full researcher integration into the community. The research for this village study primarily used topical RRA because time and resources were limited. In addition to RRA some elements of PO were included such as observing labour division during the day.

What is the objective of the research exercise?

The research aims at emancipation and autonomy of the village community because the village inhabitants determine to a large extent the outcome of the research by discussing issues they feel are important. However, the outcome is broadly guided to remain conceptually in the area of participation.

What tangible results can be expected from twenty years project intervention and the research exercise?

A likely result of the long term project intervention are altered control structures. For example, a change of control mechanisms with regards to food production, wage income, royalties from leasing land to the forest company can be expected. Control structures between men and women are also likely changes because women tend to depend more on the cash economy as a result of modernisation and carry an increased burden of the household economy. [11]

While the results of the case studies cannot be generalised to the entire project area because they were not randomly selected (Epstein, 1982:153) they do provide insights and a better understanding of implications of the project intervention at the micro level than would have been obtained by strictly quantifiable methods. [12]

Having explained methods for this present research into the four areas of development, and emphasised their strength and weakness the next chapter introduces the reader to qualitative and quantitative aspects of women participation in bilateral and multilateral development organisations.

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[11] Chapter 2, and Rothschild, 1982:127.

[12] The framework which was used as a guideline for discussions in Vakabuli and Tau is presented in Appendix 3.8.

Chapter 4

Women in the arena of international development cooperation

4.1 Introduction

Three groups of actors play a significant role in international development cooperation; bilateral organisations run by national governments, multilateral organisations supported by its member countries or run on a commercial basis such as the development banks, and the non-government organisations which are directly supported by people, charity organisations and governments. These organisations likely affect development processes at the four levels shown in Figure 3.1 and to be discussed in this thesis.

This chapter focuses on the participation of women in bilateral organisations and to a smaller extent on multilateral organisations. The reason for the emphasis on bilateral organisations is their higher response rate to this enquiry compared to the low rate of the multilateral organisations as previously discussed in section 3.4, Chapter 3. The NGOs are excluded from the study because the topic is too broad and the research objectives of this thesis focus on a government supported project.

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the European Economic Commission (EEC) stated that the questionnaire sent to them was not relevant for their organisational structure. This reaction is open to a variety of interpretations such as that multilateral organisations are seldom exposed to strong political pressure compared to bilateral organisations which makes them slower to change. Furthermore, the organisational culture of international agencies is a mix of many different cultures and attitudes compared to the more homogeneous culture of national organisations which makes policy dialogue difficult. Finally, some, such as the development banks are primarily led by commercial interests which are not easily compatible with social development objectives (AIDAB, 1992:8-9).

The bilateral development organisations of the OECD are organised in a specialised committee: [1]

> "One of these is the Development Assistance Committee (DAC), whose members have agreed to secure an expansion of aggregate volume of resources made available to developing countries and to improve their effectiveness. To this end, Members periodically review together both the amount and the nature of their contributions to aid programmes, bilateral and multilateral, and consult each other on all relevant aspects of their development assistance policies" (OECD, Development Report, 1991).

The first half of this chapter describes the current situation of women involvement in bilateral organisations and explores the reasons for the emerging, more appropriate policies of women-participation in development. The second half looks at relationships of conceptually relevant variables of participation in development organisations, and the authenticity of women-participation is considered.

4.2 Where are the women?

The third OECD monitoring report (1992:8) on DAC reported:

> "All DAC members now acknowledge the importance of involving women fully in the development process and have stated this in official aid policy documents concerning women in development".

In this context four questions are important: What is the proportion of women in bilateral and multilateral development organisations? How are women distributed in the organisations' hierarchy? When and for what reasons were the WID policies created? How are these policies translated into practice?

The proportion of women from the total number of staff in eleven DAC countries and the proportion of women from the total number of women staff explicitly working on women's issues (WID) is presented in Figure 4.1. The high inter-country variability of women participation and the proportion of women (from the women staff) focusing on women's issues reflect different socio-political traditions, e.g., feminist movements, political orientation, and different priorities in development cooperation.

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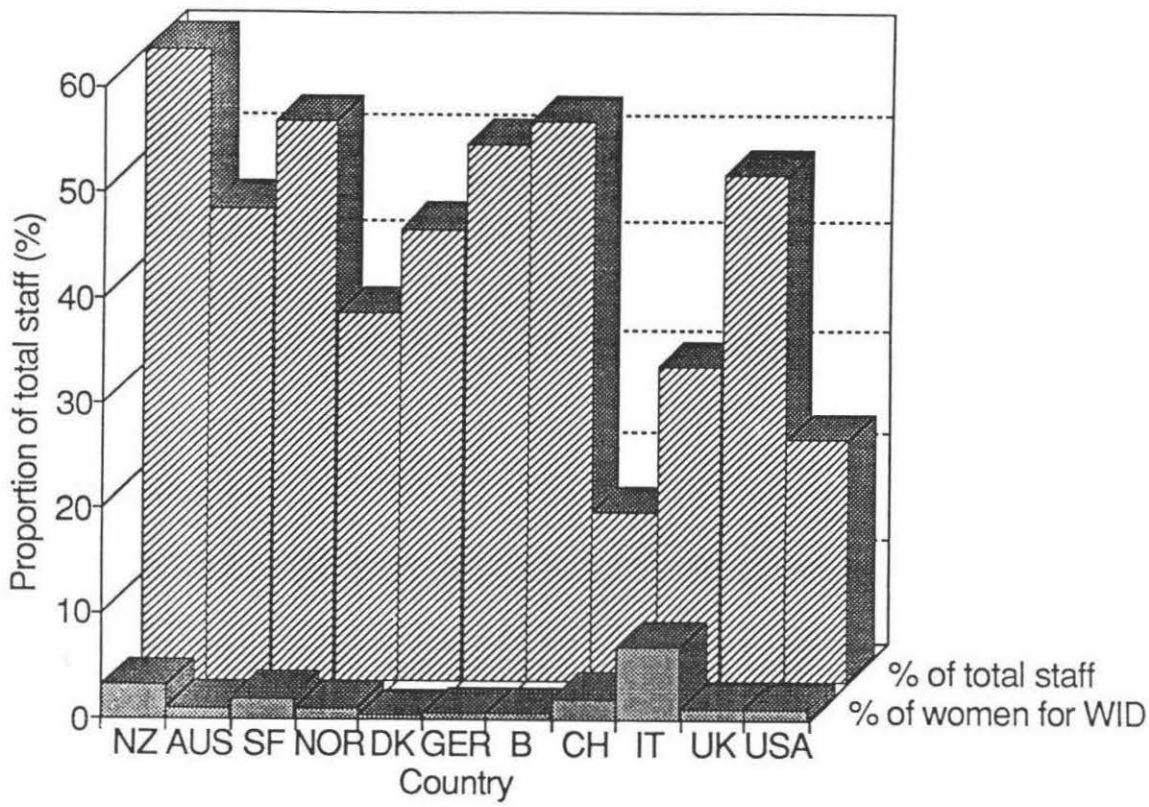
[1] The members of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) are: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, The United Kingdom, The United States and the Commission of the European Communities (OECD, 1991, Development Report).

Figure 4.1

Proportion of women (from total staff) employed in eleven DAC organisations and the proportion of women (from the total number of women staff) explicitly committed to women's issues, 1992.



Source: Survey on DAC organisations.

Abbreviations: NZ = New Zealand, AUS = Australia, SF = Finland, NOR = Norway, DK = Denmark, GER = Germany, B = Belgium, CH = Switzerland, IT = Italy, UK = United Kingdom, USA = United States.

The second question: How are women distributed in the organisation's hierarchy? is highlighted in Table 4.1 which shows the proportion of women in top, middle and low management positions for two multilateral (FAO and World Bank) and three bilateral development organisations. [2] The table shows women-participation increases in positions with lower power and status. This situation raises questions about whether the lamentations of donors about low women-participation in Third World countries is really credible when their own organisations suffer from similar problems.

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[2] These organisations were chosen because data were available.

Table 4.1

Proportion of professional women for three management categories and, five development organisations, 1989 - 1992.

Organisation	WB/a	FAO/b	Sweden/c	Germany/d	New Zealand/e
Top management	0	1.3	35.7	13.0	0
Middle management	7.7	14.5	31.8	25.1	57.1
Low management	N.A.	44.7	N.A.	55.0	80.0

Sources:
a/ The World Bank. Annual Report, 1991. Washington, D.C., USA.
b/ University of Oslo. (1989). Implementation of Women in Development (WID) Policy. Centre for Development and the Environment. Oslo. Norway.
c/ Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA)(1992). SIDA's organisation. Stockholm. Sweden.
d/ German Technical Cooperation (GTZ). Annual Report, 1990. Eschborn. Germany.
e/ Ministry of Foreign Relations and Trade (MERT)(1992). Development Cooperation Section. Wellington. New Zealand. Personal communication.

Note: Top management for multilateral (a,b) means President and Vice Presidents. Middle management means Directors and Head of sections. Top management for bilateral (c,d,e) means Directors and Vice Directors. Middle management means Country, Programme, Legal, Finance, Monitoring, Evaluation and Policy managers.

Asked for the reasons to create WID policy, all bilateral organisations found that increased women involvement was necessary. In addition, two fifths mentioned international pressure and four fifths political pressure as factors which helped to speed up WID policy making. FAO mentioned political and international pressure, the World Bank reported the 1975 World Conference on Women as contributing factors. None of the responding organisations considered religion as a factor which influenced women friendly policy making.

All eighteen organisations responding to my enquiries have created specific WID policies by the end of 1992. Israel was the first country to have a WID policy (1961) and Japan is the most recent (1992). Four organisations had policies in place before, eight during, and six after the UN women decade, 1975 to 1985. Australia, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the World Bank developed practical approaches (check-lists and questionnaires) to carry out gender analysis and are in the process of making them mandatory for all project appraisals.
Several organisations developed sectoral action plans specifically for women development. The variability of precision and sectoral priorities are summarised in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2

Sectoral priorities of WID policy in thirteen bilateral and multilateral development organisations.

Content of sectoral WID priorities	Organisation/Country
Involvement of women in all steps of the standard project-cycle and in all development sectors.	EEC, Australia, Germany, Sweden
Education and training for productive employment, confidence-building, increased economic independence, reduced socio-economic gender gap.	ILO, UNESCO
Full sectoral participation of women in agriculture, forestry, fishery, water, health, education and environment.	FAO, Denmark, Norway, Netherlands
Strategic and practical gender needs, leadership and community development.	United Kingdom, Israel
Economic participation, education, access to information and institution-building.	Japan

Sources: Policy documents listed in the Bibliography.

All sectoral priorities recognised that active participation (men and women) was the central variable for effective and more equitable development. Relative few agencies, however, accepted the inherent political dimension of authentic (sustainable) participation which as discussed in sections 2.5 and 2.6, Chapter 2.

Having shown the wide variability of the degree of women participation of the different development organisations, and the generally low representation of women in the decision-making ranks the following discussion focuses more on what the organisations did in regard to WID sections and what role employees of these sections play.

4.3 The WID sections

Of the eighteen respondents, and at the end of 1992, sixteen had created a division or section for WID within the overall aid organisation. [3] Only Japan and New Zealand had not yet authorised full-time staff for WID sections and both countries had internally-assigned staff for WID tasks. Three countries established WID sections before the UN- Women decade, six during, and seven after the decade. FAO established a "Home Economics and Social Programme Service" in 1949 and changed to a "Women in Agricultural Production and Rural Development Service" in 1983. The FAO's late switch over from ascribing women to the domestic and reproductive sphere to accepting women as equal, productive partners is perhaps a result of the organisation's male dominated bureaucracy as was previously shown in Table 4.1. The World Bank, too, was extremely slow in establishing a WID division and did so only in 1987.

All bilateral organisations, the FAO and the World Bank now have staff assigned for WID tasks. Of seventeen respondents ten agencies employed exclusively women staff for WID sections. The remaining seven maintain a combination of broadly two-thirds women and one third men. It is chiefly the larger organisations of Italy, Spain, UK, USA and the FAO which employed women and men staff for WID tasks.

The largest number of full-time women staff to deal with women-interests are employed by the Netherlands with more than two-thirds of the twenty-three women are assigned to resident field offices in partner countries. A similar policy is being followed by the USA, Canada, Sweden and Denmark (OECD, 1992:13). The proportion of women staff employed for WID-specific tasks compared to total women staff ranged from 0.4% in case of Denmark to 7% in case of Italy which indicates a high variability of commitment to WID tasks.

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[3] The eighteen respondents were: New Zealand, Australia, Japan, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Netherlands, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Spain, Italy, United Kingdom, USA, Israel, Finland, World Bank and FAO.

The OECD monitoring report(1992:5) commented:

"General shortage of personnel within aid agencies due to budgetary constraints had adverse effects. Workload pressures on staff have restricted their ability to read/understand WID issues and WID policy, attend training courses, and apply procedures from manuals to guidelines. Unless WID tasks are given greater priority in the context of producing a higher quality programme, staff will not be motivated to take on expanded responsibilities. In reality, this issue extends beyond WID to all major quality-of-aid issues".

And in regard to WID commitment (1992:6):

"Implementation of the measures stipulated in WID action plans has still often depended on the interest, understanding and willingness of individual staff members. ***It is a slow process to change the attitudes of some agency staff".***

The second statement contradicts the first to some extent. In my opinion, the underlying staffing constraint is not primarily budgetary in origin. More likely reasons are indicated in the second OECD statement on staff commitment which indicates conflicting priorities, little commitment and non-conducive attitudes of staff in positions of power. If development personnel with decision-making power is receptive to women-friendly policies then WID policies are more likely to result. This point is discussed in greater detail in the second half of the chapter.

Given the will, the problem can be solved by changing priorities, reallocating suitable personnel to WID sections, adopting staff recruitment procedures which emphasise appropriate attitudes, and the implementation of more equal power sharing between gender and within divisions of the organisation.

The OECD reported:

"To ensure systematic implementation, monitoring and evaluation of donor policies related to women in development in the full range of agencies' programmes and activities, it is essential that a specific management system be put in place".
"Most DAC-Members have begun making adjustments within their administrations to facilitate the process. More comprehensive measures, however, should now be applied, since translating WID policies into practice is the responsibility both of the agency as a whole and of each individual staff member. ***Strong visible commitment to integrate women in the development process should be demonstrated by the senior level management of donor agencies"*** (OECD, 1990, Revised guiding principles on women in development, p 4).

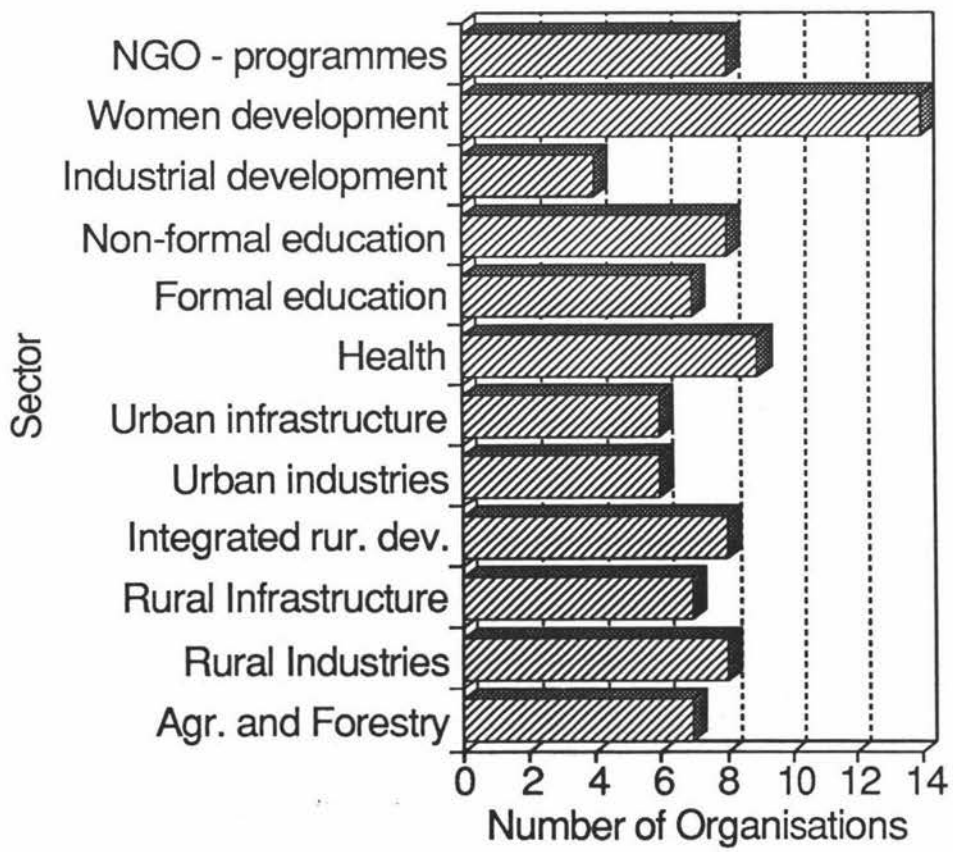
The low representation of women for WID tasks was shown in Figure 4.1 and their participation in executive positions in Table 4.1. The next question is: How much authority does WID personnel (women and men) assigned to WID sections have? The analysis attempts to assess the authenticity of participation of WID personnel in effective decision-making processes.

4.4 Women and decision-making power

The authenticity of WID programmes might be seen as the amount of resources allocated to them. The credibility and authority of WID staff by the degree of active participation in project appraisal work and by the number of sectors in which WID section staff actively participate. The decision-making power of WID personnel to approve or disapprove projects is another crucial variable by which to assess the extent of active participation and degree of power sharing. Figure 4.2 presents twelve development sectors and the number of organisations where WID sections (12 bilateral and 2 multilateral) actively participated in the appraisal of a variable number of sectoral project proposals. It can be seen that WID staff are least involved in the appraisal of industrial development projects, moderately involved in all sectors except industry, and mostly involved in specific women development programmes.

Figure 4.2

Number of organisations (of total 14) which actively involve the WID-section staff in the appraisal of specific development sectors in 1992.



Source: Survey on DAC organisations.

Seven organisations involved WID staff to appraise all proposals of less than five development sectors and eight organisations involved WID services to appraise projects in eight to twelve sectors. No clear mandate for sectoral project appraisal was given to the WID sections or the designated women staff of Japan, Switzerland, Germany and the USA. The latter responded to the question: Which type of projects are being appraised by the WID section? (some of them) ***"sometimes yes and sometimes no".***

The WID sections of Sweden, Norway, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom are actively involved in project appraisal of all development sectors. In addition, these sections had a strong mandate to train and sensitise the agency's staff on WID issues and gender analysis.

The OECD evaluation report noted:

Encouraging news

"three (DAC) members, recently, have introduced for the first time regular training schemes to sensitize their aid organisation's personnel on gender issues....some (DAC) members have been committed in recent years to develop relevant procedures ensuring that gender analysis/planning is applied at the design stage and throughout the project cycle" (OECD, 1992:5-6).

Discouraging news

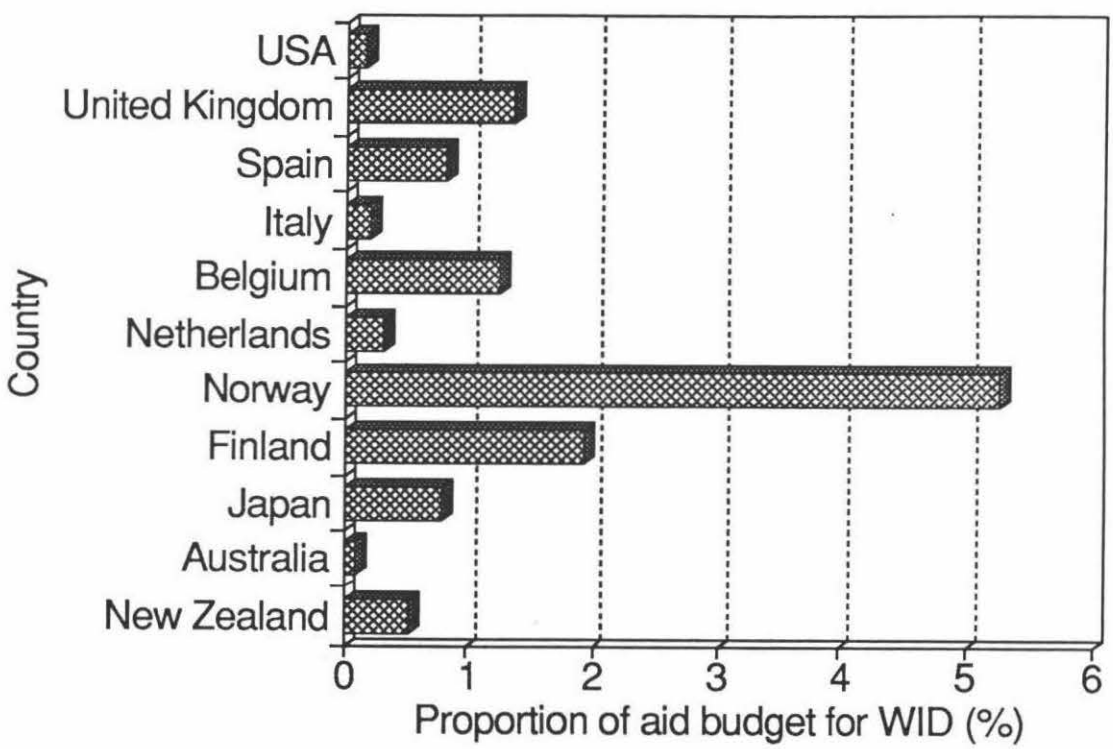
"It appears that countries where no special (WID) training exists, WID issues, when they happen to be considered, are often approached from a social/welfare perspective. The economic role of women is largely ignored and women are viewed simply as potential beneficiaries rather than active agents of development" (OECD, 1992:5-6).

The fact that women were involved in the appraisal of many different sectoral development projects does not automatically imply authority of WID staff to approve or disapprove projects. WID sections and/or assigned staff for women-issues in the FAO, The World Bank, New Zealand, Australia, Japan, Switzerland and the UK reported no such decision-making power, but women of most North European countries reported having final authority in resource allocation.

Figure 4.3 shows the proportion of funds allocated for WID-specific projects from the total development cooperation budget of eleven countries. The relatively low allocation for WID projects is caused by the fact that most countries/organisations try to involve women in mainstream projects and are therefore not able to disaggregate project component costs which benefit men or women. Seven of eighteen organisations either did not answer the question or replied that disaggregated data were not available.

Figure 4.3

Proportion of total development cooperation budget allocated for WID-specific projects in 1990 by country.



Source: Survey on DAC organisations.

The major advantage of mainstreaming women in development projects was seen in the inherent situation of gender relations (women do not live in a social vacuum). This point was more fully discussed in section 2.6, Chapter 2. The essential factor was not to exclude women from relationships of gender. However, as long as disaggregate data are not available nobody can be made accountable for the central questions of social equity, economic efficiency and gender equality. The disadvantage of mainstreaming and the associated handicap to disaggregate fund allocation is the lack of accountability. This further maintains the *status quo* of the men-dominated development scene. The discussion showed that development organisations to date involve the WID sections to variable degrees as advisory authorities, however, a number of changes have been initiated in the recent past in order to increase gender equality (OECD, 1992).

4.5 The influence of women politicians

The discussion which follows examines possible causes for the overall low representation of women in decision-making positions in bilateral development organisations. Reference to descriptive information of the previous sections will assist understanding of the data analysis to follow. Recourse is made to quantification to offset possible researcher-bias. It should be noted, however, that data limitations and the relatively small number of cases involved often do not allow "easy" conclusions. While many correlations were as predicted, some were not shown to be statistically significant. The qualitative and quantitative data need to be seen together.

4.5.1 Gender equality

Gender equality in professional working life means equal sharing of power and responsibility. The previous sections showed that men typically occupy positions of the most power, status and prestige, while women are generally restricted to the lower ranks in the organisational hierarchy. Figure 4.4 shows a significant and strongly positive correlation coefficient between the UNDP Gender Index and the Proportion of Women Parliamentarians.[4] (Names of variables begin in capital letters).

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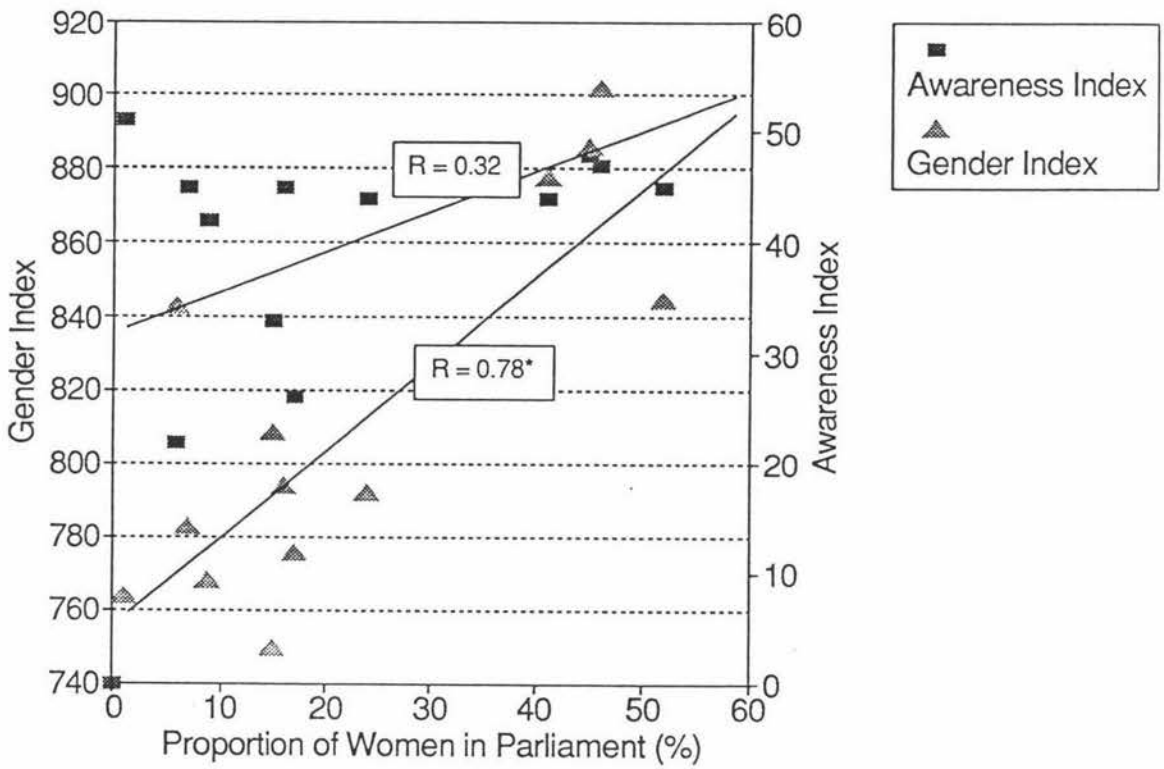
[4] **The UNDP Gender-Sensitive Human Development Index** includes separate (female/male) estimates of life expectancy, adult literacy, wage rates and mean years of schooling. The UNDP human development report (1991:17) states: "In industrial countries greater equality (greater than in Third World countries) has been achieved for many human indicators - although large disparities between the sexes persist". In my opinion, the index is the best available measure to assess gender equality for the few selected indicators and is more refined than the more general **Human Development Index (HDI).**

A moderate but not statistically significant positive correlation coefficient also exists between the Awareness Index and the Proportion of Women Parliamentarians. [5]

Figure 4.4

Women power, gender equality and participatory awareness of fourteen bilateral organisations in 1990 to 1992.



Source: section 3.4, Chapter 3.

The strong relationship between the Proportion of women in power and Gender Index confirms the importance of exercising power in a central institution in order to create a visible impact of gender equality. In this context, the reader may recall the discussion of gender relations discussed in section 2.3, Chapter 2 which focused on the question: Who holds power in central institutions?

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[5] **The Awareness Index** is a self-constructed, subjective index which attempts to assess the authenticity of policies on development participation in general, and on women in particular (section 3.4, Chapter 3, and Appendix 3.3).

The weak relationship of Awareness Index with Women Representation in Politics is most likely due to the small number of samples; the subjectivity of constructing the index; the slow change of attitudes as stated in the OECD report, (1992:6): ***"it is a slow process to change the attitudes of some agency staff"***; and the little impact women politicians have on organisational structures. The executive staff of development organisations are commonly responsible for drafting policy papers which are then sometimes approved by ministry staff. The Awareness Index is based on such agency drafted policies which are mostly dominated by men (see Table 4.1) and therefore reflect their opinion.

In addition to the relationships presented in Figure 4.4, Table 4.3 shows correlations between five conceptually relevant variables: the Proportion of Women Politicians participating in national parliaments; the published UNDP Human Development and Gender sensitive Indices; a self-constructed Awareness Index and the Proportion of Women personnel in the DAC organisations.

Table 4.3

Correlation matrix of women influence on gender equality and human development of fourteen bilateral organisations in 1990 to 1992.

Variables	WP	HDI	GDI	AI	PW
Proportion of Women Politicians (WP)	1.00	.16	.78*	.31	.02
UNDP, Human Development Index (HDI)	.16	1.00	.13	.29	-.76*
UNDP, Human Gender Index (GDI)	.78*	.13	1.00	.10	.33
Awareness Index (AI)	.31	.29	.10	1.00	-.22
Proportion of Women in DAC organisations	.02	-.76*	.33	-.22	1.00

Source: section 3.4, Chapter 3.
Note: Two-tailed significance: * = 0.01, ** = 0.001

Most variables, as previously indicated, show weak to moderate relationships which do not allow definite conclusions. An exception is the HDI which shows a strong, negative relationship with the Proportion of Women in DAC organisations. [6] This is most likely the result of several countries in the already small data set which have a high HDI but low women representation in their development cooperation, e.g. Japan, Switzerland, USA, or a lower HDI but high women representation, e.g. Israel, Spain, Italy and New Zealand.

In sharp contrast to the HDI discussed above, the Gender-sensitive Human Development Index includes conflicting variables such as relations of power and degree of participation. As a result, Women in Politics and the Gender Index show a strongly positive correlation. This example shows that the composition of an index plays a crucial role in quantifying relationships. The weak correlations of Proportion of Women in DAC and all the other variables, except the HDI, suggest that women in central power positions and societies with relatively high development indices and participatory awareness is no guarantee for a more equal sharing of decision-making power. Having seen that women politicians can positively influence gender equality the discussion which follows looks at their influence on financial commitment of development cooperation.

4.5.2 Financial commitment

An important conclusion is that women politicians seem to be influential in determining government's financial commitment to development cooperation. Figure 4.5 shows strong, positive correlation coefficients of the Proportion of Women Parliamentarians with overall ODA allocation (% ODA of GNP), and the Proportion of development budgets allocated for specific Women development programmes in particular. These strong relationships demonstrate the political power of women to foster international solidarity and support the hitherto excluded women to participate.

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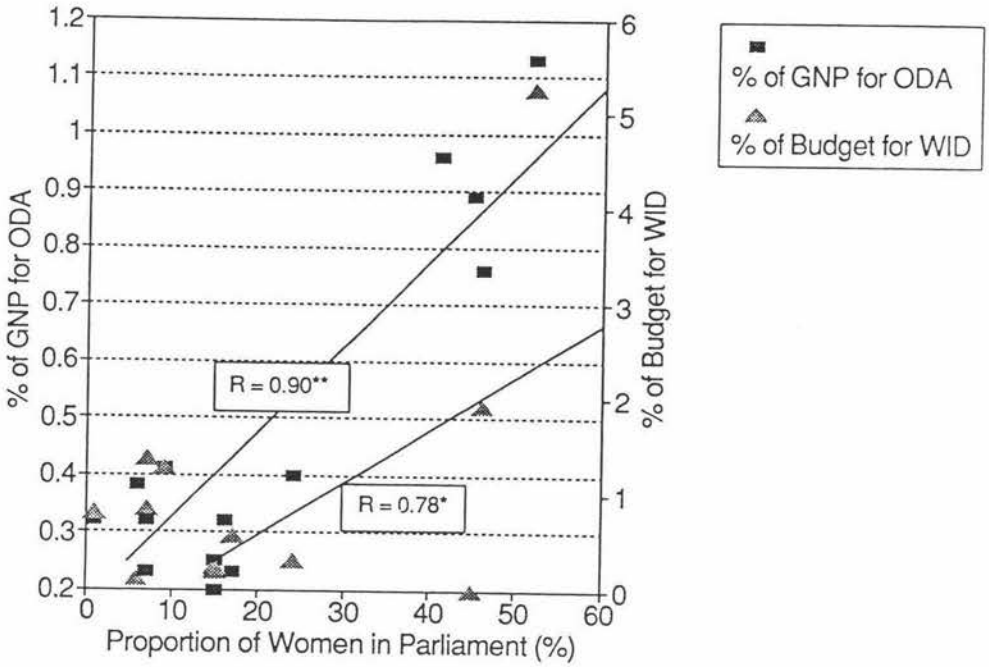
[6] **The Human Development Index** combines national income with two indicators - adult literacy and life expectancy - to give a composite measure of human progress. The UNDP recognises the inadequacy of the Index to measure human development and refined it further, for example into the Gender-sensitive Human Development Index (UNDP, 1991:15). A major limitation for constructing a more sensitive index is the lack of gender disaggregated data.

Figure 4.5

Proportion of women in political power positions and financial ODA commitment of fourteen bilateral organisations in 1990.



Source: section 3.4, Chapter 3

In addition to the relationships presented in Figure 4.5, Table 4.4 shows correlations of five conceptually relevant variables; Proportion of Women Parliamentarians, the Proportion of the GNP spent on international development cooperation, the Proportion of the development budget spent on Women and social issues, and the Nominal US dollar disbursement for development cooperation. Except for those variables discussed in Figure 4.5 most variables show weak to moderate relationships and do not allow definite conclusions.

Table 4.4

Correlation matrix of women influence on financial ODA commitment and participatory awareness of fourteen bilateral organisations in 1990 to 1992.

Variables	WP	%ODA	%WID	%SOC	$ODA
Proportion of women politicians (WP)	1.00	.90**	.78*	-.23	-.27
% GNP spent for ODA (% ODA)	.90**	1.00	.70	-.28	-.31
% spent for women issues (% WID)	.78*	.70	1.00	-.18	-.27
% spent for social issues (% SOC)	-.23	-.28	-.18	1.00	-.43
Nominal US $ disbursement ($ ODA)	-.27	-.31	-.27	-.43	1.00

Source: section 3.4, Chapter 3.
Note: Two-tailed significance: * = 0.01, ** = 0.001

A contradiction seems to exist between the four variables correlated with Proportion spent for social issues and the four variables correlated with Nominal US dollar disbursement. All of them are negatively and moderately to weakly correlated. The contradiction lies in the strong correlation coefficients presented in Figure 4.5 which arguably imply a positive correlation of Women Politicians and ODA expenditure on social issues, which presumably include to a larger extent women-related issues. The negative relationships of the three variables WP, %ODA and %WID with Proportion spent on social issues could be the result of the proportionally low values spent on social development. [7]

[7] A precise definition of social investment is lacking in the UNDP world development report (1991:54). However, it is not realistically possible to precisely disaggregate social and "non-social" costs of a project since most projects are dealing with people and therefore spend some amount on social development, e.g. education and health.

The fourth relationship of Proportion spent for social issues with Nominal US dollar disbursement is to some extent supported by Figure 4.3 as well as by the UNDP Human Development Report (1991:54) which provides strong evidence of the negative relationship between social expenditure ratio (expenditure for social issues) and Nominal US dollar disbursement. For example, large donors such as the USA, Italy, Canada, U.K. and Germany, have large nominal aid-disbursements and low human expenditure ratios. A possible reason for this trend is policy changes from socio-economic (humanistic) development objectives to interests in world strategic and economic areas.

The strong but non significant correlation coefficient ($r = .70$) of the Proportion of GNP spent for ODA with Proportion spent for Women's issues is likely to be strongly influenced by Scandinavian countries which show high Awareness Indices, high political representation of women, and which, besides, have an excellent reputation for the quality of their aid. The last two points will be discussed in the following section on aid-quality. Having seen that women do play a significant role in gender equality and development commitment the next section looks more closely how women influence the organisational structure of the DAC organisations.

4.5.3 Organisational structure

Table 4.5 shows correlations of six conceptually relevant variables: Proportion of Women Parliamentarians; the Year when the first policy on WID was introduced; the number of sectors in which WID staff is Involved for Project Appraisal; the Authority of WID staff to approve or disapprove funding of appraised proposals; the Proportion of the aid budget for WID projects and the Nominal dollar disbursement for ODA.

Table 4.5

Correlation matrix of women influence on the organisational structure and gender equality in fourteen bilateral organisations in 1990 to 1992.

Variables	WP	WPOL	WAPR	WA	%WID	$ODA
Proportion of women politicians (WP)	1.00	-.24	-.06	-.19	.78*	-.27
Year of WID policy (WPOL)	-.24	1.00	-.10	-.28	-.22	-.07
Appraisals by WID (WAPR)	.06	-.10	1.00	.39	-.12	.69*
Authority of WID section (WA)	-.19	-.28	.39	1.00	-.24	.27
WID project expenditures (%WID)	.78*	-.22	-.12	-.24	1.00	-.27
Nominal $ disbursement ($ ODA)	-.27	.07	.69*	.27	-.27	1.00

Source: section 3.4, Chapter 3.
Note: Two-tailed significance: * = 0.01, ** = 0.001

The strong relationship of Women Parliamentarians and WID expenditures has been noted. The strong positive and significant correlation coefficient between Nominal dollar disbursement and number of sectors Appraised by WID staff, and the moderately positive but not significant correlation coefficient of Number of sectors Appraised by WID staff and funding Authority of WID staff, is likely due to the strong relationship (r=.69*) of Nominal dollar disbursement and WID Involvement which is most likely influenced by donor agencies with moderate to larger budgets, high degree of decentralisation, and relatively strong participatory policies and practices. This means that each staff member is responsible for allocation of resources to projects. This is to be the case for Sweden, Norway, the Netherlands and the U.K. Extreme cases with large budgets, almost no WID involvement and few staff are Japan, Italy and to a lesser extent the USA and Germany. The effect of expanded financial turnover per staff because of highly centralised decision-making presumably affects aid-quality.

The moderate, not significant relationship (r=.39) of WID Involvement and WID Authority is probably strongly influenced by the Scandinavian countries with well developed WID sections and strong political movements for gender equality (see Table 4.5). However, for both the first and the second reasoning it is the large donors whose WID Involvement is not transparent and perhaps implicitly manifest in their quality of aid.

The majority of the relationships of Table 4.5 show weak to moderate negative and not significant correlation coefficients. These results must be seen in the context of the organisational structure (Table 4.1) which is clearly dominated by men. It seems women power holders (politicians) strongly influence international solidarity in the form of financial ODA allocations in general and allocations for WID in particular (see Figure 4.5 and Table 4.4). However, women politicians so far do not visibly influence the organisational structure of development cooperation offices.

In summary, the influence of women politicians is so far most effective at policy level but has apparently not affected the organisational structure, and specifically, the more equal sharing of power between men and women at the level of development organisations.

4.6 Efficiency of development cooperation

The quality of aid is assessed in the present work by using the Efficiency Index. The index indicates whether a country primarily uses humanitarian or polito-strategic motives for aid provision. [8] A second variable is the Awareness Index which looks at the choice of words used in policy statements.

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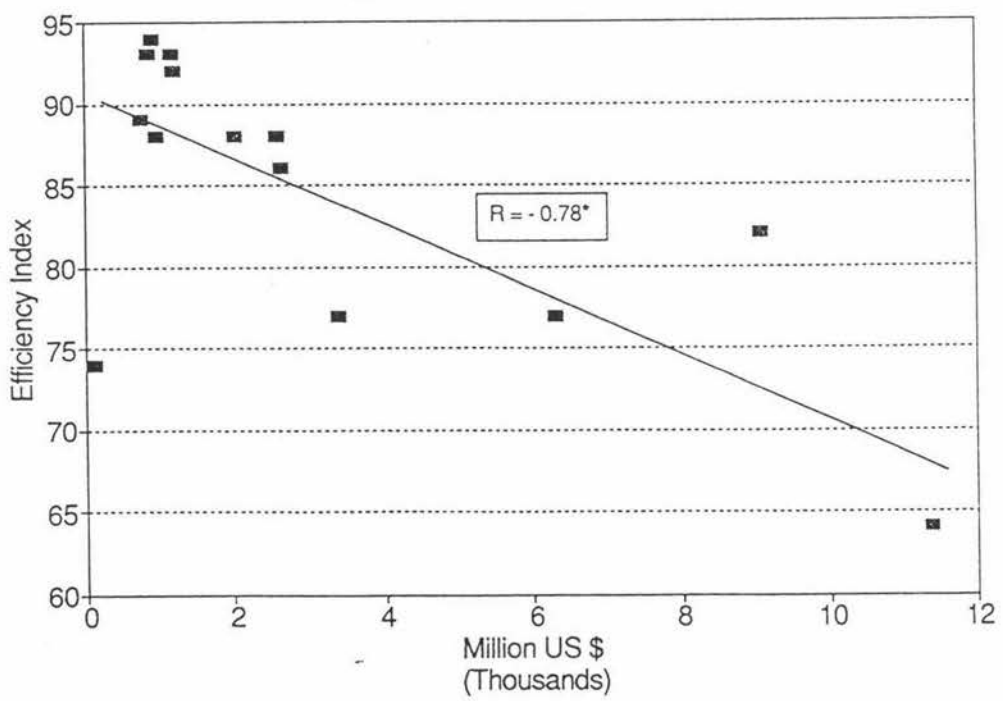
[8] **Aid Efficiency Index:** measures the relative performance of donors in terms of aid distribution. In this context, donor performance is defined as the extent to which a donor bases its aid allocation on the relative needs of recipient countries. The closer the donor's aid reflects these needs, the greater the performance. Ranked average indices of 1969 to 1984 are: Belgium, 93,7; Finland, 93.2; Denmark, 92.6; Norway, 92.3; Switzerland, 88.4; Netherlands, 88.3, Canada, 87.9; Sweden, 87.6; Australia, 87.4; U.K., 86.1; Japan, 81.6; France, 78.3; Italy, 77.2; Germany, 76.7; New Zealand, 73.9; Austria, 72.9; USA, 63,6; DAC average, 77.1; Multilateral average, 86.6; DAC and Multilateral combined, 79.9 (McGillivray, 1989:561-565).

Figure 4.6 shows a strong, significant negative relationship of Nominal dollar disbursement with the Aid Efficiency Index which indicates that the large donors tend to be less effective in promoting need based development. The large, nominal (not % GNP) donors (USA, Japan, Germany, Italy and the U.K.) follow strong political and economic interests which are indicated in their world-wide political and economic involvement as well as in their lower Aid Efficiency Index. New Zealand and Austria are examples among small donors of countries with low Aid Efficiency Indices. In case of New Zealand most of its aid goes to Pacific countries which have relatively high standards of living and low levels of poverty. The explanation for Austria is that it has changed its aid policy frequently during the last ten to fifteen years and so its Efficiency Index has also changed (McGillivray, 1989:563-566).

Figure 4.6

ODA disbursement and efficiency of aid of fourteen bilateral organisations in 1990 to 1992.



Source: section 3.4, Chapter 3.

In addition to the relationships presented in Figure 4.6, Table 4.6 shows the correlations of five conceptually relevant variables: Proportion of GNP spent on ODA; Nominal dollar disbursement for ODA; the Aid Efficiency Index; the Proportion of Expenditure for women projects and the involvement of WID staff in project appraisal.

Table 4.6

Correlation matrix of ODA fund allocation, programme efficiency and involvement of WID agency staff of eleven bilateral organisations in 1990 to 1992.

Variables	%ODA	$ODA	EFF	WID%	WINV
% GNP for ODA (%ODA)	1.00	-.31	.64	.70	-.16
Nominal ODA disbursement ($ODA)	-.31	1.00	-.70*	-.27	.69*
Efficiency of aid (EFF)	.64	-.70*	1.00	.50	-.63
WID-expenditure (WID%)	.70	-.27	.50	1.00	-.12
WID-involvement in appraisal (WINV)	-.16	.69*	-.63	-.12	1.00

Source: section 3.4, Chapter 3.
Note: Two-tailed significance: * = 0.01, ** = 0.001

Besides the relationship discussed in Figure 4.6 four correlations stand out: First, the strongly significant, and positive correlation coefficient of Nominal dollar disbursement and Involvement of WID staff in appraisal work. This is the result of a small group of donors whose data sets were complete (Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, U.K. and Israel). The strong correlation coefficient does not lead to a conclusion because data from large donors (Germany, France, USA) were lacking.

Secondly, the negative correlation coefficient of Aid Efficiency with WID staff involvement for sectoral project appraisal (r=-.63): In my opinion the negative correlation reflects the structure and the policies of most DAC organisations. It is likely the powerholders' (politicians and executive bureaucrats) and economic and political interests which affect efficiency more strongly than project appraisal by WID staff, especially if WID personnel lack the power to decline socially ill-designed projects. Third, the positive correlation coefficient of Aid Efficiency and the Proportion of GNP spent on ODA (r=. 64). As seen earlier in Figure 4.5 and Table 4.4 women politicians are a strong force for increased development solidarity. It is predominantly the Scandinavian countries which have a strong representation of women in politics, commit large proportions of GNP to ODA, and primarily focus on humanitarian development and therefore affect efficiency positively. Fourth, the positive correlation coefficient of Aid Efficiency and Proportion of the ODA budget committed to Expenditures for Women Issues (r=.50). Financing women projects, or mainstream projects which include practical and strategic gender needs, generally address more authentic development needs and thus tend to improve aid efficiency. In addition of using the Aid Efficiency Index to assess the quality of aid a participatory Awareness Index was created. Awareness Indices for 16 bilateral and 9 multilateral development agencies are presented in Figure 4.7. [9]

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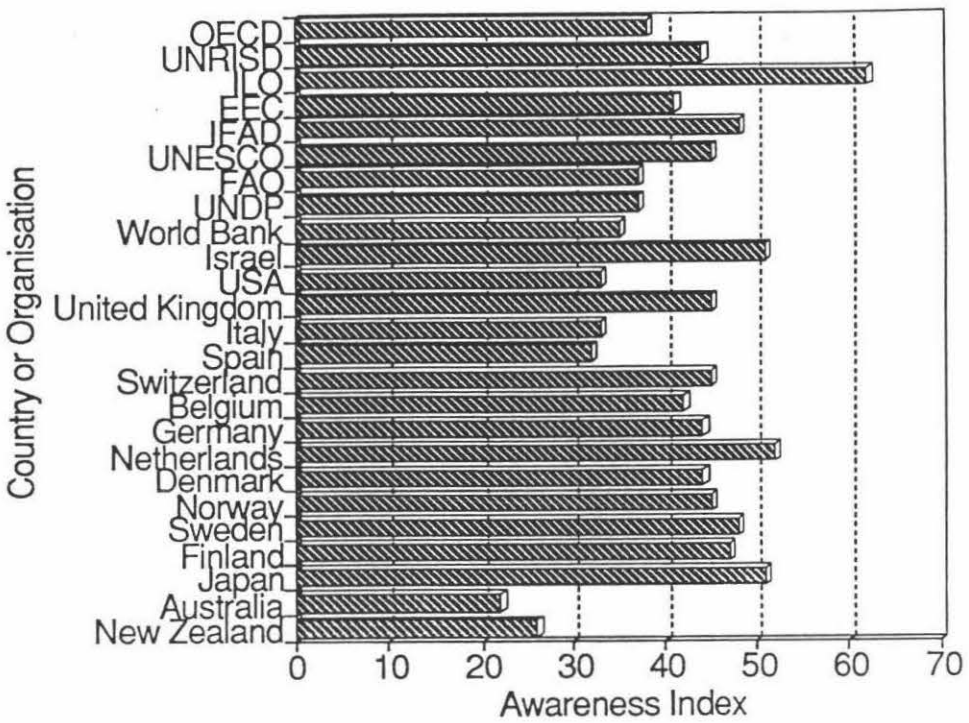
[9] **Awareness Index:** Consisted of a key word search in policy documents of 25 development agencies. The higher the index the higher the number of keywords used and the higher the **assumed** participatory awareness of the policy designers (not necessarily the policy implementers). A complete list of keywords used, and their frequency of use, is given in Appendices 3.3 and 4.1.

Figure 4.7

Degree of participatory awareness in policy documents of twenty-five bilateral and multilateral development organisations.



Source: section 3.4, Chapter 3.

Among the bilateral organisations it is the North European countries, Israel and Japan which attain high Indexes. Among the multilateral agencies it is the ILO, UNRISD, UNESCO and the IFAD who were more explicit in their policy papers. Countries with strong socialist-democratic traditions rank highest on participatory awareness, e.g. all Scandinavian countries, Netherlands and Israel. An exception is Japan which only recently framed its first WID policy document, using many of the more precise and explicit words to describe development approaches. A list of eight strategic keywords, with the name of the organisation, is presented in Table 4.7. [10]

[10] The eight keywords in Table 4.7 is a sample of the 82 keywords listed in Appendices 3.3 and 4.1.

Table 4.7

Strategic keywords of development and participation, and frequency of use in policy documents by country or organisation.

Keyword	Bilateral and multilateral organisation
creativity	Mentioned by none
institutional sustainability	DENM, USA, ILO
social sustainability	NZ, JAP, NOR, DENM, BELG, FINL, UNRISD
economic sustainability	NZ, JAP, NOR, DENM, NETHL, UK, USA, FINL
strategic gender needs	AUSTR, SWED, ITAL, UK, ILO, UNRISD
control	JAP, SWED, NOR, DENM, NETHL, BELG, USA, FINL, WORLD BANK, FAO, ILO, UNRISD
access	NZ, AUSTR, JAP, SWED, NOR, DENM, NETHL, GER, BELG, SWITZ, SPAIN, ITAL, FINL, WORLD BANK, UNDP, FAO, UNESCO, IFAD, ILO, UNRISD
project-cycle participation	NZ, AUSTR, JAP, SWED, NOR, DENM, NETHL, GER, BELG, ITAL, UK, USA, ISRL, WORLD BANK, FAO, IFAD, EEC, ILO, OECD
participation	Mentioned by all

Sources: Policy documents listed in the Bibliography.
Abbreviations for bilateral organisations: NZ: New Zealand, AUSTR: Australia, JAP: Japan, FINL: Finland, SWED: Sweden, NOR: Norway, DENM: Denmark, NETHL: Netherlands, GER: Germany, BELG: Belgium, SWITZ: Switzerland, SP: Spain, ITAL: Italy, UK: United Kingdom, USA: United States, ISR: Israel.

The results of the analysis of above Table and in Appendix 4.1 must be seen in the context of the discussion in sections 2.5 and 2.6 in Chapter 2, and, particularly the summarising Table in Appendix 2.1 where the characteristics of the two extreme participatory strategies, creation versus consumption, were summarised. It is evident that most organisations are distributed on the continuum between the two extremes of active and passive participation.

The keywords in Table 4.7 require comment:

Creativity: an expression often used in the West for valuable educational processes but not used for the same purpose in Third World contexts.

Social sustainability, Economic sustainability, Institutional sustainability: few organisations realised the need for more precision in their policy document. This is extremely important for sustainability is perhaps the most misused word in the development literature.

Strategic gender needs: only a few organisations distinguished between strategic and practical gender needs. The difference is crucial for processes of empowerment (sections 2.5 and 2.6, Chapter 2).

Control versus access: these are not interchangeable terms. Control means independent decision-making over the management of a resource by the resource owner. Access means to be entitled to "a piece of the cake", e.g. credit, education, health.

Project-Cycle Participation: means to involve men and women in all steps of the standard project cycle: appraisal, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. A large number of organisations (Appendix 4.1) were aware of this requirement for reaching more effective, efficient and equitable project impact. Project-cycle participation should, however, not be equated with open-ended creation. In most situations, project-cycle participation takes place in development projects with pre-determined development objectives.

Participation: all organisations used this word. If it stands alone without additional qualifications it becomes as meaningless as the word sustainability.

The analysis showed that written commitment to participation varies among organisations which is likely the result of the socio-political culture of countries and organisations. While explicitly written policy statements in itself are no proof for committed implementation in the field, however, they still reflect a country's or organisations' view on development and participatory viewpoints.

4.7 Conclusions

The descriptive part of this Chapter showed a still low representation of women in positions of power and a low priority of women issues in bilateral and multilateral aid budgets. The crucial question to be asked in all organisations is: At what hierarchical level are women participating equally?

Women in central organisations, for example women parliamentarians, are influential in the process of improving gender equality and development solidarity at the policy level, but women staff within aid organisations have so far not significantly benefited from such women representation. Thus, positive, strong to moderate correlations were found between the independent variable of the Proportion of Women Parliamentarians and the dependent variables of Gender Equality, Development Solidarity, Distributive Justice expressed as Aid-Efficiency and the level of Participatory Awareness. Negative correlations, on the other hand, were seen between the independent variable of the Proportion of Women Parliamentarians and the dependent variables of the Proportion of Women in DAC organisations and the degree of Authority of Women staff. The negative correlation, however, may be due to the small numbers involved.

In sum, there is strong evidence that a high proportion of women politicians are influential at the policy level but they are not yet directly influential in promoting more gender equality within the environment of development administrations. It seems, therefore, safe to assume that women would be equally influential in development organisations if their proportion with executive positions were equal to men.

Having shown the degree of women representation in bilateral, an to a smaller extent, multilateral organisations and looked at areas where women power-holders are effective and not so effective the next chapter looks at participatory issues as perceived by a sample of employees of the Development Cooperation Division (DEV) of the New Zealand Ministry of External Relations and Trade (MERT).

Chapter 5

Women in New Zealand's Development Cooperation Division

5.1 Introduction

New Zealand, and most Development Assistance Countries (DAC) and Multilateral organisations, were relatively late in considering a more active mode of the participation of intended women beneficiaries in partner countries and, more specifically, for women employees of the Development Cooperation Division (DEV) in the Ministry for External Relations and Trade (MERT).

This chapter reviews New Zealand's official policy statements on development since 1950. This is followed by a description of the gendered power structure in today's DEV. Finally, comments of personnel working in the organisation which were obtained during the survey are discussed. [1]

5.2 From the Colombo Plan to Development Cooperation

From 1951 to around 1970 New Zealand provided its development aid under the Commonwealth Colombo plan; a Third World country's equivalent to the Marshall Plan which assisted recovery in some European post Second-World War countries. The interpretation of the Colombo plan's aim by a New Zealand Finance Minister in the early 1950s reflects the understanding of development assistance of that time:

> "to raise the living standard of those who live below subsistence level by accelerated economic growth which as a result would keep away communism" (Department of

[1] The second half of this chapter is reduced to a brief discussion on perceptions and attitudes of a small number of personnel working in the Development Cooperation Division as a result of the low response rate and the incomplete answers of the comprehensive survey conducted in the Division (Appendix 3.5). The lack of data is partly compensated by discussing individual views of the respondents. This cutting short of the discussion is disappointing for the author.

In 1971 aid under the Colombo plan was formally replaced by the New Zealand bilateral aid programme. The programme's emphasis was on the transfer of Western type technology/knowledge from the developed to the underdeveloped countries (MFA, 1971:49-50 and 1981a:18). The programme's content of that time and the association of modern technology with level of development are to some extent the result of the popular modernisation theory of the 1970s which was discussed in section 2.2, Chapter 2.

In 1973 New Zealand joined the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). The membership facilitated comparison on economic performance with other OECD countries (MFA, 1981c:55-56). The OECD, in order to monitor and review the bilateral aid programme of its members has set up the Development Assistance Committee of which New Zealand too is a member. Membership of the OECD forced New Zealand to be more outward looking. Recently, and in line with the trend of most of its member countries, the DAC did start to look at qualitative aspects of development cooperation. Such aspects include, for example, participation, gender relations in development, and equity issues (OECD, 1990, 1991, 1993).

The first New Zealand Government organisation dealing specifically with development assistance was created in 1975 and was named "The External Aid Division (EAD)". The attitude towards the quality of development of that time is reflected in a speech by the then acting Associate Minister of Foreign Affairs:

> "I think if it was any other area (other than external aid) of Government expenditure it would be put under much closer scrutiny than it is at the present time. I ask myself, why does it not get the overall scrutiny, both the criticism and otherwise, and I think it is probably because aid is something like motherhood - just about everybody is for it" (MFA, 1975:52).

In my opinion, the quote emphasises a perception of paternalism in development aid which could also reflect a view of being taken for granted. This is a view often taken of the role of motherhood as well as in the area of development aid. Being taken for granted would imply little respect which is often the case in areas of socially oriented occupations and tasks. In my opinion, evidence of paternalism is seen in the criteria of development project approval used between 1974 and 1981 by the New Zealand Government (MFA, 1981b:2):

"help the developing countries to help themselves".
"help to lift the living standard of the people on the lowest standard of living".
"include an identifiable New Zealand element at each stage of implementation".

Change in the perception of development relations is evident in the titles and key-words used in the names of the material and the administrative development (aid) support structures which set out as technical assistance, followed by aid, reversing to assistance and finally ending up in cooperation (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1

Change of perceptions in New Zealand's development cooperation, 1951 to 1992.

Name of Department or Ministry	Name of material support structure	Name of administrative support structure
Department of External Affairs (DEA)	Colombo Plan	Technical assistance unit
Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA)	NZ - bilateral aid programme	External aid division
Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA)	NZ - bilateral assistance programme	Development assistance division
Ministry of External Relations and Trade (MERT)	NZ- official development cooperation	Development cooperation division (DEV)

Source: DEV (1992), personal communication.
Note: It was not possible to find a source which indicated the duration of the respective organisational structures.

In spite of the fact that there existed a UN-decade for women from 1975 to 1985 the official communication channel for New Zealand foreign policy, the "New Zealand - Foreign Affairs Review" remained silent on the topic of active women participation. Five decisions in favour of women were, however, taken by MERT between 1981 and 1988: First, the guiding principles of NZ aid were revised referring marginally to women as development actors:

> "Considerations taken into account by Government in deciding what requests to respond to include the contributions to be made by a project to safeguarding the interests of vulnerable groups such as women and increasing their capacity to contribute to development" (MFA, 1981c:55).

Second, the New Zealand Government ratified the guiding principles of the DAC in 1983 which included a "Women in Development (WID)" component. Third, an increased number of training awards (scholarships) were given to women from Third World countries. Fourth, a number of evaluation reports of New Zealand's aid/development assistance recommended a stronger WID component and the creation of more gender awareness in the development programmes (MFA, 1984:30-32, 1985:51-52, 1986:50-51, 1986/87:8-9). Finally, New Zealand ratified the "UN forward looking strategies" resulting from the 1985 Nairobi World Conference on women which marked the end of the women decade. It is not clear to what extent the UN decade for women affected New Zealand's development policy. However, it can be assumed that the decade had some impact on the development policy.

Considerably more explicit "pro-women" publicity was achieved in 1988 and 1989 by the then Associate Minister of Foreign Affairs (Fran Wilde), who drew upon the well articulated, critical recommendations of an external advisory committee on external aid and development (MFA, 1986/87:8-9, 1988a:12-16). She stated in her February 1988 speech on women project beneficiaries:

> "All too often development programmes ignore women. Worst of all they often just don't overlook women, they make life very much harder for them" (MFA, 1988b:4).

On women in the New Zealand External Aid Division, however, she was rather simplistic, conveniently ignoring the fact that it is not only the proportion of women, but the power that they hold:

> In the External Aid Division women play a major role in management and decision-making. At any time over the last 15 years at least 50 percent of the staff have been women. They have competed on equal terms with men for promotion to the top jobs within the division" (MFA, 1988b:6).

In 1991 the Guiding Principles for Development Cooperation were revised to include a more specific statement on women participation:

> "In appraising which requests to respond to, (NZ) Government will give particular attention to the way in which its assistance helps the partner country to: - enable women to participate in, and benefit fully from, development assistance" (MERT, 1991/92:5).

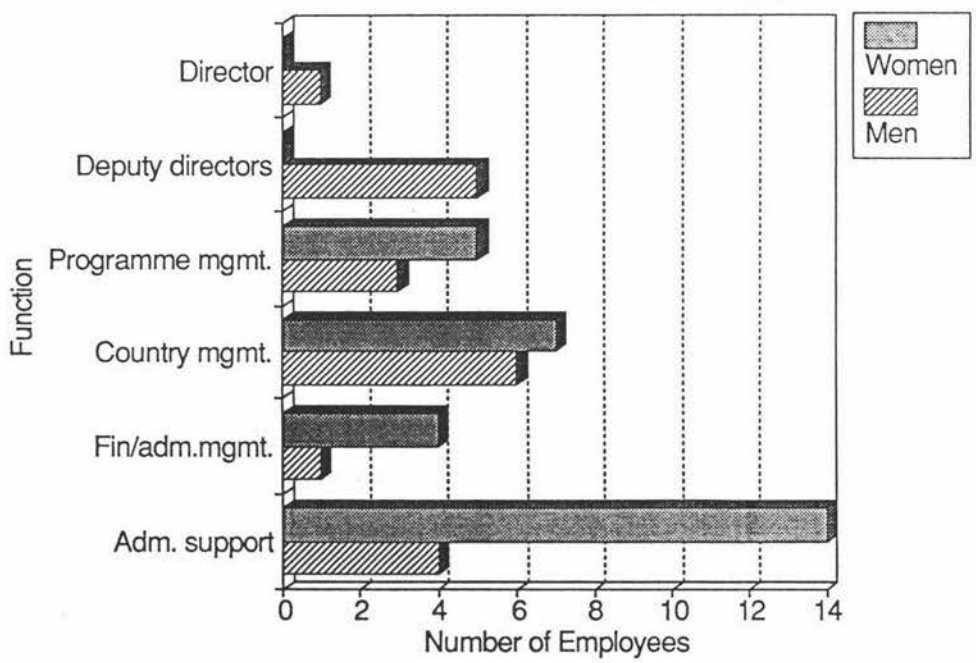
In August 1992, the "New Zealand official development assistance programme: women in development policy statement" was approved by the Minister. Major steps which led to increased women participation in New Zealand's official development cooperation programme are summarised in Appendix 5.1. The previous section showed that, New Zealand's development cooperation, along with other DAC organisations has, during the last decade, initiated policies which generally are more gender sensitive. The next two sections look more closely at women participation in the DEV.

5.3 The personnel structure of the DEV

Figure 5.1 presents the personnel structure of the DEV in 1992. Except for the director and the five deputy director posts women participate in equal or above equal proportion in the mid and low hierarchy functions. It is evident, women are absent from the strategic posts within the organisation.[2]

Figure 5.1

Personnel structure of DEV in 1992, distinguishing gender.



N = 20 men and 30 women: Source: DEV (1992) personal communication.

[2] So far there has never been a women director in DEV or its predecessor organisations. Compared to 1990 the total number of employees decreased from 62 to 50 between 1990 and 1992 as a result of the ongoing process of Government restructuring but the proportion of women increased from 50 % to 60 %. Furthermore, a larger proportion of women are now in mid- hierarchy functions compared to 1990 (DEV, 1992, personal communication).

5.4 The personnel profile of the division [3]

The age of the seven male respondents ranged from 24 to 52, for the three women from 43 to 25 years. Two-thirds of the men were married/partnered and all women reported to be single.[4] All respondents had postgraduate qualification predominantly in the area of social science (sociology, economy, politics), modern languages and education. In the DEV, technical expertise is mainly provided by temporarily employed consultants of whom none replied to the questionnaire. All the women respondents and half the men had predecessors in the same or in a similar function. No trend was visible to the degree of gender specific employment of the predecessors because of low numbers. All respondents spent an average of around four-fifth of their working time at the headquarters and one fifth in partner countries.

Two of the three women respondents had specific development experience of more than one year. None of the men had such experience. None of the respondents had more than four years working experience in a Third World environment. All the respondents reported having attended specific courses such as environmental impact analysis, social auditing, benefit-cost analysis, project-cycle management and development policy. One women and one man mentioned the desire to attend other specific development courses in future.

5.5 Views on project beneficiary participation

This section reports on a set of semi-open and open questions (number 16 to 23) of the questionnaire. The relevance of the questions to women is perhaps not apparent during the first half of the discussion, however, these questions were designed to observe the degree of gender awareness by the DEV staff. [5]

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[3] Information from questions of the questionnaire which is not discussed in the following sections indicates these questions were not answered, or incompletely answered. A copy of the guestionnaire is given in Appendix 3.5. The question is warranted whether the author should at all report the findings of a survey which has such a low response rate and so many incomplete answers. However, the author believes that even few answers are research findings and worth reporting. These findings have a value in their own right but can not be generalised.

[4] One male respondent perceived the questions related to the personal situation (questions 1 to 7) as too personal.

[5] The open questions were specifically designed to find important issues on the mind of the participants and not to give an explicit lead to women's issues.

All women questioned considered that the degree of beneficiary participation should not differ between project sectors and project-cycle steps, and should always aim at maximum possible involvement. One man gave an indication of the required degree of participation by project beneficiaries:

> "Projects with strong social impact or dependent on community participation for success require more participation by beneficiaries than those with less impact or dependence. However, it is desirable for beneficiaries to be fully involved as is practicable in all sectors and steps".

Four of the seven male participants (no female response) provided information on the different degree of beneficiary participation required by the project beneficiaries in the standard project-cycle steps of two different project sectors (non-formal education and forestry) and two different development agents (government and non-government). The responses showed great variability between respondents, project-cycle steps, development sectors and development agents. Such a variety of opinions indicates a wide difference in conceptual understanding of participatory development strategies and approaches. While this probably reflects the reality of many development projects with degrees of participation ranging from strong authoritarian (centralistic) to extremely democratic, such extreme variability, in my opinion, is undesirable and unnecessary because it adds to the already great confusion of project beneficiaries, and signifies lack of professionalism by development agents (donor and receiver agencies).

Most participants did not answer the qualifying question: Whether certain beneficiary target groups or individuals need particular emphasis in regard to participatory involvement? This extremely low response rate is likely due to the open questions which were demanding in thought and time. The two male respondents (out of ten) who did answer referred to the importance of landowner involvement in the forestry sector. None of the ten respondents mentioned women, single mothers, the extremely poor or any other non-elite or elite class as particularly important for participation in one of the four sectors or in particular project-cycle steps. From this, it may be concluded that the degree of gender and/or class awareness of the survey participants was low. This situation has implications in policy making because six out of the ten respondents belonged to the Director and Deputy Director ranks. The next section addresses the question: What did the respondents perceive about women participation in the DEV and, more generally, at global level?

5.6 Women participation in the DEV

Perceptions of the equality of women representation in the DEV were explored. [6] Compared to the women respondents men participants consistently assessed women representation slightly more favourable. Nevertheless, they reported that women participation in the DEV was low, inadequate, unsatisfactory and not acceptable.

According to two women, the primary reason for the relatively low representation of women in decision-making positions lay in the selection procedure which favours men. I interpret this view rather as a reaction, which has analytic value by itself, but is not carefully reasoned because it takes into account only one possible cause. One women replied:

> "Men, who occupy most of the top positions perceive other men as having the appropriate style and values to occupy such decision-making positions. They see women as too "light-weight" to rise beyond the low or at best middle level management positions".

And, another (single) woman, with a more detailed view:

> "Some women tend not to push themselves forward for promotions. Males generally are in the selection making positions. Employment policies still have some way to go in regard to child-care facilities, leave, etc. to encourage women and to enable a more flexible balance of family and work".

By contrast, the men reported a chain of causes for the situation. They viewed lack of long-term experience and the low number of suitably qualified women applying for jobs as major reasons for the low women representation in decision-making positions. Lesser causes included: women giving temporary preference to family work, and the number of women lacking suitable university qualification. There is some evidence to challenge two of the perceptions: First, and already discussed in the previous section, the male respondents themselves had very little development specific experience which contradicts their statement or implies a double standard. Second, and presented in Figure 5.2, an increasing, and by now almost equal proportion of New Zealand first degree and post-graduate students in fact are women.

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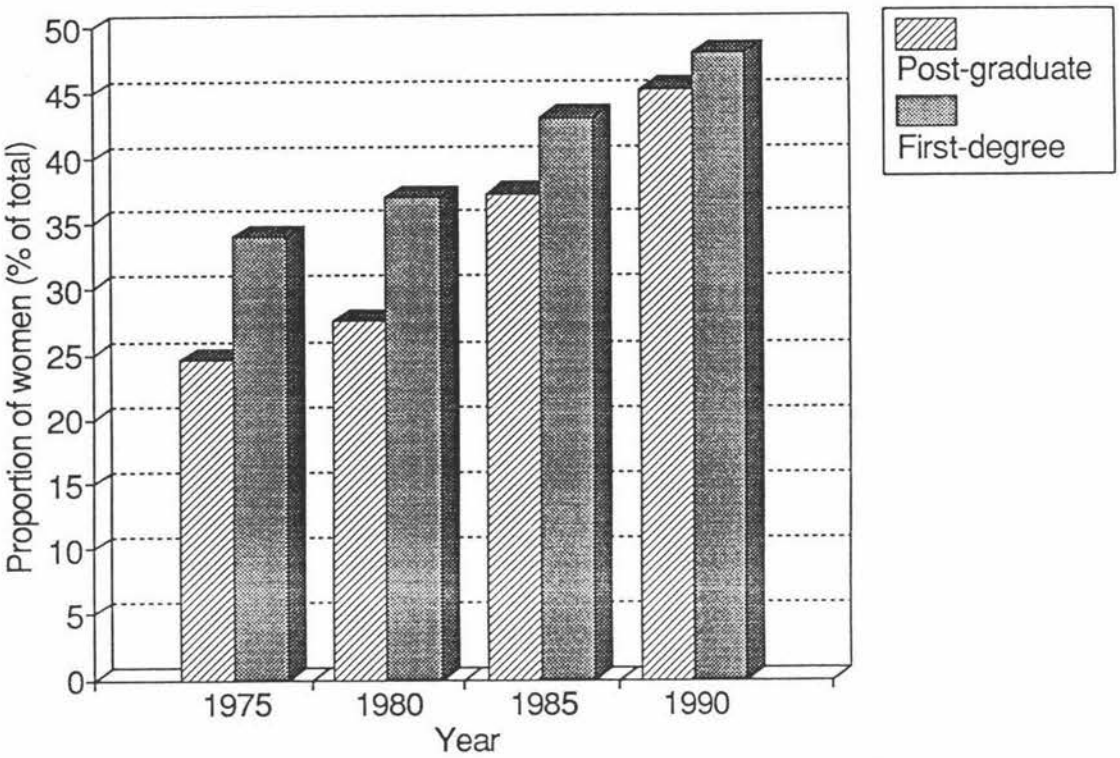
[6] The extremely low number of women participants does not permit a conclusion.

Figure 5.2

Proportion of women graduating with a first or post-graduate degree from a New Zealand University in 1975, 1980, 1985 and 1990.



Source: Department of Education. (1976, 1981, 1986, 1991). Education Statistics of New Zealand.

It was not possible to find empirical evidence to test the validity of the other two perceptions; women not applying in sufficient numbers and women giving priority to temporary family obligations. However, it should be noted that all women questioned were single.

Some views of men participants to this problem area were:

"In recent years we have recruited many women but relatively few have been here long enough to work their way up to the management positions".

"Management positions require substantial experience and breadth of experience".

"One possibility is that women tend to be more attracted to non-government organisations rather than government agencies".

"The number of women who are considered for positions is low, because they are not represented at senior levels in the organisation.

"The best qualified/experienced candidate would normally be selected - the question is, why was it not the women".

In my opinion, major reasons include the complex relationship of family occupation, narrow scope of skilled women to gain long-term experience if they are married with children, little willingness by employers to accept decision-making women as part-time employees, inflexible married men who will not share equally family- and professional work responsibilities, and the male dominated decision-making structure with a low degree of gender awareness.

5.7 Perceptions of women participation at the global level

Questioned about the scope for change from the current low level of women participation to a more equal, and active mode of cooperation the six men who responded reported that such changes would be feasible, realistic, practical and appropriate (no response from women). In addition, three respondents reported that equal and active participation may mean different things in different cultural contexts. This view will be explored in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 for the ethnic Fijian context.

On the next question, whether women and men differ in their approach to development, the views of the respondents contrasted widely. Two male participants reported:

"The difference is in their access to certain sections of recipient communities".

"Approaches do not differ if allowance is made for skill mix".

The first statement refers to the advantages women have in regard to access to women beneficiaries. The second implicitly points to the advantage of a mix of different skills in the organisation. Two respondents referred more explicitly to the skills women can perhaps do better than men:

"Perhaps (women) have more the tendency to support humanitarian programmes such as health and education rather than macro/technical projects" (male).

"More women than men may be inclined to promote WID and other participatory forms and more men than women may be inclined to hard-nosed financial/technical pragmatism" (female).

It is significant that there seems to be a strong belief that humanitarian programmes are not fully compatible with "hard-nosed" financial/technical pragmatism. In my opinion, the ultimate aim of development is always humanitarian because development processes operate in a social world. The central question does not lie in the distinction between technical or humanitarian but in the degree of equality between gender, classes and ethnicity. These are the political, conflicting and uncomfortable questions which signify the more authentic development approaches discussed in sections 2.5 and 2.6, Chapter 2.

The last question in the MERT survey asked: What are major constraints of participation in (all arenas) of development cooperation? Five problem areas were identified: First, the crucial dependence on the quality of the link between beneficiaries and the government for effective development processes. If this link is acceptable to the donor country work is easier for the DEV. Second, time constraints on employees for more careful consultation in partner countries were perceived as a major hindrance, preventing from a better understanding of culturally specific development issues. It is well known that project success or failure often hinges on cultural issues. Third, political pressure exerted by the big development organisations such as the World Bank, FAO, UNDP and other large bilateral organisations can create confusion among all actors of development were conflicting or contradictionary objectives exist among organisations working with the same people. Fourth, the need to involve government officials in positions of authority implies the need for diplomacy in order to reach the non-elite. It is frequently these officials who benefit heavily from development cooperation because they control access to the poor. This suggests that development aimed at non-elite and among them most noticeably the women has its (political-lobbying) price. Fifth, in the absence of conducive participatory structures intended beneficiaries tend to get the feeling that projects are owned by those who pay and not by those for whom it is intended. This lack of ownership feeling is counter-productive to any mode of authentic participation because sustainable commitment is closely associated with control, security and self-determination as was previously discussed in sections 2.5 and 2.6, Chapter 2.

It is noteworthy that none of the five problem areas included more specific groups such as class, ethnicity, poorest of the poor, homeless and most noticeably the ***women.*** This is a further indication of the low gender awareness among the respondents.

5.8 Conclusions

In the historical part of the first half of this chapter it was shown that New Zealand too needed, to some extent, a gender sensitive political woman to emphasise both the importance and the consequences of women in development. However, in my view it is not the women *per se* who change traditional attitudes. It is those women who are gender-sensitive, who attach value to social development and hold strategic positions of power. The same could be achieved by men power-holders with similar sets of values.

The second part of the chapter on the Development Cooperation Division of MERT showed: men dominate the senior decision-making ranks of the organisation; male respondents lacked specific development experience; the respondents had low gender awareness and a highly variable understanding of participatory concepts; all respondents see scope for a more equal and active mode of participation.

Overall, a more equal mix of women and men in the development cooperation's decision-making structure could expedite better utilisation of the synergistic potential inherent in a mixed group of men and women (with different interests and skills) with a more equal power base. In my view the strength of more equal women and men representation lays in the diversity and not in equality. The next chapter explores similar issues but in the context of ethnic Fijian culture.

Chapter 6

Women in the Fiji Pine Limited

6.1 Introduction

Fiji's favourable climatic conditions combined with its relatively low population pressure of only around 25 inhabitants per square kilometre make ideal conditions for forestry development. Government authorities already in the late 1960s realised the potential benefits of forestry development as an export second to cane sugar products. The increasing prominence of pine forestry is clearly reflected in Fiji's four development plans (Central Planning Office, 1971, 1976, 1981, 1986).

This chapter begins with a brief description of the Fiji pine venture as it evolved during the last two decades. This is followed by a more specific illustration of the FPL's staff pattern and company ownership. The second half explores the attitude of the FPL employees to women participation in general and within the company in particular.[1] Consideration of these matters is essential for a full understanding of the Chapters which follow.

6.2 Background

Although the Forestry Department of the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forests had identified in the mid 1950's *Pinus caribaea var. hondurensis* as the most potential tree species for large scale planting for the dry areas of Fiji in the mid 1950's, it was not until 1971 that a FAO feasibility study concluded that Fiji had the potential to plant 54,000 hectares of pine forests. On the basis of these findings and the support of the then acting Prime Minister, the Fiji Pine Scheme was initiated in 1972 (Lind and Martel, 1986:2, Central Planning Office, 6th Development Plan, 1971:97). In 1976 the Fiji Pine Commission replaced the Fiji Pine Scheme.

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[1] Information from questions of the questionnaire which is not discussed in the following sections indicates questions were not answered or incompletely answered.

Its most salient objectives (FPC, Annual Report, 1976:4) were:

"to establish a viable forestry industry based on planted forests. Much of the plantation development is taking place on Fijian-owned land and the duty of the commission includes involving the landowners in its commercial activities on such terms as shall ensure the continuing viability of the industry".

The involvement of landowners as a central variable for successful operation was realised early in the project's life. Therefore, the Fiji Pine Commission from the beginning relied heavily on the cooperation of the communal land owners who included men, women and children. The area planted and its community beneficiary potential is presented in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1

Area planted, proportion of communal ownership and benefitting land owning units in 1992.

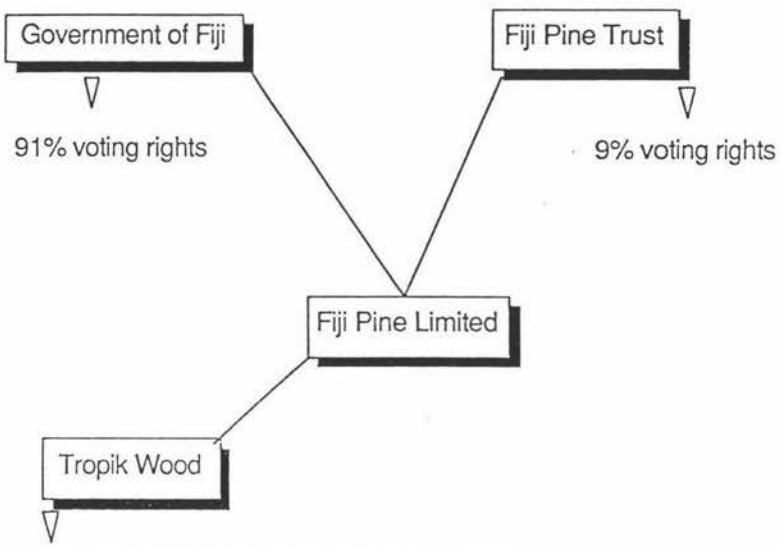
Name of forest estate	Area planted (ha)	Communal land (%)	Number of villages	Number of benefitting land owning units
Nabou	6,896	81.5	25	111
Nadi	3,963	99.8	14	51
Lololo	9,592	63.2	9	36
Ra	3,693	60.6	7	12
Bua	10,456	98.9	15	64
Macuata	2,161	98.9	8	16
Total	36,761	----	78	290 /a

Sources: Fiji Pine Limited, Annual Report 1991.
Note: a/ Assuming an average land unit size of ten households and an average household size of five members the FPL benefits around 14,500 land owning members through land lease. With an approximate population of about 370,000 ethnic Fijians and around 6,000 land owning units (see also Chapter 7, Figures 7.1 and 7.5) the Fiji Pine venture currently benefits around 4 % of the ethnic Fijian population through land lease. For the total Fijian population of around 740,000 in 1990 this figure is around 2.5 to 3 % if employment and spin-offs to non-landowners are included. Therefore, FPL can be considered a significant force in Fiji's development scene (FPL, 1993, personal communication).

A joint venture company, the Forestry Services Limited (FDSL) owned by the Fiji Pine Commission and British Petroleum, was created in 1984. The purpose of this new structure was to develop a large integrated sawmill/chipmill plant with the potential to process the wood of the Commission's estates. In 1991 the Fiji Pine Commission (FPC) was transformed from a Government body to the corporate Fiji Pine Limited (Figure 6.1). The organisation is owned by the Fiji Pine Trust representing the land owners and the Fiji Government representing Government interests (Fiji Republic, 1990).

Figure 6.1

Ownership of the Fiji Pine Limited and its associate Tropik Wood.



Ownership: 73.9% with FPL, 11.6% with EIB, 14.5% with CDC.

Source: Saran,D. (FPL), personal communication.

Noteworthy in Figure 6.1 are the minority voting rights of the Fiji Pine Trust. Ownership of the FPL to 100 percent by the landowners is planned as a gradual process during the next 25 years with the Fiji Pine Trust purchasing Government owned shares and their voting rights. The key objectives of the FPL at the time of the study (FPL, Annual Report 1991) were:

> "Respond and contribute responsibly to the environmental, social and economic well-being of the community we serve".
>
> "Generate levels of profits to enable sustained long term growth, and desired rate of return on investments from wood growing activities".
>
> Provide opportunities and enable land owners and extension forest owners to progressively participate in the pine industry".

The previous pages reviewed the historical background of FPL and showed its significant role in regard of the number of (mainly passive) ethnic Fijian beneficiaries. The discussion which follows looks at women participation in the FPL organisation.

6.3 The personnel structure of FPL

Excluding the contract and part-time staff the FPL organisation in January 1993 employed 150 persons on a regular basis. Of this around 87% were ethnic Fijians, 10% Fiji-Indians and 3% Europeans. The proportion of landowners employed by the FPL on a full-time basis varied from around 18% for Ra and Lololo, 71% for Nadi and Nabou and 65 % for Vanua Levu forest estates. The reasons for this variability are discussed in Chapter 8. The overall staffing pattern by gender of the FPL is presented in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2

Proportion of men and women full-time personnel in FPL, January 1993.

Gender	Men		Women	
Function in the organisation	**Number**	**%**	**Number**	**%**
Executive management /a	4	100	0	0
Senior professional staff /a	34	100	0	0
Junior professional staff /a	25	92	2	8
Skilled administrative staff /b	3	43	4	57
Semi-skilled administrative staff /c	1	10	9	90
Semi-skilled technical support staff /c	68	100	0	0
Total	135	90	15	10

Source: FPL, 1993, personal communication.
Note: a/ Personnel with University, College or extended (> 3 years) vocational training.
b/ Extended to medium duration (> 2 years) vocational training.
c/ Short term (< 2 years) or on the job training.

The low proportion of women in the organisation and their concentration in secretarial and clerical tasks are evident in the table. The following sections of the chapter look specifically at two areas: the nature, access and intensity of project and work-related training, and the perceptions of men and women to the question of women participation in the FPL, and more generally, in the development processes.

6.4 Nature and access to training

The choice, content, intensity and access to on-the-job training serves as a useful indicator to analyse implicit development objectives and possible bias in gender relations. In the FPL survey a number of semi-structured questions were asked to both men and women employees to explore access, needs and wants of on-the job training. Table 6.3 contrasts nature and access of training and the most required training needs perceived by the FPL staff.

Table 6.3

Nature of training offered and perceived content of training required by men and women FPL staff.

Content of training so far offered and attended	**Proportion of men participants (n = 25)**	**Proportion of women participants (n = 15)**
Rural research	4	0
Project management	40	0
Environment	8	0
Other	52	31
Content of perceived training required		
Human development	64	88
Project management/administration	56	38
Forestry and other technical fields	56	6

Source: FPL-Survey

The topics for training in ***Rural research*** included "Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA)", social auditing and cross-cultural communication techniques. For ***Project management*** it included project-cycle management, benefit-cost analysis and development policy. For ***Environmental issues*** it included environmental impact-analysis, which is particularly relevant in highly mechanised plantation forestry. Training contents under ***Other*** included forestry, mechanics, office administration and, most commonly, the supervision of forestry workers. More than two-thirds of the respondents ranked supervision as most useful and project management as second most useful for their working life. The little access of women to training in general and the tiny emphasis on rural research (social issues) and the environment is evident.[2]

The perceived training requirements, shown in the lower half of Table 6.3, is the result of an open question. ***Human development*** included communication, supervision, motivation aspects and participatory skills. ***Project management/ administration*** most commonly included planning and budgeting. Considerably less importance as training needs was given to monitoring, evaluation and impact monitoring. There also existed a demand by men for further ***forestry and other technical training.***

Ninety percent of the FPL staff who belong to the top-half of the hierarchy received on the-job training (top half of Table 6.3). These persons completed either university, college or advanced vocational education and mostly had extended work experience in the forestry sector. In sharp contrast, around 30% of the bottom-half hierarchy attended company organised training. These staff members mostly completed medium to short vocational training and/or had long work experience. The training profile shown in Table 6.3 indicates little emphasis on social issues and a large deviation between training offered and perceived training required. Furthermore, the low priority for a more authentic integration of women staff into the FPL hierarchy is manifest.

The degree of awareness of social issues was further explored by open-ended ranking exercises to find major problem areas. Figure 6.2 presents a profile of the most common problem areas as perceived by the survey participants. Major areas of concern by men and women included the FPL's management approach, the communication between the FPL and the landowners, the lack of motivation of some staff and the loss of identity to the land. Areas of concern reported by men included low skill level by many of FPL's staff and the relative incompatibility of the Fijian culture with FPL's business approach.

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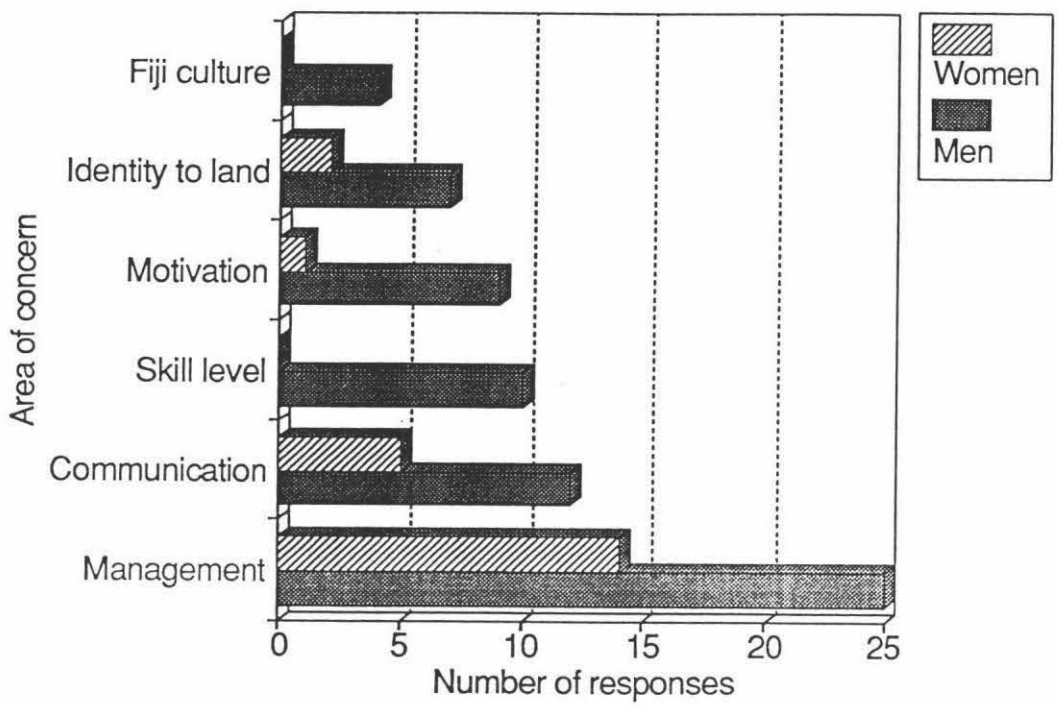
[2] The FPL extension service is aware of the insufficient level of skills in communication, rapid appraisal and extension methodology. There are plans to introduce the RRA methodology to its staff. For a brief summary of RRA, see section 3.7, Chapter 3.

Figure 6.2

Six most common areas of concern to men and women personnel of the FPL.



Multiple responses possible; N = 25 men and 16 women; Source: FPL Survey.

Respondents commented upon several perceived management shortcomings: little access to training by staff of the lower half hierarchy, a top-down approach, little scope for participation, and little delegation of responsibility to women. Remuneration and working hours, however, were generally considered above average. It is significant that women were not noticeably more aware than men of a need for a more active mode of women participation in the organisation. Generally, the level of gender awareness was low among the participants. This showed in the responses to open questions never explicitly referring to specific women's issues. Generally, women were less explicit in their comments on the topic of this section. In my opinion this was caused by the high presence of men which made the women cautious of speaking freely. To date, and compared to men, women of the FPL had little access to training opportunities despite the fact that women articulated their needs freely and showed interest to participate more actively. The next two sections look more closely at perceptions of beneficiary participation, women participation in the FPL, and participation in a more general, worldwide sense.

6.5 Perceptions of project-cycle participation

Respondents found the questions referring to project-cycle participation generally difficult to answer. The findings are therefore considered indicative but not conclusive. Around four-fifth of the respondents (all men) felt that the degree of participation differs between development sectors and project-cycle steps. The remaining respondents felt that the degree of participation remains the same for all project steps and development sectors. The author assisted around half the respondents explaining with practical examples what the questions on this topic meant. In my opinion, the difficulty with this topic was in the background of many respondents who were not conversant (most noticeably the women) with the concept of project-cycle management although FPL is clearly managed along the project-cycle.

There was a wide range of responses on the desirability of participation: [3]

> "In regard to forestry, the land owners should participate everywhere, at all levels and in all aspects".
>
> "A specialised agency should advise and support but the final control should be with the beneficiaries".
>
> "I support maximum participation but if culture is disturbed because people have to move to another area in order to participate then I would prefer low participation".
>
> "Participants should be the ones who are well educated. Some people are slow to evaluate things, therefore, they should not participate".

The first and second statements directly referred to the participatory situation of the Fiji Pine Project which will be further explored in Chapter 8, and the first quotation equated participation with implementation. The second statement saw a development agency as a facilitator but with control resting with the beneficiaries. This seems to indicate a more holistic understanding of participation as was previously discussed in Chapter 2. The third statement also equated participation with implementation but prefers to preserve the local culture instead of participating in a development project. The fourth statement reserved the right to participate for the privileged elite with access to "modern" education. It also saw participation as implementation and involvement in the decision-making steps of the project cycle.

---

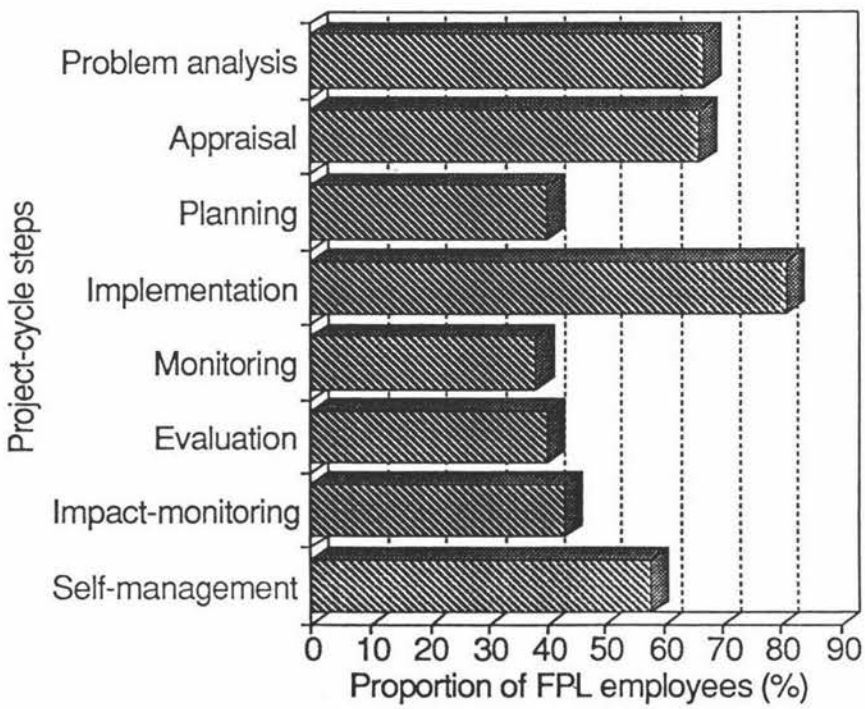
[3] These are the views of men from the top-half hierarchy. For the women (most belong to the bottom-half hierarchy) as well as for around half of the men respondents the concept was perhaps too abstract. Another likely explanation for the difficulty is the low degree of participation in most/all steps of the project-cycle by respondents of the bottom-half hierarchy. However, their desire to participate more actively is to some extent indicated in their wish for participation in training which was shown in Table 6.3.

Similar to the previous Chapter on DEV, and on the same topic the respondents showed a high variability in their perception of project-cycle participation, and on participatory concepts in particular. In addition, some difficulties, by using abstract concepts (project-cycle) in a cross-cultural situation, became evident.

The concept of authentic participation requires active involvement of project beneficiaries in all steps of the project-cycle. Figure 6.3 presents the proportion of respondents who perceived that participation should be high in the respective project-cycle steps, and in the forestry sector.

Figure 6.3

Proportion of respondents with the view that participation in the respective project-cycle steps, and in the forestry sector should be high.



N = 22 men; Source: FPL Survey.

Figure 6.3 needs comment: More than two-thirds of the participants found implementation the most participatory step because it is often a precondition for realising a development project and/or for keeping it running. This view confirms many observations of development projects worldwide. Furthermore, around half of the participants felt that a high proportion of beneficiaries should be actively involved in analysing the problem (s) in order to assess the needs of the people. They felt this was important for the handing over of the project which, in many situations, involves managing the project independently by the beneficiaries. This perception relates directly to current participatory problems between FPL and landowners, and is more fully discussed in Chapter 8. Finally, participatory intensity was seen to be less required for appraisal, planning, monitoring, evaluation and impact-monitoring for which, according to many respondents, high levels of professional skills are required.

It is again significant that none of the respondents explicitly or implicitly referred to the importance of involving women as active partners. Similar to the situation in the DEV as previously shown in Chapter 5 the level of gender awareness appears low. Furthermore, most respondents tended to equate the ability to participate in decision-making with the requirement of high professional education. This perception affects women adversely because of their low nominal and professional representation.

6.6 Perceptions of women participation within FPL

A last set of questions looked at perceptions of men and women on the degree of women participation in the FPL organisation and, more generally, in development activities generally. Perceptions on women participation in the FPL did not manifestly differ between the two hierarchical levels (bottom-half and top-half) and the different educational classes. [4] Around two-thirds of the participants found women participation in the FPL low, half felt it was inadequate, and around one-third perceived the situation unsatisfactory and not acceptable. The women consistently scored their presence in the FPL in a more favourable light compared to their male counterparts. The reason for this observation is likely because of their small number in the organisation and a possible associated apprehension to reveal their true feelings. The men on the other hand perhaps felt more "liberated" to follow the trend of fashion in their responses.

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[4] The results differed only indirectly because more than 90% of the FPL women employees belonged to the bottom-half hierarchy. However, a strong relationship did exist between hierarchical level, education and gender.

The correlation coefficients between the independent variable "SEX" and the dependent variables for perceived participatory degree of women in the FPL of HIGH, ADEQUATE, SATISFACTORY and ACCEPTABLE were all low and non-significant (r = - 0.10 and lower). Having discussed the perceptions of the FPL staff in regard to women participation in their own organisation the next section analyses the views of women participation on global level.

6.7 Perceptions of women participation at global level

The response of the participants to the below quotation differed significantly from the results of the previous section.

> "A number of reputed organizations such as the ILO, UN, UNDP, UNRISD, UNIFEM, FAO, The World Bank, OECD and a number of Development Assistance countries explicitly agree that women are under-represented at all levels of development cooperation. The same organizations increasingly see more equal participation of women in decision-making positions in both donor and receiver countries as a pre-requisite to sustainable development. How would you describe this view?" (Survey Questionnaire, question number 29).

Table 6.4 presents perceptions of the top-half and the bottom-half FPL hierarchy on the perceived scope for change from the current situation of low women participation in decision-making worldwide to a more active mode of participation.

Table 6.4

Proportion of FPL staff from the top and bottom-half hierarchy stating that more equal women participation would be feasible, realistic, practical and appropriate.

Variable	Proportion (%) of bottom-half hierarchy (N = 9 men and 15 women)	Proportion (%) of top-half hierarchy (N =16 men)
Feasible	84	44
Realistic	64	19
Practical	80	25
Appropriate	72	32

Source: FOL Survey.
Note: A fifth variable "pragmatic" was excluded because of misunderstanding.

In contrast to the previous section there is a significant difference of opinion between the top- and the bottom hierarchy. A likely cause could be that the bottom-half participants (which predominantly included women) saw more equal women participation as a chance rather than a threat, while the men of the top-half had something to lose. Furthermore, in contrast to the previous question which was concerned with FPL the women felt more relaxed to answer the question concerned with participation at the global level because it did not relate to their own organisation.

6.8 Conclusions

In my opinion four points need attention: Firstly, the lower degree of access to training by employees of the bottom-half hierarchy which included a high proportion of women. These persons articulated clear training needs which need to be addressed if fuller participation is desired. Secondly, the concept of participation is primarily understood as implementation and benefit sharing. The concept, as is discussed in Chapter 2, is clearly more complex but not beyond reach. Thirdly, there appeared to be some bias about women participation in FPL organisation compared to the expressed views in regard to women involvement at the global level. This indicates the difficulty of probing into sensitive issues of direct concern to participants. Finally, several conceptual misunderstandings have emerged by applying research concepts cross-culturally. As a result more flexible research methods were used for the case studies in Chapters 7 and 8.

Overall, the results of the chapter showed that women employees of the FPL do not share power directly or indirectly with men. They are largely excluded from the broader decision-making processes. Suggestions for change include training, employment of mor professional women and more equal sharing of decision-making positions. The following chapter describes Fijian social organisation and the case study villages. The focus then turns to the sources of women power and status in the ethnic Fijian culture.

Chapter 7

Fijian social organisation

7.1 Introduction

The indivisibility of men and women in many areas of life becomes more evident in the following two chapters and is nicely illustrated by the following poem:

The fountains mingle with the rivers
And the rivers with the ocean:
The winds of heaven mix for ever
With a sweet emotion:
Nothing in the world is single,
All things by a law divine
In one another's being mingle -
why not I with thine?
(P.B. Shelley: Love's Philosophy)

The degree to which women and men participate in development projects in general and in the Fiji Pine venture in particular depends on three factors: culture, economy and project management. In this context different scope exists for modes of women and men participation which ranges from passive to active.

This chapter sets out with an overview of Fijian social organisation. A basic description of the two case study villages is followed by a more detailed description of the cultural setting of ethnic Fijians living in the Fiji Pine project area.

[1] In my opinion, a basic understanding of the cultural background is essential to assess the scope and the limits of women and men in project participation. Having described the cultural setting, the latter part of the chapter focuses land ownership issues which are of central importance to Fiji culture and highly relevant for the functioning of the Fiji Pine forestry project.

7.2 Kinship organisation

Patterns of kinship differ throughout Fiji. Some authors speak of a agnatic kinship organisation with clear patrilineal descent (Turner, 1986:294). Others mentioned cognatic descent with both female and male descent traced through an apical ancestor (Sahlins 1963:287). However, several authors agree that kinship in Fiji society is basically patrilineal with peripheral matrilineal extensions. These matrilineal extensions appear to be essential for organising formal relationships (Nayacakalou, 1957:55, Belshaw, 1964:26, Turner, 1986:294). The strong patrilineal kinship ties were referred to frequently and spontaneously by Fijian men and women during field work discussions which demonstrates their importance.

Relationships traced through the matriline are not vertical as in case of patrilines, rather they form horizontal bonds across patrilines. These horizontal bonds are also referred to as uterine lines. Women often serve as mediators between patrilinies of their brothers and husbands. In Fijian society these uterine ties find expression through sharing, cooperation, exchange and warmth but do also entail competition (Turner, 1986:295). The classical Fijian social structure is presented in Figure 7.1.

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[1] The topic of this chapter requires a cultural description of ethnic Fijian people because the Fiji Pine project depends heavily on communal land leases as will be discussed in Chapter 8. Communal landownership is restricted to ethnic Fijian communities, therefore, the Fiji-Indian community (almost 50% of the Fijian population) is not involved in communal land ownership issues associated with pine forestry. Fiji-Indians, however, play a role in the skilled labour force of FPL. A comparative study of ethnic Fijian and Fiji-Indian perceptions on the Fiji Pine project is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Figure 7.1

Fijian social structure

Vanua

Tribe, headed by Turaga-ni-Vanua

Yavusa

Clan, headed by Turaga-ni-Yavusa

Mataqali

Sub-clan and land owning unit,
headed by Turaga-ni-Mataqali

Tokatoka

Extended family, usually headed by an older man

Vuvale

Household, usually headed by husband

Source: Interviews with people of Vakabuli, Tau and staff of FPL.
Note: Turaga-ni-Vanua/Yavusa/Mataqali means chief of these respective kin groups. The political administrative structure is divided into 4 administrative Districts, 14 Provinces (Yasana), 76 Districts (Tikina) and 1,080 Villages (Koro) (Olsson, 1988:14).

The most inclusive grouping is the Vanua which means land. Because people are an integral part of the land, Vanua also means people. During field work people often stressed the fact that they are part of the Vanua and losing this partnership would mean the end of the Fijian culture. This affiliation was aptly put by a man of Vakabuli, who said: "land means livelihood for the present and for future generations. The loss of the land would mean the loss of our culture".

The ethnic Fijian community, in order to function, depends heavily on the observance of kinship rules. This is manifest in the rules how kinship members, both patrilineal and matrilineal, are expected to behave (Nayacakalou, 1957:44-63, Belshaw, 1964:23-35). In this context it is important to know that cooperation with patrilineal, as well as matrilineal, relatives is expected and binding for all kinship members (Nayacakalou, 1957:51).

Kinship obligations were a frequent topic during field work discussions, and it appeared that behavioural norms are mostly accepted and rarely questioned.

The following behavioural norms are associated with kinship. These norms show clear distinction between boys and girls (Nayacakalou, 1957:44-63, Geddes, 1945:47-52).

Children often ask the ***grandfather and grandmother*** for comfort and favours. Grandmothers are generally actively involved in the socialisation process of girls which involves instruction and encouragement to perform certain tasks, e.g. household chores. Both ***father and mother*** are responsible for bringing up children. Children usually do not address their parents with their given names. Fijian mothers perform most of the domestic work and actively socialise their daughters into traditional women's (mother's) roles. ***Siblings*** generally are differentiated on the basis of age. This stratification has no effect during early childhood but can gain importance in work distribution, if for example, age differences between oldest and youngest siblings are large. In some parts of Fiji this relationship results in characteristics of avoidance such as not mentioning given names. The relationship of ***cross-siblings*** is characterised by rigid avoidance and taboos. The brother always has the authority and power of protection of his sister. Brothers have the right to veto important decisions such as marriage and can request support from sisters in times of need. Sisters have to show respect in all dealings with brothers. This is the most central relationship for an unmarried women and remains important throughout a women's life. Similar rules apply for the relationship to ***cross-parents***. A mother's brother must be treated with greatest respect. In return for this respect he is considered a popular relative to whom children often turn in circumstances of need. Relationships among male ***cross-cousins*** appear to be the most regulated ones. Those among female cross-cousins seem slightly less difficult. Finally, the relationship with one's ***mother's kin*** entitles sons access to property and support from a maternal uncle.

The previous pages showed the normative prescriptions which displayed variable degrees of social and gender stratification depending on kinship organisation. The field observations of the author and his family confirm the views of above authors, however, exceptions to these prescriptions were also observed. The implications of social and gender stratification for participation in the forestry project will be discussed in Chapter 8. The next section takes the reader to the two case study villages.

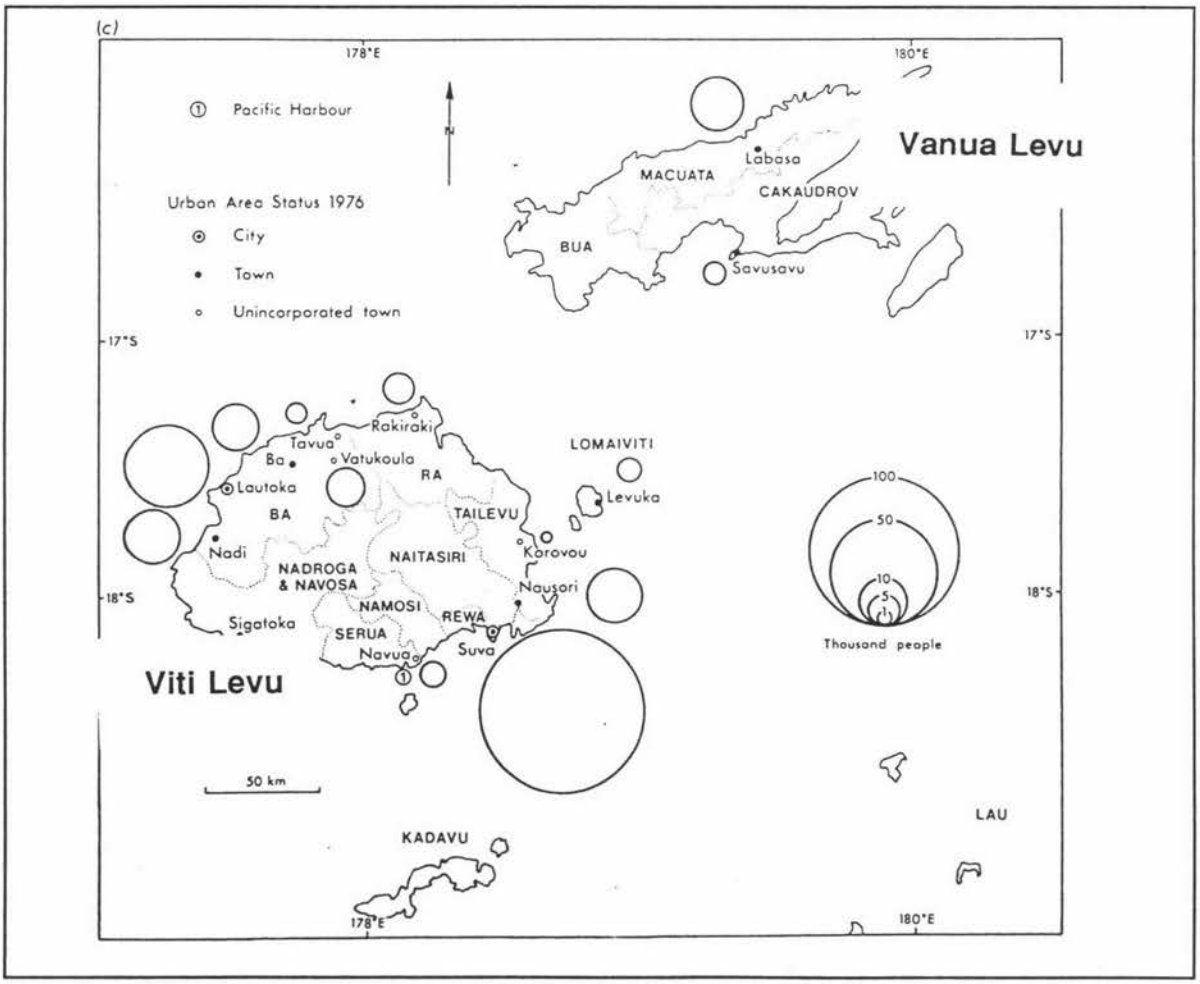
7.3 The case study villages

The case study villages **"Vakabuli"** and **"Tau"** are not representative for the 78 villages associated with the Fiji Pine forestry activities. The sample was too small, cultural diversity too great, geographical accessibility above average and study time too short to make representative generalisations. Therefore, the two case studies strictly describe observations of the ethnic Fijian community of the Vakabuli and Tau villages. The maps of Fiji and the Western Division with the locations of Vakabuli and Tau are presented in Figure 7.2.

Figure 7.2

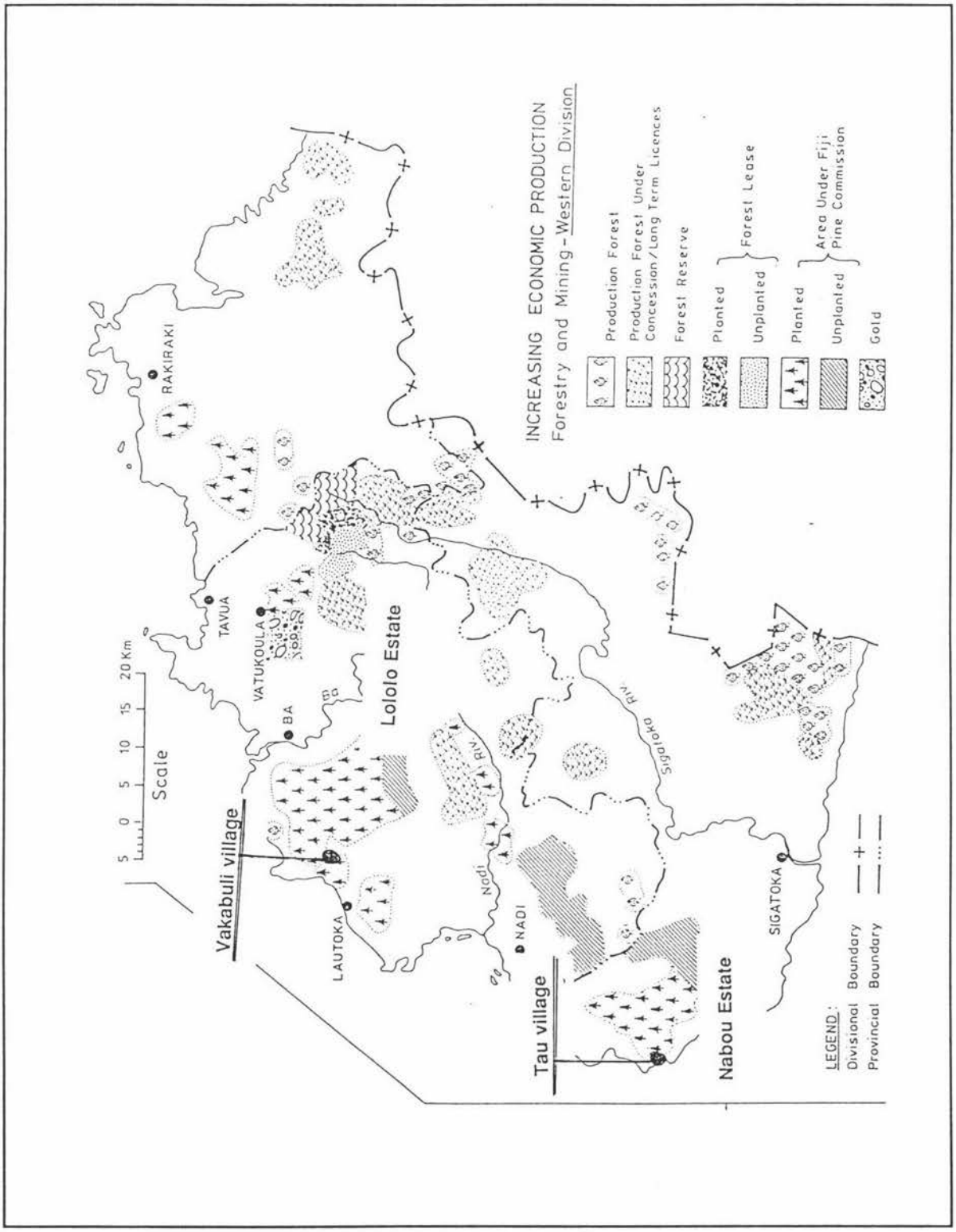
Maps of Fiji and the Western Division with the locations of Vakabuli and Tau villages.

A) Map of Fiji



Source: For Fiji: Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (1982)(ESCAP).

A) Map of the Western Division

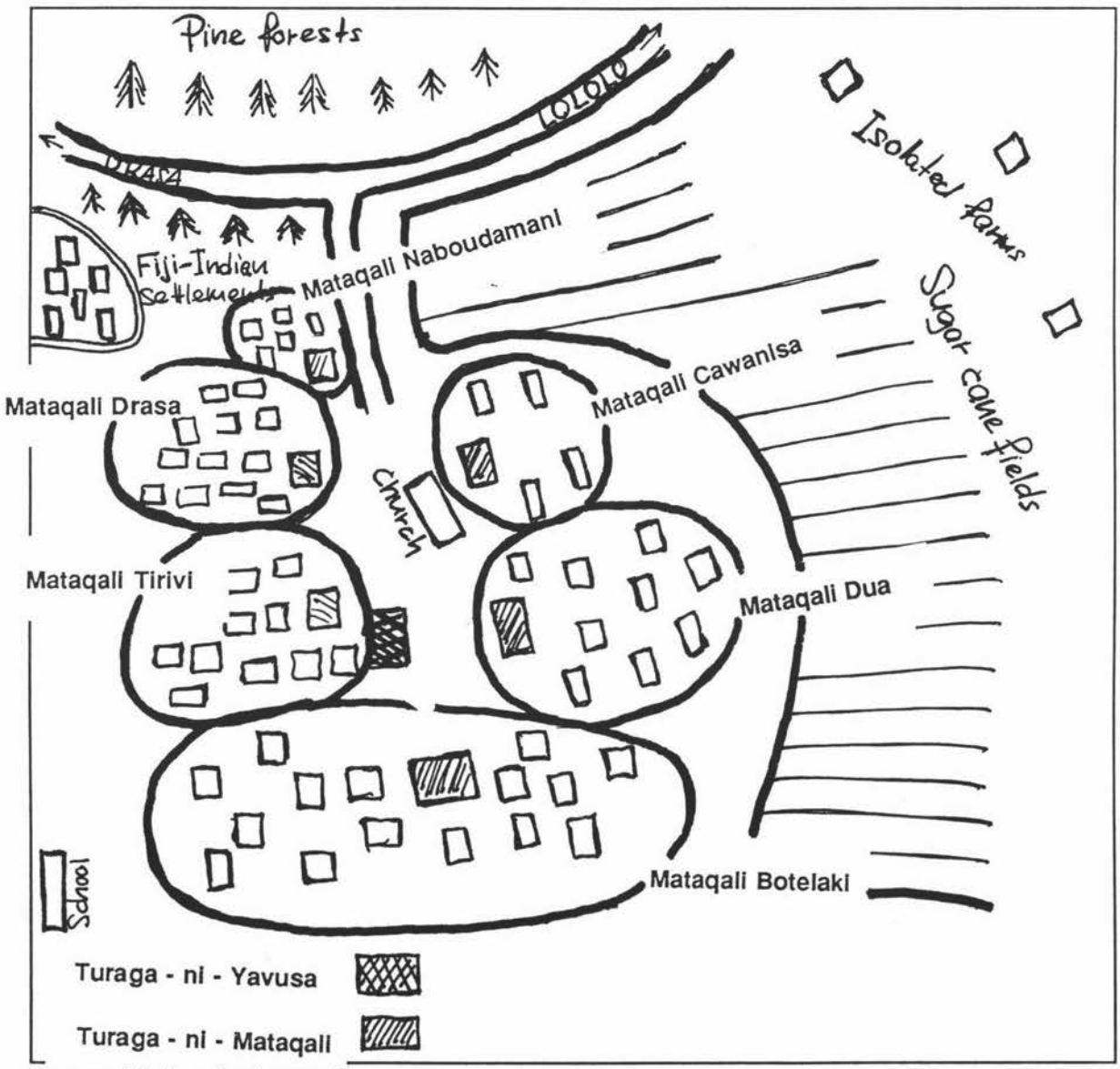


Source: For the Western Division: Fiji's eight development plan, 1981 to 1985.

Vakabuli village is located on the fringe of the Lololo forest estate at around 25 kilometres north of Lautoka, Fiji's second largest town. The village is easily accessible by public transport and has been involved in pine forestry since the 1950's. During field work Fiji people classified Vakabuli as a modern, non-traditional village. The village structure of Vakabuli is given in the following diagram and should be read together with the population data which are presented in Table 7.1.

Diagram 7.1

Vakabuli village structure.

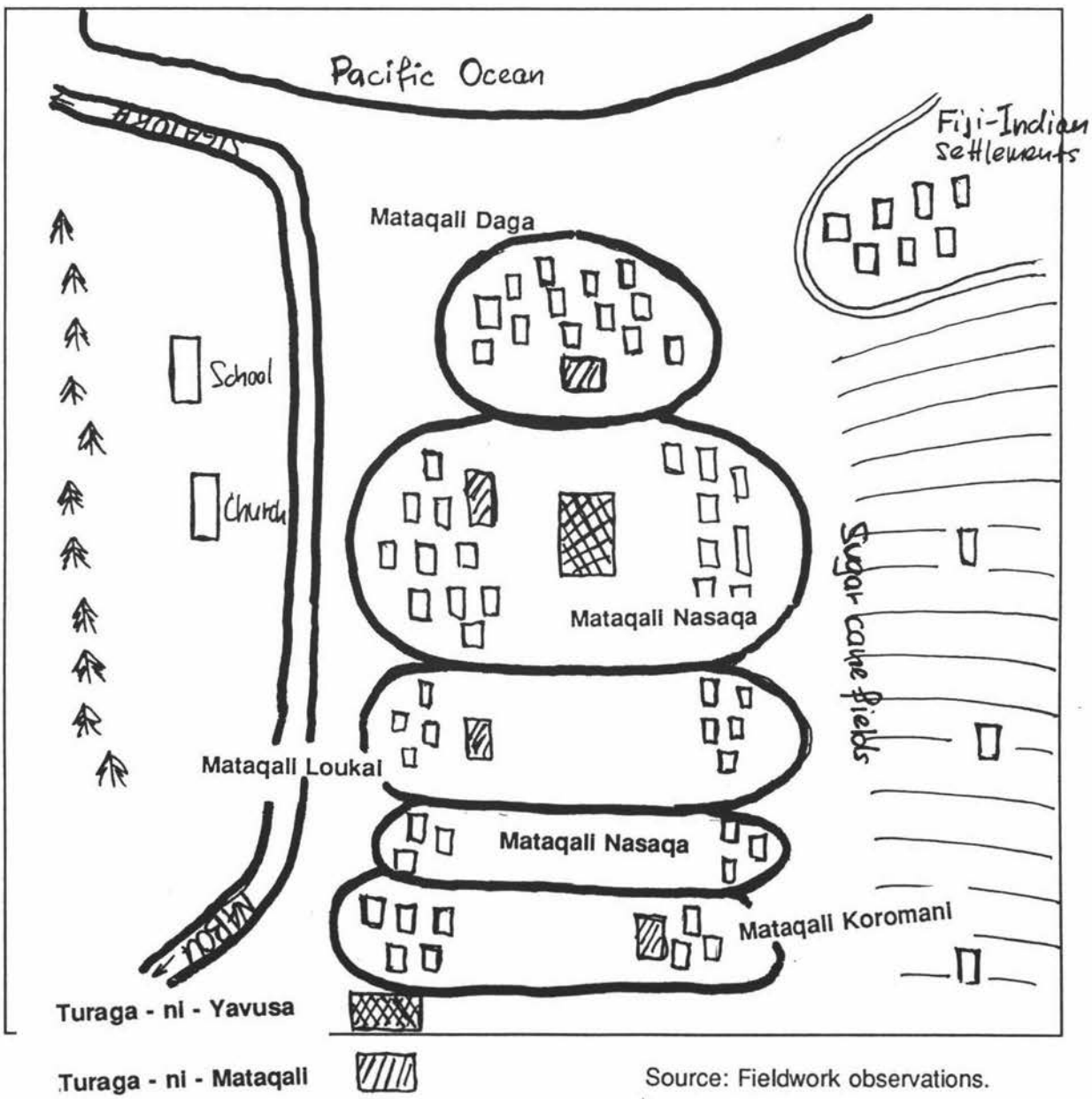


Source: Fieldwork observations.

Tau village is located close to the coast of Nabou forest estate, located halfway between the towns of Nadi and Sigatoka. Tau is easily accessible by public transport from Nadi and Sigatoka and has been involved in pine forestry since the early 1970's. Tau was also classified by people as a non-traditional village. The more traditional villages are mostly located in areas only accessible by foot or by boat. The village structure of Tau is given in the following diagram and should also be read together with the population data presented in Table 7.1.

Diagram 7.2

Tau village structure.



Source: Fieldwork observations.

The village structure of Vakabuli and Tau as presented in above diagrams showed a clear social stratification with the Turagi-ni-Yavusa in the centre of the village, the Turagi-ni-Mataqali close to the village's central path and prominently placed in the group of his mataqali members and the Fiji-Indians in a separate cluster or isolated farms outside the village. Some ethnic Fijian villagers (around 10 to 15%) in each village decided also to live on isolated farms. These were ethnic Fijian sugar cane growers who preferred to concentrate on farm work. In addition, a few of them explained their move as being less hassled with community obligations. This development could indicate a slow move from community based life to a more individualistic life style. In this context the reader may recall the discussion in section 2.2, Chapter 2 where evidence was shown that modernisation tends to influence family structure. Basic population data from a participatory appraisal of Vakabuli and Tau villages are presented in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1

Population data for Vakabuli and Tau case study villages.

Village name	Vakabuli	Tau
Number of Yavusa	1	2
Number of Mataqali	6	4
Number of households	53	50
Adult male mataqali members	87	112
Adult female mataqali members	67	87
Male and female child mataqali members (aged below 15 years)	110	98
Non mataqali members (both sexes, adults and children)	19	109
Total ethnic Fijians	283	406
Estimated number of Fiji-Indian families living in the village area	20	30

Source: Rapid Rural Appraisal with people of Vakabuli and Tau villages.
Note: Basic facilities in both villages included a primary school, a small medical dispensary and a shop for basic consumables.

A greater proportion of Yavusa members of Vakabuli married within different mataqali of Vakabuli village which is indicated in the low proportion of non-matagali members residing in Vakabuli as compared to Tau village. Village people explained the situation with the larger number of mataqali of Vakabuli compared to Tau which enables a greater choice to find suitable marriage partners and to develop a wider network of marriage alliances. The generally more heterogeneous structure of Tau village could be more susceptible to conflict. This point will be discussed in section 8.3 of the next chapter.

The economy of Vakabuli and Tau villages is based on subsistence farming, sugar cane growing, land lease to FPL and Fiji-Indian sugar cane growers and salaried employment. Major food crops (staple crops) included cassava *(Manihot utilissima)*, taro *(Colocasia esculenta)*, sweet potato *(Ipomea batata)*, yam *(Dioscorea alata)* and the vegetable bele *(Abelmoschus manihot)*. Surplus food crops are sold in the Lautoka, Nadi and Sigatoka markets. Mango *(Mangifera indica)*, pineapple *(Ananas sativus)*, banana *(Musa spp.)*, Papaya *(Carica papaya)* and yagona *(Piper methysticum)* are produced for home consumption as well as for cash income.

Sugar cane *(Saccharum officinarum)* is grown on a commercial scale. Sugar cane production by ethnic Fijian families has increased from around 10 percent ten years ago to around 30 percent at the time of this present study. Reasons given for this increase were: cash needs and wants; economic feasibility of sugar cane; suitable agro-ecological conditions. In addition, several respondents wanted to follow the success of Fiji-Indian cane growers by starting the enterprise themselves. Land lease to Fiji-Indian families for sugar cane growing or to the Fiji Pine Ltd for pine plantation was considered a second, supplementary source of income. Finally, permanent or casual employment with Fiji Pine, its subsidiaries or with various government departments was gaining importance.

Having given a brief overview of the case study villages and indicated that both the villages are in a transition from a subsistence based economy to and market economy which, in the writers view, is most strongly evidenced by the increasing number of ethnic Fijians taking up or wanting salaried employment and/or commercial sugar cane growing. The next section looks more specifically at the degree and the sources of women power and status.

7.4 Power and status of women in ethnic Fijian society

The basic theory of women participation in development for this present study is based on power and status of women vis-a-vis men. Rothschild (1982:117-129) distinguished between power achieved at the macro-level which means through society, through men and from production, and power achieved at the micro-level from the household. I found her framework useful for this present analysis.

7.4.1 Power and status through society

In Fiji culture women and men can participate in all religious and cultural ceremonies except the welcome ceremony of "Sevusevu" which only can be received by the spokesperson who is a man.[2] For a women to become a chief she can be single or married, should not have an older brother to whom preference is given and finally she must take up residence in her own village. In reality, there are very few women chiefs in Fijian society. Preference is clearly given to male chiefs.

Traditionally, ethnic Fijian parents selected marriage partners for their children. Most women and men of the case study villages reported the growing erosion of this tradition. Although young Fijians can chose their marriage partner freely, they still need the consent of their parents. It would be misleading, however, to think that parents have given up most of their power of marriage influence because the selection of marriage partners is often implicitly manipulated by arranging strategic parties to expose suitable young people to each other. The acceptance of a ***tabua*** (whale's tooth) from the boy's by the girl's parents indicates marriage consent. In addition, girls frequently require the consent of the eldest brother who has the authority to oppose marriage plans.

Bridewealth is exchanged in favour of the bride and her family. Traditionally, bridewealth reflected the bride's value. Many participants during field work discussions commented that the traditional purpose of bridewealth has become increasingly distorted because many parents of brides tended to maximise material benefits and thus create more instability for the young couple because of indebtedness and increased pressure on the groom's family.

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[2] Sevusevu is the traditional welcome ceremony in Fiji culture. The visitors bring a small amount of kava (yagona) to the spokesman of the chief. Once a visitor has explained the intention of the visit and the spokesman has agreed visitors are free to move in the village. It is usually not possible to address the village chief directly. The protocol demands that communication goes via a chief's spokesman (always a man) who then informs the chief.

Preferably, a bride should be younger than the groom. Early twenty for girls, and mid twenty for boys was seen as "suitable" age for marriage. In a few cases women married men whose age was around five years younger than their own. Generally, parents try to talk girls out of such marriages because older age is associated with being the head of the family, leadership and status, a role occupied and strongly guarded by men. Men who are younger than their wives are regarded as soft, weak and woman-like and easily picked on for jokes.

Residence after marriage is predominantly patrilocal. Matrilocal residence, however, was observed in a few cases in both case study villages. In both situations the men had accepted matrilocal residence because of suitable employment or the opportunity to work the land of their wives.

Women who remain single (with or without children) enjoy higher status once the age of around 25 - 30 is reached and the intention not to marry is made clear to the village. In contrast to married, child-bearing women the situation of single women (mothers) is more relaxed because of less control from her male kin and the absence of a husband.

Divorce is accepted by society and remarriage after divorce or widowhood is legitimate. In divorce, most women take care of the children although children are considered the property of the father because of male descent. Several of the participants commented that the extent to which men support their divorced wives and children depends on their "compassion" for the family.

The preference for boys was evident in all the field work discussions, most notably in the appreciation given by the people to the author's family comprising three boys and one girl. Three reasons for boy preference were given by women and men: men are the inheritors of wealth; descent is traced through patrilinies; prevailing patrilocality secures constant support of parents from sons and their wives.

For the two case study villages the proportion of boys and girls completing primary and secondary school did not markedly differ. More evident is the difference at college and University level where enrolments are skewed in favour of men (Statistical News, 1991). An important reason for the lower number of ethnic Fijian women at the University of the South Pacific is their preference (choice) of traditional women's professions such as nursing, nursery/primary school teaching and clerical professions.

It would, however, be misleading to conclude that the choice is only hers, on the contrary, people during field work discussions reported that the choice for professional education is only sometimes made by the girl and more often by her brother or the parents. In my opinion, girls are socialised into taking up traditional women professions. Most of these professions are marketable and offer reasonable salaries but limited opportunity to advance into positions of power.

Generally, family life of ethnic Fijians is not supportive of education for either boys or girls. A common complaint by women was that, Fijian fathers tend to spend too much of their free time socialising with their male counterparts. In Fiji culture socialising is mostly associated with drinking the traditional root extract ***yagona.*** Because of male-dominated family life and frequent absence of husbands and fathers, Fijian women carry most of the child care and household responsibilities with little encouragement from their husbands and kin. This could be one reason why mothers generally tend to provide little academic encouragement to their children. The prevailing situation was aptly described by the headmaster of Vakabuli primary school: "Fijian parents are only interested in the results of major exams and this is usually three times during twelve years of schooling". The author noted during field work that exam results published in daily newspapers were studied and compared with passionate interest by parents. During discussions, parents also reported that education is perceived as a threat to the traditional chiefly hierarchy because educated children tend to opt for a more individualistic way of life. Several parents realised that professionalism is another form of power which competes with the ascribed chiefly power structure.

In the same context Olsson (1988:15-16) reported the lack of parental encouragement for children to participate creatively in all aspects of life. The result is little confidence as individuals and the inability to express individually-held views and feelings. Olsson's finding must be seen in the context of the chiefly protocol which denies to the majority of its clan members the right for equality-based democratic decision making. The situation is further aggravated between genders at the household level. In my opinion, this is an extremely important point for the discussion which follows on active participation and strategic gender needs.

Socialisation is gender specific and, non-conformity is punished. As previously discussed in section 7.2 preferred conduct for both boys and girls is characterised by subservience, obedience and oppression of individually-held views and feelings. Rules for appropriate, gender specific child-rearing practices are commonly discussed at the level of the village, clan, extended family and within the family. The obedience-based chiefly system makes behavioural norms binding.

Girls are primarily socialised by their mothers; boys by their fathers. The six most frequently mentioned female stereotypes in the present study were: to be a good housewife; does all the work in the house; can only work in the house; cooking; must obey; faithful. In contrast, the six most frequently mentioned male stereotypes were: well behaved; respect for village hierarchy; physically strong; willing to do community tasks; soft spoken; ready to protect the village.[3]

A number of double standards were reported with regard to obeying the law, decision-making processes and sexuality. Chiefs enjoy most freedom in all these aspects followed by men. Married, child-bearing women are most stringently controlled as will be discussed in section 7.4.5 and is illustrated in Table 7.2. Several villagers reported a relatively high degree of societal acceptance for unfaithfulness of men because strong sexual restrictions exist during pregnancy and child nursing. Thomson (1968:235) and Broude and Greene (1976:409-429) reported similar observations in their studies.

Physical violence against children in general and women in particular is not sanctioned by society. In spite of that discussions on violence against women were spontaneous and lively. Both men and women participated freely. The major reasons given for violence against women were: jealousy in early marriage, food not ready on time; and the excessive drinking of ***yagona.*** Many women reported that men demand food to be ready at any time. This situation of unpredictability was experienced as very disturbing by most women, and viewed as a major cause for marital violence. In extreme situations of violence women can return to their parents. Generally, only a few women make use of this opportunity because the return to the own family for refuge is considered "weak" and interpreted as not being able to handle marriage affairs properly. If a women, because of violence from her husband, returns to her kin then reconciliation of the husband with the wife's clan in the form of an ***i soro*** or ***sevusevu,*** which means ritualised surrender by the wrongdoer, is required to normalise relations (Arno, 1976:49-65, McKenzie, 1990:23-42).[4] Sometimes parents force their daughters to return to her husband against her will because her parents (mainly father and her brother) believe that a woman has to fulfil certain marital obligations, and that punishment by the husband can be a justified method for maintaining a relationship.

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[3] Community work includes both; tasks wanted by the chief (s) for his own benefit or pleasure and not necessarily useful for the whole village and/or communal duties of general interest such as renovating school/church buildings or community development projects like water and electricity supply.

[4] ***I soro:*** an offender presents a ritual object, usually a polished whale's tooth **(tabua)** or a small amount of kava ***(yagona),*** to the person or party he has injured, and the result is to restore normal relations between them (Arno, 1976:49).

From the responses of the field work it appeared that the men are accepted heads of the family. Generally, the husband has the last world in decision-making. Women and men often remarked that, although men are the accepted head of the family "the quality of the relationship", nevertheless, depends on mutual respect and cooperation which varies greatly between couples. As the sanctioned leader, men have access to all parts of the house at any time. In this context it is important to mention that Fiji culture grants little scope for private space and for private ownership. Even distant relatives have access to space and wealth at any time without explicit obligation for repayment. Requests by relatives for favours cannot be easily denied. During field work discussions the situation of not being able to say "no" was considered by most participants as a major impediment in ethnic Fijian culture to success in business ventures.

In the more extreme situations, where little mutual respect and cooperation exists between marriage partners, men exercise their right as head of the family by deciding on all economic matters including the household, movements of wife and children, and child rearing practices. Women usually move freely from the house to the garden. Their co-responsibility for subsistence production implies free movement in this geographical area. Movements farther away require consent of the husband. One women stated: "Once we are married we just do the work inside the house like cooking, cleaning and decorating". On the other hand, cooperation of the patriliny with the matriliny is required to maintain good relationships. This function promotes a women's movement to her relatives (Nayacakalou, 1957:46-51).

Generally, a father views himself as the "owner" of his children (boys and girls). In this context, one man reported: "the man is the owner of the children because they are from his blood". In order to secure membership in the father's mataqali it is essential to register the birth of a son or daughter in the register of native lands with the Ministry of Fijian Affairs. Failing to do so denies a person mataqali membership and its associated benefits. This point will be further discussed in section 7.5. However, if the mother, father and the members of the mother's mataqali agree children can also be accepted as members of the mother's matagali. This practice is useful if the father's mataqali ceases to exist (low membership or dispute) because such children can still benefit from being a member of the mother's mataqali.

The previous pages showed that Fiji society most strongly influences gender construction during socialisation which legitimises men to use their (final) authority in decision-making processes, to follow double standards and to leave most of the family responsibilities to women. It seems that ethnic Fijian society to date does not grant much explicit power to women. The next section looks how women can derive power through the men.

7.4.2 Power and status derived through men

The study identified three areas in which women can gain power through men. The most frequently mentioned was sexuality. The value of women's sexuality is sometimes used in exchange for greater freedom of movement. However, this power is subtle because it involves the risk of unfaithfulness by women which is not easily accepted in Fijian married life. Reproduction is another powerful base from which to gain influence. During field work discussions women were well aware of their reproductive power which was strongly associated with having a son. Saying no to a larger family size against the hope of having a son was considered legitimate but at the same time women expressed fear of pressure from the husband and relatives. As such, power based on sexuality and reproduction is rather conflicting.

Another source of power through men was the social and economic status of the father who grants daughters privileges and status by ascription which can result in their becoming a chief if no elder son is available; being allowed to develop their own opinion and leadership skills; improved access to education and employment; obtaining ready support from the village community. This form of power was illustrated during field work where out of fourteen permanent women employees of FPL, three were daughters of the chief of a Yavusa, one of the chief of a Mataqali and six of landowners all of whom had land leased to FPL for plantation forestry. In addition, a father can also grant privileges to his son in-law which are routed through his daughter, thus increasing the decision-making power (influence) of his daughter.

This section showed that a women's power derived through men can be conflicting as in case of sexuality and reproduction. Power derived by ascription appears less ambiguous. The next section looks how women and men perceived women's work contribution in production.

7.4.3 Power and status from production [5]

Asking women and men how they perceived women's contribution in a number of familiar productive tasks was useful to find an indication of women's status and power. Figure 7.3 presents the division of labour indicating different perceptions of men and women.

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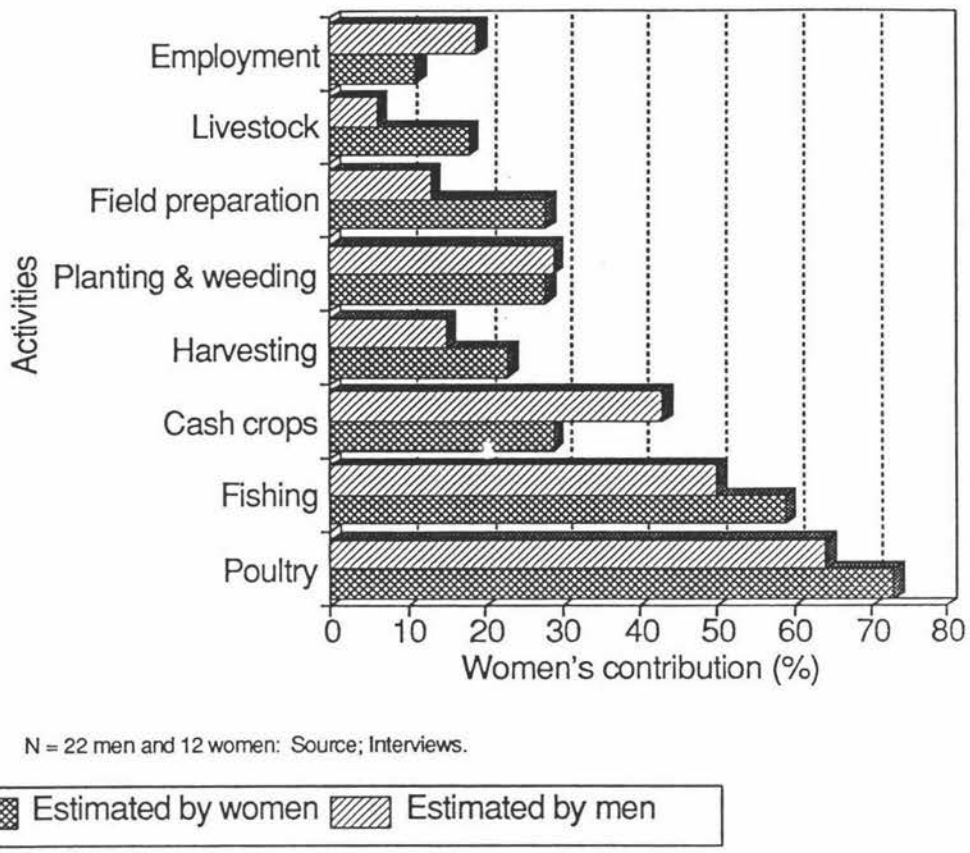
[5] Accumulated wealth is under the legitimate authority of men, and they are the inheritors. Excluded from this is land which is communally owned. Because of the central importance of all matters related with access to and control of land, these issues will be discussed in section 7.5 and throughout Chapter 8.

Figure 7.3

Division of labour for eight productive tasks as perceived by ethnic Fijian women and men.



N = 22 men and 12 women: Source; Interviews.

Generally, men tended to overestimate the extent to which women participated in employment and cash crop production, both relatively new areas of production in Fiji which could have caused a "modernisation bias". About half the men which were interviewed had completed secondary education and were well aware of the desirability of increased women participation in the "modern" market economy, hence another possibility of bias. For the remaining, more traditional tasks, men persistently tended to underestimate the contribution of women's work. This could be for a number of reasons: women's contribution taken for granted (habitual); to indicate their own importance in production and nourisher of the family; to underline the importance of a man as the head of the family. Generally, men participated more in the physically demanding tasks because of pride in their physical superiority: a result of childhood socialisation discussed earlier. Furthermore, most women perceived that physically hard work should be done by the men.

The degree to which women participated in production and the freedom women enjoyed to use income from joint production strongly depended on mutual understanding between marriage partners. Generally, however, men can and did exercise their authority to control women in all aspects of economic decision-making. Both men and women reported the existence of clear-cut gender roles. The roles for women most frequently included household-work and taking care of children and husband. Generally, productive tasks except fishing and subsistence poultry were primarily the domain of men. Roles for men most often included providing for the overall economic security of the family.

Extra household employment of married women was accepted by the village community of Vakabuli and Tau as long as it did not adversely interfere with family life, but the employment of women during the reproductive phase was generally considered irresponsible. The degree of such a stigma depended on the economic situation of the family, the professional background of a women and the sympathy of relatives. Women with a marketable profession which included traditional activities were sometimes encouraged to remain employed after marrying. In both case study villages several men supported such activities for economic reasons.

The discussion of the previous pages showed that women do contribute significantly in traditional productive tasks, and are increasingly contributing to the cash economy. This trend could imply an increased work-load of women which could be a result of modernisation. Similar findings were discussed in section 2.2 of Chapter 2. The discussion which follows focuses on how women and men perceived women's contribution to household-work.

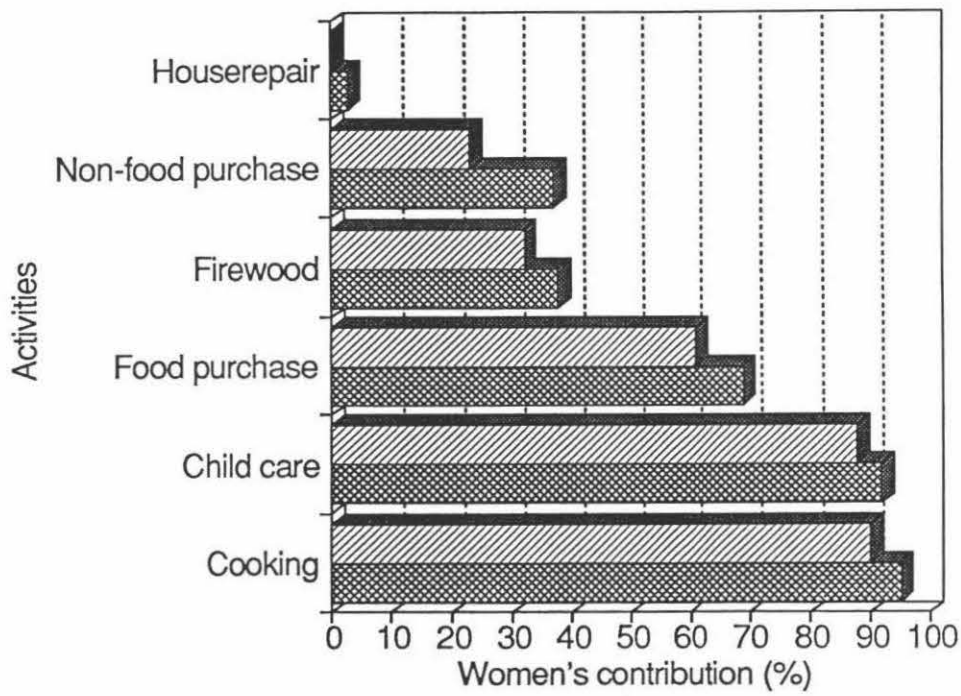
7.4.4 Power and status from the household

While it is accepted that men can exercise their authority to control women in household matters, women whose husbands were employed usually received a daily or weekly household allowance. In the majority of cases women informed their husbands how they spend household money. Male control ranged from women who daily had to ask for money to those who were in charge of financial affairs. Women whose husbands were not employed tended to depend less on money for food purchase but more on subsistence production. In situations of incomes earned by husband and wife, money was most frequently pooled and used for household expenditure and social obligations. Employed mothers most commonly used their salary for food, to pay school fees and to buy school uniforms. These findings are supported by the views of many authors reviewed in section 2.2, Chapter 2 that money earned by women may create a greater development impact than money earned by men.

Women explicitly, and men more implicitly, reported that women enjoy considerable less leisure time than men do. Men often spend most free time socialising with their male counterparts while women do housework. The difference in leisure time and the effect of men's nightly social activities was obvious from observations during the hot mid-day hours when the men were sleeping and the majority of women doing the washing and bathing the smaller children. Figure 7.4 presents the perceived division of labour of six domestic tasks done by women.

Figure 7.4

Division of labour for six domestic tasks as perceived by ethnic Fijian women and men.



N = 22 men and 12 women; Source: Interviews.

Estimated by women Estimated by men

Men tended to persistently underestimate the proportion of work done by women for all six activities. Standard deviations were low suggesting well defined gender roles, for house-repair, child care and cooking, and relatively high for food purchase, non-food purchase and the collection of firewood which suggests less clear gender roles. Productive tasks discussed in the previous section showed a higher variability between individuals and gender indicating unclear gender roles.

Overall, the results of labour division in the household and family indicate a clearer understanding by women and men on who is doing what than was observed for production tasks. This could imply that gender conflict would be accelerated with regard to productive tasks. However, the study did not show explicit signs of gender conflict as a result of modernisation. It would be misleading, however, to argue that modernisation in the two villages were neutral to gender relations. The increased work-load by women could be seen, among others, as an important change in gender relations with the potential likelihood for new conflict. The discussion which follows looks at the dynamics of ten women power and status variables during five life cycle phases of a women.

7.4.5 Changes of power and status during the life cycle phases

Many important dimensions of power and status change during a women's life. In analysing the potential of women participation it is crucial to view life as a dynamic system where restrictions and opportunities change over time. The analysis looks at ten power and/or status variables which were discussed as more static phenomena in the previous four sections. A useful framework for this present study was the one proposed by Epstein (1982:151-167) which divided a women's life into five domestic life cycle phases.

The ***Preparation phase*** of a women is the time when girls prepare themselves or are prepared for marriage. The first years of marriage is considered the ***Adaptation phase.*** It is the time of marriage when women are adapting to a new social environment and way of life. The formation of a family through reproduction is considered the ***Expansion phase.*** During this phase women expand to greater responsibilities through the formation of a family. The time when children start to grow out of childhood is considered the ***Consolidation phase.*** Family size is consolidated and children start to gain independence. The time when the children begin to move away to start their own family is seen as the ***Dispersal phase.*** Table 7.2 presents the dynamics of ten power and status variables during the five domestic life cycle phases of ethnic Fijian women.

Table 7.2

Changes of ten women power and status variables during five life cycle phases of ethnic Fijian women.

Dimension	Preparation	Adaptation	Expansion	Consolidation	Dispersal
Degree of physical violence against women	+++ *	+++ *	+++ *	++ *	+/- *
Restriction of movement	++++ *	+++++ *	++++ *	+++ *	++ *
Occurrence of divorce	NA	+++	++++ *	+	+/-
Pressure to have a son	NA	++++ *	+++++ *	+/-	NA
Men's control of women's income	++	+++	++++	+++	++
Restriction to participate in major decisions	+++++ *	+++ *	++++ *	++ *	+ *
Restriction to participate in household	+	++ *	+++	+++	++
Women decision power to limit family size	NA	+	++	NA	NA
Restriction on extra household employment	+/_	++++ *	++++ *	++	++
Restriction on membership in organisations	+/-	++++ *	++++ *	++	+ *

Source: Interviews with women, men and married couples in Vakabuli and Tau villages.
Note: +++++ = highest value for dimension. + = lowest value. +/- = neutral (perceived as equal).
* = opinions did not differ more than +/- one between participants.

Because of the importance of these variables and their dynamic characteristics each is briefly discussed. During the Preparation phase violence most strongly comes from the brother, followed by the father and sometimes the mother. The most common reasons for violence during this phase, as reported during field work discussions were the neglect of expected behavioural rules. During the Adaptation phase the husband is the sole authority and owner of his wife as was indicated in the remarks of two married men : "During the first years of marriage the wife ***belongs*** to the husband", and, "During the first years of marriage the wife is the ***property*** of the husband". The situation changes to some extent with increased age. During the Expansion, Consolidation and Dispersal phases women are increasingly protected by their own family through their children. The degree of violence remained high during the Expansion phase but husbands have to be careful of their parents' and brothers-in-laws opinion. During field work discussions men perceived women during Expansion as "touchy" and "lazy" because of the attention they gave to their small children. Touchiness was often mentioned as cause for violence. It is evident that respect for women increases with age.

The second dimension, restriction of movement, is closely connected to violence. Generally, movement is closely guarded during Preparation Adaptation and Expansion phases, and is loosened during Consolidation and Dispersal. The restriction of movement during Preparation was explained to the writer by as the dangers girls are exposed to if not protected. Maintaining virginity for marriage has lost some of its traditional importance and was not seen as the predominant reason to protect girls. It was more the fear that girls could break sanctioned behavioural rules which threatens communal stability if they keep in "bad" company.
It would, however, be misleading to dismiss the importance of virginity altogether because it was a common and spontaneous topic during field work discussions.

Divorce mostly occurs during the strenuous times of Adaptation and most noticeably during Expansion. Several men perceived women as "dull" during the Expansion phase. This must be seen as associated with the culturally determined sexual restriction during reproduction which appears to be a major cause for friction, unfaithfulness, separation and sometimes divorce. The possibility of unfaithfulness of women during Adaptation and Expansion is a major reason to restrict movement of women. These phases were considered as times where there was a lot of marital tension.

The importance of having a son was discussed earlier. Women and men are happy if the first borne child is a boy because it fulfils a strong wish, raises the status of both husband and wife, and removes the pressure to have a boy. Furthermore, if the first child is a boy it removes the heavy pressure of women and men to have a larger family than actually wanted or for women to have children into late reproductive age, a situation frequently observed and reported as stressful by most participants.

Married women agreed that generally all income earned has to be reported to the husband. Its use is sometimes discussed by both partners or determined by the husband. Women tend to have access to their income but rarely have control because its use always needs the approval of the husband.

Major decisions for a Fijian person or family include the area of residence, number of children, education, whether a women seeks employment and major investments. In contrast, household decisions include all aspects of the household-economy which take place in the women's principal working environment. Generally, men have final decision-making powers, however, less restriction is placed on women with regard to issues related to the household decisions, but still severe restrictions exist during Expansion and Consolidation phases. Participants reported that women mostly reconcile to the opinion of the husband, however, exceptions to this rule were also mentioned.

The wife-husband discussion on family size was not a high priority for most participants. However, all mentioned that a smaller family size would allow a higher individual living standard, most noticeably with regards to education of the children. That family size was not perceived as an urgent problem by men is indicated in the following comment endorsed by a number of participants: "It does not cost more to feed one or two additional mouths. There is always plenty of food in the garden". In contrast, several women indicated their wish for smaller family size (maximum four children) and more compact child spacing to reduce the workload of the mother in the medium term. The association of women's movement and family size is illustrated in the following comment by one women participant: "Sometimes men want to have a large family so that women's movements are restricted to the village for a long period of time". This is so because the highly restrictive Expansion phase is extended.

Employment is most rigidly avoided during Adaptation and Expansion phases. It is common that professionally active women give up employment after marriage in favour of being a housewife even if not yet a mother. The contrasting opinions on the topic are illustrated in the following comments by two newly married men from Vakabuli: "It does not look good if a man cannot afford to support his wife after marriage", and, "It does not make economic sense if a newly married woman stops employment just to wait for her husband".

Membership by women in political and/or feminist groups is strongly restricted by men. Women are most active in church groups and older women frequently assume a leader role. Mostly younger women reported difficulty in obtaining permission from the husband to join the more activist oriented women groups because men tend to perceive such membership and participation as a threat to their authority.

To sum up, the discussion of the previous pages showed that women in the Adaptation and Expansion phases have little status and power which limits their scope to participate actively outside the household. The scope for more active participation in a wider sphere of development increases with age. The section showed evidence that power and status variables are a dynamic concept which changes during different life cycle phases. This finding has implications for development practitioners because it shows that there are times in a woman's life where participation outside the family has low priority or is simply not possible. The last section of this chapter focuses land ownership, an area of great importance for forestry development.

7.5 Land ownership

Traditional land ownership in Fiji did not depend on permanent residency. Families and clans were found to own land all over the Fijian islands where some members of clans once lived. Land titles were only extinguished if the ownership line was extinguished. The intimate relationship between the people and the land in pre-colonial times is indicated in the following observation:

> "Taukei or kai vanua "land people" refers to the original settlers of locality. These people exercised what appears to have been a de jure endorsement of any subsequent occupation, for it was the mata ni vanua "land representatives" who conducted the ceremony of formal consecration of their titled headship. These consecration ceremonies emphasise the ancestor's power over land, a concept which was deeply embedded in Fijian culture" (Walter, 1978:91).

The ancestors' power over land is equated with the "spiritual dominion", and the use of land with the "physical dominion". The spiritual dominion was maintained as long as pre-literate people were able to remember the location of the land. This is possible for around three generations (Chapelle, 1978:84-87). The Fijians had no territorial roots and were moving frequently because of threats from enemies. They were strongly bonded through kinship and not through joint ownership of the land (Thomson, 1968:355). The mataqali sub-clans are the controlling land units. The Native Lands Commission (NLC) in 1880 surveyed and mapped the land belonging to the mataqali at that time and its members were recorded in the register of native lands (Kamikamica, 1987:226-227). The register is regularly updated and acts as proof of mataqali membership.

In contrast to land ownership which is principally vested in mataqali, the right to use the land for subsistence production belongs to the person who plants it. If land lies unused, everyone is allowed to plant it. If the *de jure* cultivator or his/her descendants (first cultivator) do not wish to cultivate, he/she is obliged to let other interested cultivators (secondary cultivators) or his/her descendants have access to the land (Walter, 1978:95). Uncultivated land has no value *per se*. The effort of planting determines land value. Long term user-right of land could be secured by planting fruit trees or, as in case of the Fiji Pine project, pine trees.

Traditionally, primary land right holders were the ***taukei,*** the people of the land and of these primarily the adult men and the adult unmarried women. In cases where polygamy was practised only offsprings of "true wives", that is, women accepted by the community had land ownership rights (Chapelle, 1978:73). Generally, women's rights to land use and ownership were far less clear than those of men because of patrilineal social organisation (Chapelle, 1978:74-75). In addition to the ***unmarried taukai woman,*** there were several possibilities for married women to secure land use rights. Firstly, as soon as a married women took up residence in her descent group she would assume primary land user rights. This was often the case with women whose marriage was not successful (Chapelle, 1978:76-77), and this practice is still observed today. It was evident during field work discussions that women mataqali members were well aware and placed high value to their equal land ownership rights.

Secondly, an unmarried daughter could request to have a piece of land planted for her, and upon marriage she could retain the usufruct (produce of the land) of the land. If she wanted to further enforce her land rights, a good relationship with her descendant group was essential. The most effective way to secure her right was to deliver to the descendent group one of her male children for upbringing (Chapelle, 1978:75-76).

Thirdly, a women residing virilocally could request her descendant group to reserve a piece of land for her. This land was called "leaf-taking" or "dowry land". Such a land use right entails that her husband would have to ask permission for the use of "dowry land" (Walter, 1978:95-96). This situation was observed in both case villages but in cases were residence was matrilocal and the husband wanted to use his wife's land use right. Such men can obtain use but not ownership rights.

Finally, through marriage the women residing virilocally automatically shared the primary rights pertaining to her husband, and a husband could also acquire land use rights in his wife's descent group's land. This was called a "basket gift" and depended heavily on his proper conduct towards his wife and her paternal relatives (Chapelle, 1978:76).

The confusion caused by the diffuse land-ownership pattern at the beginning of the colonial period led to the establishment of surveyed mataqali estates which did not take sufficiently into account traditional land boundaries and land use rights but followed the European system of legal communal property rights. This resulted in large administrative areas occupied by small mataqali and small areas inhabited by large mataqali. Such inequalities have caused hardship in heavily populated areas (Walter, 1978:106, Overton, 1992:327).

From the discussion so far it might be assumed that the Fijian rural economy was guided by democratic principles. However, this was not so because once the chief was elected he often decided land issues without consulting the community. Furthermore, regular payments of tributes by community members helped to manipulate the chief's decisions (Thomson, 1968:357, Chapelle, 1978:82). Some chiefs even attempted to sell large areas of community land to foreigners without consulting the community (Burns, 1963:86).

In contemporary Fiji there exist three land-categories (Asean Development Bank (ADB),1980:15-18): At the time of marriage each son can choose the location for his house. This land is called ***Yavu*** (building site). The land for food production is called ***Nkele.*** If the community disputes the user rights, the only way to establish a use right is to challenge the present user by encroaching on his/her garden. Forests, or waste-lands (considered as not useful for production) is called ***Veikau.*** Traditionally, no value was attached to this land except for the fruit trees growing in the forest. However, the value of such lands may have changed because of development opportunities such as forestry. The distribution of land use rights of the veikau in the past was often at the sole discretion of the chief.

The Native Lands Commission in 1938 declared the mataqali as the administrative land owning unit and the management of communal land leased to individuals was mandated since 1940 to the Native Lands Trust Board (NLTB) which acts on behalf of the ethnic Fijian land owners (Overton, 1992:327). Today there are around 6000 mataqali in Fiji who own around 83% of the land area of the country. Another 10% is freehold and the remaining 7% is government crown land (Walter, 1978:98, Larmour, 1984:10-14, ADB, 1980:15-18, Kamikamica, 1987:226).[6]

Communally owned land is divided into ***native land*** and ***native reserve land.*** None of the communally owned land can be sold because it is the Fijian view that land is derived from their ancestors, and should remain in perpetual ownership with the traditional mataqali until it becomes extinct. In this case land would revert to the crown or be transferred to another mataqali. Native reserve land can be leased for a specified period by the Native Land Trust Board for individual or industrial use. Most Fiji-Indian sugar cane growers and the Fiji Pine project lease native land through the NLTB.

A change from the present communal, gender equal land ownership rights to European-type private property rights would, in the authors view, have severe implications for the women. Keeping in mind the gender relations discussed earlier, the privatisation of land would effectively deprive women of land ownership. Possible implications for ethnic Fijian women if land was privatised could be: loss of all land owner and user rights; loss of all income such as land rents and royalties; increased subordination and dependency; loss of security and increased poverty; loss of power and status. The reader may recall the discussion in section 2.2, Chapter 2 where the creation of private land ownership rights with land titles issued in the name of the family head (usually men) was seen as the central cause for accelerating poverty in many countries. Fortunately, there is no likelihood of land being privatised in the foreseeable future.

The previous pages helped clarify the complex Fijian land ownership pattern and highlighted the advantages of communal landownership for the women.

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[6] **Distribution of land ownership in Fiji 1988:**

Community land:	1,485,600 ha (82,16 %)
Freehold:	147,200 ha (8.15 %)
Crown land:	150,800 ha (9.45 %)
Rotuman land:	4,400 ha (0.24 %)

The importance of landownership issues in Fiji society is indicated by the deeply entrenched authority of the chiefs (mostly males) to amend policy matters on land issues. To pass land legislation six out of the eight Great Council Chief's nominees have to agree to the issue (Lal, 1988:18-24).

7.6 Conclusions

Compared with their counterparts in many other parts of the Third World, ethnic Fijian women benefit from the communal land owning pattern because it provides them with more security, power and status than would be the case with most individual private property rights systems.

However, ethnic Fijian women enjoy considerably less power and status than their male counterparts. Although society permits women's participation in most cultural and political spheres, women to date have not been able to participate fully in modern Fiji. In my opinion, this "low visibility of the women" is the result of the strong patriarchal system.

For women, patriarchy is most strongly pronounced during adolescent, early marriage and the reproduction phase. It reduces slightly with age. The strong male control over women has implications for project participation to be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 8

People participation as project partners

8.1 Introduction

"Involving women in forestry projects often makes the difference between achieving or not achieving project objectives. Moreover, involving women need not be costly and almost always produces a higher return on project investment" (Molnar and Schreiber, The World Bank, 1989).

At a first glance the corporate objective of the Fiji Pine Ltd to *"Respond and contribute responsibly to the environmental, social and economic well-being of the community we serve"* (FPL, 1991) appears to address desirable development needs. However, at a second glance the objective is inherently contradictionary. On one hand, it aims at achieving highly relevant and legitimate social, environmental and economic goals, but on the other hand it uses a passive means of "serving " to achieve goals which, if taken seriously, require the active involvement of all project actors. This point was discussed in the second half of Chapter 2 where it was shown that project effectiveness and success were highly positive, and significantly correlated with variables such as project communication, community organisation and ownership-control of the project. These variables all represent the active mode of participation as was previously discussed in the second half of Chapter 2. While in the longer term the opening quote on women participation may gain relevance, in the context of the Fiji Pine project more active involvement is needed by both women and men.

This chapter begins with an analysis of the degree of participation of the ***Vakabuli*** and ***Tau*** population. It emphasises the relationship of land ownership and the inherent requirement of participation for successful project operation. From this follows a discussion which addresses two questions: who has access to participation, and who controls the degree of participation? The second half of the chapter examines the authenticity of participation and specifically looks at possibilities of involving women more actively in the project. The crucial question, whether women could play a different, more active role, receives attention at the end of the chapter.

8.2 Why is landowner participation required?

The Fiji pine project depends for successful functioning on the cooperation of the mataqali landowners whose land is leased to the Fiji Pine Limited (FPL) for a period of fifty years. The reasons of the importance of participation are: most land in Fiji is communally owned and approval for forestry development by the community is required; the landowners have to be genuinely convinced about the benefits of such a long term venture; the project can only be effective with the goodwill of the people because the Fiji Pine project is a communal, land-based project. Two basic steps are necessary for the FPL to finalise land leases. Firstly, to convince the majority of mataqali members of the benefits of planting pine. Secondly, to finalise a land lease agreement with the Native Land Trust Board (NLTB) which acts on behalf of the communal landowners.

The land lease agreement, termed "Instrument of Tenancy" (Fiji Pine Limited, 1993, personal communication), is signed by FPL and NLTB representatives on behalf of the landowners.[1] By signing the document the parties agree to ***respect*** the land because it is considered sacred. From this it follows that FPL has to pursue environmentally sound forest management practices. The benefits to landowners include: preference for getting ***employment*** for suitably trained people; promotion of training; extraction of pine trees for own use against payment; payment of land rent and royalty; access (not control) for landowners to the forests for grazing; hunting; fishing; collecting firewood and recreation.

With this arrangement of land leasing FPL, to date, has acquired around 70,000 hectares. FPL's final plantation target is 64,000 hectares of which at the time of the study around 36,000 hectares were planted. Natural disasters such as hurricanes and man-made disasters such as forest fires make it generally difficult for FPL to achieve their annual plantation targets. The quantitative aspects of FPL's overall forestry developments were discussed in section 6.2, Chapter 6.

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[1] The list of benefits mentioned in the "Instrument of Tenancy" deviate to some extent from an unofficial document (second agenda) written by the people of Tau village in 1972. The most conflicting deviations included two aspects: land owners want to plant the second forest rotation without involving non-land owners and the degree of employment and the speed of training should be such that landowners , in the second rotation, could do most of the forest management practices themselves. Several of the estates are already in the second rotation and, according to landowners, involvement (participation) is below target. This is a major cause for conflict between FPL and landowners which will be discussed in section 8.3 of this chapter.

The previous pages have established the importance of full landowner participation for successful running of the Fiji Pine project. While the results of the discussion cannot be generalised arguably, the participation in Vakabuli and Tau villages which is discussed below does not differ greatly from other villages in the Lololo and Nabou forest estates. The next five sections introduce the reader by a step by step approach to why participation is important for specific considerations; how the situation was at the time of the study; how people felt about their involvement, and what can be concluded from the findings?

8.2.1 Participation through land lease and employment

This form of participation by the people of Vakabuli and Tau is extremely important because ***landowner employment*** was considered by the people as the most important factor of the land leases with FPL. In the "Instrument of Tenancy" landowner employment is prominently placed, however, with the explicitly spelt out prerequisite that only suitably qualified landowners can be employed. In the writers view, it is important to distinguish between "employment" and "landowner employment" because the most conflicting question for the landowners of Vakabuli and Tau to date is the question: employment for whom? Table 8.1 presents an overview of the involvement of Vakabuli village with regard to participation in land leases and employment.

Table 8.1

Involvement of landowners of Vakabuli village in land lease and employment.

Mataqali /a	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6
Total land area (ha)	832	1245	280	146	583	950
Proportion (%) of total land area leased to FPL	56.5	52.8	8.5	90.5	30.2	8.3
Proportion (%) of men full time employed with FPL /b,c	35	25	25	62	28	38
Proportion (%) of women full time employed with FPL /b,c	27	28	0	0	0	16

Source: Interviews with village people of Vakabuli.
Notes: a/ Mataqali names, M1 to M6: Tirivi, Botelaki, Dua, Naboudamani, Drasa, Cawanisa. b/ Proportion of total men and women mataqali members working full time with FPL. It includes all age groups above 15 years irrespective of the desire to work with FPL. c/ Casual work with the FPL for the village was estimated at around 15 men and 5 women years.

In the case of Vakabuli two out of six mataqali (M3 and M6) preferred to use their land for an alternative land use to pine forestry. Members of these two mataqali argued that the benefits from the involvement with FPL were too far away and better returns from the land could be achieved by fattening cattle and/or sugarcane growing. The latter was mostly achieved by leasing land to Fiji-Indian cane growers, but recently some mataqali members have started sugarcane production themselves.

Participation of fully employed men and women was significantly higher in Vakabuli than in Tau, but the number of part-time employees was lower. The higher proportion of skilled, permanently employed people for Vakabuli was the result of its close location to Lololo estate, the Tropic Wood processing plant, and Vakabuli's close vicinity of the FPL headquarters in Lautoka. The latter had a strong affect on the number of women full-time employees from Vakabuli because of the village's long association with the FPL and FPL's need for clerical staff which was available in Vakabuli village.

In my opinion, other reasons for this strong attachment of Vakabuli with FPL participation are political. The relationship of the village with both FPL and NLTB is one of relatively harmonious cooperation and villagers have not questioned FPL's and NLTB's lease terms and conditions. Table 8.2 presents an overview of the involvement of Tau village in regard to participation in land lease and employment.

Table 8.2

Involvement of landowners of Tau village in land lease and employment.

Mataqali /a	**M1**	**M2**	**M3**	**M4**
Total land area (ha)	1109	1041	532	117
Proportion (%) of total land leased to FPL	75.0	80.6	31.7	91.5
Proportion (%) of men full time employed with FPL /b,c	22	12	0	23
Proportion (%) of women full time employed with FPL /b,c	0	0	0	0

Source: Interviews with village people of Tau.
Notes: a/ Mataqali names, M1 to M4: Nasaqa, Loukai, Daga, Koromani. b/ Proportion of total potential men and women mataqali members working full time with FPL. It includes all age groups above 15 years irrespective of the desire to work with FPL. c/ Casual work with the FPL for the entire village was estimated at around 25 men and 10 women years.

The proportion of part-time workers in Tau was considerably higher than in Vakabuli because the Tau people applied stronger political pressure on the FPL to make their promise of increased employment opportunities come true. This was especially reflected in the higher overall involvement for casual work. In contrast to Vakabuli, and also the result of political pressure, Tau women were involved in tree planting and tree weeding operations as well as working in the tree nursery.

Common to both villages was their long association (since 1972) with the Fiji pine project and strong demands by the people that all employment should be given to landowners. Most male landowners perceived as unimportant the question of whether more men or women should work. More important to them was the fact that all the work in the forest should be done by the landowners. Women landowners sometimes expressed the wish to be more involved but at the same time noted difficulties in having to do household and family tasks at the same time. During field work discussions in Vakabuli and Tau and at the time of the study, most men and women participants were unhappy with the low degree of participation in employment. They strongly felt that FPL to date had not fulfilled its promise to employ landowners.

For the FPL the major hindrance for not employing more landowners was their generally inadequate skill level, the low work efficiency of many landowners, and their relatively low level of education. According to FPL officials, the landowners associated their willingness to lease land to FPL with a guarantee for employment irrespective of their skills and work performance. During field work the writer observed a wide communication gap between the people of the two case study villages and the FPL. This aspect will be discussed in section 8.3 where the authenticity of participation is analysed.

It is worth noting that one mataqali in each village (Naboudamani for Vakabuli and Koromani for Tau) leased out more than 90% of its total land area to FPL. This situation left little land for subsistence or other alternative land uses that may in future become attractive. In my opinion, this is a critical point with possible implications for the welfare of the mataqali during the 50 year agreement period. It is probably significant that both mataqali had the lowest total land area in the respective village, the highest proportion of land leased to FPL, as well as the highest proportion of male participation as permanent workers in FPL. These relationships cannot be conclusively explained. However, in the view of the writer, there could be several reasons, the most likely one being that the two mataqali had little negotiating leverage because they were small (5 households each) and were not associated with a chief mataqali. Their willingness to participate was probably honoured by FPL by the provision of employment. During field work discussions members of the two mataqali reported discomfort because of their high dependence on FPL and the little land area now available for food production or other, alternative land use opportunities.

The discussion of the previous pages showed that participation of the landowners in employment was central to the signing of the land leases. However, the interests of the landowners differed to a large extent from those of FPL.

For example, the landowners seemed to take a strong stand on their perception that everyone who wished to work should be employed. The FPL, on the other hand, reported a need for a more skilled workforce as well as a need to make a profit. FPL tried to overcome the problem by employing skilled staff from non-landowner groups, generally ethnic Indian Fijians to which the people of Nabou and Nadi reacted with political pressure, and also to some extent with destructive action. These points imply conflict and will receive attention in the second half of this chapter. The next section goes one step further in analysing the degree of participation and looks where and to what extent people participated in the standard project-cycle.

8.2.2 Participation in the standard project-cycle

The analysis of participation in the project cycle is useful to assess the degree of participation in different development processes. Compared with the analysis in the previous section, this analysis is more sensitive to decision-making procedures. This is so because all steps, except for some areas of implementation, require a more active mode of participation. The results of the analysis, in which women and men from Vakabuli, Tau and the FPL staff were involved, are presented in Table 8.3.

Table 8.3

Project-cycle participation by gender.

Project-cycle steps	Who was actively involved?	Gender
Problem-analysis	Ex Prime Minister (around 1970)	**M**
Feasibility study, Appraisal, Design	Forest Department, UN-Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), New Zealand Forest Service	**M**
Planning	Fiji Pine Scheme/Commission/Ltd & international development cooperation.	**M**
Implementation and Monitoring	Fiji Pine Scheme/Commission/Ltd. Assisted by overseas development cooperation.	**M,F**
Evaluation	Mostly externally by international development cooperation.	**M**
Impact-monitoring	Few studies prepared by overseas students and/or volunteers and/or consultants.	**M**
Self-management	Landowners (expected by year 2020)	**NA**

Source: Interviews with people from Vakabuli, Tau and FPL staff.
Abbreviations: M = Male, F = Female

As can be seen from the table, the only step in the project's life in which women were involved, and then only passively, was in the ongoing process of implementation. A similar finding was discussed in section 6.5, Chapter 6, with regard to perceptions of the FPL staff on project cycle participation. An increased degree of involvement could be seen in FPL's aim to gradually increase self-management to 100% during the next 25 years, of which, the introduction of land owner companies by FPL can be seen as a start in this direction. [2]

[2] Land-Owner Companies: Groups of land-owners which developed with assistance from FPL their own organisation to take up contract work associated with pine forestry such as logging and transporting logs to the mill. To date eight such companies were operating successfully. The FPL assists in business advice and training. Tropic Woods provides most of the contracts.

The idea to eventually transfer project ownership from the Fiji government to the landowners would imply a change from passive to a more active mode of participation.

There is evidence that project commitment improves and project costs decrease with a more equal involvement by women in the decision making processes of forestry projects (Molnar and Schreiber, 1989). However, in Fiji, while the creation of landowner companies are a step in the direction of more active participation, cultural factors discussed in the previous chapter, and the physically demanding nature of the work suggest there may be little scope for women participation. Around half of the landowners during field work discussions were not aware that FPL had plans to involve landowners more actively.

As Table 8.3 shows, to date there has been little active involvement by the landowners in general, and none from the women in particular. Furthermore, most landowners during field work discussions complained about the lack of information on the future plans of FPL. These remarks imply a serious communication problem. This point will be further discussed in section 8.3. Having seen that women participate to some extent in the implementation of the project, the next section looks more closely what the women are doing within the implementation cycle.

8.2.3 Participation in specific, implementing activities

This analysis is a logical step from the previous analysis because the previous section established where women and men participated, but did not specify exactly what women and men were doing in project implementation. In my opinion, it is important to assess more specifically the role of the landowners in the forest related activities and to ask the questions: Who decides? Who implements? Who manages and Whose resources are being used? The activity profile in Table 8.4, which was constructed from Vakabuli, Tau and FPL staff responses to these questions.

Table 8.4

Who is doing what? Identity and gender.

Activities	Who decides?	Who implements?	Who manages?	Whose resources?
Land capability study	FPL, M	FPL, M	FPL, M	FPL
Land owners consent	LO, **M, F**	LO, **M, F**	FPL, M	FPL
Lease agreement	NLTB, M	NLTB, M	NLTB, FPL, M	FPL
Overall plantation management	FPL, M	FPL, M	FPL, M	FPL
Nursery, tree planting, tree weeding	FPL, M	FPL, LO, **M, F**	FPL, M	FPL
Tree harvest, transport, processing, marketing	FPL, LOC, M	FPL, LOC, M	FPL, LOC, M	FPL, LOC
Benefit distribution	FPL, M (Chiefs)	FPL, NLTB, M (Chiefs)	FPL, NLTB, M (Chiefs)	FPL
Extension, training, research	GV, FPL, M	GV, M	FPL, GV, M	GV, FPL
Community development	LO, **M, F**	LO, M	LO, M	LO, **M,F**

Source: Interviews with people from Vakabuli, Tau and FPL staff.
Abbreviations: M = Male, F = Female, LO = Land owners, LOC= Land-owner companies, FPL = Fiji Pine Ltd., NLTB = Native Land Trust Board, GV = Government.

As for the decision-making processes, women landowners participated in the decision to lease land to FPL and in the few community development programmes which were initiated in the politically more active Nabou forest estate to address practical needs such as water, sanitation, road and phone communication, and school buildings. In the implementation process women were restricted to nursery work and, to a smaller extent, to tree planting and tree weeding. Women were completely absent from management, but they provided some of their own resources such as salaries from nursery work, tree planting and tree weeding for community development projects.

During field work discussion landowners were mostly concerned with three areas of the activity: overall plantation management, benefit distributions and community development. Common to both villages, and mentioned by women and men, were the complaints about the few benefits landowners received from the forestry project. The largest proportion of the cash benefits were taken by NLTB, the chiefs and FPL. This point will be addressed in section 8.2.5. The men of Tau village felt that, after 20 years of cooperation with FPL they should by now have sufficient skills to be in charge of the overall plantation management. Finaily, the men and women of Tau commented positively on the progress of the community development projects because they perceived these village improvements as tangible and important benefits.

It is evident that FPL to date has not provided much scope for the active participation of landowners in general, and of women in particular. While the creation of landowner companies may seem to improve the situation for the male landowners, no discussion on the scope of more active involvement by women has taken place within the FPL. The next section explores another central question: Who has access and control of inputs and benefits?

8.2.4 Participation with regard to access and control of inputs and benefits

Besides considering the questions associated with participation in the project-cycle and more specifically in forestry activities, it is essential to distinguish between access to and control of project inputs and benefits because to have access implies only the requirement to ask while control signifies those who have the authority to say yes or no. In my opinion such a differentiation is crucial to appraise the authenticity of participation as previously discussed in sections 2.5 and 2.6 of Chapter 2.

Table 8.5 shows the identity and gender of those who have access to and control of resource inputs.

Table 8.5

Who has access to and control of inputs? Identity and gender.

Mode	**Access**		**Control**	
Resource inputs	**Identity**	**Gender**	**Identity**	Gender
Land	LO	**M, F**	LO	**M, F**
Technology	LO, NLO, TM, TY, LOC, FPL, TW	**M, F**	FPL, TW	**M**
Employment	LO, NLO, TM, TY, LOC, FPL, TW	**M, F**	FPL, TW, LOC	**M**
Capital	LO, TM, TY, LOC, FPL, TW	**M, F**	FPL, TW	**M**
Extension & training	LO, NLO, LOC, FPL	**M, F**	FPL, TW, LOC, TY	**M**
Marketing structures	LO, LOC, FPL, TW	**M, F**	TW	**M**
Information	LO, TM, TY, LOC, FPL, TW, NLTB	**M, F**	FPL, TW	**M**
Decision-making	LO, TY, LOC, FPL, TW, NLTB	**M, F**	FPL, TW, LO, TY, LOC, NLTB	**M**
Community development	LO, TM, TY, LOC, FPL	**M, F**	LO, LOC	**M, F**

Source: Interviews with people from Vakabuli, Tau and FPL staff.
Abbreviations: M = Male , F = Female, LO = Land owners, NLO = Non-land owners, TM = Turaga-ni-Mataqali, TY = Turaga-ni-Yavusa, LOC= Land-owner company, FPL = Fiji Pine Ltd., TW = Tropic Wood, NLTB = Native Land Trust Board.

The number of identities with access to project inputs is high. By contrast, except for the inputs of land and for community development it was principally the men of the Fiji Pine Ltd, Tropic Wood and the Landowner companies who had control of all major decisions.
New and more innovative avenues for more control are the Landowner Companies (LOC) and the community development projects.

However, as previously discussed, it is only the community development projects which have some capacity to involve women more actively. The FPL was reluctant to increase their management inputs for community development projects to all estates because these projects were primarily a result of political pressure of the people of Nabou forest estate. Furthermore, all resource inputs, except those for community development, are considered essential for the success of the project. Community development means an additional task with no direct and immediate benefits to FPL. However, in my opinion the community projects add institutional stability to the project in the medium and long term and probably represent a worthwhile social investment.

Table 8.6 shows the identity and gender of those who have access to and control of project benefits. As with Table 8.5, most identities except the non-land owners had access to project benefits. These were, however, strongly skewed in favour of men. The benefit flows were primarily controlled by the men of FPL and Tropic Wood. An exception can be seen in the benefit flow of community development projects where the chiefs have considerable control over benefits. With regard to these projects control by women is defined by their equal landownership rights which were discussed in the previous chapter. However, such control is limited because of cultural factors which were characterised by strong patriarchy.

Table 8.6

Who has access to and control of benefits? Identity and gender.

Mode	Access		Control	
Benefits	**Identity**	**Gender**	**Identity**	**Gender**
Employment	LO, NLO, FPL, TW, LOC	**M, F**	FPL, TW, LOC	**M**
Asset-ownership	LO, FPL, TW, LOC	**M, F**	LO, TM, TY, LOC, NLTB	**M**
Knowledge	LO, TM, TY, NLO, FPL, TW, LOC, NLTB, IDC	**M, F**	FPL, TW	**M**
Economic security	LO, NLO, LOC, FPL, TW, NLTB	**M, F**	LO, TY, LOC, FPL, TW	**M**
Life-quality	LO, NLO, LOC	**M, F**	LO, TM, TY, LOC, FPL, TW	**M**
Political power	TM, TY	**M**	TY	**M**
Community development	LO, LOC	**M, F**	LO, TM, TY, LOC	**M, F**

Source: Interviews with people from Vakabuli, Tau and FPL staff.
Abbreviations: M = Male , F = Female, LO = Land owners, NLO = Non-land owners, TM = Turaga-ni-Mataqali, TY = Turaga-ni-Yavusa, LOC= Land-owner company, FPL = Fiji Pine Ltd., TW = Tropic Wood, NLTB = Native Land Trust Board.

The only real control landowners have is the decision to lease or not to lease their land to FPL. They have full control on how to use project benefits but they have little control on the amount of benefits they receive because FPL and the NLTB dominate these decisions. The degree to which women enjoy control of such benefits must be seen in the context of the cultural environment discussed in Chapter 7 which showed strong male control of income earned by women during adolescent, early marriage and the reproduction phases. These groups represent the majority of all women beneficiaries.

It is worth noting that the non-landowners (NLO) only enjoyed access to inputs such as technology, employment and training, and benefits such as employment, knowledge, economic security and life-quality. They had no control of inputs and benefits except for the non-landowners among the executive staff of the FPL who enjoyed access and control of most inputs and benefits through their influence in the FPL organisation.

Field work discussions on resource inputs and benefits most commonly centred around two areas, land and employment. Many of the participants in Vakabuli and Tau villages felt a loss of their identity with the land because land was committed to FPL for fifty years. It was most commonly the older people who seemed to regret the decisions made around twenty years ago. The lack of employment opportunities in FPL was the most common topic with the younger people. In the writer's view, identity with the land is probably more important for the older people because they grew up in a closer relationship with the land. Arguably, the younger people have been more strongly influenced by the modernisation process which tends to destabilise traditional values in favour of market consumption. In turn, this tends to create dependency on cash income and employment.

It is evident from Tables 8.5 and 8.6 that most identities, as well as both genders, have access to most project inputs and benefits. The situation looks dramatically different with regard to control where primarily the men have the authority to grant access to the less privileged, the women and the non-landowners.

The next section looks at what people perceived as valued benefits and how cash benefits were distributed among project participants and project beneficiaries.

8.2.5 Participation in the project benefits

This discussion is important because the ultimate aim of a development project is to create wellbeing which ought to be reasonably equally shared. The Fiji Pine project creates direct and indirect benefits. Direct benefits comprise casual and permanent employment for various forestry activities, training, road construction, and support for village based community development.

Examples of indirect benefits include increased area of sugar cane production partly as a result of the road network, easy access to firewood and other minor forest produce, and the growing motivation to learn new skills because of the new employment opportunities which have become available for skilled people. [3] Perceptions of the relative importance of benefits are presented in Table 8.7.

Table 8.7

Relative importance of benefits as perceived by people of Vakabuli and Tau villages.

Benefits	Relative Importance (%)
Employment and wages	93 (n=27)
Income through land rent and royalty	59 (n=17)
Village community development	52 (n=15)
Business and training opportunities	34 (n=10)
Environmentally sustainable land use	24 (n=7)

Source: Interviews with people from Vakabuli, Tau and FPL staff.
Note: Sample size was 29 which included 5 couples, 8 women and 16 men.

As seen in Table 8.7, employment was perceived as the most important benefit to landowners because it was the most convincing argument used by the FPL to acquire land for pine plantation. The Vakabuli and Tau people strongly expect FPL to honour the agreement to provide employment. Employment is clearly an authentic, pressing need for many people. Three groups of organisations were directly associated with providing employment; Fiji Pine Limited, Tropic Wood, and the Land Owner Companies.

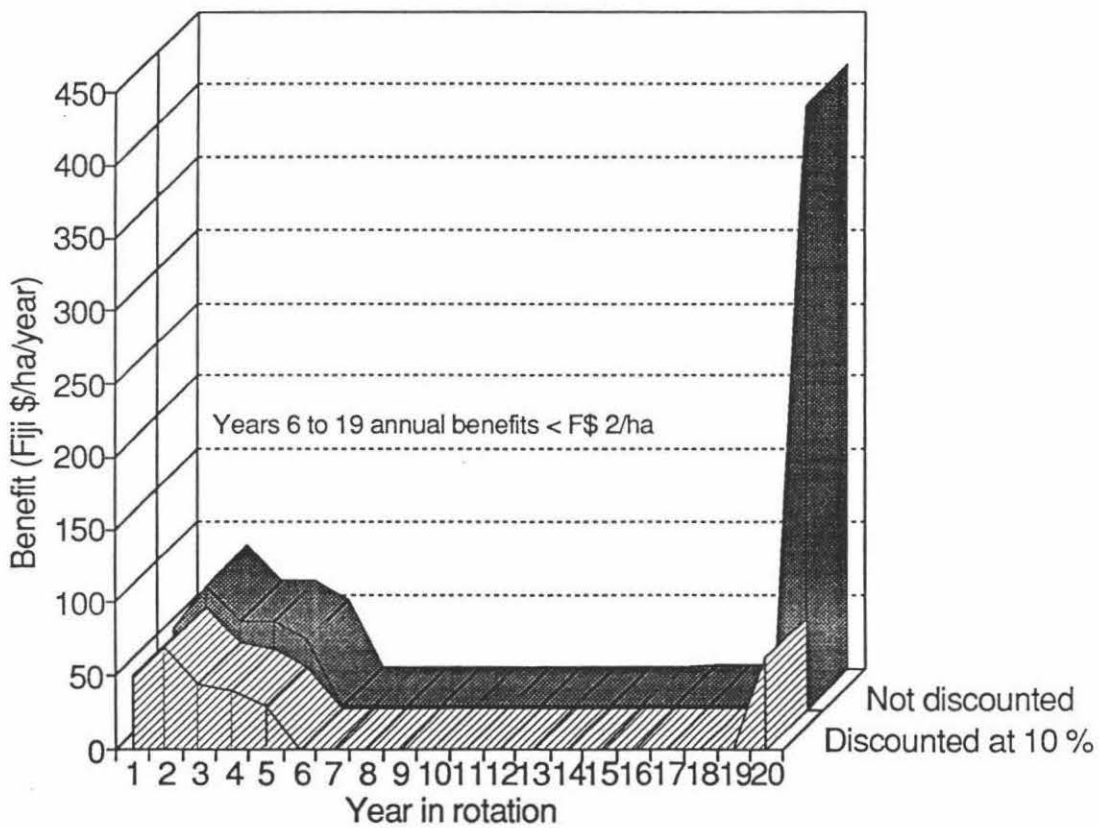
[3] Indirect benefits can also include intrinsic values such as a nice landscape or to feel a sense of satisfaction because the land is protected. Indirect benefits whether with or without market value have not been quantified. Such an exercise (non-market valuation), although very useful, was beyond the scope of this thesis.

At the end of 1992 these organisations employed around 860 people permanently, of whom only 5 percent were women. In addition, around 400 men and 100 women were employed as part-time workers. The three companies therefore employed the equivalent of around 1,360 people full-time. A major part of the total cash benefits consists of wages which further underlines the importance of employment for land rents and royalties made up only a small proportion of total cash benefits.

Figure 8.1 presents the average potential cash benefits (discounted and non-discounted) for one hectare of average pine forest on Viti Levu over an average 20 year rotation.[4]

Figure 8.1

Average net cash benefits to villagers from one hectare pine plantation during one rotation.



Source: Interviews with village population and FPL staff.

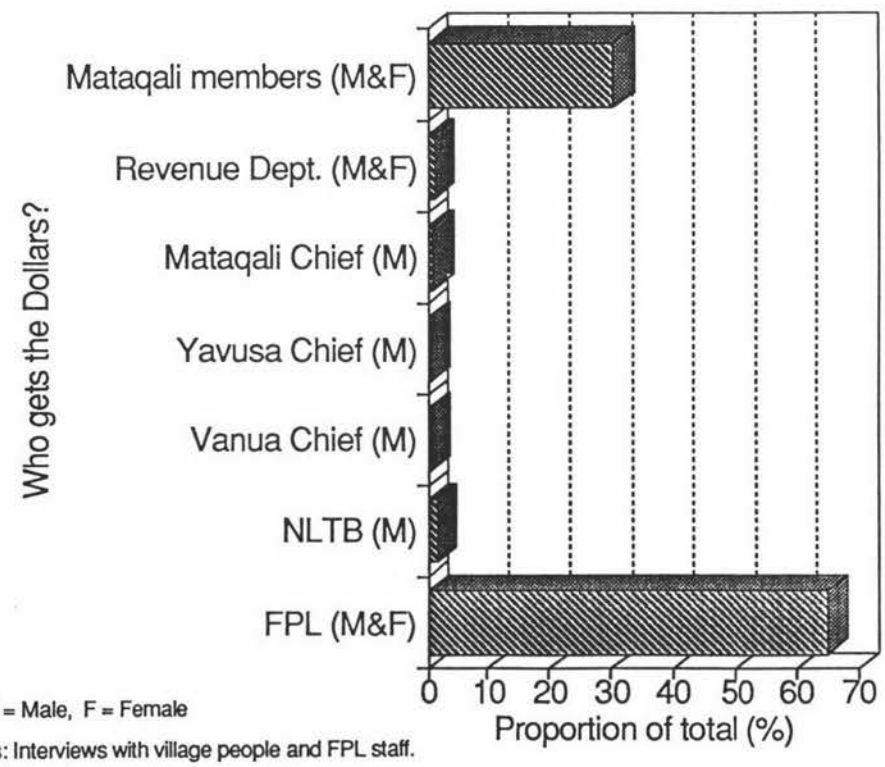
[4] Assumptions: product and wage price levels of 1992. Land rent increases by 20 % every 5 years. Average yield per hectare is 200 tonnes of logs. One damaging hurricane occurs during one rotation. Tax on wages, land rent and royalties is 2.5 % Terms and conditions of 1992 used for calculations. (FPL, 1993, personal communication).

Where the cash flow has not been discounted around half the benefits are expected to occur during Year 1 to Year 5 (employment) and during Year 20 (harvest and employment). The low values for Years 6 to 19 comprise land rent. It is evident that renting land without the opportunity of employment creates negligible direct benefits on a per hectare basis. The picture is somewhat different when a positive time preference is taken into account. This means that people generally prefer benefits early rather than later if given a choice. For this reason, a discounted benefit flow is compared with the non-discounted one. In a discounted situation which reflects more accurately "the real world", it is mainly the FPL and to some extent the Landowner companies who lose because most of their benefits accrue with harvesting in year twenty. [5]

Figure 8.2 illustrates the average distribution of direct net benefits by gender for a twenty year rotation of one hectare of average pine forest (Total not discounted: Fiji Dollar 2,429/hectare).

Figure 8.2

Who takes how much? Revenue distribution from one hectare of pine forest during one rotation of twenty years. Identity and Gender.



Note; M = Male, F = Female

Sources: Interviews with village people and FPL staff.

[5] In the longer term this constraint of delayed cash flow is overcome by planning forests (annual planting and annual harvesting) in such a way that cost and benefits accrue annually. However, the initial gestation period of around twenty years can not be avoided.

The highest proportion of value (65%) goes to the FPL. This is required to cover running costs and to generate profit. The figure underlines again the importance of employment for the land-owners (LO) and the revenue from logs for the FPL. The low proportion of land rent and royalty compared to the value of employment is evident. More than half of the revenue from land rent and royalty goes to the NLTB and to various chiefs who mostly are men. [6]

From the benefits presented in Figure 8.2 women directly benefitted from two sources: land rent, royalties, wages and salaries. The proportion of these benefits going to women is small because few women participated in employment, and because land rent and royalties divided among all land owners become almost negligible as is shown in footnote 6. The equal distribution of cash benefits to women primarily depended on two factors, the management of the FPL with regard to wages and the Turaga-ni-Mataqali with regard to land rent and royalties.

During field work women commented that casual wages for nursery work, tree planting and tree weeding did not differ between men and women. For these activities wages depended on the amount of work done in one day. By contrast, the mode of distribution of land rent and royalties differed widely from equal amounts handed out to all mataqali members by the Turaga-ni-mataqali to unequal amounts given to selected people of the mataqali. Compared to benefits accruing from employment, the importance of land rents and royalties is best illustrated by the comments of several people: "Land rents and royalties are negligible. If we talk too much about its distribution it will bring us bad luck" and " Mataqali money frequently creates tension between landowner households and between women and men".

Generally, women participants were more reluctant than men to express their views and feelings on the *modus procedendo* of communal wealth distribution. For around half the participants absolute equality was not perceived as crucial because land rents and royalties represented small amounts, were often used for community development purposes and women mostly preferred to invest "their share" in the family. While most people perceived equal distribution of communal income as not extremely important, there were also some people who explicitly mentioned and were quite angry that chiefs were receiving an unfair share without investing it to the benefit of the community.

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[6] Total land rent and royalty for a twenty year rotation was estimated at F$ 116 for one hectare (1992 prices, not discounted). Distribution was as follows:
NLTB = 25%, Turaga-ni-Vanua = 5%, Turaga-ni-Yavusa = 10%, Turaga-ni-Mataqali = 15%, Tax = 2.5%, mataqali members = 42.5%. In a hypothetical situation of a mataqali with 30 members (men, women, children) each member would receive F$ 1.64 from one hectare pine forest and a twenty year rotation.

However, none of the participants in Tau and Vakabuli explicitly challenged the procedure for benefit distribution or the authority of the chiefs. It was evident from the comments of most participants that the procedure of communal wealth distribution was to a large extent at the discretion of the chiefs. Furthermore, it was also evident that most people felt more comfortable with money earned through employment and the legal right to use this income as and when they wished.

Overall, the discussion of the first half the chapter showed that women of Vakabuli and Tau participated only in the implementation of the Fiji Pine Project, and within the implementation process primarily in the tree nurseries and to a smaller extent in tree planting and weeding. With regard to access, control and benefit distribution the unequal degree to which women were involved reflects the prevailing gender relations discussed in Chapter 7. These relations were characterised by women having access to most inputs and benefits but they had to ask those who had control and these were primarily the men. The following section focuses on the authenticity of participation.

8.3 Authenticity of participation

The study of the authenticity of participation is important because the Fiji Pine project aims at sustainable development, which in the view of the writer, can only be achieved if the FPL and the landowners aim at social sustainability for which genuine participation is a prerequisite. The importance of this point was also discussed in section 2.6.3 in Chapter 2 where the association of authentic participation and social development was demonstrated.

In the present study the authenticity of participation was assessed by discussing with the people of Vakabuli, Tau and the FPL staff, five topics associated with the active mode of participation as previously discussed in sections 2.5 and 2.6 of chapter 2. The five indicators included information, knowledge, co-responsibility, conflict and acceptance of women participation. [7]

[7] This analysis is also an answer to a request by the FPL to shed light on the deteriorating cooperation between FPL and the landowners of Lololo and Nabou forest estates. The mandate of the FPL signified a practical problem solving exercise which was very motivating. The analysis included discussions with men, women, groups and couples. Twenty nine-interviews were held: nine in Tau ten in Vakabuli and eleven with staff of the FPL. These interviews represent the views of around 50 people at all levels of the village and FPL's organisational hierarchy.

8.3.1 The flow of information

To be informed was recognised in Chapter 2 as one of the central characterising variables for authentic participation. In the Pine project the flow of information from the land owners to the FPL and vice versa is routed via the Turaga-ni-Yavusa who represents the land owners at the quarterly information and decision-making meeting which is held by the FPL. These meetings are also referred to as "floc meetings" by FPL and landowners. As previously discussed in Chapter 7, traditionally chiefs issue orders and/or receive information via a spokesman. For the discussion of official FPL and other matters, chiefs do not address mataqali members directly but via the spokesman. The information flow system adopted by the FPL is therefore not compatible with traditional Fijian communication culture. Its implications are evident in the perceptions (Table 8.8) of the FPL staff and the landowners of Vakabuli and Tau villages.

Table 8.8

Perceptions by staff of FPL and people of Vakabuli and Tau on the flow of information from the FPL to the landowners.

Information Indicators	FPL	Vakabuli	Tau
Mataqali representatives attend "floc meetings"	++++	++++	+++
Mataqali representatives inform their co-landowners	+++	++	+
Basic technical and financial information is fed back to landowners	+++	+++	+++
Information from FPL is easily understandable	++++	+++	+++

Source: Interviews with men and women of Vakabuli, Tau and FPL.
Scale: gradual five point scale ranging from "perceived by most" = +++++ to "perceived by few" = +.

During field work it was mostly the young married men and the single women who challenged the "floc-system" (extension system adopted by FPL to inform the landowners) and proposed instead that landowners should be represented by educated, elected representatives who fully understood the implications of long term cooperation with the FPL. The same people were aware that most of the chiefs made use of their ascribed power without keeping sufficiently in mind the equitable development of the entire community.

No participant from either villages had ever attended a meeting called by a Turaga-ni-Yavusa since the beginning of the project around twenty years ago. However, the chiefs were not very explicit when questioned whether they had called for information meetings. Most of the technical and financial information from the FPL to the landowners comes via the quarterly newsletter issued in the English and Fijian language. The author observed during an interview with the spokesman of Vakabuli piles of recent, and backdated FPL-newsletters in Fijian which had not been distributed to land owners. And most landowners reported that they did not receive the newsletter regularly and half of those who received it found the newsletter too difficult to understand. All participants, other than chiefs, would appreciate more information from their floc representatives and all landowners, including the chiefs, generally would prefer more information from the FPL. Women landowners knew about the existence of a FPL-newsletter and occasional information meetings organised by FPL. They felt free to attend but indicated the usual incompatibility with household and family duties. This was more pronounced with young women about to get married ***(Preparation phase),*** recently married ***(Adaptation phase)*** or child-bearing ***(Expansion phase)*** which could also indicate a degree of interference by their husbands or parents. These issues were also discussed in section 7.4 of
Chapter 7.

On the topic of information flow a group of one man and two women commented and aptly illustrated the complex issue of information flow: *"Landowners cannot communicate their problems to FPL directly. Messages sent via the chiefs do not reach FPL or are distorted".* A group of five chiefs remarked: *"We would not attend any meeting held by FPL because it contains only empty promises".*

The previous pages have shown what people perceived and how they felt about the information system adopted in the Pine project. In my opinion, the irregular and unpredictable flow of information is insufficient for the development of a socially sustainable forestry project. The next section looks at peoples' perceptions of project related knowledge. Obviously, dissemination of knowledge depends on the flow of information. The two sections should, therefore, be considered together with the previous discussion on access and control of project inputs and benefits.

8.3.2 Knowledge

A second, equally important factor for genuine participation is knowledge of technical, economic and social intentions of the participating partners for such knowledge is closely associated with the quality of a reciprocal flow of information. The perceptions of three knowledge variables of participants of Vakabuli, Tau and FPL are presented in Table 8.9.

Table 8.9

Perceptions by the staff of FPL and people of Vakabuli and Tau on knowledge dissemination from the FPL to the landowners.

Knowledge Indicators	FPL	Vakabuli	Tau
How many landowners know major benefits of the Pine project?	++	++	++
How many landowners know major forestry activities?	+	+	+
How many landowners know the details of the land lease agreement?	+	+	+

Source: Interviews with men and women of Vakabuli, Tau and FPL.
Scale: gradual five point scale ranging from "perceived by most" = +++++ to "perceived by few" = +.

The discussion of the issues in Table 8.9 was associated with a number of related issues. Firstly, the majority of the landowners of Vakabuli and Tau found that the FPL did not provide sufficient opportunities for training. Secondly, the information system of the FPL was considered inadequate and only selected information was provided to landowners. Finally, the majority of the FPL interviewees considered the educational level of many landowners too low for technical training. This resulted in the younger men of Vakabuli being frustrated by FPL's persistent discouragement of their "inadequate" educational achievements. It was evident from discussion that there was genuine concern by men about their future involvement in the project. To what extent the same issues were of concern to women was not clear from the interviews.

The low level of project related knowledge of the project partners was evident in Table 8.9 and reflects also the results of the information flow discussed in the previous section. The following discussion looks at how people perceived shared project responsibility.

8.3.3 Project co-responsibility

The high spiritual value ethnic Fijian culture places on land, and the dependence of the FPL on leased land require that all project partners accept responsibility. Table 8.9 presents the perceptions of co-responsibility by the people of Vakabuli, Tau and FPL.

Table 8.10

Perceptions by the staff of FPL and people of Vakabuli and Tau on project co-responsibility. .

Co-responsibility Indicators	FPL	Vakabuli	Tau
Landowners are aware of their co-responsibility to protect the forests	+++	+++	+++
Landowners participated actively to prevent forest fire or other preventable hazards	++	+++	+++

Source: Interviews with men and women of Vakabuli, Tau and FPL.
Scale: gradual five point scale ranging from "perceived by most" = +++++ to "perceived by few" = +.

Interviewees associated the topic of co-responsibility with three related issues. Firstly, they feared that they were slowly losing their peace and security because of tension over land-related issues. People frequently commented on the damage done to their land during harvesting which could be perceived as loss of control of their spiritual asset. Such a feeling of loss of control of traditionally held rights is counter-productive to genuine participation. This fear was mainly expressed by older men. Secondly, younger participants were more concerned with unfulfilled promises of high levels of landowner employment previously discussed in section 8.2.5.

Finally, a frequent topic for discussion were the forest fires. The incidence of forest fires had increased during the last five years and was considerably higher in Nabou estate (Tau village) compared to Lololo (Vakabuli village). Field work discussions usually produced speculations about the causes of these fires. Participants from the FPL and from Vakabuli tended to see the causes in the widespread practice of uncontrolled burning of sugar cane before harvest.

The Tau people implicitly mentioned the possibility of revenge against the FPL because of broken promises. In addition to these interpretations, several people mentioned that fire fighting generates income because it is paid and, therefore, acts as an incentive for more fires. This complex issue must be seen in the context of the discussion on authentic participation reviewed in sections 2.5 and 2.6 of Chapter 2 where it was shown that destructive behaviour can be caused by the increasing erosion of people's identity with and control over the land, and generally with the erosion of traditional values.

8.3.4 Conflicts, and conflict solving potential

One of the five hallmarks of active participation was described in section 2.6, Chapter 2 as situations which are ***conflicting and not harmonising.*** The most frequently mentioned causes for conflict are presented in Table 8.11.

Table 8.11

Perceptions by FPL staff and landowners of Vakabuli and Tau villages on the causes of conflict between the FPL organisation and Vakabuli and Tau landowners.

Cause for conflict	FPL	Vakabuli	Tau
Communication break downs on both sides	+++++	++	++
Promises in agreement and/or ten Commandments not fulfilled	+++	+++++	+++++
Inflated expectations of landowners	++	+	+
Land owners lack direct communication link with FPL	+	+++	++
FPL does not listen	+	+	+++
Land owners seen by FPL as second class citizen because of poor education	+	+++	+++

Source: Interviews with men and women of Vakabuli, Tau and FPL.
Scale: gradual five point scale ranging from "perceived by most" = +++++ to "perceived by few" = +.

FPL officials recognised the frequent breakdown of communication with landowners but were not aware of their specific causes. Around half of the respondents from the FPL respondents were landowners. This reflects in the magnitude of unfulfilled promises which was also perceived as a major cause of conflict by landowners and some non-land owners employed by FPL. One such non-landowner remarked: "During the process of acquiring land from the land owners for the Fiji Pine Scheme/Commission the promise that wasteland will be turned into a gold mine once planted in pine was made too often and is deep rooted. The reality is, that pine forestry supplements other major sources of income". This comment summarised what has been said several times on the problem of "broken promises" in this chapter. The issue of broken promises by FPL seemed to be a genuine cause for a number of the conflicts presented in Table 8.11.

During the discussions FPL respondents were more optimistic in their perception of problem solving, and half thought that most conflicts were always solved. Nine out of ten respondents of Vakabuli and Tau, by contrast, believed that only some conflicts were always solved but most conflicts remained unsolved. In their opinion this situation leads to the constant re-emergence of the same conflicts. When asked about the quality of the cooperation between the FPL and the landowners, most felt that cooperation and communication was only sometimes satisfactory. Presumably, satisfactory cooperation would be the result of effective conflict solving mechanisms which commonly are built on trust.

It seems, in sum, that scope for more effective conflict solving exists because the FPL is aware of many of the existing and potential conflicts and is ready to involve the landowners in a more active way. Similarly, most of the landowners frequently commented on the advantages of the Pine project and reported that they would not like to go back to the 1960's when all the hills, which are now planted in pine, were devoid of productive vegetation. To avoid more conflict, the FPL and the land owning communities may have to find a compromise between FPL's business-like approach and its emphasis on maximising profit and the village people's wish for community development. The two have different objectives and are, in the writer's view, not entirely compatible. In spite of many conflicts, the generally high level of acceptance of the project by the landowners combined with a new, more open and creative extension approach by the FPL would almost certainly lead to less tension, less cost and more economic and social benefits for all.

The next section looks at the authenticity of participation, in particular, how respondents perceived the idea of increased women participation in the Pine project.

8.3.5 Acceptance of increased women participation

In order to recommend a more active mode of women's participation it is important to know how men and women would perceive such a change. Table 8.12 presents the perceptions of increased women participation by the people of Vakabuli, Tau and FPL.

Table 8.12

Perceptions by the staff of FPL and people of Vakabuli and Tau on the idea of increased women participation.

Women participation indicators	FPL	Vakabuli	Tau
Women landowners attend meetings held by the FPL	+	+	+
Landowners would accept qualified women forestry staff for management support	++	++	+++
Landowners would like women to participate in larger numbers in tree nurseries, tree planting and tree weeding	+++	+++	++++

Source: Interviews with men and women of Vakabuli, Tau and FPL.
Scale: gradual five point scale ranging from "perceived by most" = +++++ to "perceived by few" = +.

The real scope for women to attend meetings was aptly illustrated by five chiefs of Tau village who said. *"Land issues are for men. Why should women attend meetings?"* Two constraints for women attendance were frequently mentioned during field work discussions. They are pre-occupied with domestic tasks and many are not allowed to speak up in front of senior men. The result is that women are hardly heard and, therefore, they tend to remain invisible. This point was discussed in Chapter 2 (section 2.6) where it was shown that treating women separately from men can even increase women's invisibility when strategic gender relations are not addressed.

On the scope of employing women foresters a group of Vakabuli women commented: *"A women forester could talk easily to women land owners. Men cannot approach women".* On the nature of tasks professional women could do best, the predominant view of FPL participants saw women foresters in research tasks and administration. Most village participants saw women in all professional functions were work is physically less demanding. Such work includes planning, management and administration. Women in supervisory functions were seen as acceptable if they were experienced and senior. Logging and saw milling were clearly seen as men only tasks.

On the scope of increased women's participation in nursery work, tree planting and tree weeding, one senior employee of FPL commented: *"Women can talk and work. Men stop working if they talk".* The ability of women to combine production and social interaction was seen as a repetition of family and household work where this combination is essential for child care, household and production. This is a feature gainfully exploited in many countries for industrial production.

Overall, the discussion showed that with some initial reluctance both FPL staff and the landowners of Vakabuli and Tau villages would accept increased women participation. For the people of Vakabuli and Tau it was not so much a question whether more or less women should participate but rather that those who participate should cooperate more "honestly" with the landowners. Discussion on participatory authenticity showed also some of the results of a top-down project information approach which was not compatible with ethnic Fijian communication rules. Problem areas here included inadequate knowledge dissemination, little motivation to share project responsibility, and the increased occurrence of conflict which was associated with destructive behaviour. The last section of the chapter discusses potential areas for women's participation in the FPL.

8.4 Potential areas for increased women's involvement

The previous chapter concluded with the statement that the strong male control over women has implications for project participation. In my opinion, the most important implication is the lack of control by women in most decision-making processes, even on land issues, where women apparently participate equally. In spite of the strong male control, the study identified three areas with the potential for more active women's involvement: decision-making, forestry training and forestry extension, and implementation. In my view increased, not necessarily equal, women's participation is important to reach social sustainability which is a prerequisite to all forms of sustainability.

In the Fiji pine project major decisions are made by the top management of the FPL and the members of the management board. The FPL management is responsible for the day to day running of the company. The governing board is concerned with the more far reaching policy decisions. Three of the five executive posts of the FPL require personnel and financial management skills for which women are trained. This is even more true for board membership where broad policy matters are decided. In my opinion it is essential to realise that the executive officers and the board members represent the central part (central institution) of the Fiji pine project. Only if women participate actively in these areas can they effectively participate in the creation of more genuine development structures.

Limitations to achieve such representation are several. Firstly, the little awareness of gender issues by both the FPL and its international partners, most noticeably New Zealand, as discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. In this context, one group of people of Tau village remarked on women involvement in project related meetings: *"The only time when we had to involve women in meetings was during a visit by delegates of the British Overseas Development Administration (ODA) because they insisted on it"*. Perhaps, the New Zealand Government could also insist somewhat more on such issues. A second restriction for women participation is the well defined domestic cycle with strongly restrictive gender roles for women during the early marriage (Adaptation) and reproduction (Expansion) phases. Participation in executive positions is commonly by older women who have the increased freedom and respect of women of the aged.

The second, potential area for more women involvement exists in forestry management and extension. The Fiji Forestry Training Centre located in Lololo has offered since 1969 three year courses in applied forestry science. The entrance requirements are equal to University and the level of such training is similar to a University degree but more emphasis in given to practical work. At the end of the training most students take up positions in forest management, supervision or research. To date no women have been trained at the centre and there have been no applications from interested women students. The director of the centre considered the programme of study attractive and manageable for both men and women and expressed his willingness to modify the infrastructure to also accommodate women students. A small number of women, however, have studied forestry science at the Australian National University and two women forestry graduates are now employed by the Fiji Forestry Department.

The FPL expressed a strong need for highly skilled extension staff. Training skills do not necessarily include technical forestry knowledge. It is rather the methodology of learning which is emphasised and most commonly found in human management professions and non-formal/adult education learning. The University of the South Pacific trains men and women graduates with such skills. In my view the relatively favourable acceptance of skilled women by the land owners makes women participation in these areas possible.

The third potential area for increased women involvement is management of tree nurseries, tree planting and tree weeding. The degree of women's involvement in these areas depends on the willingness of women to participate, and on the willingness of the estate manager to accept their participation. The latter was found to be highly variable. The willingness of women to participate during different life cycle phases is presented in Table 8.13.

Table 8.13

Relative willingness of women to participate during different life cycle phases in nursery work, tree planting and tree weeding as proportion (%) of total.

Activities	N	Nursery work		Tree planting		Tree weeding	
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Preparation	7	100	0	43	57	43	57
Adaptation and expansion	17	71	29	29	71	41	59
Consolidation and dispersal	12	83	17	50	50	50	50

Source: Interviews with women of Vakabuli and Tau villages.

Women in the Preparation (marriage age), Adaptation (first years after marriage) and Expansion phases (reproduction) expressed a preference for work in the nursery because they felt save from potential harassment by men. In addition, women with small children found it easier to combine family work with tree raising because tree nurseries are usually closer to their home and offer more flexible working schedules.

Women in the Consolidation (children are moving out) and Dispersal phases (children start their own families) were generally less reluctant to work in the forest. There were some women in all life cycle groups who felt that they did not require additional employment or that forestry work was generally too hard. Another group of women found these tasks to be strictly men's work. However, more than half the women who wanted to work did not get the chance to do so because they were never asked or because work was limited to a few women living close to the nursery. This indicates that more women would be willing to work in nurseries but fewer in planting and weeding areas which were further from their home.

One question remains to be answered, the question posed to the author by the FPL: why are people of Tau less willing to cooperate compared to the people of Vakabuli? In my opinion the major reason is that the Tau people, and this is likely the case for most villages of Nabou forest, are already further advanced in the creation of a more active (authentic) mode of participation. The people of Vakabuli hold very similar views and perceptions to those of Tau, and it will only be a matter of time before the villages of Lololo become more aware of the advantages and disadvantages of the Pine forestry project. FPL's perception of seeing people of Nabou estate as less cooperative compared to people of Lololo estate is caused by Nabou's more explicit signs of a more authentic mode of participation which is characterised by more forceful articulation, creation of conflict, increased political dimension and expanding community organisation which gains them more leverage. These signs are uncomfortable because they indicate change, but the FPL will have to address them. Major strategies could include an improved reciprocal flow of information, the creation of institutions with conflict solving capacity, the equal sharing of cost and benefits by all landowners including the women and the creation of a true sense of project ownership to motivate co-responsibility. The degree of participatory authenticity is summarised in Table 8.14.

Table 8.14

Subjective assessment of participatory authenticity of Tau and Vakabuli people.

Characteristics of the passive mode of participation	Scale of authenticity							Characteristic of the active mode of participation
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
consumption	V		T					creation
access		V		T				control
non-political		V			T			political
silent		V			T			articulate
harmonising			V			T		conflicting
modernisation paradigm		V, T						participatory paradigm
practical gender needs		V,T						strategic gender needs
ignorance		V		T				knowledge
uninformed		V		T				informed
unequitable		V,T						equitable

Source: Constructed by the author, a subjective assessment.
Abbreviations: T = Tau; V = Vakabuli, T & V include women and men.

8.5 Conclusions

It has been shown that women of Vakabuli and Tau primarily participated in the implementation process, chiefly in the tree nurseries and to a smaller extent in tree planting and weeding. Women had access to most project inputs and benefits but were almost completely excluded from any control.

The analysis on participatory authenticity revealed a passive mode of participation which in the situation of FPL is characterised by non-informed landowners, project beneficiaries having little project knowledge, landowners showing low interest in co-responsibility, the re-occurrence of similar conflicts, a lack of effective conflict solving institutions, and a low level of gender awareness.

It was proposed that the three potential areas for increased women's participation include executive positions in the FPL administration, forestry management and extension, and management of nurseries, tree planting and tree weeding.

Overall, the low level of women's participation seem to be primarily the result of the restricted freedom of determination permitted to ethnic Fijian women which is most pronounced during the Adaptation and Expansion life cycle phases. Another contributing factor could include the low level of gender awareness among the staff of the FPL and MERT's Development Cooperation Division.

Women in Vakabuli and Tau villages were completely excluded from all control and decision making processes except for issues on land lease. This situation reflects the strong patriarchy of ethnic Fijian social organisation. The last chapter will summarise major findings and present recommendations for change.

Chapter 9

Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

9.1 Summary and conclusions

The thesis began with a review of the literature on development theory and frameworks of gender relations. This was followed by reviews of concepts and strategies of participation in general, and of women in particular. The review in Chapter 2 highlighted several issues:

Development theory did not contribute tangibly in arresting and reducing the increased gap between the rich and the poor. Moreover, development theory to a large extent neglected the constructive discussion of gender relations. In my opinion, this could be the result of development theory being created primarily by men without a Third World background (outsiders); using little empirical evidence for their propositions; and the complexity of the topic in general.

The framework of gender relations, on which this current research is largely based, proposed that the degree of participation in development is a function of the importance of the roles played by gender in a society's central institutions. In this context it is important to notice that central institutions can vary among societies. It was further proposed that factors which determine who participates in central institutions include ***rewards, prestige, power and ideology.*** The prevailing generalisations that women are universally subordinate to men was explored. There seems to be little empirical evidence to support a general position on this issue. In my opinion, the topic is too complex, and evidence too scarce to jump to "quick" conclusions because societies presumably have culture specific concepts on ***how gender is socially constructed.*** As a practical implication for development work, this suggests that people in the development profession should keep an open mind to culture specific situations in their work environment.

The discussion on frameworks of participation in a gendered world showed a wide variability of participatory concepts which ranged from passive consumption of development to active creation of development by the people themselves.

In my opinion, a useful framework views participation as: organised effort with people having ***control*** over their lives and resources; the creation of regulative institutions ***with power to act;*** the ***involvement of people*** who to date are widely excluded from the basic human right of ***self-determined development.***

The discussion on strategies of participation included the basic needs approach (BNA), which can be distinguished into weak (passive) or strong (active) modes of participation. The weak mode of BNA commonly involves a "shopping list" of possible wants. By contrast, the strong approach is characterised as open-ended, conflicting, political, class and gender focused, and struggle based. Particularly important for women is the question of whether ***practical or strategic gender needs*** are addressed. The latter are political, conflicting and aim at fundamental changes of gender relations. They do not separate women's development from mainstream issues because strategic gender needs recognise that women do not live in the social vacuum of a purely women's world.

Development participation is commonly supported by government and non-government organisations. Governments have more opportunity to support nationwide projects which most commonly apply the weak mode of the BNA which includes addressing practical gender needs. By contrast, non-government organisations tend to support smaller initiatives and apply the whole range from weak to the strong mode of BNA which includes addressing strategic gender needs. In the recent past, an increased number of Western development organisations have tended to increase support to NGOs. This policy change is essentially a result of the structural inability of governments to motivate active, authentic participation which is more focused in regard to women.

The literature review in chapter 2 concluded with a number of illustrative examples of different participatory approaches and proposed that the strong BNA should be tried again so as to facilitate development opportunities to people who are living in poverty. In my opinion, the strong BNA has so far not been sufficiently tried.

The discussion of the research methodology in Chapter 3 distinguished instrumental/technocratic (objective) and interpretative (subjective) research methods. There seems to be a trend in development research to use methods which yield quick results. Development researchers and practitioners justify these "quick" methods to a large extent with humanitarian reasoning. They commonly argue that people in poverty do not have the time to wait for detailed survey results which are often expensive and time consuming because they follow scientific requirements.

The current research used both technocratic/ instrumental and interpretative methods because both were considered useful. Particularly useful for the village case study was Rapid (Participatory) Rural Appraisal (RRA) which is characterised by being iterative, innovative, informal, community based, listening and learning and, the investigator viewing him/herself as unimportant.

Chapter 4 focused on women participation in bilateral and multilateral development organisations. The research showed a high variability for nominal women's participation in the development administrations in general, and, for WID sections in particular. Generally, women tended to dominate the bottom-half of the hierarchy of these organisations. A similar variability was seen for the content of sectoral WID programme priorities and in the degree of participatory awareness.

For the development organisations of the Development Assistance Countries, strongly positive, significant correlations were seen between the independent variable of the Proportion of Women Parliamentarians in national governments and the dependent variables of the UNDP Gender Index, Proportion of GNP spent on Development Cooperation and the Proportion of Development Budget spent on Women in Development. In addition, there was also a strongly negative, significant correlation between the independent variable of Nominal Aid Dollars spent on Development Cooperation and the Efficiency of Aid. It was mainly the large donor countries which have global strategic interests whose development aid was less efficient. Generally, countries with high Aid Efficiency indices were the smaller countries, those with smaller nominal aid budgets, higher gender and participatory awareness, fewer global strategic interests and a higher representation of women in national parliaments. ***These results present strong evidence that a high proportion of women power-holders are influential of improving development solidarity and gender equality.*** By contrast, the low representation of women in decision-making positions in development organisations suggests that women parliamentarians are influential at the policy level but have to date not been explicitly influential at improving gender equality in the development organisations of the Development Assistance Countries.

There could be a number of reasons for this observation. For example, women politicians are generally in office for a shorter period than development administrators. Therefore it is more difficult for them to achieve lasting organisational change. Politicians have to satisfy the priorities of the public if they want to keep their mandate, therefore, gender equality in (development) organisations is presumably not a priority.

The wide participatory variability of women representation and conceptual understanding between DAC organisations which was noted is most likely the result of country specific social, economic and political traditions, such as strong political parties favouring social issues, feminist movements, religious traditions, historical background and global economic and political interests.

The discussion of women's participation in the international development organisations was followed by an historical review and an analysis of participatory perceptions in the Development Cooperation Division of New Zealand's Ministry of External Relations And Trade (MERT) (Chapter 5). New Zealand's development cooperation showed above average nominal representation of women and a steadily increasing number of women in middle management. With regards to development policy, which includes women as equals, compared to most other bilateral development organisations, New Zealand can be considered a late starter. Overall, the study of the Development Cooperation Division found a ***low level of gender awareness and a high variability of conceptual understanding of participation*** among the survey participants. In my opinion, more equal gender relations in the organisation requires men or women who are gender sensitive who have the power to initiate and activate lasting, more equal change.

Research results discussed in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 stem from the context of Fiji culture and emphasised women participation in a Pine forestry project which was co-financed by MERT's Development Cooperation Division. The research in Fiji first analysed the historical background of the project and explored perceptions on participation held by the staff of the Fiji Pine Limited. This was followed by a village case study which involved the two villages of Vakabuli and Tau where the focus was on the analysis of the degree and the authenticity of women and men participation in the Pine project.

Women representation in the FPL organisation at the time of the study was low and primarily confined to the bottom-half hierarchy (Chapter 6). ***Significant inequality was found in regard to access to training,*** in spite of the fact, that women articulated genuine training needs. Generally, women were careful about revealing their feelings on FPL's organisational structure and on its policies to women's participation. On the other hand, women were more relaxed in the more general discussion of women's participation in development. This observation indicates the difficulty of conducting social research in sensitive areas. Similar to the situation in New Zealand's Development Cooperation Division, ***the degree of gender awareness seemed low and the conceptual understanding of participation was highly variable*** among the ethnic Fijian participants of FPL.

The village case study was divided into two chapters: Chapter 7 discussed Fijian social organisation and Chapter 8 discussed more specifically project participation of project partners in the Pine project. Kinship organisation in ethnic Fijian culture is characterised by clearly defined behavioural prescriptions of gender and kin relationships. These behavioural rules are generally characterised by subservience, obedience and oppression of individually-held views and feelings by both gender. The study identified society, the men, production, and the household as potential factors from which women can gain status and power, but the same sources can also impose restrictions on freedom of movement, decision-making, and participation in extra household activities.

Ethnic Fijian women were mostly exposed to mens' violence and mostly restricted by men for their freedom of movement, reproductive control, decision-making and extra-household activities during adolescent (Preparation phase), early marriage (Adaptation phase) and reproduction (Expansion phase) life cycle phases. Power, status and respect for a women clearly increased with age. Overall, ethnic Fijian women live in a ***strong patriarchal system*** with considerably less power and status than men but, unlike other women in many countries, ethnic Fijian women enjoy equal landownership rights which is a result of the traditional, communal landownership system which, along with men, provides women with status and security.

Chapter 8 more specifically analysed degree, authenticity and scope of participation in general, and women in particular. Nominal participation of women from Vakabuli and Tau case study villages was low. The women who did participate did so in the implementation process of the project. Their participation was, however, largely confined to nursery work, tree planting and tree weeding. These tasks, along with tree harvesting, belong to the most passive of the implementation and activity profile. ***While women have access to most of the project's inputs and benefits, they have practically no control over them.*** In my opinion, this state (access versus control) reflects the Fijian cultural background which showed that the final, explicit decision-making power is always with the men. This was also the case with the distribution of land rents and royalties whose equitable outcome depends on the chiefs.

The authenticity of participation, which must be distinguished from degree of participation, involved five variables: information, knowledge, responsibility, conflict and acceptance of women participants. In this context it is important to recall the discussion on the concepts and strategies of participation which were discussed in sections 2.5 and 2.6 of Chapter 2 where it was shown that authentic participation is characterised by people who are informed, have knowledge and the ability to solve conflicts. This subjective assessment of the participatory authenticity showed that ***men and women from Vakabuli and Tau villages were generally participating in a passive mode.***

However, the study identified that people were starting to make a transition to a more active mode of participation in Tau village (Nabou forest estate) which was characterised by conflict between Nabou landowners and FPL officials. The study identified two major areas in which women could participate more actively. For those women who already participate in the nursery, tree planting and tree weeding the responsibility of management and control could be handed over to the them because women have proven to be reliable resource managers (Molnar and Schreiber, 1989, FAO, 1990; ILO, 1987) The second avenue for active women's participation is for professional women extension workers, forestry managers and project administrators.

Overall, the thesis showed evidence that the degree of participation in development is a function of the importance of the roles played by gender in their society's central institutions. The development organisations studied in the thesis can be considered central for European and ethnic Fijian culture and so can gender relations in these organisations be seen as a influential factor for the degree and the authenticity of participation.

9.2 Recommendations

For development and participation in general

I. More social scientists of both gender ***with a Third World background*** should participate more equally in the creation of development and participatory theory. This is likely to reduce the Western bias, make it more authentic and could help to solve Third World development problems more effectively.

II. Development professionals, both theorists and practitioners, should try to ***be open for culture specific relations of gender.*** Western views should not be generalised to non-Western cultures. Such a sensitising process could be facilitated by professionals with a strong development background.

III. More ***culture specific, non generalised, quantitative and interpretative research*** is required on the effects development projects have on all strata of societies, and most particularly on women, single mothers and the poor.

For the organisations of International development cooperation:

IV. In order to increase women representation, development organisations with a Western cultural background should more pragmatically assess the possibilities of innovative job-sharing arrangements to allow a more equitable sharing of power between women and men. ***While such arrangements in the short term may cost more in terms of finance they are likely to be more effective in terms of addressing poverty issues.***

V. Bilateral and multilateral development organisations, in cooperation with their partner organisations, should more thoroughly discuss participatory concepts to reduce the wide conceptual variation. ***Such a dialogue must include the discussion of gender relations.***

For the Fiji Pine Limited and the participants of Vakabuli and Tau villages.

VI. FPL should address the training needs perceived by its women employees. In addition, the process of ***employing professional women extension workers, forestry managers and more independent women contractors*** for nursery establishment, tree planting and tree weeding should be initiated. Job opportunities in the executive decision-making ranks could be given to senior women to avoid the career-family conflict.

VII. To reduce conflict and to make participation more satisfying for all parties involved it would be useful to introduce extension methods which are based on the participatory appraisal methodology which was discussed during my research field work. Keeping in mind the Fijian communication culture described in Chapter 7, it will be necessary to introduce a reciprocal information system ***which reaches all parties*** and individuals such as FPL, landowners, women and men.

VIII. As was noted in Chapter 8 the Tau people, in contrast to the Vakabuli people, ***are further advanced in their awareness of participatory needs.*** The author suggests that FPL acknowledges the arising conflicts with an intensive, reciprocal dialogue. Participatory appraisal methods would be a useful tool to assist the process.

Appendices

Appendix 2.1

Characteristics of the two extremes of participatory strategies: creation versus consumption.

Participation as creation	Participation as consumption
emancipation	domestication
education	manipulation
empowered control	manipulated access
active	passive
control	access
authentic	ornamental
informal	formal
political	non-political
articulate	silent
result: open ended	result: pre determined
holistic	partial
long term	quick-fix
holistic sustainable	partially sustainable
conflicting	harmonising
self-empowering	self-destructive
equitable	skewed
strong BNA	weak BNA
primarily NGOs	primarily Governments
primarily churches	primarily multi-bilateral
radical-feminists	liberal-feminists
participatory paradigm	modernisation paradigm
strategic gender needs	practical gender needs
democratic	authoritarian
innovation	implementation

(BNA = Basic needs approach)

Source: References cited in Chapters 2 and 3.

Appendix 3.1

Questionnaire for bilateral and multilateral development organisations.

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
Development Studies

Felix Fellmann
50 Clarke Avenue
Palmerston North
New Zealand

June 8, 1992

(sent to the organisations listed in Appendix 3.2)

Dear Madam, dear Sir,

I am doing a research on the **"Participation of women in international development organisations"** at Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand. It would be of great help to me if you can send me the following documents which will be used for academic purposes only.

- Policy documents of your overall development objectives.

- Policy documents of your development objectives in particular to involvement/participation of women in rural development.

- I am most happy if you can complete the enclosed, brief questionnaire and return it, together with the documents by August 31, 1992.

I am looking forward to receiving the documents. Thank you.

Yours faithfully,

Felix Fellmann

Questionnaire on women involvement/participation in development organisations and development projects.

Note: Where the answer is yes or no, please encircle your answer.

Question 1

In what year did your organisation frame the first policy on participation of women in development?.....

Question 2

What were the motives for framing the first **"pro women"** policies?

1	Political	( )
2	International pressure	( )
3	Awareness of necessity	( )
4	Religious	( )

Question 3

Does your organisation **now** have a section specifically on women development?

YES **NO**

If YES:

In what year was it first established?.....

Question 4

Which type (sectors) of project proposals are being appraised by the women development section before getting approved?

1	Agriculture and Forestry	( )
2	Small, rural industries	( )
3	Small, rural infrastructures	( )
4	Integrated, rural development	( )
5	Small, urban industries	( )
6	Small, urban infrastructures	( )
7	Health	( )
8	Formal education	( )
9	Non-formal education	( )
10	Industrial development	( )
11	Specific women programmes	( )
12	NGO-programmes	( )
99	None	( )

Question 5

Has the head of the women section the authority to sanction funding for proposals that are appraised by the WID section?

YES **NO**

Question 6

How many **women and men officers** were and are employed in **your entire development organisation?**

	women	men
1985	.....	.....
1990	.....	.....
To date	.....	.....

Question 7

How many **women and men officers** were and are employed in the women development section?

	Women	Men
1985		
1990		
To date		

Question 8

How much funds were allocated **specifically for women development?**
(Million:.....)

	Women development	Total
1985		
1990		
1992		

Thank you for completing and returning this questionnaire.

Appendix 3.2

Address list of the international development organisations to which questionnaires were sent.

A/ Bilateral organisations:

1/ Ministry of External Relations and Trade (MERT), Development Cooperation, Stafford House, 40 The Terrace, Private Bag 18901, Wellington, New Zealand.

2/ Australian International Development Assistance Bureau (AIDAB), Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, G.P.O. Box 887, Canberra, A.C.T. 2601, Australia.

3/ Multilateral Cooperation Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kasumigaseki 2-2-1, Chiyoda-Ku, Tokio 100, Japan.

4/ Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland (FINIDA), P.O. Box 176, 00161 Helsinki, Finland.

5/ Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA), S-10525 Stockholm, Sweden.

6/ Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation, P.O. Box 8034, 0030 Oslo, Norway.

7/ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Hversfisgata 115, 105 Reykjyvik, Iceland.

8/ Ministry of Foreign Affairs (DANIDA), 2 Asiatisk Plads, DK-1448 Copenhagen, Denmark.

9/ Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Postbus 20061, 2500 EB 's-Gravenhage, Netherlands.

19/ Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) GmbH, Dag-Hammarskjöld-Weg 1-2, D-6236 Eschborn, Germany.

11/ Ministere des Affairs Etrangeres, Du Commerce Exterieur et de la Cooperation au Development, Place du Champ de Mars- Bte 57, A.G. Building, 1050 Bruxelles, Belgium.

12/ Ministry of Co-operation and Development, 20 rue Monsieur, 75700 Paris, France.

13/ Department of External Affairs, Development Cooperation, Pearson Bldg, 125 Sussex Drive, Ottawa, ON KIA OG2, Canada.

14/ Swiss Development Cooperation and Humanitarian Aid (SDC), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Eigerstrasse 73, 3003 Berne, Switzerland.

15/ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Development Cooperation, Ballhausplatz 2, 1014 Vienna, Austria.

16/ Ministerio de Asuntos Sociales, Instituto de la Mujer, Almagro, 36-28010 Madrid. Spain

17/ Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Directorate General for Development Cooperation (Cooperazione Italiana), Rome, Italy.

18/ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Largo do Rilvas, 1354 Lisbon Codex, Portugal.

19/ Overseas Development Administration, 94, Victoria Street, London SWIE 5JL, UK.

20/ Department of Foreign Affairs, 80 St Stephen's Green, Dublin, Ireland.

21/ Agency for International Development (AID), Office of Women in Development, Room 714 SA-18, Washington,D.C. 20523-1816, USA.

22/ Ministere des Affairs Etrangeres, L-2911 Luxemburg.

23/ The Golda Meir Mount Carmel International Training Centre, 12, David Pinsky St., P.O. Box 6111, Haifa 34351, Israel.

B/ Multilateral organisations:

24/ United Nations (UN), United Nations Plaza, New York. N.Y. 10017.

25/ International Labour Office (ILO), CH-1211 Geneva 22, Switzerland.

26/ Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), Via delle Terme die Caracella, 00100 Rome, Italy

27/ United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), One United Nations Plaza, New York. N.Y. 10017. USA.

28/ United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Geneva Liaison Office, Palais des Nations, CH-1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland.

29/ United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD), Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland.

30/ International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), via del Serafico, 00142 Roma, Italy.

31/ United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), Bureau 1104, 304 East 45th Street, New York, NY 10017, USA.

32/ International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW), Apartado Postal 21747, Santo Domingo, D.N., Republica Dominicana.

33/ Commission of the European Communities (EEC), Rue de la Loi, 200, B-1049 Bruxelles, Belgium.

34/ Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD), 94, rue Chardon-Lagache, 75016 Paris, France.

35/ The Ford Foundation, 320 East 43rd Street, New York, NY 10017. USA.

C/ Development Banks:

36/ The World Bank (WB), 1818 H Street, N.W., Washington,D.C. 20433, U.S.A.

37/ Bank for Economic Development in Africa (BADEA), P.O. Box 2640, Khartoum, Sudan.

38/ Asian Development Bank (ADB), 2330 Roxas Boulevard, Metro Manila, Philippines.

39/ African Development Bank (ADB), P.O. Box 1387, Abidjan, Ivory Coast.

40/ Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), 1300 New York Avenue, Washington DC, 20577. USA.

Appendix 3.3

Framework for analysing policy documents of bilateral and multilateral development organisations in regard to qualitative aspects of women participation.

Expression	Organisations
1	articulate
2	active
3	access
4	active-participation
5	authentic
6	autonomy
7	authentic-participation
8	conscientisation
9	creation
10	communication
11	creativity
12	control
13	conflicting
14	collective
15	collective-action
16	democratisation
17	decentralised-decisions
18	delegation
19	emancipation
20	ethic

21 equality
22 equal status
23 empowerment
24 equitable
25 education
26 socio-economic participation
27 gender-awareness
28 holistic
29 innovative
30 informal
31 informed
32 involvement
33 institution-building
34 knowledge
35 long term
36 listening
37 open-ended
38 openness
39 organisation
40 participation
41 participatory-paradigm
42 project-cycle
43 political
44 people-centred
45 power
46 partner
47 qualitative
48 radical-feminists
49 respect
50 strong BNA
51 social-development
52 self-development
53 self-sustaining
54 self-confidence
55 self-awareness
56 self-esteem
57 self-respect
58 self-management
59 self-innovation

60 self-evaluation
61 self-analysis
62 self-reliance
63 self-decision
64 self-determination
65 sustainability
66 sustainability, social
67 sustainability, economic
68 sustainability, institutional
69 strategic needs
70 strategic human-needs
71 strategic gender needs
72 practical gender needs
73 solidarity
74 training
75 trust
76 WID integration
77 BNA
78 choice
79 women
80 NGOs
81 Government
82 sustainable development

(Source: References cited in Chapters 2 and 3)

Appendix 3.4

System and data file for DAC-survey.

```
TITLE          "SURVEY ON WOMEN IN DAC ORGANISATIONS"
.
DATA LIST FILE 'felix1.dat' FIXED /
SER 1-2 BILMULT 4 COUNTRY 6-7 YRPOL 9-10 POLIT 12 INTPR 14
AWARE 16
RELIG 18 NOOP 20 WIDSEC 22 YRESTABL 25-25 PROPAPR 27-28
WOMAUTH 30
PRPWOM 32-33 REALGDP 35-36 SOCINVST 38-39 WOM92 41-42
MEN92 44-45
WIDEXP 47-50 PGNPODA 52-55 EFFINDX 57-60 AWINDX 62-63
GENINDX 65-67
HUMINDX 69-71 ODADISB 73-77 WOMPOLIT 79-80.

VARIABLE LABELS SER 'SERIAL NUMBER' BILMULT 'BILATERAL OR MULTILATERAL'
COUNTRY 'COUNTRY OR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION' YRPOL
'YEAR OF WID POLICY'
POLIT 'POLITICAL MOTIVE' INTPR 'INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE'
AWARE 'PUBLIC AWARENESS'
               RELIG 'RELIGION' NOOP 'NO REASON' WIDSEC 'WID SECTION EXISTS'
               YRESTABL
'YEAR OF ESTABLISHMENT' PROPAPR 'TYPE OF PROJECTS TO BE APPRAISED' WOMAUTH
               'AUTHORITY OF WID WOMEN' PRPWOM 'PROPORTION OF WOMEN' REALGDP
'REAL GDP PER CAPITA' SOCINVST 'SOCIAL INVESTMENT' WOM92 'WOMEN WID OFFICERS'
MEN92 'MEN WID OFFICERS' WIDEXP 'WID EXPENDITURE' pGNPODA
               '% OF GNP SPENT OF ODA'
               EFFINDX 'ODA EFFICIENCY INDEX' AWINDX 'AWARENESS INDEX'
               GENINDX 'GENDER INDEX'
               HUMINDX 'HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDEX' ODADISB 'ODA DISBURSEMENT'
               WOMPOLIT '% WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT'

VALUE LABELS   BILMULT 1 'BILATERAL' 2 'MULTILATERAL'
               /country 1 'NEW ZEALAND' 2 'AUSTRALIA' 3 'JAPAN'
               4 'FINLAND' 5 'SWEDEN'
               6 'NORWAY' 7 'ICELAND' 8 'DENMARK' 9 'NETHERLANDS' 10
               'GERMANY' 11 'BELGIUM'
               12 'FRANCE' 13 'SWITZERLAND' 14 'AUSTRIA' 15 'ITALY' 16
               'SPAIN' 17 'PORTUGAL'
               18 'UK' 19 'IRELAND' 20 'CANADA' 21 'USA' 22 'LUXEMBURG'
               23 'ISRAEL'
               24 'WORLD BANK' 25 'ILO' 26 'FAO' 27
               'UNDP' 28 'UNESCO'
               29 'EEC' 30 'OECD' 31 'UNRISD' 32 'UN' 33 'IFAD' 34
               'UNIFEM' 35 'INSTRAW',
               36 'FORD FOUNDATION' 37 'ARABDEVBANK' 38 'ASIANDEVBANK'
               39 'AFRICANDEVBANK'
               40 'INTERAMDEVBANK'
/polit to relig 1 'YES' 2 'NO' 9 'NO OPINION'/
```

```
MISSING VALUES WIDSEC 99/ PRPWOM 99/ SOCINVST 99/ WIDEXP 9999/
               pGNpODA 9999/ EFFINDX 9999/ GENINDX 999/
               ODADISB 99999 WOMPOLIT 99


CORRELATIONS /VARIABLES
YRPOL POLIT INTPR AWARE RELIG NOOP WIDSEC YRESTABL
PROPAPR WOMAUTH PRPWOM REALGDP SOCINVST WOM92 MEN92 WIDEXP PGNPODA EFFINDX
AWINDX GENINDX HUMINDX ODADISB WOMPOLIT
/OPTIONS 2 3.
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01 1 01 81 2 1 1 2   2 99 01 2 44 11 58 01 00 0.55 0.23 73.9 26 776 959 00093 17
02 1 02 76 2 2 1 2   1 92 01 2 45 15 31 03 00 0.11 0.38 87.5 22 843 973 00955 06
03 1 03 92 1 1 1 2   2 99 00 2 09 14 17 00 00 0.79 0.32 81.6 51 764 993 09069 01
04 1 05 70 1 2 1 2   1 75 12 1 99 15 14 03 00 9999 0.89 87.6 48 886 982 02012 45
05 1 04 80 1 1 1 2   1 85 09 1 53 14 29 01 00 1.92 0.76 93.2 47 902 963 00846 46
06 1 06 74 1 1 1 2   1 89 12 1 35 14 18 02 03 5.27 1.13 92.3 45 845 978 01207 52
07 1 08 87 1 2 1 2   1 85 08 1 43 14 22 02 00 9999 0.96 92.7 44 878 967 01171 41
08 1 09 75 1 2 1 2   1 77 12 1 99 13 25 23 00 0.31 0.93 88.4 52 770 976 02592 99
09 1 10 85 1 2 1 2   1 80 99 9 51 15 26 03 00 9999 0.40 76.7 44 792 959 06320 24
10 1 11 81 1 1 1 2   1 81 01 1 53 13 40 01 00 1.26 0.41 93.7 42 768 958 00891 09
11 1 13 82 2 1 1 2   1 89 00 2 99 17 20 01 00 9999 0.32 88.5 45 794 981 00750 16
12 1 15 87 1 1 1 2   1 90 01 1 30 13 18 04 01 0.22 0.25 77.2 33 750 955 03395 15
13 1 16 88 1 2 1 2   1 88 04 1 86 08 99 02 01 0.83 0.23 9999 32 999 951 00617 07
14 1 18 88 1 2 1 2   1 92 12 2 48 13 25 05 02 1.36 0.32 86.1 45 783 967 02647 07
15 1 21 73 1 2 1 2   1 73 99 1 23 20 17 07 04 0.17 0.20 63.6 33 809 976 11366 15
16 1 23 61 1 2 1 2   1 61 08 9 99 11 99 08 01 9999 9999 9999 51 999 950 99999 09
```

Appendix 3.5

Questionnaire administered to the staff of the Development Cooperation Division of MERT, and in a reduced format to the staff of the Fiji Pine Limited. [1]

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
Development Studies
Felix Fellmann

Thu Oct 22,1992

Questionnaire on "participation in development co-operation.

Dear Madam, dear Sir,

As a part of my studies for an M.Phil in Development Studies I am doing a research on the participation in development-cooperation. Enquiries are being made into four areas: firstly, survey of all major Multi and Bilateral organisations, secondly, a survey of your organisation, thirdly, a survey of the Fiji Pine Commission, and finally, a case study of a village benefitting from the Fiji forestry activities.

The survey format enclosed has been thoroughly tested. It took the testants an average of 25 minutes to complete the form. As a result, several confusing questions have been deleted or reworked. I am very grateful if you can complete the questionnaire **till Friday, November 20, and to drop it at the desk of Margaret Lowe.** Your answers will be completely confidential. One copy of the final version of my Thesis will be made available to your organisation.

I will be doing literature review study at your organisation from November 9 to 20. I will be happy to answer any questions during that time or by Phone 6/3586440 before or after that date.

Thank you for your assistance.

Yours sincerely,

Felix Fellmann

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[1] The following questions were asked in the Fiji Pine Limited. To men: 1, 2, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 24, 29, 31. To women: 1, 2, 13, 14, 24, 29, 31. (section 3.6, Chapter 3).

Questionnaire on participation in development cooperation.

I Questions with regard to your person

1/ Your job designation.....

2/ Your education.....
(Please specify your profession; e.g. forester, sociologist, economist, and not just B.A., B.Sc.)

3/ Your year of birth 19.....

4/ Your sex **M** F

5/ Are you married? **YES** **NO**

6/ Do you have children? **YES** **NO**

If YES:

7/ What are their years of birth?

First child, 19.....
Second child, 19.....
Third child, 19.....
Fourth child, 19.....

II Questions with regard to your predecessor (s)

8/ Did you have a predecessor in your function?

YES **NO**

If YES

9/ Please fill in the details of your predecessor (s) as far back as possible.

Please note:

* **Year when the assignment began.**

** **Please specify your profession; e.g. forester, sociologist, economist, and not just B.A. etc.**

*** **Marital status at beginning of assignment.**

Assignment	Year (*)	Education (**)	Sex	Married (***)
First				
Second				
Third				

III Questions with regard to your working life

10/ Have you in the past been working **for more than one year** in the function of **volunteer, advisor or expert** in a Third World country?

YES **NO**

If YES, please specify:

Number of	Country	Years	Designation
First			
Second			
Third			

11/ What **proportion (%)** of your annual working time do you spend at:

1/ Headquarters in New Zealand:.....

2/ Field missions in collaborating countries.....

3/ Other.....

12/ How does your position fit into the hierarchy of this organisation? **Please tick.**

1 Director.....( )
2 Joint Director.....( )
3 Deputy Director.....( )
4 Assistant Director.....( )
5 Programme Manager.....( )
6 Policy Analyst.....( )
7 Advisory Officer.....( )
8 Support Officer.....( )
9 Non-Officer staff.....( )
10 Other.....( )

13/ Have you attended **specific training courses** during your career in development cooperation?

YES **NO**

If YES, please tick and rank:

Note: Please rank the usefulness of the training for you, e.g. most useful = 1, second = 2, third = 3 etc.

Course	Rank
Rapid rural appraisal (RRA)	
Environmental impact analysis	
Social auditing (social impact analysis)	
Cross-cultural communication	
Benefit-Cost analysis	
Project-cycle management	
Development policy	
Others:	

14/ What other courses would you find helpful in your work? **Please specify and rank.**

Rank	Nature of course/training
Most useful	
Second	
Third	
Fourth	
Fifth	

IV Questions with regard to participation of project beneficiaries

15/ In your opinion, do development sectors (e.g., health, education, agriculture etc.) and project cycle steps (appraisal, planning, evaluation etc.) require different degrees of participation?

YES **NO**

If YES, please specify by illustrative examples.

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.....

The following eight questions (16 to 23) include **two different development sectors (non-formal education and forestry) and two different development agents (Government and Non-Government)** who mostly follow standard project cycles as presented in the following boxes.

Please tick the degree of **beneficiary participation** required for each step.

16/ Non-formal education sector

Project-cycle	**Scale: low participation of project beneficiaries required = 1 high participation of project beneficiaries required = 7**						
1 Problem analysis	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2 Appraisal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3 Planning	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4 Implementation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5 Monitoring	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6 Evaluation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7 Impact-monitoring	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8 Self-management	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

17/ Is participation for specific beneficiary target groups/individuals particularly required in certain project cycle steps?

YES **NO**

If YES, please specify in the following box.

Project-cycle	**Beneficiary target groups or individuals that need particular emphasis in regards to participatory involvement.**
1/Problem analysis	
2/Appraisal	
3/Planning	
4/Implementation	
5/Monitoring	
6/Evaluation	
7/Impact-monitoring	
8/Self-management	

18/ Forestry sector

Project-cycle	**Scale: low participation of project beneficiaries required = 1 high participation of project beneficiaries required = 7**						
1 Problem analysis	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2 Appraisal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3 Planning	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4 Implementation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5 Monitoring	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6 Evaluation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7 Impact-monitoring	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8 Self-management	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

19/ Is participation for specific beneficiary target groups/individuals particularly required in certain project cycle steps?

YES **NO**

If YES, please specify in the following box.

Project-cycle	**Beneficiary target groups or individuals that need particular emphasis in regards to participatory involvement.**
1/Problem analysis	
2/Appraisal	
3/Planning	
4/Implementation	
5/Monitoring	
6/Evaluation	
7/Impact-monitoring	
8/Self-management	

20/ Government as development agent

Project-cycle	**Scale: low participation of project beneficiaries required = 1 high participation of project beneficiaries required = 7**						
1 Problem analysis	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2 Appraisal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3 Planning	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4 Implementation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5 Monitoring	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6 Evaluation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7 Impact-monitoring	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8 Self-management	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

21/ Is participation for specific beneficiary target groups/individuals particularly required in certain project cycle steps?

YES **NO**

If YES, please specify in the following box.

Project-cycle	**Beneficiary target groups or individuals that need particular emphasis in regards to participatory involvement.**
1/Problem analysis	
2/Appraisal	
3/Planning	
4/Implementation	
5/Monitoring	
6/Evaluation	
7/Impact-monitoring	
8/Self-management	

22/ Non-Government Organisation as development agent

Project-cycle	**Scale: low participation of project beneficiaries required = 1 high participation of project beneficiaries required = 7**						
1 Problem analysis	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2 Appraisal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3 Planning	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4 Implementation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5 Monitoring	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6 Evaluation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7 Impact-monitoring	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8 Self-management	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

23/ Is participation for specific beneficiary target groups/individuals particularly required in certain project cycle steps?

YES **NO**

If YES, please specify in the following box.

Project-cycle	**Beneficiary target groups or individuals that need particular emphasis in regards to participatory involvement.**
1/Problem analysis	
2/Appraisal	
3/Planning	
4/Implementation	
5/Monitoring	
6/Evaluation	
7/Impact-monitoring	
8/Self-management	

V Questions with regard to participation in development organisations

24/ How would you describe representation of women in decision-making positions in your organisation?

high	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	low
adequate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	inadequate
satisfactory	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unsatisfactory
acceptable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not acceptable

25/ A recent OECD survey on participation of women in the administration of Government Development Cooperations of 18 Development Assistance Countries (DAC) suggested the following reasons for the low representation of women in management positions.

Where do you agree? **Please tick.**

Reasons	agree
1/ Not enough women with required University qualification/skills	( )
2/ Women are not applying in sufficient numbers	( )
3/ Potential women candidates lack appropriate experience	( )
4/ Women prefer temporary family occupation, therefore, do not apply	( )
5/ Women cannot travel to difficult areas as easily as men can	( )
6/ Potential women candidates applied but were not selected	( )

26/ For those reasons to which you disagree what would be more valid explanations? **Please specify.**

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27/ Please indicate what would be the most prevalent reason for the low representation of women.

Reasons	**prevalence: most prevalent = 1, second = 2 , third = 3 etc.**
Not enough women with required University qualification/skills	
Women are not applying in sufficient numbers	
Potential women candidates lack appropriate experience	
Women prefer temporary family occupation, therefore, do not apply	
Women cannot travel to difficult areas as easily as men can	
Potential women candidates applied but were not selected	
Other:	
Other:	
Other:	
Other:	

29/ A number of reputed organizations such as the ILO, UN, UNDP, UNRISD, UNIFEM, FAO, The World Bank, OECD and a number of Development Assistance Countries explicitly agree that women are under-represented at all levels of development cooperation. The same organisations increasingly see more equal participation of women in decision-making positions in both donor and receiver countries as a pre-requisite to sustainable development. How would you describe this view?

feasible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	infeasible
realistic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	idealistic
practical	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	impractical
appropriate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	inappropriate
pragmatic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	non-pragmatic

30/ In your opinion, do women differ from men in their approach to development?

YES **NO**

If YES, how and why?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

31/ In your opinion, what are major constraints of participation in development cooperation (all arenas). **Please rank in sequence of importance.**

First.....
.....
Second.....
.....
Third.....
.....
Fourth.....
.....

32/ Any other suggestion you wish to make on the topic of participation.

.....
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.....

Thank you for completing this questionnaire.

Appendix 3.6

Approving and supporting letters from Fiji Pine Limited for my research.

Fiji Pine
LIMITED

FROM: Manager Personnel FILE NO: P.922

As Below DATE: 5/1/93

QUESTIONNAIRE ON PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

Mr Felix Fellman, is a Swiss national doing a masters degree in development studies at Massey University in Palmerston North, New Zealand. As part of his work he is in Fiji to carry out field studies on the participation of men and women in the forestry sector in Fiji which will include a case study of possibly 2 landowner villages within Fiji Pine Limited forests.

As part of the field work in Fiji, Mr Fellman is doing a survey within salaried staff of Fiji Pine Limited. A copy of the survey questionnaire is attached which we ask that you fill out and return to me by Friday 20th January. Mr Fellman will be available to assist you in filling out the form if you so wish.

Your cooperation will be appreciated.

JK Niumataiwalu
Manager Personnel

Distribution:

SFRs
FRs
Chargehands
SEOs
EOs
LTO (Logging)
LA
LEAO

Fiji Pine LIMITED

85 Drasa Avenue, Lautoka
PO Box 521 Lautoka, Fiji
Telephone: (679) 61511
Fax: (679) 61784

24 November 1992

P.

Mr Felix Fellmann
50 Clarke Avenue
Palmerston North
NEW ZEALAND

Dear Mr Fellmann

"WOMEN IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT WITH EMPHASIS ON THE FIJI FORESTRY SECTOR"

We refer to your various correspondence to us on the above subject and apologise for the rather long delay in sending a reply.

Your request for carrying out a survey among the beneficiaries of a selected case village is approved. We can make the final selection of which village(s) to use in your case studies when you get here.

We understand that you will make your own arrangements regarding a permit to work in Fiji.

Yours sincerely
FIJI PINE LIMITED

fw NW Yalimaitoga
Manager Landowner & Extension Services

c.c.

LEAO - for your infor. and noting

Appendix 3.7

System and data file for FPL-survey.

```
title "SURVEY ON WOMEN IN THE FIJI PINE LIMITED".


DATA LIST FILE 'FELIX2.DAT' FIXED/
SER 1-2 SEX 4 BOTHLF 6 TOPHLF 8 VOC 10 COLUNIV 12 SPECTRG 14 RURRES 16
PRMGMT 18 ENV 20 OTHER 22 HUMDEV 24 PROMGMT 26 TECH 28 DEGPART 30 NFPROB 32
NFAPPR 34 NFPLNG 36 NFIMPL 38 NFMONIT 40 NFEVAL 42 NFIMPM 44 NFSMGMT 46
FORPROB 48 FORAPPR 50 FORPLNG 52 FORIMPL 54 FORMONIT 56 FOREVAL 58 FORIMPM 60
FORSMGMT 62 HIGH 64 ADEQ 66 SATISF 68 ACCEPT 70 FEAS 72 REAL 74 PRACT 76
APPR 78 PRAGM 80

VARIABLE LABELS SER 'SERIAL NUMBER' SEX 'GENDER' BOTHLF 'BOTTOM HALF HIERARCHY'
TOPHLF 'TOP HALF HIERARCHY' VOC 'VOCATIONAL TRAINING'
COLUNIV 'COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY'
SPECTRG 'SPECIAL TRAINING' RURRES 'RURAL RESEARCH' PRMGMT 'PROJECT MANAGEMENT'
ENV 'ENVIRONMENT' OTHER 'OTHER TRAININGS' HUMDEV 'HUMAN DEVELOPMENT'
PROMGMT 'PROJECT MANAGEMENT' TECH 'TECHNOLOGY'
DEGPART 'DIFFERENT DEGREE OF PARTICIPATION'
NFPROB 'NON FORMAL EDUCATION PROBLEM ANALYSIS'
NFAPPR ' NON FORMAL EDUCATION APPRAISAL'
NFPLNG 'NON FORMAL EDUCATION PLANNING'
NFIMPL 'NON FORMAL EDUCATION IMPLEMENTATION'
NFMONIT 'NON FORMAL EDUCATION MONITORING'
NFEVAL 'NON FORMAL EDUCATION EVALUATION'
NFIMPM 'NON FORMAL EDUCATION IMPACT MONITORING'
NFSMGMT ' NON FORMAL EDUCATION SELF MANAGEMENT'
FORPROB 'FORESTRY PROBLEM ANALYSIS'
FORAPPR 'FORESTRY APPRAISAL'
FORPLNG 'FORESTRY PLANNING'
FORIMPL 'FORESTRY IMPLEMENTATION'
FORMONIT 'FORESTRY MONITORING'
FOREVAL 'FORESTRY EVALUATION'
FORIMPM 'FORESTRY IMPACT MONITORING'
FORSMGMT 'FORESTRY SELF MANAGEMENT'
HIGH 'PARTICIPATION HIGH TO LOW'
ADEQ 'PARTICIPATION ADEQUATE TO INADEQUATE'
SATISf 'PARTICIPATION STISFACTORY TO UNSATISFACTORY'
ACCEPT 'PARTICIPATION ACCEPTABLE TO NON ACCEPTABLE'
FEAS 'FEASIBLE TO INFEASIBLE'
REAL 'REALISTIC TO UNREALISTIC'
PRACT 'PRACTICAL TO UNPRACTICAL'
APPR 'APPROPRIATE TO INAPPROPRIATE'
PRAGM 'PRAGMATIC TO UNPRAGMATIC'

VALUE LABels
SEX 1 'MALE' 2 'FEMALE'/
SPECTRG 1 'YES' 2 'NO'/
DEGPART 1 'YES' 2 'NO'/
```

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CORRELATIONS/VARIABLES
SEX BOTHLF TOPHLF VOC COLUNIV SPECTRG RURRES PRMGMT ENV OTHER HUMDEV
PROMGMT TECH DEGPART NFPROB NFAPPR NFPLNG NFIMPL NFMONIT NFEVAL NFIMPM
NFSMGMT FORPROB FORAPPR FORPLNG FORIMPL FORMONIT FOREVAL FORIMPM
FORSMGMT HIGH ADEQ SATISF ACCEPT FEAS REAL PRACT APPR PRAGM
/OPTIONS 2 3.
finish.
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01 1 1   1   2         1 1   2                                       4 3 4 4 4 4 4 3 3
02 1   1   1 1       1 1   1 1 4 7 4 7 4 4 4 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 1 4 1 1 1 1 1 4
03 1   1   1 1 1 1   1   1 1 1 3 5 4 6 5 3 4 6 6 6 4 6 4 4 3 6 7 7 5 5 5 6 6 6 4
04 1   1   1 1   1     1 1   1 5 2 4 6 6 5 2 3 6 4 4 7 3 3 6 6 7 1 1 1 7 7 4 7 7
05 1 1   1   1       1 1     1                       7 7 1 7 1 1 1 7 7 7 6 7 1 1 1 1 4
06 1   1   1     1   1 1 1   1 7 4 6 5 6 6 2 1 7 5 4 4 4 4 3 1 7 7 2 1 1 3 2 1 1
07 1   1 1   2       1   1 1 6 5 5 5 6 6 6 6 7 6 6 6 7 6 7 7 5 6 4 7 2 5 5 3 4
08 1   1   1 1   1       1 1 5 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 4 4 4 4 1 2 2 2 1
09 2 1   1   1                                               7 7 7 7 1 1 1 1 4
10 1 1   1   2             1 1 7 3 2 7 2 2 4 5 2 3 3 7 4 2 4 5 7 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 4
11 1   1   1 1   1   1   1 1 1 1 3 4 5 2 4 2 5 1 2 3 4 2 1 1 1 6 6 5 5 2 2 6 3 3
12 1 1   1   1       1 1 1 1 1 6 2 3 7 2 4 1 5 5 3 2 6 2 1 4 4 7 7 7 7 1 1 1 1 4
13 1   1   1 1   1   1 1 1   1 5 5 5 7 5 4 1 4 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 1 1 1 1 4
14 1   1   1 1   1   1     1 1 7 7 2 7 1 4 1 5 7 7 5 7 3 4 4 6 5 6 4 4 1 3 4 5 2
15 1 1     1 1   1 1       1 1 7 5 7 6 6 6 5 7 7 7 7 7 6 6 7 7 5 4 5 6 3 4 6 5 5
16 1 1   1   2               1 1 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 2 7 1 7 2 2 7 4 7 7 7 7 1 1 1 1 1
17 1 1   1   2                 1 1 1 2 7 7 7 7 2 7 7 1 7 7 7 7 7 4 4 7 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 6
18 1 1   1   1       1 1 1   1 7 2 2 7 1 3 2 7 7 7 4 7 2 4 1 7 7 7 7 7 1 1 1 1 4
19 1 1   1   2         1     1                       4 7 1 7 4 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 1 1 1 1 4
20 1   1   1 1   1     1 1   1 5 3 5 4 6 3 3 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 5 5 4 4 4
21 1   1   1 1       1 1 1   1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 4 4 3 5 3 4 4 5 7 5 4 4 4 4 3 4 1
22 1   1   1 1   1 1   1   1 1 5 5 5 7 5 4 5 5 6 6 5 7 6 5 5 6 6 5 5 5 5 5 6 5 6
23 1   1   1 1       1 1 1   1 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 1 1 1 1 4
24 1   1   1 1       1   1 1 1 7 4 2 7 7 7 4 4 4 4 2 4 4 4 4 4 7 7 7 7 3 4 4 4 4
25 1 1   1   2         1     2 3 4 4 4 4 5 5 4 5 4 7 5 5 5 4 5 7 5 4 5 2 2 1 3 4
26 1   1   1 1       1 1 1 1 1 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 5 5 5 5 5
27 2 1   1   2         1                                       7 7 6 6 1 1 1 1 4
28 2 1   1   2         1                                       7 7 6 6 1 1 1 1 4
29 2 1   1   2         1                                       7 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 4
30 2 1   1   2         1                                       7 2 2 2 1 2 1 1 4
31 2 1     1 2         1                                       6 7 7 6 1 2 5 1 4
32 2 1   1   1       1 1 1                                     6 6 6 7 1 1 1 1 4
33 2 1     1 2                                                 7 6 7 7 1 1 1 1 4
34 2 1   1   2         1 1                                     4 4 3 3 1 1 1 1 4
35 2 1   1   2         1 1                                     7 7 6 4 1 1 1 1 5
36 2 1   1   1       1 1 1 1                                   7 6 6 6 1 2 2 1 1
37 2 1   1   2       1 1                                       6 4 2 1 1 7 1 7 1
38 2 1   1   2         1                                       3 4 3 3 1 1 1 7 1
39 2 1   1   1       1 1 1                                     6 1 3 7 1 2 1 6 1
40 2 1   1   2         1                                       6 3 2 3 2 2 2 2 4
41 2   1 1 1 1       1 1 1                                     6 5 3 2 1 2 1 1 4
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Appendix 3.8

Framework for the village case studies which addresses communication, information, conflict and conflict solving potential, and women involvement.

On Information and Communication

1/ How do you (men and women) benefit from the Pine Project?

First
Second
Third

2/ Mataqali representatives attend meetings held by the FPL.

All attend
Some
Few

3/ Mataqali representatives inform their co-landowners on the content of such meetings.

Always all landowners
Always some
Sometimes all
Sometimes some

4/ Landowners (men and women) know major forestry activities and their benefits.

All know
Most
Some

5/ Landowners know the details of the land lease agreement.

All know
Most
Some

6/ Landowners are aware of their responsibility to protect the forests.

All are aware
Most
Some

7/ Landowners participate actively to help preventing forest fire and other preventable hazards.

All do
Most
Some

8/ Basic technical and financial information is fed back to landowners.

Always and regularly
Mostly
Sometimes

9/ How often? .....

10/ Information from FPL to landowners is easily understandable.

easily understandable
mostly
sometimes

<u>On Conflict</u>

11/ Conflicts between landowners and FPL exist.

No conflicts
Few
Occasional
Many

12/ Reasons for such conflicts.

First
Second
Third

13/ Conflicts are solved.

All conflicts always
Most
Some

14/ Cooperation and communication between landowners and FPL exists and is:

Always satisfactory
Mostly
Sometimes

Specifically on women participation

15/ Women landowners attend meetings held by the FPL.

Always attend
Mostly
Sometimes
Never

16/ Landowners would accept qualified women forestry staff for management support.

All landowners would accept
Most
Some

17/ Landowners would like that women participate more actively in activities such as nursery, weeding and tree planting.

All landowners would like
Most
Some

Appendix 4.1

Keywords for the construction of the Awareness Index, and frequency of use by twenty-five bilateral and multilateral development organisations.

The keyword analysis of searching policy documents for expressions relevant to participation revealed the following:

None of the organisations used:

authentic, **creativity,** delegation, ethic, listening, open-ended, participatory-paradigm, radical feminists, strong BNA, trust (n=10, represents 12% of all words listed in Appendix 3.3).

One to six organisations used:

articulate, autonomy, authentic-participation, conscientisation, creation, conflicting, collective, decentralised-decisions, emancipation, empowerment, holistic, informal, informed, openness, people-centred, respect, self-awareness, self-esteem, self-respect, self-evaluation, self-analysis, **social sustainability, economic sustainability, institutional sustainability,** strategic needs, strategic human needs, **strategic gender needs,** choice (n=30, represents 37% of all words listed).

Seven to twelve organisations used:

communication, **control,** democratisation, innovative, power, partner, self-development, self-sustaining, self-confidence, self-management, self-innovation, self-determination, solidarity (n=14, represents 17% of all words listed).

Thirteen to eighteen organisations used:

access, equal status, equitable, institution building, knowledge, long term, organisation, political, social development, self-reliance, self decision (n=11, represents 13% of all words listed).

Nineteen to twenty three organisations used:

active, active participation, equality, education, socio-economic participation, gender awareness, involvement, **project cycle participation,** sustainability, WID-integration, BNA, practical gender needs, sustainable development (n=13, represents 16% of all words listed).

All organisations used:

participation, training, women, government, non-government
(n = 5, represents 6% of all words listed).

Appendix 5.1

Chronological summary of major steps towards increased awareness of women participation in development in the Development Cooperation Division of MERT.

1981:

Guiding principles for external aid for the first time marginally included women.

1983:

New Zealand ratified DAC (OECD) guiding principles on women in development.

1985:

UN-decade for women (1975 - 1985). New Zealand agreed on "forward looking strategies".

1986/87:

The advisory committee on external aid and development recommended the following:

- establishment of WID unit within the external aid division.
- separate funding for WID programmes.
- WID training to all development cooperation division staff.
- increased funding to specialised UN-women organisations.
- proposed revision of guiding principles with clear statement that development is an **active, participatory process.**

1988/89:

Several public statements by the Associate Minister of Foreign Affairs on the importance of women participation in development.

1989:

Appointment of one WID-Officer within the development cooperation division.

1992:

Government approved WID policy document.

(Sources: References on New Zealand Foreign Affairs in the Bibliography)

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