

**A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF METHODS OF ORGANISING USED
BY WOMEN IN CARIBBEAN FREE TRADE ZONES: IMPLICATIONS
FOR DEVELOPMENT**

by

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**To women working in Caribbean free zones,
organising for survival.**

ABSTRACT

Rejecting patriarchal structures in the workplace, women workers in Caribbean free trade zones are finding alternative methods of organising that are gender-sensitive, participatory, and empowering. These case studies from Jamaica and the Dominican Republic reported here, show that a housing cooperative and a trade union led by women can be effective alternatives to the traditional method of organising workers.

Despite the stringent conditions and low wages associated with free zone employment, the difficulties imposed by structural adjustment policies, the New International Division of Labour, transnational corporations and globalisation, Caribbean women are using these jobs to struggle against the obstacles of gender subordination, sexual inequality in the labour market and to fulfil their central roles in the family.

The findings suggest that the methods and process used by the two groups have helped to change women's self perception, expanded their range of skills, enhanced their understanding and use of power and generally contributed to their development.

Against this background, the study sheds new light on the concept of development at the micro level and suggests new areas for further research to support the development of women. It indicates that participatory organisational structures and proactive, gender-sensitive programmes, can serve as effective methods in this process. In pursuing practical gender interests through organising, women can address strategic gender concerns.

Rather than focus on "top-down" macro economic development strategies, the thesis examines the impact of small, "bottom-up" NGO initiatives which serve as models for learning about the nuts and bolts of development at a practical and theoretical level.

The study's research methodology also supports the value of participatory research as a tool for organising women. Collective action research and programme development are identified as important to the process of women's empowerment. These findings are significant, given the current crisis in the theory and practice of development, which has led to a fundamental rethinking of the concept. The study suggests that gender-sensitivity, the need for empowerment and for participation are alternative development indicators.

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PART 1

INTRODUCTION, THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION, THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The Daily Gleaner newspaper headlines tell the story: "Kingston Free Zone means jobs for Jamaicans" (June 18, 1986); "Hong Kong investments have created 7,000 jobs" (March 4, 1987); "Free Zone workers stage protest" (March 4, 1987). The logical question which follows is: why would women with families to support and limited opportunities for employment, jeopardise their job prospects by demonstrating? Then later, a group of them formed a housing cooperative and became transformed. In looking around the Caribbean, it emerged that a similar process had occurred in the Dominican Republic. The major difference was that for the first time, women led a trade union of free zone workers, whose membership was predominantly female. Why did women form their own organisations? What accounts for the pride and power they have displayed? What lessons can these experiences in organising teach us about the concept and process of development at a micro level? What are the possibilities and limitations of these methods for supporting the development of working women, within the latest macro economic development strategy of export-oriented industrialisation? The thesis extracts the main lessons from these experiences to inform our understanding of development.

In so doing, it tries to find alternatives to the current crisis in the traditional concept of development and to understand how the process affects people directly.

Hypotheses and Definition of Terms

The study is based on three main hypotheses:

- a) that gender sensitivity, the need for empowerment and for participation, are factors which strongly influence women's methods of organising;

- b) that this process of organising can itself contribute to women's holistic development;
- c) that in organising to meet their practical (survival) needs, women acquire knowledge and skills which empower them and are therefore strategic to their development.

Three elements are therefore identified as important in this process: gender sensitivity, the need for empowerment and for participation.

In clarifying these three concepts, we note that Humm (1989:84) defines gender as a "culturally-shaped group of attitudes and behaviours given to the male or female," which is shaped and influenced by social pressure and is therefore a social construction. This concept of gender is used throughout the thesis to reflect sensitivity to the fact that women and men have different social experiences. As such, the notion of development and the strategies designed for its achievement should reflect this reality.

Batliwala (1993:8) defines empowerment as a process which challenges subordination and subjugation and transforms the structures, systems and institutions which support inequality.

The acquisition of knowledge and skills as well as collective action are important to achieve these goals. The concept is therefore used in the thesis to describe a process of striving for change in structures, as well as individual and collective acquisition of knowledge, to analyze factors which support inequality. This also involves organising.

The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines participation as taking part in, sharing or being part of something. The concept is used in the thesis to mean being part of a process of empowerment or an organisation. It also describes an approach to qualitative research which promotes people's involvement in the process of their empowerment. Another frequently used term is "micro" and is used in opposition to "macro", when referring to a "top down" economic development strategy such as export-oriented industrialisation. In contrast, the term "micro" is used to describe activity or a process at the individual or group level and reflects a "bottom-up" approach. The thesis examines "methods of organising". This describes the procedures and techniques used by women workers to form their housing cooperative and trade union. It therefore describes not only these two organisational forms, but also the approach women have used to establish and operate them.

Development is the most important concept used and the main objective of this thesis is to understand it more completely. Sachs (1992:1) notes that development is a changing concept which has traditionally been seen as a socio-economic endeavour and which has traditionally described Western ideals of post-war prosperity with a bias on economic growth. The thesis recognises the weaknesses in this approach, examines more recent ones and tries to clarify the concept at a micro level, based on the experience of women workers.

It recognises that there is in fact a major crisis in the concept of development, the strategies for its achievement and also a limited understanding of the process at a micro level, particularly as it affects women. The concept of holistic development is therefore proposed as a process which empowers and uplifts the whole person and facilitates participation and equality between people.

Background and Rationale

The thesis focuses on women in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic who work in free trade zones (FTZs), which are production enclaves for export goods. The FTZs are an integral part of the economic development policy of export-oriented industrialisation (EOI). This strategy has been used extensively in attempts to overcome problems of underdevelopment and indebtedness to international financial institutions. Many developing countries therefore encourage foreign investment by offering incentives to transnational corporations to establish factories for export and provide jobs to ease high levels of unemployment. The majority of workers in the FTZs are women (Elson and Pearson, 1981). Women workers in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic have however demonstrated against low wages, poor working conditions and the denial of their rights to trade union representation in the FTZs. This and their formation of two organisations, the St Peter Claver Women's Housing Cooperative in Jamaica and the San Pedro de Macoris Free Zone Trade Union led by women in the Dominican Republic, are considered important developments which merit further investigation. Reports of their positive impact on members, provide further justification for using them as case studies in gender and development research.

Several issues have motivated this study. The first is the crisis in development and the need for alternatives. The crisis is evident at a conceptual level, in the previous and current strategies being used and what we see as a limited understanding of the process at a micro level. It is also seen in the absence of a gender analysis in the dominant development paradigms and the marginal attention given to women. This is although women are numerically preponderant in most countries and their social, political and economic experiences in most cases are significantly different from those of men.

Women workers organising is a central issue motivating this research: the emergence of the housing cooperative in Jamaica and the trade union in the Dominican Republic represent new alternatives to the traditional method of organising workers and are therefore appropriate for an analysis of alternative strategies in women's struggle for empowerment and jobs. This represents a major departure from the other organisational forms that women in either country have adopted in the past. An analysis of these initiatives should help to clarify the process of development at the micro level and suggest alternatives to the current crisis. The study traces the emergence and growth of these two organisations between 1987 and 1992, and examines possible motivations for their coming into being.

Several common features were observed: the membership of both organisations was either wholly or predominantly female; interviews with the women indicated that the experience has changed them; the methodology and programme content of both organisations has been supportive of women in critical areas related to the roles they perform in society; both groups appeared to rely heavily on networks and have collaborated with other groups and institutions to influence a powerful system which controls their daily lives. Together these factors suggested a link between the methodology used for organising and the growth and development of the women. It also indicated a more qualitative, non-economic, human relations and holistic interpretation of development.

These features support the need for an alternative concept of development. It therefore note that :

- a) Development strategies focused on economic growth have not had a positive impact on women at the micro level.. In support of this, It

examine a variety of critiques of the modernisation thesis, including those from the dependency perspective. I also examine the experience of Jamaica and the Dominican Republic with previous economic development strategies and more recently, structural adjustment policies, to assess their impact on women;

- b) Development is a qualitative concept which must be sensitive to gender concerns. Many writers have recognised this. These include academics from a gender and development perspective, (Brydon and Chant:1989); Third World Feminists (Antrobus:1988 and Sen and Grown:1987); and even former dependency economists (Girvan:1988). Academic contributions from various disciplines are thus examined to support the view to which I subscribe. In addition, I include the experiences of non-governmental organisations which are involved in the development process at a practical level, but whose contributions are not often articulated or represented in mainstream academic debates. The thesis therefore tries to bring together analyses from these two groupings: the academics and the NGOs, to inform the discussion about the concept and process of development;
- c) There needs to be more focus in the development literature on the **process** of development at the micro level. In support of an interdisciplinary approach as proposed by feminists, I also argue that the development process involves decision-making at several levels and that this is not a rational linear course of action or evolution. Rather, it involves ad-hoc decision-making to achieve goals with setbacks and advances taking place simultaneously.

Significance of the Study

Conceptually, the study helps to clarify the process of development at the micro level, particularly as it affects women. It also tries to identify non-economic indicators of development. We argue that this is important, given the crisis in the field of development and the on-going search for human development indicators.

As we examine the theoretical background to the study, it will emerge that this research also helps to fill the gap in the global gender and development literature which relates to women workers in the Caribbean. Whereas the experiences of women workers in global restructuring and their relationship with transnational corporations is widely covered in Asia, Europe and Latin America, relatively little has been documented on the Caribbean experience (see for example, Warr, 1983, 1984; Yung 1980; Vittal (Ed.), 1977 on Asia; Elson and Pearson, 1989 and Phizacklea, 1984, 1990; Women Working Worldwide, 1991 on Europe; Sklair, 1993; Fernández-Kelly, 1983; Benería and Roldan, 1987 on Mexico and Joekes, 1982 on Morocco).

The study also adds to this literature by examining how gender-sensitive organisational alternatives to traditional trade unions can support the development of women. Many studies approach the issue of women's development from an economic and social point of view (see Chant, 1991; Fernández-Kelly, 1983b among others). Sylvia Chant (1991) for example makes a link between household structure and women's labour force participation. Charlene Gannagé (1986:14) also links women's work outside the home with family life, noting that women face major obstacles in their liberation because they work a double day. She therefore argues that an overall systematic theory of women's work is needed which

1. incorporates the gender division of labour as an integral part of the capitalist labour process;
 2. links the gender division of labour to a gender ideology that legitimizes women's dependent and secondary status within the gender hierarchy at work;
 3. takes account of the historic role of business unionism as a mediating agent in perpetuating the gender division; and
 4. explores the complications arising from the ethnic division of labour.
- (Gannage 1986:19).

There is less of an emphasis in the literature on organising as one route that women workers can use to advance their position and meet their needs. However, there are examples which can serve as models and these include women worker organisations in Asia. Some of these models are examined to understand how the women's housing cooperative and the trade union have helped to organise women. In particular, I consider the methods used, the structure and programmes of the two organisations and their impact on women. From this analysis we try to identify key elements in the process of organising women workers.

The research findings can help policy makers in non-governmental organisations, governments, community groups as well as funding agencies, to determine how they can support development programmes for these groups of unorganised women workers. Lessons from these experiences, will I hope, suggest areas for structural changes in groups to facilitate the empowerment and development of women. Additionally, at a

community level, the findings can enable women's organisations to become more strategic in programme planning and implementation, to derive maximum benefits from their work.

This study also provides an opportunity to assess the relevance of EOI as a strategy for development, examining in particular its impact on women workers. As the free zones are part of this strategy and the New International Division of Labour (NIDL), the study tries to determine whether job characteristics in this sector motivate women to organise. It also offers an opportunity to assess in a preliminary way, the likely development effects of the FTZs on women, using the general framework developed by Sklair (1993).

Finally, although it is not the primary issue, the study also makes a contribution to the debate on gender-sensitive research methodology. In examining the role of gender, empowerment and participation in the process of women's development, it explores the scope for using participatory research as a tool for empowering and organising women workers as well as a gender-sensitive tool for data gathering. In summary therefore, the study advances the gender and development debate by highlighting the importance of gender, empowerment and participation in helping women to organise to promote their strategic development, as well as to meet their productive and reproductive needs. Additionally, it helps to explore how the process of change takes place at the individual and group level.

Theoretical Framework

Background theory for the study is developed within an interdisciplinary framework. This approach enhances gender studies and is used by several gender and development analysts (Harding, 1987, 1991; Mies 1983). I therefore examine

contributions from the disciplines of sociology, social psychology, policy analysis and political sociology and economics.

Critiques of the modernisation thesis and the EOI strategy by dependency theorists, help to explain fluctuations in levels of employment in periphery countries. They also outline a general framework for understanding how FTZs operate and some of these are noted. But this approach does not explain the phenomenon of women organising for development. Additionally the tendency of dependistas to focus on macro-economic issues has generally precluded them from suggesting non-economic development indicators.

Alternatively, the broad gender and development literature, does provide coherent arguments for a holistic concept of development, focusing on non-economic indicators. It also provides a framework for understanding why women workers have organised. (Antrobus, 1988; Benería, 1987; Sen and Grown, 1987; Fernández-Kelly, 1983b; Safa, 1983). The organisation called DAWN, (Development Alternatives With Women for a New Era), a network of Third World activists, researchers and policy makers, started in 1984 with a group of women from developing countries who met to share their experiences with development strategies, policies, theories and research. Their work, as well as that of others, is discussed in more detail in the first chapter because of its relevance to an alternative concept of development and their view that the lessons extracted from the survival experiences of women, provide insight into the wider development process. In particular, DAWN has argued that the aspirations of poor women for a future free from multiple oppression of gender, race, class and nation, formed the basis of new visions and alternative development strategies (Sen and Grown 1987:9). Ward (1986) also articulates the need for alternative methods of organising women workers. Molyneux's (1984) concepts of practical and strategic gender interests

also provide a framework for analysing the range of women's experiences and their possible motivations for organising. Batliwala's (1993) examination of concepts and strategies for the empowerment of women in Asia, provides very important insight into the process of organising, particularly in relation to how gender, empowerment and participation are interlinked at the micro level. These are discussed more fully in the next chapter which examines the theoretical background of the study.

Export-Oriented Industrialisation

Export-oriented industrialisation (EOI) is the most recent economic development strategy being used by several Caribbean countries to overcome five centuries of underdevelopment and to compete in an increasingly globalised world economy. In so doing, they have tried to replicate the experience of the Newly Industrialised Countries (NICs) in Southeast Asia, namely Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore and Hong Kong. Free Trade Zones (FTZs), which as previously noted are production enclaves for export, have therefore mushroomed in many countries within the region. Governments provide a wide range of incentives to encourage foreign investment in the zones. Whereas many countries in the region have pursued the EOI strategy, those which have done so most extensively are the Dominican Republic and Jamaica. These two countries typify the situation faced by many poor nations. They are two of the world's most highly indebted countries per capita. Their foreign debts exceeded US\$4 billion each in 1990 and they have high, though reducing debt service ratios.

Jamaica and the Dominican Republic have both addressed their problems of underdevelopment and high indebtedness by encouraging investment in assembling garments, textiles and sewn products for the global market. Physical infrastructure and the range of incentives have been expanded by both governments to encourage foreign investment, primarily from American and Asian transnational corporations (TNCs). The

rationale is that in paying for services with foreign exchange, investors will generate revenue to repay foreign debts, boost employment and transfer technology from foreign to local companies. This forms part of the trend towards globalisation, which Grant-Wisdom explains as "... the intensification of political, economic and social interconnectedness between states and people, thus blurring geographical boundaries". (Grant-Wisdom, 1993:3)

Transnational corporations (TNCs) are the main investors in FTZs and they use the abundant sources of largely female labour to assemble goods for export, together with raw materials, technical expertise and financial resources from several countries. To encourage this kind of investment, the two Caribbean governments have therefore established free trade zones to create economic growth which is widely considered to be a necessary (but not sufficient) condition for development.

Implicit in this strategy is the assumption that the benefits of economic development will "trickle down" to other sectors of the economy resulting in a generally higher standard of living for nationals. The World Bank and International Monetary Fund have supported this policy with loans for infrastructure. It is also integral to the policies of structural adjustment and liberalization of the domestic economy. Analysis of a recent World Bank publication indicates that this policy is introduced indiscriminately to many under-developed countries, with little or no adaptation. (World Bank, 1993).

Since 1979, FTZs or Export Processing Zones (EPZs) as they are also called, have been "a principal element of the trade policy reforms advocated by the World Bank" (World Bank, 1992:1). Their strategy has also included what is referred to as a "realistic exchange rate, sound macroeconomic policies and liberalisation and reform of import policies," all to make duty-free systems work well. Translated into the language of

'development', this refers to structural adjustment policies aimed at controlling inflation and creating economic growth through export-oriented industrialisation. This export strategy in the Caribbean has meant diversifying the range of exports to include the processing of goods for export, horticulture and the production of winter vegetables for the US market. Of these, the largest component in terms of value of exports and the scope for employment has been the assembly of goods for export in the FTZs. Between 1975 and 1989, manufacturing in Jamaica, for example, demonstrated the highest percentage change in employment across all sectors, recording an 87.6 percent increase.

Table 1 shows the priority given to the export sector.

Table 1

The Sectoral Distribution of Employment in Jamaica 1975-1989

	Percentage Change
Total Employment Percent	28.9
Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries	6.0
Mining, Quarrying and Refining	(24.7)
Manufacturing	87.6
Construction and Installation	35.8
Transport, Communication and Public Utilities	33.9
Commerce	(66.0)
Public Administration	(28.2)
Other Services	56.8
Industry not specified	42.3

Source: Derived from UNICEF/PIOJ 1991:17

() Denotes negative change.

Under this broad policy framework, both Jamaica and the Dominican Republic have received loans to augment free zone infrastructure. Factory space, utilities, roads and communication facilities have expanded in anticipation of larger numbers of foreign investors. Thousands of jobs have been created for women, primarily as noted earlier, in assembling garments for export. The range of industries has widened, more so in the Dominican Republic than in Jamaica, to include, electronics, data processing, luggage, toys and other light industrial consumer products.

Women and Labour Organisations

Women's participation in traditional labour organisations in both countries has been low. Nicola Charles (1983) in examining women and trade unions notes the tendency to use an egalitarian rhetoric whereas in practice it is a familial ideology which operates. The result is that trade unions have not adequately addressed women workers' issues. They tend to treat workers as a homogenous group, rather than recognising the different productive and reproductive roles which men and women have in society. Relatively few changes have been introduced to address the subordination of women.

The emergence of the two new groups suggests that women workers have created new space to respond to their needs. Their strategic gender interests are advanced through group membership in and collective action by these new organisations. It also suggests that these organisations can facilitate women's empowerment through the acquisition of personal and organisational skills and critical consciousness which enables them to analyze how macro social, political and economic factors impinge on their ability to plan, implement and evaluate programmes which can enhance their status.

To analyze Caribbean women worker organisations, the thesis draws on the experiences of Asian women in a similar situation. It concludes with an assessment of

the ability of the two groups to facilitate and sustain the empowerment of their members as well as their scope for supporting a process which will contribute to the strategic development of women. In particular it tries to determine whether these organisations help to address the strategic gender interests of women workers while meeting their practical gender interests, as Molyneux (1984), suggests. What role then do the methods of organising play in promoting gender sensitivity, empowerment and participation and how do the three elements work to support the development of women workers?

Research Methodology

This section outlines the research methods used to test the hypotheses described above and explains how the findings are analyzed. The methodological problems encountered and their likely impact on the findings are also discussed. The methodology described in this section is guided by the following quotation:

When women begin to change their situation of exploitation and oppression, then this change will have consequences for the research areas, theories, concepts and methodology of studies that focus on women's issues. (Mies 1983:120)

In support of this approach, I note that the issues of gender-sensitive research methodologies, feminist epistemology (Harding, 1991) and Afrocentric feminist epistemology (Collins, 1991) have been important debates in the social sciences. Mies (1983:120), also argues that if women's studies are to serve women's liberation there is need to be critical of positivist, quantitative research methodologies which proposit to be value-free, neutral and uninvolved. Harding (1991:106) provides a useful overview of

feminist empiricism, feminist standpoint theory and feminist postmodernism as the three main tendencies which have emerged to generate new theories of knowledge. Collins (1991:204) also notes the valuable insight which African-American women bring from the standpoint of their own experiences, although this knowledge is not always validated by white male academic establishments. Patricia Collins (1991:203-208), also argues that because positivist methodological approaches demand an objective distance between researcher and researched, as well as the absence of ethics, values and emotions, they are unlikely to be appropriate for examining Black women's standpoint. In articulating a Black feminist epistemology, she suggests that there are common values in the epistemologies of subordinate groups such as Blacks and females.

A common thread running through the approach of these and other researchers is the need to use alternative research methods to understand women's positions and ideas. While I agree that scientific methods are not value-free, neutral and uninvolved, the challenge to find methods which can collect data from a large number of persons remains. The "logic of triangulation" -collecting data using more than one research method (including a combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods) is therefore an attractive option. However, in conducting inter-disciplinary research and in using a combination of research methods, there is always the danger of non-acceptance of the findings from the standpoint of different disciplines, because there is a lack of confidence in the process. Mies' work for example, has been criticized for inadequate scientific rigor. This should not however totally negate the value of her work. I therefore support her challenge to committed women social scientists, to understand their own "double consciousness" as a methodological and political opportunity, to identify with and involve women who are the objects of their research, in a process of reciprocal learning. Further, I support her view that this kind of research serves "the interests of dominated, exploited and oppressed groups, particularly women" (Mies,

1983:123). Additionally, she notes that this kind of research is integral to women's struggles for emancipation and should aim at changing the status quo. The implication is that it should become a process of what Freire (1970) refers to as 'conscientization' for both the researcher and the research subjects. Freire's use of the term means "learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions and to take action against oppressive elements of reality." This learning process was observed among the women workers during the period of the study. Regular interaction between this researcher and the women facilitated the process of mutual learning described by Mies, Freire, and others.

Mies also observes that for collective conscientization of women to be effective, the problem-formulating methodology must be accompanied by the study of women's individual and social history. Documenting and analysing Caribbean women workers' struggles, extracting the methodologies emerging from their experiences, can support their long-term development strategies. Her conclusion that "new wine should not be poured into old bottles", together with the views of Collins and Harding, justifies the use of the research methodology outlined below. This should enhance the development of women workers in

Jamaica and the Dominican Republic. Long (1992:20) in a more post modern tradition, also supports this methodological approach, arguing in favour of actor oriented research (See also Han Seur, 1992; Pieter de Vries, 1992 and Arce and Long, 1992).

Actor-oriented research is similar to participatory research (PR) which is the main methodology used in this study. PR is also based on Paulo Freire's concept of "conscientization" described earlier and is therefore an educational approach to social change. It falls within the alternative paradigm of development which is discussed in the

next chapter. PR is comprised of three inter-related processes: collective investigation of problems, collective analysis of contributing factors and collective action aimed at finding solutions. The methods used in participatory research generally include a combination of group discussions, public meetings, open-ended surveys, community seminars, fact findings tours, collective production of audio-visual materials and popular theatre (International Council for Adult Education, 1982).

This kind of research has become increasingly important and although it is not yet widely accepted in mainstream academic research, it is used extensively by non-governmental organisations and some academics, especially in the Third World. (PRIA, Society for Participatory Research in Asia, 1982). As a tool for awareness building, conscientization and action for social change, Participatory Research therefore shares some of the philosophy and general principles of feminist research. The paradigm of participation has filtered into development thinking, with a clear underlying principle that people must participate in their own development.

This study has not been confined to traditional research methods for a number of reasons. Rather than be "value-free" and involve a "one-way" flow of information in the positivist tradition, this researcher's view like Mies, is that research should support women's development, by adding to their knowledge and skills. It should also support their actions to change their situation. I have used participatory research methods which promote mutual learning between both researcher and subjects.

Actor-oriented research and participatory research are qualitative as opposed to quantitative research methods. As such they differ from quantitative, positivist research which emanates from the social science tradition and emphasises variables, control, measurement and experimentation. Validity of quantitative research is determined by the

extent to which the logic and procedures of the natural sciences have been followed. Bryman (1989:14) outlines the principles that underlie this notion.

The first is that of methodological naturalism, the view that methods and procedures of the natural sciences are appropriate to the social sciences. Secondly, there is empiricism, the belief that only phenomena that are observable to the senses can be regarded as knowledge. This excludes subjective feelings or experience. Thirdly, is the view that theory reflects the accumulated findings of empirical research and these findings are viewed as laws. Fourthly, there is the use of hypotheses that deduce causal connections between entities, as in the natural sciences. Theories developed from these hypotheses are tested and then revised if necessary. The final principle linked to positivism is that of the stance taken on values. The objective is to purge the scientist of values which may impair his or her objectivity. Positivism also draws a sharp distinction between scientific and normative issues.

The logical structure of the quantitative research process therefore starts with deductions from theory which lead to the formulation of hypotheses and the operationalisation of variables to measure the presence or absence of the phenomena under observation. Based on these variables, data are collected, analyzed, the findings are interpreted and the conclusions deduced from them to confirm the original theory or offer alternatives.

In sharp contrast to quantitative research, qualitative research as embodied in participatory approaches, is often used as a means for exploratory work to throw up hunches that can then be tested more rigorously with quantitative methods (Bryman, 1988). The relationship between theory, concepts and research, he notes, emerges in the process rather than being confined as they are in quantitative research, adding that

qualitative research strategies are usually unstructured revealing rich deep data instead of hard reliable data (Bryman, 1988:94). I argue however, that they can be structured into learning experiences which are beneficial to both researcher and their subjects. Additionally the selection of one method over the other depends on the objectives of the study.

In collecting data for this thesis, the only appropriate research methods were qualitative and participatory. Bryman also observes as did Mies and others, that in qualitative research, the relationship between the researcher and the subject is close whereas with the former it is more distant. A close association is important for this kind of study. Whereas a large quantitative survey of free zone workers would no doubt have provided valuable data on the free zone sector, it would not have been appropriate for this kind of qualitative study. In any event, the conditions in both countries did not facilitate the collection of quantitative data, as there was a strong climate of fear among free zone workers. This was associated with the strong anti-union attitudes among many free zone managers and the anti-union attitude of both governments.

Data gathering methods

Webb et al., (1966) suggest that social scientists are likely to feel more confident, if their findings are derived from more than one method of investigation. Referred to as the logic of triangulation, this strategy often involves the use of quantitative as well as qualitative methods (Bryman 1988:131). A variety of data gathering methods and strategies have therefore been used.

Data gathering included primary as well as secondary sources. A number of in-depth interviews were conducted with women workers in the St Peter Claver Women's Housing Cooperative and the San Pedro Women's Trade Union. A short questionnaire

(see Appendix 7 and 12)

was also administered to women workers in the San Pedro de Macoris FTZ with the support of two local interviewers and a copy of the schedule is included in the Appendix. Other interviews were done with key informants related to the free zones such as free zone managers, foreign investors, government officials, trade unionists, academics and researchers, factory managers, activists on women's issues and representatives of non-governmental organisations. Together these interviews provided a wealth of information and a detailed overview of the issues while adding important qualitative dimensions to the data gathered.

Non-formal participatory activities were also part of the data gathering process. These served the dual functions of information-sharing and awareness-building and included: group interviews and focus group discussions around labour and women's issues. A set of guided questions were used to focus the groups' discussions on the issues of concern. It was flexible enough to also accommodate the discussion of issues which were important to the women themselves. Data was also gathered through participation in community meetings, participant observation of women at work in factories, at lunch times, in the evenings after work, in group meetings and educational workshops of both organisations. Field visits to the women's inner-city home communities adjoining the FTZs as well as the FTZs themselves, provided insight into home, work and community life. Together, these visits to factories, communities and homes helped to develop images of how the women lived, their work and family situation, as well as the social and economic problems they faced.

Documentary sources complemented the primary data and were collected from a variety of sources. These included: reports and publications on studies of free zone workers in both countries; national labour studies; videos; financial and narrative annual reports as well as in-house publications of the two organisations; journals and magazines

of women workers' organisations in Asia and literature from non-governmental organisations in both countries. Newspaper clippings in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic provided current, up to date material over the data gathering period. Government statistics and other data were also valuable for reference.

The multiple methods of data gathering described above have been used because a single research method would not adequately captured the depth, quality and breath of the two experiences. Each approach complements the others. More importantly however is the concern that research on women should empower them, and be mutually beneficial to both the researcher and women who are the focus of this thesis. Equally important was the researcher's view that the process should reflect her political identity as a black, Caribbean woman activist. In our view, this identity facilitated communication with both groups of women.

This researcher's contribution to the women's organising experiences, included information sharing, facilitating funding for their programmes from international development agencies and introduced them to networks of women workers in other countries. The relationship between the two groups and this researcher was further strengthened by mutual sharing of advice and support on the research project and their own programmes during annual visits over the five year period, 1987 - 1992.

Research Strategy

The research strategy which was employed, involved the identification and monitoring of individual and group behaviour during this period of concentrated activity by both groups. The majority of interviews with women workers in Jamaica were done in August 1990, while women workers in the Dominican Republic were interviewed in February 1991. During visits in each of the previous and succeeding years, there were

meetings and interviews with key informants including free zone workers, visits to the zones as well as the communities in which the women lived. Attending their weekly Sunday meetings also provided valuable insight into how the organisation functioned, addressed the needs of its members and resolved problems. This strategy was also used in the Dominican Republic. Together these helped to collect data on the process as it evolved in both countries. Whereas this could not be considered a longitudinal study in the classic sense, the strategy did allow for observations and data collection over time. Together this resulted in a considerable volume of material which was available for use not only for the present study but also for future research.

On a small, though no less important point, that linked to the debate about gender-sensitive research methods, is a concern that national statistics should be gender-sensitive. In this regard, I recognise that INSTRAW, the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) has produced a number of publications to guide the collection of more gender-sensitive statistics (INSTRAW, 1984, 1988). One of the aims is to make women's work more visible and I have therefore recorded the multiple employment of free zone workers where possible.

In presenting the socio-economic profile of Jamaica and the Dominican Republic, official statistical data are used, although it is recognised that they do not accurately reflect and measure women's productive activities, in the manner proposed by INSTRAW. As such women's contribution to the national and domestic economy is underestimated and undervalued. In an interview, Dr Wesley Hughes, then Director of Economic Planning at the Planning Institute of Jamaica indicated that Jamaica was unable to collect data on women as proposed by INSTRAW because of resource limitations and the same is likely to be true for the DR (Hughes, Telephone interview.

July 16, 1993).

Gathering data in Jamaica was done using various methods. Personal interviews with women in the St Peter Claver Women's Housing Cooperative were easily arranged as contact with them had been established from a previous research study. Informal guided interviews were done with a non-random sample of women from each of the houses in the Cooperative, with each interview lasting an average of 60 minutes. Other questions were asked to probe, clarify or expand on details emerging from the discussion. These interviews provided valuable insights into each woman's life history and demonstrated the impact which the Coop experience had in facilitating their material and strategic advancement as women.

These interviews were particularly valuable in charting the process of development at a micro (individual) level as the women compared their previous and present experiences and noting changes they perceived in themselves. Interviews with personnel from the Free Zone Authority, other government agencies and local manufacturers were arranged through the Women's Action Committee (WAC), a group monitoring developments in the zone. Contacts with academics and researchers from the previous free zone study again proved to be valuable sources of information. Non-governmental organisations like WAC, the Association of Development Agencies (ADA) and Sistren Theatre Collective, were also valuable sources of documentation, as was the library of the Joint Trades Union Research and Development Centre (JTURDC). Field visits to communities, the free zone and participant observation of group activities were also integral to the process.

Field research in the Dominican Republic involved in-depth interviews and the collection of secondary data. Two research assistants were trained to administer the

questionnaire which was designed by the researcher. The questionnaire was discussed with union leaders and translated before being administered. The results and data from other sources such as the individual and group interviews, provided rich qualitative information. The majority of interviews were done in the homes of free zone workers and lasted about 20 minutes each. Field visits to the free zone and communities in which workers live, participation in union meetings, workshops and access to interviewees were facilitated by the trade union leaders, who also arranged meetings with the Free Zone Authority representatives. Personal contacts in the non-governmental sector facilitated other interviews and access to research studies, newspaper clippings and other documentary sources.

In general, participation in group meetings and workshops in both countries during the five year period, helped to monitor levels of participation and the process of empowerment. The use of participant observation techniques helped to identify issues of concern, the problem solving strategies used, the evolution and development of programme planning skills and the process of skill acquisition and awareness building.

In support of the gender-sensitive research methodology discussed earlier, a summary of the findings was shared with members of both groups. They noted that the process was informative and in the case of the DR, the experience served to help them shape their own education and training programmes, which they did by organising their own needs assessment survey in 1992. The union collaborated with CIPAF whose multidisciplinary team of women activists and researchers helped them to develop a training programme for women workers. This cross - class alliance within the women's movement is an important part of the organising process observed in both the DR and Jamaica.

Limitations

Collecting comparative data for the two countries was sometimes problematic and required fairly detailed research and creative strategies. Problems in gaining access to the FTZs were resolved with the support of the leadership of both organisations. Comparing quantitative and qualitative data presented some problems, but the data were used in a complementary way. Data from previous studies provided a basis for comparison which was important in view of the qualitative nature of the current study. Contact and interviews with women workers, foreign investors, Free Zone Authority officials, trade unionists, economists, sociologists and local manufacturers provided rich qualitative data on the FTZs and the people working in them from different perspectives.

Data collection and interviewing for this study were conducted in two languages - English in Jamaica and Spanish in the Dominican Republic. The differences in language and culture posed certain challenges and this was the rationale for using the questionnaire. It was translated into Spanish in the Dominican Republic to ensure that clarity of expression, local idioms and cultural sensitivity were incorporated. Although a few questions were eliminated in the process, overall the questionnaire achieved its objectives. Indications are, however, that a shorter questionnaire would have been easier to manage. The interviewers also questioned some of the assumptions underlying a few of the questions. For example, they felt that asking women with low levels of education if they would like to study assumed that they saw education as a tool for social mobility, which the interviewers felt was incorrect. The question on marital status, which included "visiting relationship" as an option, was difficult for some women. In essence this term explains a relationship in which the male partner is not resident but visits the woman's household at fairly regular periods and is considered the "man" in her life. The relationship is usually based on a sexual relationship and a child or children which the couple have produced together. The man is expected to provide financial support for the

woman, whether or not they have a child in common. Interviewers observed that a few women found this question difficult because they supplement their income as prostitutes or were single mothers who depend on more than one man for child support, but they were not comfortable revealing this.

Using a qualitative methodology, resulted in a large volume of data and the challenge was to sift through and extract the main points and issues emerging. The difficulty in selection was resolved by selecting the data which *was directly relevant to the issues being analysed in the thesis*. Identifying, issues indicative of gender, participation and empowerment also required considerable thought.

Chapter structure

The thesis is divided into three parts. Part one includes the introduction and background and is comprised of this introduction and four chapters. This introductory chapter provides the background to and the rationale for the thesis, the hypotheses, an overview of the theoretical framework, the chapter structure and the methodology.

Chapter one examines dimensions of the development crisis at a theoretical level and outlines the main strategies used. Inherent in this analysis is an examination and critique of economic growth as the model of development which supports the expansion of transnational corporations and large businesses, with the assumption that benefits will "trickle down" to the majority of people. There is abundant evidence to suggest however that such a model while supporting the economic growth of large power brokers such as TNCs, cannot by itself create qualitative change for the majority of people or reduce levels of disparity between and within countries with varying levels of power.

Chapter two presents the alternative concept of development which is currently emerging. It focuses on human development at a micro level and brings a Caribbean and Third World perspective to the theoretical debate, from different disciplines. The alternative paradigm emerging is gender-sensitive and people-centered. The chapter also focuses on indicators of women's empowerment.

Chapter three focuses on dimensions of the socio-economic crisis of Jamaica and the Dominican Republic. From a gender and development perspective, it also examines how issues such as international trade, debt, structural adjustment, and globalisation impact on human development in the region, particularly how they affect women in both countries.

Chapter four provides the background on free trade zones in the Caribbean, examining in particular, the history, development and operations of the FTZs in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic. The thesis argues that while this strategy does provide jobs for women, it is unlikely to have a significant impact either at a national or individual level. Instead, working conditions in the FTZs and the socio-economic conditions in both countries, motivate women to organise. The chapter also provides an overview of international labour standards as a background for assessing the operations of the FTZs in Jamaica and the DR.

Chapter five, which concludes part one, focuses on "Women in the Caribbean". It provides the background on women workers in two specific areas: their roles and their organisational links. Because the thesis tries to determine whether women organise around gender issues, this chapter examines women's roles in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic. It briefly sketches the historical development of women's productive and reproductive roles, examines the kinds of organisations women are likely to join and the

needs they fill. The chapter concludes that in the Caribbean, women's productive and reproductive roles are inseparable as many feminist writers have noted. This is not surprising, given the unusually high level of female headed households, which is characteristic of the Caribbean (Ellis, 1986), and particularly in Jamaica, where the average is about 42 percent.

Part two presents the research findings or data theory of the study and is comprised of three chapters. Chapter six presents the profile of free zone workers developed from interviews with women workers in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic. It uses primary data gathered through individual and group interviews and these provide comparative qualitative data on women's experiences of working in the FTZs and their gender roles. Together these help to identify what factors in the work and home experiences have motivated women to organise using the methods observed.

Chapter seven focuses on women workers organising in Jamaica, examining the process which contributed to the creation of the St Peter Claver Women's Cooperative, the methods which were used and the impact of the group on members of that organisation. Chapter eight does the same in explaining the process and methods used to develop the San Pedro de Macoris Free Zone Union and the effect this has had on women workers. In each case the main lessons for organising women workers are extracted and analyzed, to understand the process of development at the micro level. Various elements of the process are discussed, particularly the role of other organisations, including women's groups, that have helped the two organisations to evolve and grow. These include the Women's Action Committee in Jamaica; the Centro de Investigación para la Acción Feminina, (CIPAF), (the Research Centre for Women's Action) and Fenazucar (Federación Nacional de Trabajadores Azucareros, Agricultores y Afines), a trade union of sugar workers and affiliates in the Dominican Republic. A

review of the structure and programmes of the Coop and the women-led trade union, provides insights into gender needs which the organisations attempt to fulfil for their members and how they facilitate empowerment and participation.

Part 3 presents the analysis and conclusions of the study. Chapter nine is the concluding chapter and consists of two parts. The first part analyses the main research findings in relation to the literature review, the original questions and the hypotheses. At the heart of this analysis are the questions guiding the research which examine the role of gender sensitivity, the need for empowerment and for participation in the methods women workers have used to organise. The second part pulls together the conclusions of the study and explores how the original theoretical issues have been modified. It assesses the resulting changes that ^{were} observed in the women and how these enhance our understanding of the development process at a micro level. The chapter concludes by identifying areas for further study.

CHAPTER 1

DEVELOPMENT IN CRISIS: THE SEARCH FOR ALTERNATIVES

Introduction

This chapter examines the crisis in the current debate on development from a theoretical and conceptual level. Guided by the hypothesis that gender sensitivity, empowerment and participation are important factors in the process of development, it argues that a qualitative, people-centred approach is a more holistic representation of the concept.

In support of an alternative concept of development, the thesis draws on writers from a variety of disciplines, including critiques of modernisation theory from a dependency perspective, as well as from a gender and development framework. An important contribution to the debate comes from Third World women with practical experience at the community level working in both the academic sphere and in the growing sector of non-governmental organisations.

Development: the Conceptual Crisis

Despite several development decades and well-argued economic models, increasing numbers of people around the world are marginalised. Disease and famine also rage unabated in parts of the world and irreplaceable natural resources are being destroyed. Over-consumption and a noted decrease in the quality of life, even within industrialised countries, has contributed to a major rethinking of the concept, process and strategies for achieving development. From its earliest beginnings as modernization theory to the post-modernist critique of development, there is overwhelming evidence to suggest that development is indeed in crisis.

Evidence of this crisis has been signalled by several writers from different disciplines (Brandt, 1983; Sachs, 1992; Beckford and Girvan, 1989; French, 1988) and several international institutions (UNCED, 1992; UNICEF 1991; the World Bank, 1993). Export-oriented industrialisation, is also seen as part of the crisis, especially when examined from a gender and development perspective (Nash and Fernández-Kelly 1983; Ward, 1990; Women Working Worldwide, 1991). Evidence of the crisis partly lies in the industrial unrest which has accompanied the expansion of the FTZs, despite women's obvious need for jobs. During the 1980s, there were numerous demonstrations to protest allegations of poor wages and working conditions in both countries as the newspaper headlines signalled at the beginning of the previous chapter. These incidents have decreased in the 1990s but still occur periodically. For example, FTZ workers in Jamaica demonstrated for higher wages and working conditions in 1993.

Newspaper headlines in both countries over the years, demonstrate the level of national debate questioning the validity of this approach to development. Soares (1987) has compiled and edited a number of these for the FTZ period between 1986 and 1987 for Jamaica. The charge made in many of the articles in both countries is that women workers were being exploited, particularly as trade unions are prevented from organising within the free zones. Both governments discouraged unionisation in the hope of guaranteeing investors a constant source of cheap labour for their factories.

There have been two basic approaches in the ^{sociology} of development: the "modernization" approach and the "dependency" approach. The former links the concept of development to economic growth. The modernisation theory of

development is based on the experience of advanced industrialised countries in North America and Europe (see Blomstrom and Hettne, 1984 for a general overview of development theories). Rostow (1960), created and popularised the idea that countries would "take off" into sustained economic growth. His book "The Stages of Economic Growth: a Non-Communist Manifesto", was seen as an alternative to Marx's stages of economic growth. Today, Modernisation theory is no longer considered valid among important contributions to mainstream development literature (Foster-Carter, 1985:12; ^{Bryden and} Chant, 1989:6; Jenkins 1992:130) also provides a useful overview of changes in development thinking since the Second World War.

Dependency theory was regarded by many as being more appropriate, but not without its own numerous limitations. Gunder Frank (1969) represents one of the main strands. His book, "Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America" is a critique of modernisation theory and represents a "Neo-Marxist" analysis of development. He saw the problem of underdevelopment as a structural problem of inequality within the global capitalist system, with the United States as the metropole and other countries its satellites (see also Furtado, 1976). Warren (1980), also a Marxist, made a radical critique of dependency theory, arguing in his book "Imperialism: Pioneer of Capitalism" that capitalism could and had contributed to the development of poor countries. He also argued that the problem was not only rooted in external factors as Frank had proposed, but also internal factors such as traditional views and beliefs which were as much or more of an obstacle to development than imperialism. Other critiques of dependency theory include Bernstein (1982:231) who noted the difficulties in distinguishing the concepts of 'internal' and 'external' because the national economy and the world economy are so interlinked. These approaches however examine development

from a "top-down" "macro-economic" perspective, anticipating that development would "trickle down" to the micro level.

The gap between rich and poor countries has widened and this pattern of development is environmentally unsustainable. In any event, a review of successive development decades, and the failure of numerous strategies suggests that the majority of people in the world are worse off than before. For example, the 1992 Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) reports that

In 1960, the richest 20% of the world's population had incomes 30 times greater than the poorest 20%. By 1990, the richest 20% were getting 60 times more. And this comparison is based on the distribution between rich and poor countries. Adding the maldistribution within countries, the richest 20% of the world's people get at least 150 times more than the poorest 20%.

(UNDP Human Development Report 1992:1)

There is overwhelming evidence to suggest that modernisation and its equation with industrialisation has not served the interests of developing countries like those in the Caribbean (French, 1988; Girvan, 1988).

The various critiques of development as modernisation and economic growth, generally recognise that a narrow focus on macro-economic indicators such as per capita income, growth in gross domestic product (GDP) and level of industrialisation are inadequate, as vast inequalities still persist between and within countries and groups. Sachs (1992) argues that there is a conceptual crisis in

development and that the very concept itself is a myth and a fantasy. He notes that development has been and continues to be, a major obsession for many countries since the Second World War, when Harry Truman in 1949, first referred to countries of the Southern Hemisphere as "under-developed areas" and this heralded the "age of development" (Sachs 1992:2). For the next forty years, he noted, the label provided "the cognitive base for both arrogant interventionism from the North and pathetic self-pity in the South." He however observes that the decade of development is declining and development as a "lighthouse" and symbol of North American values, "stands as a ruin in the intellectual landscape." He argues further that it has grown obsolete, because its four founding premises have been outdated by history. The first premise was based on Truman's assumption that the United States and industrialized nations were at the top of the social evolutionary scale. However, these countries now face major ecological predicaments based on overconsumption. Truman's second premise was based on an ideological view of the world in which the US ranked first. Forty years later, with the collapse of the Soviet Union as a rival political system, the anti-communist ideology, which was integral to Truman's project for global development, has lost steam. Sachs argues that East-West division has now been replaced by a rich-poor dichotomy, in which there is now greater emphasis on prevention rather than progress as the objective of development. The redistribution of risk has also replaced the redistribution of wealth. Truman's third premise, outlined by Sachs, was the view that development would reduce the gap between rich and poor countries. But this has backfired. In reality, the difference in wealth between Northern and Southern countries has increased from 20 times in 1960 to 46 times in 1980 and this difference has been accelerated by the acquisition of advanced technology by the North, which has become the champion of competitive obsolescence (Sachs, 1992:3).

Continuing, Sachs further notes that the fourth premise of Truman's development project was essentially aimed at the Westernization of the world. As a result, there has been a tremendous loss of diversity and the potential for cultural evolution has been severely restricted. This has led to an increasing uniformity and standardization of values and customs, as the market, the state and science have been used to create a universal Westernized culture, which has left developing countries in the South in a perpetual race in which they try to "catch up" with their Northern counterparts (Sachs, 1992:4).

Esteva (1992) has also observed that successive development decades have been unsuccessful in achieving various dimensions of this elusive concept. He observes that in the First Development Decade, the emphasis was on the achievement of the social and economic aspects of development separately. By the Second Decade, the focus was on promoting an integrated approach between the two as they were interlinked. To this was added the concept of human-centred development in which man would have a greater influence on the process. The 1980's marked the Third Development Decade which is often referred to as "the lost decade for development", because of the prevalence of structural adjustment policies which effectively eroded many of the gains achieved during the previous periods (Esteva, 1992:13-17).

Esteva therefore notes that "Redevelopment " has been the buzz word of the 1990s and observes that in the North, this has meant developing again what was maldeveloped or is now obsolete. In the South it has meant "dismantling what was left over from the adjustment process of the 1980s to make space for the maquiladoras, the polluting manufacturing plants, atomic waste, and unsellable or

prohibited commodities from the North (Esteva, 1992:16). Unfortunately, he states, poorer countries will accommodate these rejects to remain competitive in the global market.

The Brundtland Commission, prescribed that redevelopment should take the form of **sustainable development** for "our common future" with an emphasis on environmental concerns. In 1990, the first **Human Development Report** was published by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), in which 'human development' was seen both as a process and an achievement. It was described as a process in which human choices are enlarged. In defining it also as an achievement, UNDP states that it is "the internationally compared extent to which, in given societies, those relevant choices are actually attained." The Report produced a Human Development Index "synthesizing, along a numerical scale, the global level of Human Development in 130 countries." (UNDP:1990). While recognising that these categories may be useful to international institutions to classify countries around the globe, in our view they continue to obscure the individuality and mask the reality of vast disparities at the personal, group, community and international levels.

I agree with the analysis of the crisis in development articulated by Sachs and Esteva, which aptly describes the phenomenon of globalisation, a process of Westernisation which in my view, has not worked in favour of many developing countries, including those of the Caribbean. In effect, even the World Bank, a major multilateral development agency, which is the architect of many of the structural adjustment policies perceived as contributing to the problem, have expressed their own doubts, admitting that during the 1980s, a number of Caribbean countries (Jamaica, Barbados, the Dominican Republic, Guyana and Haiti) witnessed an

erosion of their educational standards and systems, as well as a lowering of their educational coverage and access, as tight budgets constrained the allocation of additional resources in the face of a rapid expansion in enrolment (World Bank 1993:60).

From a gender perspective, many of the features of this process described by Sachs, have worked to increase the subordination of women in most societies and has in effect underdeveloped them further. This view is supported by several writers including French (1990:46), who, in recording the decline in social services in Jamaica as a result of structural adjustment policies, noted that between 1981 and 1985, government expenditure on health fell by 33 percent, housing by 11 per cent and education for the age group 0 - 14 years, by 40 percent. The 1980s also reflected a high rate of resignation among teachers and lower rates of examination passes among Jamaican school children (French, 1990:50). These are areas which directly affect women because of the roles they play in most societies.

Then, Cohen (1987:222) observes that the problems of uneven development have been addressed from different perspectives. There has been the world system approach as represented by Wallerstein (1979), which allows switches in fortune between peripheral and semi peripheral states. Alternatively, Barnet and Muller, (1974) and Hymer (1979), have focused on the role of multinationals in leading a new phase of capital expansion and extending their global reach. Probably the most well-known discourse on the internationalisation of capital is that presented by Froebel et al. (1980) who point to the decreasing power of states with the rise of this phenomenon. Neo-Marxists such as Amin (1974), have also re-examined the problem from a Marxist analysis of imperialism. These macro approaches though valuable in their own right do not adequately explain development at a

micro level.

Modernisation theory even in its "modernized" version has not offered any useful perspectives for that level of analysis. (Berger, 1989). I argue that export-oriented industrialisation (EOI) is a macro-economic development strategy, ^{which} is compatible with ~~the approach~~ of modernisation theory. The Newly Industrialised Countries (NICs) of South East Asia have used it to achieve remarkable economic growth in the past few decades, thereby creating another category of economic development along the continuum of rich and poor countries. Their widely publicised success has motivated other poor countries to pursue the same option. In the Caribbean, this has been the motivation to expand the export sector, through free trade zones as I noted earlier. Many other countries in the region have moved from the production and export of primary raw materials to producing and exporting manufactured goods or providing services for the global market- place. Accompanying this most recent strategy have been a number of concerns about the type of development it promotes.

Jenkins (1992:165) notes that in the 1980s, the earlier structuralist approaches to development were replaced by a neo-liberal approach, which argued that market forces should determine economic development. ~~These strategies have~~ also contributed to the crisis. Global economic recession, the International Debt crisis and increasing levels of poverty in both the developing as well as the developed world, as I noted earlier, have led to serious questioning about the sustainability of Western development models and the limited benefits of "trickle down" strategies.

Basic needs

An alternative paradigm of development has emerged in the form of a more "bottom-up" approach, linked to the provision of "basic needs." (Hans Singer, 1989; Dudley Seers, 1963; Cornia et al. 1985). In contrast to the earlier focus of creating economic growth, this approach focused on distributing wealth, the standard of living of the poor and the provision of basic needs such as food, clothing, shelter, safe drinking water, transport, sanitation, health and education. (Jenkins, 1992).

People-Centered Development

The trend towards a more human-centred approach ^{· represents a strategy to meet redefined} development ^{objectives and} has included increasing attention to the importance of participation. In searching for a redefinition of this concept, Rahnema (1992:127) suggests that modern methodologies used by grass roots movements, need to be replaced by more traditional ways of interaction and leadership. He argues that participation must help people to recover their inner freedom and seek to live and relate differently to each other. These views support the central thesis of this study in which we seek to identify new indicators of development based on the actual experience of people. Korten (1987:145) also points to the important role of NGOs in promoting people-centered development.

But here also, the concept of development encounters another obstacle, because many of the common terms used have themselves become meaningless. They are used by both advocates and opponents of the Western ideal, as well as victims of underdevelopment. As the concepts of empowerment and participation have become incorporated into mainstream thinking, their meaning has also become less clear, if not directly ambiguous.

Proximity to the United States and the rapid advance of communications technology has placed the Caribbean directly under the influence of American ideals of development. The main vehicle through which these images and ideals of progress are projected to people in the region, is through communications channels such as television and satellite from the United States. This frequently results in a strong determination to acquire consumer goods and lifestyles associated with that country. The norm of an increased globalised culture is further reinforced through music on the airwaves and the availability of goods through the import liberalisation policies that have accompanied structural adjustment programmes. At the global level, this issue has been extensively discussed by Hamelink (1983:22), who sees cultural synchronization as a threat to cultural autonomy and Schiller (1976:5) who focuses on cultural domination. Within the Caribbean region, a study of adolescent students in Jamaica, by Hopeton Dunn (1988), reports that those most exposed to imported news and entertainment material via satellite dishes, video cassettes and music via radio waves and personal stereos, were more informed about US leaders and events than they were about national and regional matters. They also had a low perception of local public affairs, suggesting that they placed a lower value on this and a higher value on US events. The study lent strong support to the view that first world countries dominate the media, control the flow of information to the South and have a major influence on projecting images and establishing Western standards of development (H.S Dunn, 1988:39).

Rethinking the concept of development has also been a major concern of Caribbean economists. Formerly a dependency economist, Norman Girvan (1988:10), in redefining the concept of development, distinguishes between three

broad concepts or definitions: development as economic growth, development as growth and structural transformation and development as a multi-faceted, people-oriented process, with economic, social, cultural and political dimensions. He now argues in favour of a synthesis of all three. In examining "The Meaning and Significance of Development", Girvan argues that development is:

a process of continuous enhancement of the capabilities and welfare of all individuals in society and of the society as a whole. It does not exclude the economic aspects and it recognizes that growth and structural transformation are indeed necessary conditions of development... development must mean the alleviation of poverty and economic insecurity; the elimination of mass unemployment; the reduction of inequalities based on social origin, race, gender, occupation etc., the continuous upgrading of economic skills and capabilities of all individuals and groups; and the provision of adequate levels of education and training, and health and medical care. In addition to all this, there are the social, political, cultural and spiritual aspects of development. (These include) the growing participation of all individuals and groups in social and political decision-making, in accordance with the enhancement of their capabilities. We would look for the development and accessibility of cultural life, the growth of the popular arts, literature, music, sport and the like. We would want national sovereignty to be enhanced, in the sense of the capacity of society to make decisions about the present and the future - but not at the expense of undermining the same capacity within other societies. We would look, ... for all the

things, that we associate with the emergence and consolidation of the 'good society' (Girvan, 1988:13).

While asserting that the above definition is not scientifically neutral and value-free, Girvan states that development must focus on **people and involve them as active participants in the process**. This definition from a leading international economist, represents a major shift from the economic bias that has typified the concept of development articulated by mainstream ideologues in that discipline. Though not a feminist, Girvan's definition and analysis includes gender and other dimensions shared by feminists. Their analysis emerges from awareness that development policies and strategies impact differently on men and women because of their socially ascribed roles, status and positions in society.

Integral to the process of rethinking the concept of development and the inclusion of a focus on people, gender and participation, has been the concept of **environmentally sustainable development (ESD)**. This has become a major focus for development planners, practitioners and the public in many countries in the North and South. It is reflected in an increasing environmental focus in international and national organisations, debates and fora. This includes the Commonwealth Foundation's First NGO Forum held in Zimbabwe in 1991 and the UNCED Conference and parallel NGO meeting held in Brazil in 1992 (Agenda 21, 1991). In the non-governmental sector, many international funding agencies, such as Christian Aid, Oxfam (UK), HIVOS (Holland) have adopted gender and the environment as important dimensions to development (see for example, Christian Aid, Gender Policy Guidelines, 1988).

Rethinking development in this vein is also evident among non-governmental organisations in developing countries. Working with limited resources, their success with programmes and people at the community level has led to the perception that NGOs are often more efficient and cost-effective than governments. Multilateral and bilateral institutions in re-examining their approach to development have also recognised the important role played by NGOs, and have been approaching them to implement social programmes designed to alleviate the pain of structural adjustment policies. There is a rapidly growing literature on this (see for example, Position Paper of the NGO Working Group on the World Bank, 1989; Ball and Dunn, 1993, Baker, 1992; Dunn, 1992; Stewart and Pantin, 1992; Tapper, 1992; Baker and Levy, 1990; Duncan, 1989; Ellis, 1990; Umali, 1989; Mills, 1988).

Another interesting contribution to the debate of rethinking development and the search for appropriate social development indicators that can be applied globally is The Carácas Report on Alternative Development Indicators also referred to as The Other Economic Summit (TOES, 1989). It outlines alternative indicators for nutrition, education, environmental degradation, shelter, child development, the status of women and basic services, particularly water and sanitation. It also underscores the need to measure the progress of people's participation in the development process. Support for new information systems to improve the management of social services by local communities is also identified. The report concludes with a plea for simplifying language on social information and promoting debate on issues in the mass media to support the search for alternative development indicators.

This review of development as a concept highlights a fundamental change from its perception in quantitative economic terms towards a more qualitative, gender-sensitive and environmentally sustainable concept with an emphasis on people's participation in the process.

Development: The Process

Within the debate about rethinking development as a concept, ^{and alternative macro-economic strategies for achieving development} attention has also been focused on development as a process. In examining the case studies developed in subsequent chapters of this thesis, an analysis will be made of the organisational choices made by women and how they affect this process. Caribbean political sociologist Carl Stone (1991) in rethinking development, observes that:

(while) human society tends to change slowly by small, gradual and evolutionary steps over time...development... is a type of change which is non-evolutionary. It involves quantitative and qualitative leaps in the way human society is organised that open up wider horizons of opportunity for human growth... Development is created by **new forms of organisation**, new production technologies and the transformation of human values and motivation. (Stone 1991:87) (*my emphasis*).

This suggests that both the housing cooperative and the trade union have the potential to support development. Stone (1991:97) agrees that because development analysis has been dominated by economists, there are inadequate measures of socio-economic progress for the Third World and hence there is an absence of comparative data to measure improvements in the quality of life. He

also supports the view that alternative development goals should be "people empowerment, political participation, rights, freedoms and self-expression." (Stone 1991:100).

In the introductory chapter, it was noted that the field of public policy gave some insight into the process of development. Models of decision-making establish a relationship between how decisions are made and how power is distributed in contemporary society. One of the two main approaches, focuses on the relationship between rationality and decision-making: some writers view decision-making as a rational process while others see it as an incremental process. I draw an analogy between the process of development and that of decision-making because it often involves policy choices. A government may adopt a macro-economic policy such as EOI as a strategy for development. The ideal type rational model, assumes that such a government would assess the strengths and weaknesses of the policy, based on its track record of success and the likely factors which would make it work in their own country. I very much doubt however that most developing countries are able to make decisions on such a rational basis. Rational models of decision-making are usually associated with the work of Herbert Simon (1957) who essentially saw organisations as making rational choices in selecting alternatives to achieve their stated goals. (For a more complete discussion of Simon's work see Ham and Hill, 1984:77)

Charles Lindblom (1959) however argued that rather than being rational, organisations take decisions in incremental ways, based on their actual situation. He outlines an approach which he refers to as "successive limited comparisons." In essence, this involves examining a narrower range of specific objectives, which may not reflect the decision-maker's values, but which will secure the agreement

of the various interests involved. Decision-makers therefore test the waters in stages, rather than attempting to take great leaps forward. By so doing, they can assess whether or not to proceed with a policy or change direction. Decision-making is therefore incremental and in practice, is more a process of "muddling through", using several approaches. Braybrook and Lindblom also describe the strategy of "disjointed incrementalism." They suggest that decision-makers adjust objectives to the means available, rather than striving for a fixed set of objectives. As such, policies will be tried and altered successively in the hope of achieving objectives. (Braybrook and Lindblom, 1963).

This analysis accords with Girvan's view that development is a "continuous process of enhancement" (Girvan, 1988). It appears that development in practice is not a linear process and is likely to evolve in an ad hoc fashion, with setbacks and advances being integral to the process. Rather than giant leaps forward, the process is likely to include small incremental steps that are not necessarily rational or entirely "muddling through", but which ultimately represents a series of processual and structural enhancements. In summary therefore, it emerges that any concept of development which is people-centred, gender-sensitive and participatory is likely to involve advances and setbacks simultaneously.

DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES IN THE CARIBBEAN

Industrialisation by Invitation (1950s - 1960s)

Several Caribbean countries tried to become industrialised during the 1950s and the 1960s, using Lewis' classical Keynesian economic theory of "Industrialisation by Invitation." Based on the assumption that Caribbean countries could only advance and develop if they became industrialised, as had been the

model of the Industrial Revolution in Europe and North America, Lewis argued that:

The islands cannot be industrialised... without a considerable inflow of foreign capital and capitalists and a period of wooing and fawning upon such people. Foreign capital is needed because industrialisation is a frightfully expensive business quite beyond the resources of the island.

(Lewis, 1963:400-449).

Several factors are attributed to the failure of this policy. Most of the industries were of the "screw-driver" type which involved completing semi-assembled imported goods. Few jobs were created which required much skill. Then, most of the investments were unstable and had limited long-term impact. Many companies also left when their tax free period expired, while others continued operating as new companies to continue their tax free status.

Noting these weaknesses, Trinidadian economist William Demas (1965) writing during this period, advanced the development debate by noting that economic growth which comes from an enclave sector which is unconnected to the rest of the domestic economy and which perpetuates unemployment and dependence on the out-side world, is not real development. In his book, The Economics of Development in Small Countries with Special Reference to the Caribbean, he redefined development from having an exclusive focus on economic growth to mean (1) having the capacity for self-sustaining growth; and (2) the 'structural transformation' of the economy.

Demas, though advancing the debate, again took a macro-economic approach which was gender-blind. We argue however, that the strategy is likely to have had some incremental developmental effects, such as providing a limited number of jobs to women in the industrial sector. In so doing, the range of employment opportunities open to them expanded. French and Ford-Smith (1986) have examined women and work in Jamaica, which we discuss in the chapter on Women in the Caribbean. Most of the new jobs created were in the textile industry and the number of factories increased. But, this also represented the continued super-exploitation of female labour. The question is however, whether these jobs represented any strategic development for women.

Import Substitution Industrialisation (ISI) (1960s - 1970s)

The process of industrialisation continued in the 1960s -1970s through the strategy of **import-substitution-industrialisation**, which succeeded industrialization by invitation. In another classic model of the trickle-down theory, governments of the region offered foreign investors, including transnational corporations, incentives to guarantee lower production costs and therefore increase profits. The strategy was similar to its predecessor, except that foreign companies would be producing some goods that were being imported. This too was not very successful, as there was insufficient questioning of the kinds of goods to be produced, and the required import content to produce them locally. Many countries abandoned ISI because rather than saving foreign exchange, their import bill increased and the experience of the Dominican Republic demonstrates the weaknesses of this strategy.

Dauhajre et al., (1989:11-16) note that in the Dominican Republic, Free Trade Zones were legalised under Law 4315, dated October 29, 1955 as part of

this strategy. Incentives under the Industrial Incentive and Protection Law 299, (La Ley 299 de Incentivo y Protección Industrial del 23 de Abril de 1968) were excessively generous. They included high tariffs for competing imports, large quantities of subsidised credit, offers of subsidised dividends, low taxes, tax exemption for capital imports required for these industries, foreign exchange at the artificially low rate of one dollar to one peso, and the removal of bureaucratic barriers to obtain subsidies. There was little evaluation of the appropriateness of the companies applying. Applications were approved on the basis of information which the companies themselves provided to show the impact of their business on employment and the foreign exchange which would be saved (Dauhajre et al., 1989:16). Law 145 passed on June 27, 1983 extended the provisions of Law 299 to local investors, giving them the same tax free exemption on their rentals (Abreu et al., 1989:53).

Another weakness of the strategy was the inequality it created at several levels. It served the interests of rich and powerful groups while having a negative impact on the majority of the people who were poor. The Industrial Incentives Law protected the interests of a few established firms rather than giving incentives to the local manufacturing sector in general. The strategy also failed because it was adopted according to the classic model with no innovations in the productive process or adaptations to the environment and it fostered dependency on foreign capital, thereby creating a basis for mutual coexistence, interdependence, and advancement between local and foreign capitalists. These alliances contributed to the emergence of semi-industrialised societies in the region, which were based on consumption of foreign goods and the growing socio-economic marginalisation of poor people within the satellite countries of the region. Workers in these factories however continued to exist at a subsistence level, deriving few benefits from the

process. Gomez (1988:19) provides further insight into this inequality, indicating that 21 percent of workers in substitution industries received less than the minimum wage and sixty three percent of the women working in these industries,^{and} received significantly less than their male counterparts. Low wages and sexual discrimination were therefore part of the negative impact of these policies on women (see also Gomez and Baez, 1988; Gomez and Gaton, 1987; Duarte and Gomez, 1987; Duarte et al., circa 1988).

Denial of workers rights to trade union representation was also an inherent weakness. Gomez further indicates that women had limited access to trade unions, although their wages were low. They were forced to work overtime, and more often than not they received no extra pay. Import substitution industrialisation, was therefore not effective as a development strategy: it created dependency on foreign capital given the high import content of raw materials for the various industries; rather than being participatory, people-centred and gender-sensitive, it entrenched inequality between groups of rich manufacturers and poor workers; it in fact marginalised the latter, denying them their rights to trade union representation; the economic benefits were minimal for the DR. Finally, it was not at all gender sensitive in even the most basic way, as women were paid lower wages.

Statist development

During the 1970s, many Caribbean governments pursued a path of statist development like the Cuban model,^{to implement ISI} in an effort to ensure that development models resulted in more significant benefits to their own countries (Girvan, 1988). This policy was guided by dependency theory and saw the state playing a dominant role in economic development. Among the countries pursuing this strategy were Guyana, under Forbes Burnham; Jamaica, under Michael Manley; Grenada under

Maurice Bishop's People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) and Trinidad and Tobago under Prime Minister Eric Williams. The policies followed usually included:

- a) nationalization of major utilities and nationalization or state participation in major traditional export industries;
- b) selective state participation and investment in manufacturing, banking and import trade and
- c) the use of government investment to 'drive' the economy. (Girvan, 1988:17).

Statist intervention however failed miserably and contributed to what Girvan refers to as 'debt dependency'. This led to a new form of economic colonization of the region, as governments had to borrow heavily to finance the various areas of expenditure.

The analysis shows that like previous strategies it had little if any beneficial effects on women as they were not usually integrated into the specially targeted areas of the economy. One of the few exceptions was Jamaica's employment programme referred to as the "Special Impact Programme". Although women were the main beneficiaries, it had little beneficial impact on their development. This was related to its low-skill component, the absence of training, its political overtones and the non-productive nature of work offered (Michael Manley, 1982:92; Sunshine, 1988:62). This job creation programme was popularly referred to as the "Crash Programme", no doubt a commentary on its perceived role and

content. The majority of beneficiaries were women. Many were middle aged and were employed primarily as street sweepers, although some worked in day care centres and basic schools. Working conditions were harsh, wages were low and the programme was often associated with a poor work ethic. It offered few opportunities for productive work and skill training. The political overtones associated with the project worsened the country's political divisions and created social tensions, as the programme was seen as a form of political patronage (Manley, 1982). In this case, statist development also had a limited impact on women.

Export-Oriented Industrialisation (EOI) (1980s)

In the 1980s, the economic development crisis affecting many poor countries, appeared to have been averted in the case of the Newly Industrialised Countries (NICs) of Southeast Asia who appeared to have successfully used the EOI strategy. Evidence emerged in the late 1980s, however, that the "dragons are in distress." (Bello and Rosenfeld, Dragons in Distress, 1989). The "Dragons" or the "Four Tigers" as they are also called (Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea and Taiwan) have indeed become more industrialised and more economically advanced. Using South Korea as an example, Edwards (1992:97) indicates that "since 1950, South Korea's growth rates for total output have been more than twice as fast as that of all LDCs, and for manufacturing output about three times as fast." He also observes that their spectacular growth has been accompanied by vast improvements in the standard of living. As the Development Dictionary contributors previously indicated, the United States is used as the yardstick for measuring the degree of development of other societies.

Edwards, for example, states that in South Korea, life expectancy, average per capita income and education levels have all increased, noting that in 1988, average per capita income was US\$3,600, which is less than a fifth of that in the United States. He further notes that whereas life expectancy for a South Korean born in 1960 was 53 years, someone born in 1988 could expect to live to 70 years, which is only six years less than someone born in the USA. Most South Korean children go to elementary school and over a third receive some form of higher education. This compares favourably with the USA where 60 percent of elementary school students receive higher education. South Korea's "miracle" has also helped to distribute income more equitably than in most LDCs.

Using traditional development indicators like GDP, he notes that World Bank statistics show that the growth rate of South Korea's GDP per capita increased from 3.0 percent in 1950 to 8.7 percent in 1988. For most LDCs however, it has been falling since 1960 and in 1988 was 2.3 percent. Such indicators confirm that South Korea has indeed experienced a "miracle". The annual rate of inflation is only 5 percent and between 1965 and 1988, the annual growth of GNP per capita was 6.8 percent. Their total external debt in 1988 was US\$37,156 million with total debt service payments of only 4.8 percent of GDP or 11.5 percent of exports (World Bank 1990). This compares very favourably with Jamaica whose debt service payments were 27.1 percent of exports. (Economic and Social Survey of Jamaica, 1992:2.2). Similarly, in 1992, Jamaica's external debt of US\$3,678.0 million for its population of 2.46 million people, resulted in a per capita debt of US\$1,495.00, which is almost twice that of South Korea. In 1988, the latter's external debt of US\$37,156 million for its population of 42.01 million, resulted in a per capita debt of only US\$884.50 (Edwards 1992:99). Whereas the comparison is for different years, the evidence strongly suggests that

the two countries are at different levels of economic development and have varying levels of resources to support human and social development.

Edwards (1992:109) provides a succinct overview of the causes of South Korea's success, which we examine to assess the likely impact of this strategy on women. He notes that the success of the "miracle" has been attributed to various aspects of their industrialization policy. Among these were a trade policy in the 1960s and 1970s, in which the state promoted export production, protected local manufacturers from cheaper imports but also provided them with export incentives and set export targets. This was similar to the Caribbean cases cited previously. South Korea's priority was on light, labour-intensive industries, and wages were held in check by repressing the activities of unions.

As in the case of the Dominican Republic discussed earlier, the financing of industry also played an important role in their success, although in a different way. By nationalizing and regulating the banking sector, the government was able to provide low-interest loans to industry, thereby encouraging the local manufacturing sector to grow. In this way it could be argued that this represents an improvement on the ISI policy in which there was little local benefit. Industrial diversification was also encouraged by the state, and heavy, capital-intensive industries were developed. This was in part boosted by the expansion of defense-related heavy industries. Steel and transport equipment expanded particularly quickly. Ownership of South Korean industry has been dominated by medium to large firms and foreign direct investment (FDI) has been relatively small. Edwards argues that the state was instrumental in coordinating the acquisition, application and adaptation of existing technology and presents data to confirm the heavy hand of the state in keeping wages low and repressing labour unions. State investment in

physical infrastructure including highways, railroads, gas, electricity and irrigation was high but never at a level which put the country in unmanageable external debt. This is quite different from the case of Jamaica and the Dominican Republic which we discuss later in the thesis. Land reform, combined with heavy control of the agricultural market are also cited as factors contributing to the South Korean miracle. Keeping the cost of agricultural products low, it is argued, helped to reduce the pressure on industrial wages. Despite these economic gains and although women working in South Korea's free zones have benefitted through employment, the benefits have not spread as widely as anticipated. The government's repression of labour unions has also violated their human rights.

An unexpected impact of this repression has been to make workers more determined and this has contributed to the formation of their own organisations, including several managed and operated by women. Among these are the Committee of Asian Women (CAW) and the Korean Women Workers Association (KWWA). They indicate that the growth of labour unions has been very substantial since 1987 with about 8,000 trade unions having been formed between 1987 and 1990. Trade union membership has reportedly doubled by 1,000,000. Other organisations have also emerged providing support to workers through research, education and training. According to the CAW and the KWWA, fifty of these groups from 11 regions have formed the National Association of Labour Movement Organisations (NALMO). Their main aims are to struggle for:

- a) workers' rights to freedom of association;
- b) the guarantee of basic living standards;
- c) the reduction in working hours which average 10 hours a day;
- d) improvements in safety standards in the workplace;
- e) guaranteed security of employment;

- f) the elimination of discrimination against women workers and
- g) the guaranteed provision of cheap housing.

(CAW/KWWA, 1992:7-9) (see also Loh Cheng Kooi, 1992:23-25 on CAW's work, programmes and methodology).

The focus of these struggles highlights major problem areas for workers and reflects the cost of the South Korean "miracle" to the workers themselves. According to CAW/KWWA, women workers earned less than half the wages of male workers and worked longer hours. Their 1992 report notes that a female shop floor worker in the manufacturing industry earned an average of US\$417 per month, whereas her male counterpart earned US\$656 monthly. Their combined wages of US\$1,073 were however insufficient to support a family, as the government's Economic Planning Board itself estimated that an average of US\$1,204 was needed monthly (CAW/KWWA, 1992:18).

Against this background, the level of determination in these women workers is understandable, given the long hours of overtime, wage discrimination, job insecurity, their exposure to sexual harassment at the workplace and their experience of violence during strikes as well as at the workplace. This reality, combined with the fact that they still have major responsibility for domestic chores, makes their commitment understandable. There have been advances however. According to CAW/KWWA, an equal employment law for women and men was passed and over 200 day care centres have come together to form a national organisation.

Robin Cohen's (1987) analysis of labour migration in the international division of labour from the perspective of Historical and Comparative sociology

also provides some insight into and an explanation for women's determination to organise. In The New Helots, Cohen states that the movement of capital from the core to the periphery was more related to higher production costs as a result of workers organising, than the need for TNCs to realise higher profits. His thesis that the emerging group of semi-free workers or "helots" which is found on the fringes of "regional political economies" or migrants, who are pulled into service or manufacturing industries, may organise to reduce exploitation, is plausible. (Cohen, 1987:220-253). The South Korean experience suggests this. Despite the repressive measures used by the government to restrict trade unions, in order to guarantee political stability and maintain a labour climate favourable to investment, trade unions have grown. Additionally it suggests that women workers might be motivated to organise to make themselves "free" and reduce their level of exploitation. **As such, organising could be considered an indicator of development.**

The ~~problems~~ which have arisen in South Korea, including protests over ^{poor wages and working conditions} calls into serious question the kind of development being advocated. Many of the problems cited in previous strategies are still evident, leading us to ask the question: can it be true development if women are still marginalised, if their wages remain unequal and their rights are repeatedly repressed to ensure the continued success of the "miracle"?

In addition to the issues of uneven development inherent in this model, there are health and environmental problems associated with industrialisation which also contribute to the crisis. These appear frequently in the literature on free trade zones in developing countries, but despite this, FTZs remain widely used as a development strategy. Other Asian countries using this model include Sri Lanka, (Rosa 1985)

Mauritius, China and India and there are similar complaints^{about poor wages and working conditions,} Women workers in Mexico's Maquiladora programme on the frontier of the US border, which serves as another model of this "success", also make similar reports which concur with those in the Caribbean (Sklair, 1991, Chapter 4).

The environmental issues associated with industrialization have been extensively documented. The Natural Resources Journal in the United States for example has produced special issues on the environmental problems along the US-Mexico border. Sklair (1993) in re-assessing the experience of Mexico's Maquila industry, particularly against the background of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), revised his earlier work and has included the environment as one of his six criteria for assessing the development impact and potential of FTZs. He observes that whereas maquilas are not the only source of environmental hazards along the border, many, if not most of them, are regularly involved in the illegal dumping of toxic waste, water contamination and pollution of the air with carcinogenic materials. The maquilas have also attracted ferocious criticisms, because of the enormous growth of the electronics maquilas which have relocated from California's Silicon Valley. The introduction of Mexico's new environmental law, (La Ley General de Equilibrio Ecológico y la Protección al Ambiente), may not be effective he notes, unless there is an increase in the allocation of resources to the programme, to ensure proper monitoring (Sklair 1993:251-255) (see also Smith 1992:277).

The environmental impact of the FTZ on the health of women workers in the Caribbean has also been examined (see Dunn, 1987, and Green, 1988 on the operation of FTZs in Jamaica and the Eastern Caribbean respectively). Peggy Antrobus, Director of the Women and Development Unit (WAND), a Barbados-

based NGO, has noted that the lack of environmental laws will contribute to pollution and erode already poor health standards in most CARICOM countries. (Hosten-Craig, 1991:45). Those countries that do, face a similar dilemma to that of Mexico in either not having sufficient funds to monitor the situation or alternatively are lenient with factories violating the laws for fear of losing their investment. Developing countries like Jamaica, the Dominican Republic and Mexico as well as others are caught because in pursuing what Sachs refers to as an elusive Western goal of development and taking the associated environmental risks, they also face the additional burden of trying to cope with the problems that arise at a time when their health and social sectors are unable to cope effectively, affected as they are by the spectre of debt and economic underdevelopment. This is another dimension of the crisis at the micro level, so although the FTZs hold the potential for economic growth, they do so at considerable environmental and human cost.

Another major problem associated with the expansion of this strategy is the increased level of public and private indebtedness to international financial institutions by national host governments, with limited returns in the short term. This has contributed to the foreign debt crisis of many developing countries like Jamaica and the Dominican Republic who are still caught in what Payer (1974) called The Debt Trap. The literature on debt is voluminous. (For those most relevant to the Caribbean experience see: Ferguson, 1992; McAfee, 1991; French, 1990; Levitt, 1990; George, 1989; Girvan et al., 1989; Pantin, 1989; Antrobus, 1988; Potter, 1988; and Davis, 1986. Debt, structural adjustment and export-led growth as previously mentioned, have been the dominant strategy used by several Caribbean countries in the 1980s and 1990s. Their impact on women in particular has compounded the traditional problems of underdevelopment and has led to a

fundamental rethinking of development within and outside the region. These include: Girvan and Beckford's (Eds.) (1989) Development in Suspense; Blomstrom and Hettne's (1984) Development in Transition and Wedderburn's (Ed.) (1991) Rethinking Development. The impact of the debt and its relationship to the EOI strategy in the Caribbean is discussed more extensively in the next chapter.

Several features described in these strategies, confirm that there are inherent problems and these underscore the importance of qualitative indicators of development.

Common elements of the problem are that, with the exception of statist development, these strategies are export-led, heavily dependent on cheap labour and their operation restricts the human rights of workers. Only low-skill jobs are available, in keeping with what is considered to be the country's comparative advantage as outlined by Ricardo.

With the failure of previous industrialisation strategies and the widely reported success of the EOI model, it is understandable that the latter has been increasingly promoted as the prescription for many developing countries, especially those like Jamaica and the Dominican Republic with large foreign debts. The trend is likely to continue, given the fact that multilateral institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, continue actively encouraging this strategy as a means of generating foreign exchange to service debt payments and stimulate economic development. Radical critiques of EOI point to the limitations imposed by the dominant types of investment, the structure of production and the role of TNCs. The focus on garment production which is labour, rather than capital-intensive and which requires low levels of skill is unlikely to support long term development.

Chapter Summary

Having examined development as a concept, process and strategy, it has emerged that there ^{are} ~~problems~~ at several levels and that this ^{situation} ~~has~~ resulted in a distinct shift in the dominant paradigm of development as economic growth. Dimensions of the ^{problem} ~~emerged~~ in the review of the major macro-economic strategies which showed that they are essentially the same and have failed to support positive changes for the majority of people. In fact, the evidence suggests that they have perpetuated inequality on the basis of sex, gender, power, resources and status. The dependence of export industries on cheap female labour to make "super-profits" for TNCs, while denying workers their right to representation and also contributing to environmental problems also raised grave doubts about the ~~strategy~~.

It also emerged that the economic, political, social and environmental process of globalisation, combined with the problems of debt and structural adjustment, as well as the NIDL, have further heightened the ^{contradictions} ~~the~~. This is not to negate the importance and beneficial impact of employment, which the zones provide. They help women to meet their basic needs and strive for personal self development. Neither is there denial that the strategy has potential for economic growth. It is clear however that the benefits will be grossly unequal and may not result in any qualitative changes at the personal and group levels.

CHAPTER 2

DEVELOPMENT : A GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVE

Cheap Labour is not Development

Whereas many of the analysts referred to in the previous chapter provided a valuable overview and critique of how development has become a Western world concept, much of the analysis is weakened by the absence of a gender perspective. Contributors have not, in the main, sought to analyze the differential impact of this world view on women and men, based on their social, economic and political reality, which would have considerably strengthened their arguments. By making the situation of women visible, their critique of the last forty years of development, would have been much sharper. In so doing they would have discovered that many of the modest gains made by women in the 1970s and eighties have been eroded by the neo-liberal, structural adjustment policies of the 1980s and 1990s.

In recognition of the fact that women make up more than half of the world's population, the United Nations Decade for the Advancement of Women (1975-1985) attempted to promote their development, through the allocation of resources to economic and social programmes and projects to enhance their status. However, despite women's increased participation and attempts to improve their share of resources, land and employment, there is a consensus that the general situation of women has been getting worse. DAWN's analysis is that rather than improving, the socio-economic status of the majority of the world's women became worse throughout the Decade. They argue that in general, women's relative access to economic resources, income and employment has worsened, their volume of work has increased, and their education, health and nutrition has worsened. (Sen and

Grown, 1987:16). The Fourth UN Conference of Women to be held in Beijing in 1995 will also evaluate and highlight the varying fortunes of women around the globe since 1985 in achieving the goals of equity, development and peace.

Using the emerging concepts of development including economic and social well being as well as participation, it cannot be denied that women in some countries, have advanced. In Latin America and the Caribbean, more women have been taking advantage of the increased educational opportunities available to them. This has not however resulted in improved employment opportunities and the sexual division of labour persists in most societies. (Ellis, 1986; Anderson and Gordon, 1989).

A central criticism of the EOI strategy is whether a development strategy which is dependent on cheap labour ^{can} be truly developmental? This appears unlikely for factory workers in the free zones. There is also abundant evidence to support this view as many studies on off-shore manufacturing by TNCs, generally agree that the chief motivation for such investments is to reduce the cost of labour. Developing countries with high levels of unemployment, offer virtually unlimited possibilities. Van (1977), in a study of 32 EPZs in Asia noted that:

The overwhelming majority of zone occupant enterprises interviewed stated that their motives for investing in the zones are to use the zones as low-cost production bases for export back to their home markets and to export to other major markets. This has been necessitated by a competitive force in the home and international markets. This means that certain industries at the investor's home country are already declining due to rising labour costs, high land

and rental costs. Their products can no longer effectively compete in the overseas markets. Industrial pollution is another factor forcing the closing-down or relocation of certain industrial firms in investing countries. Light and labour-intensive types of consumer goods industries and certain chemical, metal goods industries belong to the above category of firms investing in export-processing zones of the APO region (Van, 1977:100-108).

The World Bank (1992:4) also includes "suitable low cost labour" as one of the key factors important to the success of the EPZ policy (World Bank:1992). Similarly, Basile (1988) observes that "the quest for lower labour costs than those prevailing in the country of origin would seem to be a major reason why enterprises set up operations abroad" (Basile:1988:5). He cites a 1980 study of the International Chamber of Commerce of 950 enterprises located in 45 countries which showed that higher wage costs had made a substantial contribution to the increase in the enterprises' costs in 80 percent of cases and had been the decisive factor in 35 percent of cases.

Joeke (1986) also observes that "the cheapness of labour is the fundamental attraction when these locational decisions are made." (Joeke:1986:14). She qualifies this however by noting that other financial considerations such as reliability of the labour supply, their level of education, absenteeism and turnover rates, are also relevant. In light of this it is therefore understandable that transnational corporations would relocate virtually all their assembly production capacity in developing countries. But why do they use predominantly female labour? Joeke argues that women are the preferred source of labour because the industries require low levels of skill and women are

considered by employers to be more easily expendable and replaceable than male workers.

Echoing French and Ford-Smith's analysis of Jamaican women's involvement in the garment and textile industry, the central critique of FTZs is that their economic success has been based on the exploitation (or super-exploitation) of women's surplus labour. ^{I would argue} therefore that strategies which are dependent on the exploitation of female labour cannot be truly developmental. Critiques have also been made that export-oriented industrialisation and the structure of production in FTZs, typify Marx's labour surplus theory. Justifying women's subordinate position in the world factories on the basis that they are more adapted than men to perform repetitive, monotonous jobs is, in my view, also symptomatic of the crisis in development. Elson and Pearson (1981), argue that women's subordination is embodied in the concept of the "nimble fingers" of women workers in world market factories. How else could their involvement in this kind of production be explained? Producing a wide range of consumer goods, under conditions that few machines would survive, for low wages and long working hours, is more likely to keep these women in a perpetual state of underdevelopment, than to help them progress.

Linked to the use of cheap female labour, critics of EOI and FTZs argue that the structure of production is too highly integrated, labour intensive and only requires employees to learn basic skills. Most of the thousands of jobs which are provided only require basic industrial skills and there is limited scope for promotion. This applies even to those workers who are more highly skilled and have the ability and interest to advance technologically. Elson and Pearson (1981:93) also argued that the "nimble fingers" of women factory workers are not

part of their inheritance but rather the result of training and gender socialisation within the household. There is some ambivalence, in that machine operators jobs are classified as unskilled or semi-skilled, but simultaneously, women are seen as more adapted to boring repetitive jobs because of their "manual dexterity."

In summarising the crisis in development at a conceptual level and the strategies used thus far, we note that the concept of development as economic growth has been largely discredited and there has been a growing recognition that the human, qualitative dimensions are equally important. We further note that despite this, the strategies being pursued are still supporting the same paradigm, in anticipation that economic benefits will trickle down to the majority of people. Having examined the crisis we now try to pinpoint some of the alternative concepts of development which are emerging and some of the major issues influencing this process.

Development: a Gender and Development Perspective

Possibly the most important outcome of the process of re-examining development in the last three decades, has been the emergence of gender and development, women and development, feminism and womanism (black feminism) (Collins, 1991) as disciplines for research, analysis and development planning. Gender and development as the generic discipline encompassing these, is therefore used as the general framework for the thesis. Humm, in her Dictionary of Feminist Theory defines gender as "a culturally-shaped group of attributes and behaviours given to the female or to the male"(Humm 1989:84). It is a social construct which explains the different experiences of men and women as members of society and which confer on them socially ascribed roles which are not related to their biological sex. Gender is therefore central to the analysis of development.

Among the more interesting critiques of existing development models and concepts have been those of feminists using a synthesis of Marxism and Gender and Development frameworks. Feminists in the North and South constantly debate issues to refine the analyses and create alternative, gender-sensitive, holistic development concepts and strategies. DAWN, which was mentioned previously, is a product of this cross-cultural fertilisation between feminists in the North and South and their members have made important contributions to the debate. It is committed through the analysis and activities of its members, to develop alternative frameworks and methods to attain the goals of economic and social justice, peace and development free of all forms of oppression by gender, class, race and nation (Sen and Grown 1987).

DAWN member, Coordinator of the Women and Development Unit (WAND) in Barbados and Caribbean feminist Peggy Antrobus (1988), articulates the need for gender-sensitive, holistic concepts and strategies of development which embody social, economic, political and cultural dimensions. DAWN's analysis is based on experiences of women in the Third World from a Third World perspective. As such, they recognise that the subordination of women in the Third World is influenced by the combined effects of class, race, gender and as members of nations in unequal relations with developed countries and their transnational representatives. Capitalism and its inherent system of patriarchy also form part of the DAWN analysis.

Maxine Molyneux (1984:62) explains how gender can support women's development. In analysing issues that contribute to the advancement of women in Nicaragua, she examined the triple concepts of women's interests, strategic gender

interests and practical gender interests. She notes the difficulty of making general statements about "women's interests", because women 's positions in society are mediated by class, ethnicity and gender among other factors. The concept of "gender interests" is therefore suggested as an alternative, because of this need "to specify how the various categories of women might be affected differently, and act differently on account of the particularities of their social positioning and of their chosen identities". Molyneux then states that

Gender interests are those that women (or men) may develop by virtue of their social positioning through gender attributes. Gender interests can be either strategic or practical, each being derived in a different way and each involving different implications for women's subjectivity. (Molyneux 1984:62)

Strategic gender interests she adds,

are derived from the analysis of women's subordination and from the formulation of strategic objectives to overcome women's subordination, such as the abolition of the sexual division of labour, the alleviation of the burden of domestic labour and child care, the removal of institutionalised forms of discrimination, the establishment of political equality, freedom of choice over childbearing, and the adoption of adequate measures against male violence and control over women. (Molyneux 1984:62).

Practical gender interests she also notes:

arise from the concrete conditions of women's positioning by virtue of their gender within the division of labour. In contrast to strategic interests these are formulated by the women themselves who are within these positions. Practical interests are usually a response to an immediate perceived need, and they do not entail a strategic goal such as women's emancipation or gender equality. (Molyneux 1984:62-63).

Noting that analyses of female collective action frequently use this conception of interests to explain the dynamic and goals of women's participation in social action, Molyneux argued that "because of their position within the sexual division of labour, women have a special interest in domestic provision and public welfare" (Molyneux, 1984:63). To ensure the survival of their families, poor women are usually the ones involved in social action to demand better services from the state. Practical gender interests, she therefore concludes, are linked to class effects and although they do not challenge the various forms of gender subordination, they arise from them.

Gender interests, as well as strategic and practical gender interests are all relevant to an understanding of women's consciousness, although it should not be assumed that women will recognise their strategic gender interests and want to realise them. There is much more at stake. Whereas it is often assumed that most women would want equality with men and independence from men, for example, they may have to go through the same process of decision-making that Lindblom (1959) suggests. They may have to weigh the short-term benefits that may be derived from certain actions to achieve this equality, against the loss of protection from a

man or the availability of any substitute.

Molyneux therefore states that women will effectively formulate strategic interests which they have considered and resolved how their actions will impact on their practical interests. "Indeed, it is the politicisation of these practical interests and their transformation into strategic interests which constitutes a central aspect of feminist political practice" (Molyneux, 1984:63).

The way in which these interests are formulated will be influenced by variations in time, space and political ideology. Molyneux also notes that women's unity and cohesion on gender issues should never be assumed because women's interests are largely influenced by class factors. Unity therefore has to be constructed and is always conditional. More often than not, it will collapse under the pressure of acute class conflict, as well as differences of race, ethnicity and nationality. She warns that the state may introduce policies and programmes that address women's immediate practical demands and or their class interests, but still fail to address their strategic interests.

How do these views relate to the reality of Caribbean women workers examined in our two case studies? Do Molyneux's concepts help us to understand the motivations for women to organise? Has class influenced the process of organising in any way? Do her ideas, as well as those of Lindblom, provide insight into the process of development of women? We argue that they do.

To support this view, we note that interviews with Caribbean women workers in the course of this research, made it clear that meeting their practical needs was uppermost in their minds. Based on the actual situations they faced in meeting the challenges associated with their roles as mothers and as workers,

women working in the free zones wanted basic economic improvements, which would make their lives easier. ^{For example} Faced with sexual harassment in her temporary accommodation after her mother had thrown her out, Sylvia, a machine operator at the Kingston Free Zone, urgently needed housing. Her situation became even more acute when Hurricane Gilbert blew the roof off the house in which she was staying. The St Peter Claver Housing Cooperative provided basic help in the form of a flat. Then Martina, a machine worker in the San Pedro de Macoris Free Trade Zone, was equally desperate, when she took her sick child to the hospital and discovered that no treatment was available because her employers had not made any social security contributions, although they had been deducted from her wages. Her basic need was for a union to stop this common practice. However, neither woman gave the impression that they considered themselves "subordinated", and they certainly voiced no sentiments which suggested that they had any "strategic interests", thereby supporting Molyneux's position. It therefore appears that whereas Sylvia and Martina had identifiable gender interests, their organisations would have had to politicise the issues of housing and health for these two women to recognise that they had strategic gender interests in common with other women and could take action to address these. Putting them on the agenda and working towards resolving the problems would have contributed to the strategic advancement of their respective members.

The thesis therefore argues that women do not innately see themselves as having strategic gender interests which are symbolic of their desire to improve their level of power, influence and control over factors affecting their daily lives. In analysing the impact of the women's trade union and the women's housing cooperative on their members, we therefore apply the concept of strategic gender interests to ascertain whether these two organisations have in any way advanced

the status of their members or supported their process of empowerment through participation and awareness-building.

Similarly, Molyneux's concept of practical gender interests is used to ascertain whether these organisations, have in any way, helped their members to fulfil their productive and reproductive roles. While these concepts may be useful categories for examining women's experiences, I agree with Ward (1990), who suggests that these boundaries of women's work are artificial when compared with the reality of their experiences. Both concepts are re-examined in the concluding analysis to determine their usefulness in light of this thesis.

We should also note that based on Molyneux's concepts of practical and strategic gender interests, Moser developed a framework for gender planning and analysis, using productive, reproductive and community managing roles to classify women's work. The first relates to earning wages, the second to women's roles as carers and nurturers and the third to women's active involvement in lobbying for services needed at the community level. Moser further uses the concepts of practical and strategic gender needs in her gender planning framework. (Moser, 1989:1799-1825). These have been used by many NGOs as a framework for gender analysis, to determine if and how, development programmes impact on women. While we note these further developments of Molyneux's work, her original concepts appear more useful for our own analysis.

Moser's analysis of the range of policy approaches used by international organisations and NGOs which aim to support the development of Third World women are also useful to the analysis of this thesis. She identifies the different approaches as: welfare, equity, anti-poverty, efficiency and empowerment. Welfare-type

programmes reflect the modernisation paradigm and support the status quo. Alternatively, those at the empowerment end, reflect the dependency/gender and development paradigm and are more likely to contribute to radical structural change. But are these mutually exclusive categories? Is there an incremental progression from one stage to the other? Do the various approaches exist in various combinations ? How does it all impact on development?

The empowerment approach Moser notes, focuses on making women more self-reliant by supporting their own initiatives at the grass-roots level. This has been advocated since 1975, mainly by Third World women feminists and others sharing their analysis, but is still not widely supported by governments and donor agencies (Moser 1989:1815).

Development: Dimensions of Empowerment

The thesis argues that the empowerment approach is inherent in the alternative concept of development discussed earlier. It is also reflected in the position of DAWN, development NGOs, former dependency theorists like Norman Girvan and Jamaican political sociologist Carl Stone. In exploring how empowerment relates to an alternative concept of development, the following section examines dimensions of the concept which will later serve as points of reference in examining women's methods of organising.

Two dimensions of power emerge from DAWN's analysis and concept of development which are suggestive of an alternative paradigm. The first relates to individual women and the second to groups of women. Implied is the view that development is a process which gives women the space and power to realise their fullest potential. In the course of doing so, they would acquire the power to

increase their social, economic and political status. Thus "power to become" contrasts sharply with the traditional patriarchal concept of power which means to have control, authority, command or domination over someone or a situation. This is part of the definition of power advanced by the Concise Oxford Dictionary.

In attempting to clarify an alternative concept of development we note that DAWN's "power to become" appears to have some parallels with Maslow's (1970) concept of self-actualization and Molyneux's concept of strategic gender interests. From these it could be inferred that women become powerful through the acquisition of knowledge, self-confidence and personal development skills. Further clarification of these related concepts have come from the experience of women organising in Asia.

Women workers in Asia have had a longer experience of working within the New International Division of Labour than those in the Caribbean. Over time, they have developed their own strategies and organisations. An overview of their organising methods is developed from books, newsletters and other secondary sources and the major lessons highlighted to provide insight into the underlying motivations for the variety of strategies used. Common elements of this process are gender, empowerment and participation. They influence the organisational forms used by women workers in this context.

Srilatha Batliwala's (1993:13) survey report entitled Empowerment of Women Workers in South Asia: Concepts and Practices examines the concept of women's empowerment and some of its strategic implications. She notes that empowerment is about changing the balance of power as exercised through social, economic and political relations between powerful and

powerless individuals and groups. Power is defined as "control over resources and control of ideology" (Batliwala, 1993:7) and the resources over which control can be exercised fall into five broad categories: physical resources (land, water, forests); human resources (people, their bodies, their labour, their skills); intellectual resources (knowledge, information, ideas); financial resources (money and access to money); and the self (that unique combination of intelligence, creativity, self-esteem and confidence).

She also notes that control of ideology means "the ability to determine beliefs, values, attitudes - virtually, control over ways of thinking and perceived situations". Batliwala adds that those with power, control both material and knowledge resources and the ideology which governs both public and private life. They are therefore in a position to make decisions which benefit themselves. The extent of their power is therefore correlated with the many different resources which individuals or groups can access and control and this control confers decision-making power, which they use to increase their access to and control over resources. (Batliwala, 1993:7). While recognising that even poor women are not powerless, she notes that "the process of gaining control over self, over ideology and the resources which determine power -may be determined 'empowerment'." This concept she states, is rooted in Paulo Freire's notion of 'conscientization' which is a process by which the poor could challenge structures of power and take control of their lives. Batliwala highlights the element of process in Kumud Sharma's definition of empowerment which refers to:

a range of activities from individual self-assertion to collective resistance, protest and mobilization that challenge basic power relations... Empowerment, therefore, is a process aimed at changing

the nature and direction of systemic forces which marginalize women and other disadvantaged sections in a given context.

(Kamud Sharma:"Grassroots Organizations and Women's Empowerment: Some Issues in the Contemporary Debate" in Samya Shakti, Centre for Women's Development Studies (New Delhi, Vol.VI, 1991-92:29).

Batliwala therefore supports the view that empowerment is a process, the outcome of which would be a redistribution of power and the goal is therefore to challenge and transform the structures which subordinate and subjugate women. In doing so, she argues, men will also be liberated from their roles as oppressors and exploiters. She suggests that the process of empowerment begins in the mind, with woman's consciousness: from her beliefs about herself, her rights, capacities and potential; from her self-image and awareness of how gender as well as other social and economic forces act on her; from her liberating herself from her sense of inferiority; from recognising her strengths, knowledge, intelligence and skills and above all believing in her innate right to dignity and justice and that unless she asserts that right, no one with power will give it away willingly (Batliwala, 1993:8-9).

Demanding justice is part of this process which does not begin spontaneously, nor will it arise automatically from the very conditions of subjugation, she observes. Rather, "it is ... uneven ... more often than not is externally induced (and) external change agents are often necessary to initiate the process." She adds that in examining their problems critically and collectively, women can recognise their strengths, alter their self image, access new kinds of information and knowledge, acquire new skills and initiate action aimed at gaining

greater control over resources of various kinds. This process she states, is spiral rather than cyclical and is the exercise of informed choices within an expanding framework of information, knowledge and analysis of the options available.

To transform society, the process must become political. She therefore concludes that only mass movements and organisations of poor women (and men) can bring about the fulfilment of what Molyneux describes as women's practical and strategic interests or Kate Young (1988) describes as women's 'condition' and 'position'.

We support Batliwala's view that the process of empowerment should also generate new notions of power, one which is different from the present concept of control and exploitation for personal gain to an alternative which sees power as sharing, giving, creating and developing the potential of every human being (Batliwala, 1993:12). Several strategies were identified from the analysis of groups supporting women's empowerment in South Asia, some of which were more effective in addressing practical needs and conditions, while others were more useful on issues of position and strategic needs.

Batliwala states that the target group identified should be the poorest and most oppressed women in a rural or urban setting. Training gender aware and politically conscious change agents who can mobilize, learn from and raise the consciousness of women, was also important. It was equally important to create separate time and space so that women could evolve from being an aggregate of individuals to become a cohesive collective. This we interpret to mean forming organisations of women or creating time for women to meet by themselves. Within these groups, the process should begin with women's own experiences and realities

and programmes should try to improve their self image, stimulate critical thinking and deepen their understanding of power structures, including gender.

The process should also expand women's horizons by exposing them to and teaching them to access new information, knowledge and skills. They should also be helped to identify and prioritise issues for action as well as formulate a vision of an alternative society, including alternative development paradigms. Strengthening women to independently struggle for changes to improve their material conditions and personal lives is also an important strategy, as is helping women to form mass organisations to bring about structural changes which determine their status (Batliwala, 1993:13).

The content of training and education programmes for empowerment should therefore include methods aimed at: empowering the self and building confidence and a positive self image; societal analysis; gender analysis; political awareness and education; analysis and planning skills; mobilisation and organising skills, legal literacy; health, reproductive rights and sexuality; economic education; environmental education; awareness of development resources and how to access them as well as being able to critique different concepts of development; adult literacy and condensed courses for women; and managerial and entrepreneurial skills. The strategies of empowerment identified in the survey included empowerment through: integrated rural development programmes; economic interventions; awareness building and organising women and the use of a training, research and resource agency (Batliwala, 1993). *This all emerges from an analysis of women's organisations in Asia.*

Whereas this recent 1993 data has emerged from a study of groups in Asia, it was interesting to observe several elements which are common to women

workers in the Caribbean. These experiences are analyzed and discussed in the concluding section^{of this thesis,} We have gone into some depth to describe this work, because it is one of the few accessible sources which spell out how the process of women's development operates in practical programmatic terms and how gender empowerment and participation relate to this. It essentially confirms the view that these are important non-economic indicators of development. The next section brings the various views together to identify separate aspects of the process of empowerment and development as a framework for analysing the experiences of women organising in the Caribbean.

Empowerment through critical consciousness is regarded as an important dimension of women's development and this supports the views of Molyneux, Freire and Batliwala. This would make them aware of the political, economic, social and cultural factors that are responsible for their class, race and gender subordination. This awareness would be derived through a process of struggling for material and economic improvements. Women would also recognise that strategic gender interests such as an improved status for women are best achieved through collective action.

Empowerment through participation, collective action and networking is also considered another component of development, as women become aware that this is more effective in challenging gender subordination than their individual actions. As such, the formation of an organisation to pursue practical and strategic gender interests is also seen as an indicator of development.

The collective experience of working through the positive and negative experiences to achieve their goals as suggested by Lindblom⁽¹⁹⁵⁹⁾ and others builds a

network of solidarity which helps to sustain and empower women. Networking with other organisations in pursuit of common goals, which also contributes to the process of empowerment and development is also seen as important. The associated use of lateral power as opposed to hierarchical power is therefore also seen as an indicator of development.

Empowerment through skill acquisition, includes having the knowledge, critical awareness as well as interest to form groups to pursue practical and strategic gender interests. The acquisition of technical and organisational skills are also important to this process. Such skills would include participatory research, strategic programme planning, management and evaluation. Evidence of these skills in the two groups, would be seen as a qualitative indicator of development. Personal development skills are also considered important and would therefore include evidence of: personal growth, increased self confidence and self-esteem.

Many women's groups operate as non-governmental organisations. They are doing so against the background of major global economic and political changes. For example, changes in the former Soviet Union since 1989 and the discrediting of non-capitalist patterns of development have limited the options available. This has significantly strengthened the dominant Westernised and globalised view of development. In many countries, there is dissatisfaction with ineffective political leadership ^{to meet the challenges of development,} limited scope for participation in decision-making is also part of the crisis of development. NGOs as new social actors are gaining prominence and many of them articulate an alternative concept of development. The absence of political leaders with alternative ideas to the current EOI paradigm, further strengthens what Sachs ⁽¹⁹⁹²⁾ earlier referred to as a world view. The absence of Caribbean leadership equipped to meet the global challenges at a

national and regional level is part of the dilemma which is demonstrated in an institution like CARICOM. Similarly, the trade union, long associated with struggling for the development of the working class, is another institution affected by the changes and in the Caribbean, as in many other countries and regions, is less prominent than it formerly was. This was confirmed by Noel Cowell, a Labour Economist at the University of the West Indies in Jamaica and editor of The Labour Journal, (Cowell. Telephone interview. March 22, 1993).

NGOs have grown numerically and in stature all around the world. Increasingly they are perceived as alternatives to political parties. Multilateral and bilateral agencies have been pursuing them avidly, because they see them as cost-effective implementers of social amelioration programmes which have been introduced to cushion the impact of structural adjustment policies. This perception is linked to the skills many of them have evolved in working with people at the community level using limited resources.

Two distinct approaches are reflected in their work and these are related to different concepts of development. Some NGOs are involved in welfare work and philanthropy, which is the context from which many of them emerged and they continue to give handouts to alleviate economic poverty. The other major grouping is called development NGOs, because they usually advocate structural change. They use broad, community-based approaches to problem solving and promote a concept of development which is to varying degrees participatory, environmentally sustainable, people-centred, empowering and most importantly in this context, gender-sensitive. Many of them have become well known for their innovative programmes, in which women learn survival skills and become involved in income-generating projects, as well as sectoral projects in the areas of health,

education and agriculture. NGOs in this grouping are also often associated with programmes which promote skill-training, awareness building and community organising techniques (see Thomas 1992: 117-146).

While some analysts like Majid Rahnema (1992:116) are cautious of some of the methods which pass as participatory and group animation techniques, there is a consensus that some of these have been used effectively with community groups and generally contribute to what is commonly called "grass-roots development". By this we mean that people acquire confidence and skills which enable them to assume increasing levels of responsibility for their development.

Shifting Concepts: Gender versus Class

Changes in the USSR and the collapse of communism have also led to a rethinking of the Marxist concept of class and with this the decreasing importance of class-based organisations like the traditional trade unions. A number of changes have occurred. While the concept of an industrial working class emerged from workers in heavy industry, the more recent expansion of light manufacturing assembly industries such as those found in the Caribbean, has not resulted in a similar class consciousness or solidarity among the workforce. Additionally, as we noted earlier, most employees in this sector have been denied union representation to maintain low wages and control workers. On the contrary, globalised development as the world view previously identified by Sachs⁽¹⁹⁹²⁾ has contributed to an increase in individualism, a factor which severely undermines any concept of working class solidarity. The NIDL and the associated segmentation of production in world market factories, encourages competition rather than cooperation among factory workers within and between countries. It is also important to note that the economic crisis associated with debt and structural adjustment has also contributed

to the growth of the largely individualistic, informal sector in many developing countries, which trade unions have been generally unable to organise.

We therefore argue that with the demise of class as a useful concept the vacuum thus created could usefully be filled by the concept of gender. This social construct which defines the individual experiences of men as well as women in their own particular context, appears to be more acceptable in trying to identify the dimensions and components of alternative development.

It is interesting to consider whether women workers in export-assembly industries who do not have a strong tradition of joining supposedly class based organisations like trade unions, are more likely to organise on the basis of gender. Such a proposal implies fundamental changes in the structure and programmes of labour organisations and would represent the gradual reversal of a system which is now gender-blind. With the possibility that gender may present an alternative basis for organising women workers, to make them free from exploitation" as suggested by Cohen, the next section examines gender and development. We also try to assess this when we later examine the experience of women in organisations and trade unions.

Chapter Summary

The analysis revealed elements of an alternative concept of development, which must include qualitative dimensions and not remain quantitative in a narrow economic view. A broader people-centred, participatory, gender sensitive concept emerged, which involves the process of empowerment at the personal and organisational level.

There is also the suggestion that this alternative concept will demand changes in the present structure of workers organisations and they must be sensitive to the needs of their members. We also considered the feasibility of women organising on the basis of gender than class. Additionally, NGOs emerged as new actors, while there was a noticeable decline in the role of traditional trade unions.

In the context of this thesis, the alternative concept of development suggests a process which empowers women to strive for personal development as well as structural changes which increase their status and self concept. Together this lent support to the hypothesis guiding the study that gender sensitivity, empowerment and participation are integral to the concept of development of women.

CHAPTER 3

CARIBBEAN DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS: THEIR IMPACT ON WOMEN WORKERS

Introduction

This chapter examines dimensions of the development crisis in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic and the external (global) as well as internal (national) factors which contribute to this crisis. The common problems emerging from this are then summarised. These form the background for examining the experience of both countries with EOI and FTZs as a development strategy in the next chapter. The analysis of the socio-economic situation and the FTZs are guided by the gender-sensitive concept of development previously outlined and the hypothesis that gender sensitivity, the need for empowerment and for participation are important to the concept and process of development.

Caribbean Development: External (Global) Challenges

The New International Division of Labour (NIDL), Globalisation and Transnational Practices contribute to Caribbean development problems. These factors are central to the debate about the crisis in development and the strategies for its achievement.

The New International Division of Labour: Employment or Exploitation?

There are two opposing views of the impact of the NIDL on women. The concept itself was created by German scholars Froebel et al. (1980). It describes an approach to economic development in which transnational corporations move capital from the core to countries in the periphery, and establish "world market

factories" to produce goods, using young, cheap, female labour. They and several other researchers have argued that the relationship is exploitative and contributes to the subordination of women in the Third World (see also Elson and Pearson, 1981; Henderson and Cohen, 1982a and Henderson, 1985) and robs jobs from women in the First World. (Elson and Pearson, 1989). An alternative analysis suggests that rather than exploiting women workers, the NIDL and the FTZs help women to meet their needs and give them more independence (Lim, 1990),

Based on the Caribbean experience and a review of the literature from Asia and Mexico, it would appear that both positions are possible. The strategy does promote the subordination of women in several ways: the creation of jobs in industries which stereotypify women's traditional skills and occupations; paying them low wages on the erroneous premise that their income is supplementary to a main family income; asserting that women have low levels of skill and should be paid less, while depending on these very skills which have taken a lifetime to learn. Subordination is also in our view perpetuated through the structures of production and control practised in FTZs which require women to sacrifice themselves to meet productivity targets (Ward, 1986; Elson and Pearson, 1981a; Young, 1984, 1988). Women's labour is used selectively in the interest of capital by both governments and TNCs (Walby, 1986; and Fernández-Kelly, 1983).

But, these jobs do have some positive impact on women although their benefits should not be overstated, because the wages are rarely able to meet their basic needs. Despite job insecurity, particularly in the garment industry (the highest employer of FTZ labour in the Caribbean), many women workers have been able to enjoy a degree of independence, which they may not have had otherwise. There, as elsewhere, it offers young non-European and black women

one of the few escapes from poverty for themselves and their extended families. (Mitter, 1986:75).

Globalisation and Development

Caribbean development is also influenced by globalisation and the "Westernisation" of the world which Sachs describes. Defined as both a concept and a process which affects economic production and also impacts on the political, social and environmental aspects of life, globalisation has been associated with an increasingly sophisticated, and technologically advanced division of labour. Its features such as the change from high volume/mass production, which was typical of the Fordist era, to high value production, with an emphasis on flexible specialization, associated with post-Fordism, present challenges to a small region, whose countries relate to the world market in a bilateral way. Fordism refers to the kind of production methods used by Henry Ford in which cars were produced on an assembly line. The division of labour was so organised that workers could perform simple, routine tasks which required minimal skills. Work pace is determined by machinery with its own rhythm, to which workers have to adapt (Jenkins:1992¹⁴⁷).

Giddens (1990:64) defines globalisation as "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring miles away and vice versa". He identifies two main approaches to the growth of globalisation. The international relations perspective sees sovereign, political, nation-states establishing ties with each other and becoming interdependent. Alternatively, the world systems approach articulated by Wallerstein relates to globalised economic relationships within capitalism. The world capitalist economy he argues brings together

countries in the core, semi-periphery and the periphery in a complex web of economic relationships.

Giddens, in critiquing both approaches, identifies four dimensions of globalisation:

1. the nation state system;
2. the world military order;
3. the world capitalist economy; and
4. the international division of labour.

Cultural globalisation, facilitated by rapid advances in technological developments in communications and the media have facilitated this process (Giddens, 1990:71). All these impact on the Caribbean, but given the focus of this study, priority is given to the world capitalist economy and the international division of labour.

The globalisation of economic production has meant that developing countries face major challenges in expecting foreign investment and free zones, to create linkages and support economic development. Jenkins (1992:22), notes that as part of the development of globalised production, transnational companies control manufacturing activities in several countries and increase their level of international subcontracting. We note that TNCs are increasingly focusing on niche marketing rather than mass production. (Grant-Wisdom, 1993). This brings into question the continued availability of assembly jobs in large quantities in the Caribbean and other developing countries.

Whereas the typical TNC was formerly involved in most aspects of production, there is increasing specialization, to produce high quality, high value components which are then integrated with other components to assemble a final product. These developments therefore have important implications for several aspects of the production process worldwide. These include: the size of firms, factories or plants; the technology which is used; the labour force and its level of skill, management structure, output, competitive behaviour and the institutional framework in which production takes place. This does not augur well for the Caribbean.

Globalisation also challenges the concept of a national product as increasingly it has become more difficult to distinguish products as having a single national identity. Globalised economic policies have also made it much easier for TNCs to adapt their national identity to take advantage of tax concessions and other production incentives (Grant-Wisdom, 1993). Some have become so integrated into the national economies of host countries that they are almost indistinguishable from local companies.

The emergence of major trading blocks as part of the globalisation process, presents major development challenges to the thirteen Commonwealth Caribbean Community territories as well as the Spanish, French and Dutch speaking countries of the region. The North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the Enterprise of the Americas Initiative (EAI) imply major changes to existing trading agreements between these Caribbean countries and their Canadian, American and European partners. The creation of a Single European Market (SEM) in 1993, presented an even greater challenge to countries of the Eastern Caribbean whose economies are less diversified and are heavily dependent on

banana exports to Europe. Pressure from dollar banana areas in Central America and cheaper sources in other parts of the world, is likely to increase in the foreseeable future and greater emphasis is therefore expected to be placed on manufactured exports to generate foreign exchange (Stevens, 1992; Louison, 1992).

Although there is a trend towards diversifying and expanding the range of goods produced in Caribbean FTZs, to include garment industries, electronic components and other products, regrettably, prospects for increasing linkages to domestic economies remain slim. The previous chapter also underscored the importance of the cheap, low wage structure of FTZs factories and this is also unlikely to improve in developing countries, as this may jeopardise the level of foreign investment.

The Caribbean could meet the challenges of globalisation and free trade if CARICOM countries were more integrated. Regional integration is however in a fledgling stage. Countries continue to compete to provide the most attractive package of incentives to foreign investors and this usually means cheaper labour in the FTZs. The West Indian Commission's (1992) (WIC) report "Time for Action", challenges countries of the region to deepen the structures of unity, look to the wider Caribbean and beyond and adopt a broader approach to development. This would include embracing the global opportunities by exporting more, supporting small business development, while not neglecting human development and correcting imbalances in wealth and income (WIC, 1992:71-79).

Globalisation, limited regional integration, trade liberalisation and the emergence of these new trading blocs, are significant challenges to countries in the

region. Possibly for the first time, they will have to create their own development alternatives. There have been advances in the standards of living and quality of life of people in some countries, but these advances have been quite modest, and not as widespread as they need to be. There is a growing realisation that early strategies which enabled Western European and North American countries to become industrialised and assume the status of world powers are not likely to achieve the same results in the Caribbean region.

While the CARICOM Heads of Government declined to establish a CARICOM Commission on January 1, 1993 to take forward the recommendations outlined in the WIC Report, the consultative process used has contributed to the analysis of development in the region and has established a framework for assessing development needs to take the region into the twenty first century.

Transnational Practices (TNPs)

A complex set of global economic, political and ideological relationships linked to globalisation, also affect Caribbean development. Sklair (1991) introduces the concept of "transnational practices", which refers to "the effects of what people do when they are acting within specific institutional contexts" (Sklair, 1991:52). In outlining a theory of the global system, he argues that this system comprises economic transnational practices, political practices which organise the system and cultural-ideological practices which hold the system together. TNCs try to control global capital and material resources, transnational capitalist classes strive for global power, and the international institutions which promote the culture-ideology of consumerism, try to control ideas (Sklair 1991:82).

Sklair observes that rather than focusing exclusively on the action of states who exploit one another, attention should be on agents and institutions of TNPs around the globe. From this it would appear logical that the governments of developing countries, the IMF and World Bank could then be seen as part of the transnational class promoting TNPs. Any alternative strategy of development which involves people, will therefore confront these powerful alliances.

Women workers in FTZs in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic appear to confront TNPs at the level of the FTZ companies who employ them and who use consumer products such as blenders, hair dryers and fans as productivity incentives and bonuses. They also encounter TNPs in the form of the powerful alliances between transnational corporations and national governments who restrict the activities of trade unions which should represent their interests. Inherent in the ideology of TNPs we add, is the cultural ideology of patriarchy which subordinates women working in the zones. Chhachhi (1988) indicates that in the Caribbean this includes race, class and gender subordination. The majority of women employed in the Caribbean FTZs would be black, from a low socio-economic class and would experience gender subordination at its extreme. Caribbean society reflects the historical legacy of slavery, with a high correlation between race and class in the social pyramid. People at the base of the pyramid are more likely to be poor and black, whereas those at the apex are more likely to be white and wealthy (Nettleford, 1972, Nettleford, 1978; Hart, 1985).

Patriarchy, which we argue is a feature of the TNPs, is embodied in the sexual division of labour in the FTZs such that the types of jobs that come to Caribbean countries tend to be low-wage and low-skilled, with limited scope for career or skill development, as we discussed earlier. The concentration of lower-

skilled jobs to women (eg machine operators) and higher skilled, higher paid jobs to men (cutters, machine mechanics etc) also reflects these TNPs. As such we argue that the FTZs and the TNPs that are associated with them are unlikely, in themselves, to bring long-term development to countries in the region. In fact, they contribute to the crisis in development, because inequality is structured into the production process. Against the framework of TNPs, the EOI strategy and FTZs work overwhelmingly in favour of TNCs although Jamaica and the DR have benefitted from jobs and foreign exchange earnings.

Caribbean Development at the Crossroads.

The NIDL, globalisation and the challenges of TNPs, have brought Caribbean development to a crossroads. Like Columbus' arrival in 1492, 1992 also presented the region with new challenges. Any economic development is likely to be the result of "muddling through", the challenges of NAFTA, the Single European Market and other global trade agreements, with few assurances that any qualitative benefits will be derived. The smaller economies are least able to cope as traditional Caribbean exports such as sugar and bananas face stiff competition from Latin American countries. (See, for example, Stevens, 1992; Louison, 1992; West Indian Commission, 1992).

These, combined with the changes in Lome IV, have encouraged the governments of Jamaica and the Dominican Republic to target export manufacturing although this is not the kind of development which is qualitative, people focused and gender sensitive. 1992 also saw the introduction of immigration restrictions in the traditional centres of emigration such as Europe, the United States and Canada thereby increasing the employment pressures in the region.

Contributors to Wedderburn (Ed.), (1986) - "A Caribbean Reader on Development", outline many of these challenges, echoing and adding to what Jefferson (1972) in "The Post-War Economic Development of Jamaica"; Beckford (1972) in "Persistent Poverty: Underdevelopment in Plantation Economies in the Third World" have said. In summary, the external factors affecting the country's development problems include: the position of inequality within the global economy; the unequal terms of trade; high interest rates and debt. The development problems faced by these two countries and the strategies they have used are outlined in the next section.

Socio-Economic Problems of Jamaica

Jamaica is the third largest English-speaking Caribbean country after Guyana and Belize. It is located 145 kms to the South of Cuba and 160 kms to the west of Haiti and covers 11,000 sq.kms. According to the Caribbean Basin 1993 Databook, (CBD-1993), the multiracial population of 2.45 million consists mainly of persons of African descent (76.3 percent); Afro-European (15.1 percent); East Indians and Afro-East Indian (3.4 percent); Caucasian (3.2 percent); Chinese (1.2 percent) and other nationalities (0.80 percent). The World Bank (1992) classifies Jamaica as a lower middle-income country with a literacy rate of 98 percent, average life expectancy at birth of 73 years, a low infant mortality rate of 16 per 1,000 live births and a GNP per capita of US\$1,510, but there are many development problems. UNDP (1991) indicates that 42.6 percent of the total population is below the poverty line .

(The Human Resource Development Report 1991).

Population growth against the background of limited resources and their unequal distribution, have also affected development in Jamaica. The population is growing, but at a reduced rate. The Economic and Social Survey of Jamaica, (1992)^(see Table 9 - Appendix) indicates that the mean population of Jamaica increased from 1.6 million in 1960 to 2.4 million in 1991 and 2.46 million in 1992. There is a high dependency ratio with children aged 0 - 14^{years} comprising 32.5 percent of the population, youth (15 -29) 30.8 percent and the elderly (aged 60 years and over), comprising 10 percent. The working age population (15 - 59 years) was 57.4 percent. The dependency ratio, is high but declining moving from 754 per 1,000 persons in 1991 to 741 per 1,000 persons in 1992. In 1991 there were 57.3 young dependents and 12.8 elderly dependents 65 + years for every 100 persons of working age. These factors are important as care for the young and the elderly is generally done by women.

Fertility, another factor affecting development, declined from 42.1 per thousand in 1960 to 24.8 in 1991. The total fertility rate also declined from 5.7 in 1960 to 2.4 in the 1990's. Between 1991 and 1992 there was however no significant change and the Crude Birth Rate was 23.9 per 1,000 persons. Fertility has been and continues to be particularly high among adolescents and The Contraceptive Prevalence Survey (1989) indicates that 28 percent of all births were to women 19 years and under. These factors support the findings in Chapters 3 and 4, which show that most of the FTZ workers have children.

Mortality, has also been declining and in 1991 and 1992 the Crude Death Rate was 5.5 and 5.4 per 1,000 persons respectively. In 1992 the natural population increase was only 1.8 percent, which marks a reduction compared with former years. Life expectancy increased from 57.2 years at birth in 1950-55 to 74

years in 1990. In 1991, life expectancy for males and females was 71 years and 75 years respectively. The death rate of men is consistently higher than among women for all age groups except age 65 and over. The Ministry of Health (1990:29) indicates that in 1987, the leading causes of mortality among women by rank order were: cerebrovascular diseases, cancers, heart diseases, diabetes, diseases of the respiratory system, diseases of the digestive system, diseases of the nervous system, nutritional deficiencies and intestinal infectious diseases. Many of these illnesses are related to socio-economic status, which is itself affected by levels of employment, wages and the general state of the economy. The number of jobs created by the FTZs though small in relation to the level of unemployment, therefore represent an important source of employment for women who as we saw earlier, experience disproportionately higher levels of unemployment than men as a group.

In 1992, employed men ^{were} 56.9 percent of the labour force ^{and women} ~~only~~ 43 percent. ^{of women} ~~of women~~ ^{were employed}. Women were also more likely to be employed on a part-time basis accounting for 59.0 percent of all part-time workers (ESSJ 1992:16.4). The same report also showed that young women were most adversely affected as their level of unemployment was almost twice as high as for young men (see also World Bank, 1993). UNICEF/PIOJ's Situation Analysis on the Status of Women and Children in Jamaica, (1991:18), also reports that in October 1989, female unemployment was 25.2 percent compared to 9.5 percent for males - nearly three times higher. When age and sex are combined, the situation is worse as the unemployment level of women under 25 years was 47.1 percent whereas for males in the same age group it was 19.8 percent. This is particularly frustrating as many young women have achieved a secondary education. In general however, female participation in the Jamaican labour force was much higher than in many

developing countries(see Tables 10-15 in Appendix).

The Jamaica Bureau of Women's Affairs' publication Critical Indicators on the Status of Women, (circa 1991), also notes that unemployment decreases with age but is at critical proportions for young women 14-24 years. In the age group 14-19 years, it was approximately 60 percent in 1992. Comparative figures for 1991 and 1992 also indicate that unemployment among women in the age group 25 years and over rose from 50.9 per cent to 60.1 percent, but fell in the age group 25 years and under, from 60.2 percent to 55.1 percent. This is also likely to be related to the availability of jobs in the FTZs, as this is the age group from which most of the workers are recruited. Though creating jobs, the FTZs have not significantly reduced the level of unemployment, which is a point which has been made by Girvan (1986) among others. *This is because manufacturing is not the largest sector of the economy.*

Education and training received only 10 percent of the national budget and 15.6 percent of the recurrent vote in 1992. Inflation was high averaging 77.3 percent. Unemployment levels were also high (15.7 percent) and much higher for women who made up half the total labour force of 1,074,900. The ESSJ (1992:16.7) states that unemployed young men numbered 28,700 and young women 55,100. This represented a rate of decline for both groups: from 19.6% to 17.8% for the former and from 42.5% to 40.5% for the latter. There were 60,100 unemployed adult females compared to 25,400 adult males, representing corresponding unemployment rates of 16.3% and 6.2%. These figures show that in 1992, unemployment among young and adult women was almost twice that for young men. It is this large pool of reserve labour that the FTZ draws on, *to work in garment assembly, at the lower end of the range of export assembly industries.*

Urbanisation is also a ^{development} ^{for governments.} problem. Although the island is divided into fourteen parishes, the population is concentrated in the two main urban centres of Kingston -the capital and Montego Bay , the main tourist centre on the north west coast. The populations of the Kingston Metropolitan Area (KMA) and the parish capitals, account for 42.8 percent of the total population. The KMA has nearly doubled in size since 1970, with residential areas like Portmore and Edgewater mushrooming to absorb the swelling population of Kingston and St Andrew (ESSJ, 1992). The Kingston FTZ is located in this area and workers live in the surrounding communities.

^{The ESSJ (1992) also notes that}
internal factors affecting development include the narrow range of economic activities, limited access to technology because of high cost, inadequate skills to meet the demands of the global marketplace and high interest rates. Heavy dependence on agriculture as the dominant economic activity also contributes to the problem, because of a concentration on primary exports, relatively little agro-processing, poor infrastructure and equipment, limited skills, minimal influence on world market prices, high production costs and increasing competition from countries with subsidised or lower production costs. Agriculture employs about 25 percent of the labour force, but wages are low. Tourism is the most important earner of foreign exchange, as well as bauxite, mining and the export of manufactured goods. Mining and manufacturing together employ about 16.1% of the workforce.

Skewed income distribution and unequal patterns of development are also a problem. For example, data available from the Statistical Institute of Jamaica (STATIN) indicate that in the 1989 the bottom 20 percent accounted for only 5.1 percent of national consumption, while the top twenty percent consumed 49.1

percent. In the same year, the top 10 percent consumed 17 times as the bottom ten percent (SLC 1991:13). The poorest people live in rural areas, are employed as farmers or wage workers in agriculture, have low levels of education and live in female headed households. The deprivation of rural families also relates to unequal land distribution patterns. The Ministry of Agriculture for example, reports that 47 percent of all farmers have holdings of less than two acres, which is considered insufficient to support an average family with four persons. Anderson (1989) also reports that on average, poor households spend a third less than they should to meet the minimum nutritional requirements.

Debt and Structural Adjustment Policies: Their Impact on Women

Debt and structural adjustment policies have compounded these internal problems. Jamaica has a huge debt per capita. Levitt (1990) for example, indicates that between 1980 when Jamaica signed its first agreement with the IMF and 1990, the country's external debt rose from US\$875 to US\$1,800 per capita. Debt service payments also rose during the same period and by 1989 it was in excess of 40 percent of export earnings: the equivalent of almost 30 percent of gross national product (UNICEF/PIOJ 1991:13). This reduced, then rose between 1991 and 1992, from 26.7 percent to 27.1 percent to accelerate the rate of repayment (Economic and Social Survey of Jamaica 1992:2.2). The standard of living of the poorest sectors and groups was most affected as the government cut back on social services. Jamaica's external medium and long term debt in 1992 declined to US\$3.678 million and this was achieved through several structural adjustment policy options, such as a reduction in borrowing, debt cancellation, debt rescheduling and higher debt service payments (ESSJ, 1992). Girvan (1988) underscores that this is typical of several Caribbean economies, experiencing acute balance of payments problems and which owe large debts to the World Bank and

IMF among others.

The structural adjustment policies, which are designed to reduce inflation, stimulate economic growth and earn foreign exchange to repay the country's external debt have generally included: currency devaluations, reduction of government spending on social services, divestment of state owned enterprises, encouragement of foreign investment, liberalisation of import controls, the removal of protection for local manufacturing industries and the removal of domestic price controls and export promotion (see also World Bank, 1993; Bolles, 1983; Harris and Boyd 1988 in Women and Structural Adjustment, 1991; Pantin, 1989; Levitt, 1990; and DAWN, 1992).

These policies have reduced the general standard of living, (particularly of the poorest and most vulnerable groups which include low-income women) and reduced expenditure on health and education, recording a decline from J\$50.00 per capita in 1980 to J\$32.00 per capita in 1987 (BWA, 1991). Despite evidence of obvious deterioration in physical infrastructure and services, the country has managed to maintain a reasonable standard of health. These cuts have however increased the workload of poor women, as these are the sectors in which women have major responsibility because of their gender roles. The Survey of Living Conditions (1991) indicates that Jamaicans experienced a 20.2 percent fall in their standard of living between 1990 and 1991 and that all categories of expenditure increased in 1991. The highest increases were food, housing, transportation and personal care which expanded their share of total expenditure. Housing costs escalated most, with rentals recording increases of 80.0 per cent and mortgage repayments increasing by 70.8 percent. Electricity and water rates also recorded increases of 30 percent each and the rate of malnutrition among children under

five years rose for the second consecutive year in 1991. This coincided with a reduction in real per capita consumption. (Survey of Living Conditions, 1991:v).

While currency devaluation boosted foreign investment, reduced production costs and increased profits for foreign investors, it made imports, including raw materials for local production, as well as essential health and education supplies, more expensive. Trade liberalisation also increased the availability of imported goods on the domestic market, which forced local producers to compete with cheaper imports. The removal of price controls on basic food items also increased the cost of living, adversely affecting the poorest groups like low-income women.

Tight wage controls to curb inflation, layoffs to cut social spending and the privatising of state sector assets, increased unemployment as layoffs often preceded divestment. While employment in the formal wage sector contracted, it expanded in the informal and secondary wage sector, making families more dependent on income like free zone employment and multiple employment. Tight wage control meant that it was only in July 1992, that the Minimum Wage Advisory Commission increased the minimum wage for household workers and other workers to J\$300 (US\$13.50) for a 40-hour work week or J\$60 (US\$2.70) for an 8-hour work day. This was still insufficient to support an average size family of four.

Women were forced to spend more time looking for cheaper food items which take longer to prepare, while not being able to afford the higher costs for cooking fuel and therefore having to revert to firewood with its adverse environmental effects. Social problems are exacerbated when one considers that over forty percent of Jamaican households are headed by women and the majority

of them are concentrated in low-wage service industries,^{(Ellis ed. 1986).} The combined effects of these policies has also increased social tensions and created an industrial relations climate that favours non-unionisation as increasingly more people join the largely non-unionised informal sector. The impact has been to make those who retain jobs in the formal sector more cautious in their requests for wage increases, for fear of losing their jobs. Together, therefore, socio-economic problems and the impact of structural adjustment policies present several issues around which women workers would organise. Their methods relate to needs associated with their productive and reproductive roles.

Socio-Economic Problems of the Dominican Republic

The socio-economic profile of the Dominican Republic (DR) is presented in a comparative way with Jamaica to establish similarities and differences in their level of development, the characteristics of their workforce and the situation of women. This should help to indicate whether women workers in countries with a similar background using the same development strategy are likely to adopt similar organisational responses. Several structural weaknesses identified in the case study of Jamaica are also applicable to the DR and the impact is similar.

The DR shares the island of Hispaniola with Haiti and has a land area of 48,442 square kilometres which is more than four times larger than Jamaica's 11,000 square kms. In 1991, the population of 7.3 million was three times larger than Jamaica's 2.45 million. According to the World Bank Country Study: Caribbean Region (1993) (CBD-1993), the population is predominantly mixed (73 percent) with smaller percentages of African and European descendants. The World Bank (1992) also classifies the Dominican Republic as a lower middle income country. Life expectancy for Dominican males and females was 65 years

and 69 years respectively while for Jamaica it is 71 and 75 years, suggesting that Jamaican women are expected to live longer than their national male counterparts and either sex in both countries. In 1990 infant mortality was officially 63 per thousand live births in the DR compared to 16 per thousand in Jamaica. A World Bank Economic Mission to the DR in November 1991 indicated that infant mortality had increased to over 100 per 1000 births with 88 out of every 1000 children who survive subsequently dying prior to their fifth birthday (World Bank, 1991). Children in the DR are therefore many times more likely to die before they reach their fifth birthday than their counterparts in Jamaica. Malnutrition affects somewhere between 29% and 43% of children in the DR under six years of age (CBD-1993:112).

Between 1989 -1990 and 1991, GNP per capita in the DR increased from US\$820 to US\$950. This was still lower than comparable figures for Jamaica (US\$1,510 to US\$1,380). The CBD-1993 however noted that in 1991, this had dropped to US\$658 for the DR and US\$1,050 for Jamaica. The CBD-1993:55 also indicates that 44.6 percent of the population is below the poverty line. Government expenditure on health between 1987-89 was 1.4 percent of GDP, which was less than the 2.9 percent spent by the Jamaican government for the same period. Only about half the families in the DR have water and sewage connections or access to latrines and septic tanks, less than half have their garbage collected regularly and few have potable water (CBD-1993:112). The Human Development Report (1992:148) indicates that between 1988-1990, 63 percent of people in the DR had access to safe water compared to 72 percent in Jamaica. This suggests that there has been a further deterioration in the last two years. The report also showed that 61 percent of people in the DR had access to sanitation compared to 91 percent in Jamaica. Literacy levels were 80 percent compared to Jamaica's 92 percent for the

same period. These literacy results are possibly due to the fact that the DR only spent 1.6 percent of GDP on education while Jamaica spent 5.8 percent (World Bank, 1991) (see also CBD-1993).

Unemployment was twice as high at 30 percent compared to 15.4 percent for Jamaica, but the situation of women was even more acute. Only 14.5 percent of women were employed which was less than half the ~~rate~~ in Jamaica. The DR's labour force of 2.8 million, was however more than twice the size of Jamaica's, which was 1.1 million (1987). The percentage of the DR's labour force involved in manufacturing was however smaller at 12.6 percent than Jamaica's 14.4 percent (Schoepfle, 1989, Table 3).

Urbanisation is also a serious problem in the DR. There are 72 municipalities and 18 municipal districts and the population density was 148.2 persons/sq km in 1991. There were 19 free trade zones scattered across the country, usually around urban centres, near to ports. Internal factors affecting development are similar to those in Jamaica: low wages, high unemployment, limited skills, technology and access to productive resources, as well as skewed income distribution. The pattern of uneven development, is also evident in the situation of the rural population and the income disparity between the poorest and wealthiest 20%. For the period 1980 -1988, the DR's rural population was much better off than Jamaica's. The proportion of the rural population below the poverty line was 43% for the DR and 80% for Jamaica. The annual rate of population growth was 2.0 percent. The dependent population under 15 years is 23.2 percent which is smaller than Jamaica's 33.8 percent. The fertility rate was 27.4 per 1000 in 1990 and the maternal mortality rates range between 95 and 170 per 10,000 births.

Debt and Structural Adjustment

Although the size of the foreign debt of both countries has been in a similar range, Jamaica's smaller population means that it is more highly indebted per capita (US\$1,728) than the DR (US\$565). In 1989, the foreign debt of the DR was US\$4,066 billion, which as a proportion of GNP was 63.3 percent and as a proportion of exports, it was 165.5 percent. Debt service payments were 13 percent of exports, which was half of what Jamaica spent (26.4 percent) in 1988. In 1991 the external public debt of the DR was US\$4.0 billion compared to Jamaica's US\$3.8 billion (CBD-1993). The debt service ratio was 21 percent of exports, which was much better than the 30.4 percent recorded for Jamaica. Technically, therefore, the DR has more resources available for national development. The key sectors of the economy by rank order are industry, services, manufacturing and agriculture. According to the World Development Report (1990), between 1980 and 1988, the annual average growth rate in industry was 2.5 percent, services was 2.5 percent, manufacturing was 1.0 percent and agriculture was 0.8 percent (World Bank, 1990).

Chapter Summary

Debt, structural underdevelopment, the impact of structural adjustment policies, the level of poverty and the need to compete in the global market are presented as some of the likely factors contributing to the economic strategy used by the governments of Jamaica and the Dominican Republic. Linked to this, high unemployment, a growing, fertile, female population and low levels of education among women in the low-wage service sector, have no doubt influenced the government's decision to expand FTZs. Government's policy appears to be informed by the view that FTZs offer the opportunity to address both unemployment and foreign exchange problems simultaneously.

CHAPTER 4

FREE TRADE ZONES IN THE CARIBBEAN

Introduction

Free Trade Zones are the context within which the two organisations have emerged. As they are promoted as part of the EOI development strategy and are likely to have influenced women's decisions to organise, this chapter examines them in detail. The ILO's International Labour Standards and a framework developed by Sklair (1993) are used to assess the development effects of the FTZs on women. The general structure, production methods, working conditions and human relations environment of FTZs are presented, followed by profiles of the FTZs in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic. The chapter concludes with an analysis of whether the FTZs and the socio-economic context in the previous chapter, contribute to a process of development which is gender-sensitive, empowering and participatory. It argues that together the FTZs and the socio-economic reality in which women live encourage them to organise around gender issues.

Free Trade Zones (FTZs)

FTZs are a convenient mechanism for administering the wide range of incentives offered to foreign investors, although the same facilities are increasingly extended to companies located outside of the zones which produce for export. These incentives represent export production subsidies and generally include exemption from customs and other duties, unrestricted repatriation of profits, good communications systems, subsidised infrastructure, cheap credit, cheap labour, duty free access to markets, unrestricted repatriation of profits, tax holidays, tax

exemptions and an anti union-climate (Women Working Worldwide 1988:5). In effect, these incentives are like a carrot on a stick to foreign investors (Figure 1A in the Appendix).

As the FTZ represents a separate customs territory from that of the host country, security is very tight and access is restricted for goods, services, equipment and personnel entering or leaving the zone. Strict work discipline and a complex system of monetary and consumer production incentives are integral to the work structure which aims at maximizing productivity.

The dominant types of investments in Caribbean FTZs are: clothing and textiles, and to a lesser extent, footwear, sportswear, toys, games, data processing and electronics. These choices are determined by trade agreements such as Canada's CARIBCAN, the US government's Caribbean Basin Initiative and the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) with the US Canada and Mexico. Foreign corporations take advantage of quotas available under these agreements and produce goods primarily for the lucrative North American market.

Data processing is one of the few industries using more advanced technology. Women enter data payrolls or airline tickets into computers for immediate dispatch to the USA, which is the main source of this type of business. The intention of many countries is to start with garments and move up market into electronics for example (Joeke 1986:1). FTZs in the Caribbean, as in other parts of the world have some common characteristics. The labour force is comprised of young women usually below the age of 25 years. Most of the work is labour intensive, segmented, repetitive and requires few industrial skills. Jobs are repetitive and monotonous with few prospects for career development. Accuracy

and speed determine earning levels. The wage structure is exploitative as high production targets are established, but workers only get bonuses if they achieve them. As such the company gets the benefit of their work without having to pay unless the quotas and targets are met. Overtime is frequently used to meet production targets and this is one avenue through which workers can increase their earnings. Employment levels are often unstable and fluctuate in relation to the market demand for goods.

Physical and social working conditions in FTZs vary. Physical conditions in some factories are good with adequate lighting, ventilation and physical arrangements which ensure the safety of workers. Much of the literature however points to poor physical infrastructure which has an adverse effect on the health of workers (see for example, Mitter, 1986; ISIS, 1986; Women Working Worldwide, 1991). This has at times contributed to the death of some workers. One of the worst and most recent cases involved a factory fire in Thailand. Over 240 workers perished at the Kader Industrial (Thailand) factory, which produced toys. Blocked exits and the practice of storing flammable material on the factory site, contributed to the disaster (South China Morning Post, May 16, 1993).

Production methods in some factories are hazardous to the health of workers. In the electronics industries for example, soldering microchips over a prolonged period leads to intense eye strain because of the close work involved. Kelly (1984: 21) notes the danger of exposure to gases and other hazardous materials. Renee Swan-Lee (1987) also provides a comprehensive overview of occupational hazards and their effects on women in Malaysia.

Health risks in the Caribbean garment industry have been cited by Green (1990); Dunn (1987) and Stone and Thomas (1991) among others. There are also health risks associated with thousands of women using common facilities. The inadequacy and conditions of canteens and bathrooms are often cited as problems in the literature (see also SEDEPAC, 1990 on women in Mexico). A common sight in many FTZs is the mass exodus of workers leaving their factories, to stand, or sit on the ground to eat lunch. This has been observed on field visits to FTZs in the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Haiti, the Dominican Republic and Jamaica. Other problems often associated with FTZ employment include unfair practices associated with production incentives, low piece rates, extended probation periods, limited scope for promotions, inadequate access to transport and limited or non-existent child care (Committee for Asian Women, 1993:5).

Development Effects of FTZs

Sklair (1989, 1993) has identified six (6) criteria for assessing the developmental effects of the FTZs. (see also Pantin, 1990). The first is their potential to earn and retain foreign exchange, which can be used for national development. Foreign investors usually pay for wages, local services, and factory rental in foreign exchange, deposited in the host country's central bank. Leakage of foreign exchange occurs frequently. (see for example Sklair, 1993:246 on Mexico).

The second criterion is the potential of foreign companies to facilitate the transfer of technology to local companies. Technology as defined by Hewitt and Wield (1992:201-221) generally includes machinery, knowledge (embodied in both hardware and software), people, the organization of production and institutionalized practices. They also note that:

technological capability, is the ability to make effective use of technology. This includes the capability to choose technology, operate processes and produce goods or services. It also includes the capability to manage change in products and processes, and in the associated procedures and organizations.

(Hewitt and Wield, 1992:203 in Hewitt et al., 1992).

Technology relocation is different from technology transfer. In reality, there is little scope for the transfer of technology, because of the type of low-skill areas of investments relegated to developing countries within the NIDL (Sklair, 1985 and 1993).

The third criterion for assessing the development effects of the FTZs is the scope for upgrading personnel, improving management and technical expertise as well as the skills of the industrial workforce. It is assumed that the transfer of advanced management techniques will occur through exposure to and interaction with foreign managers. On the shop floor, the production techniques used and the work discipline which is enforced, are expected to instill a new work ethic and work attitudes more conducive to high productivity, to meet the demands of the global market. The expectation is that these factors will contribute to the establishment of successful and viable indigenous manufacturing industries, which can ultimately be internationally competitive.

The fourth criterion relates to the ability of the FTZs to stimulate the expansion of the local manufacturing sector by the creation of backward and forward linkages between foreign companies and the domestic economy. Local industries would then become suppliers of inputs into the export products

(backward linkages) or users of products to develop new products (forward linkages). The structure of global TNC production is however unlikely to create many linkages between foreign corporations and local firms. Jenkins (1992:24) notes that intra-firm trading between TNCs is common and estimates that approximately one-third of all international trade takes place in this way (see also Sklair, 1993:246 for a useful discussion on the impact of NAFTA on jobs in Mexico and the USA).

The fifth criterion relates to conditions of work in the FTZs. In general most studies focus on wages, hours worked, job security and workplace facilities. And Sklair's sixth criterion is the environmental impact of the FTZs.

International Labour Standards

FTZs must also be assessed against international labour standards established by the International Labour Organisation (ILO). This includes several rights for workers such as : the right of association, the right to organise and bargain collectively, prohibition on the use of any form of forced compulsory labour, a minimum age for the employment of children, and acceptable conditions of work with respect to minimum wages, hours of work, and occupational health and safety. Other provisions relate to the employment of women which indicate the limits on their hours of work, shift work and involvement in certain kinds of work which may adversely affect their reproductive roles (ILO 1988:57). Schoepfle (1989) provides a useful summary of labour standards in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic (Appendix 5 and 6). Workers' limited knowledge of their rights, non-observance by some employers and weak trade unions appear to disempower women working in FTZs.

Free Zones in Jamaica: a Brief History

The development of the Free Zones in Jamaica can be divided into two distinct periods. The first phase started with the establishment of the Kingston Free Zone in 1976 as a warehousing and trans-shipment facility and the second started in 1982/1983 as part of the government's deliberate strategy to pursue export-oriented industrialisation. Existing warehouses were converted for assembly operations and the free zone site was upgraded. Expansion of the FTZs in 1982, marked the second phase of their development. This was financed by the Port Authority of Jamaica and two World Bank loans of US\$13.5 million and US\$18.8 million. (Kingston Free Zone Co. Ltd., 1989:7 and Diamond and Diamond, "Tax Free Zones of the World" Vol.3, 1989). Subsequent financing was also provided by the Caribbean Development Bank with a loan of US\$6 million in 1986 (Kingston Free Zone Company Ltd., (KFZCo) 1986:3).

Legislation and Programmes

Incentive legislation introduced as part of the "industrialisation by invitation" strategy in the 1950s also helped to establish the FTZs. This included: The Industrial Incentives Act (1956); the Export Industry Encouragement Act (1956); the Factory Construction Act (1961); The Kingston Free Zone Act (1980) and the Jamaica Export Free Zone Act (1982). In the early 1970s, Jamaica led the Caribbean in assembling garments for export (Schoepfle and Perez-Lopez, 1990:6).

In 1992, the government also introduced several programmes to make the garment industry internationally competitive. In 1988, the Antidumping Board was reactivated, to reduce the number of subsidized goods that are dumped on the local market which may cause unfair trading competition to domestic companies. In

1992, JAMPRO, the Jamaica Export Development Company also provided technical assistance to local companies, through the **Industry Modernization Program**. The **Flexible Specialization Programme** was also introduced and has been applied to the apparel sector (ESSJ, 1992:10.1). The latter programme is linked to the structural adjustment regime and was also reported by trade unions in the DR as a policy initiative which was detrimental to workers as it increases job instability. It allows companies to hire and fire workers according to the actual needs of the production process, without incurring penalties.

Incentives offered to foreign investors in Jamaica include: 100% tax holidays on profits; minimum customs procedures; duty free concessions for importing capital, raw materials, equipment and consumer goods for the export industries; and unrestricted repatriation of profits. The government provides infrastructure and utilities at competitive rates. The FTZs are an important source of foreign exchange earnings. Transfers to the Central Bank pay for rental of factory space, wages, goods and services purchased locally. Direct foreign exchange payments to local residents for goods and services supplied also generates revenue.

Expansion of the FTZs

There are five FTZs, all of which are operated by the public sector. The Jamaica Free Zone Competitiveness Study (1993) is a report prepared by The Services Group Inc., a US-based organisation, which was commissioned by the World Bank and the Port Authority of Jamaica (WB/PAJ). It currently provides the most comprehensive up-to date overview of the FTZs in Jamaica and has therefore been used as an important source of information.

Kingston Free Zone, is the largest of Jamaica's FTZs and is located on the Kingston Harbour on 115 acres, of which 37 acres have been developed. In 1992, the zone had 770,470 square feet under-roof factory space which was occupied by 16 firms employing 6,300 workers. Another 180,723 square feet of space was available but remained unrented. Seven Hong Kong firms dominated the zone and represented 80 percent of employment. Nearly all of the companies were involved in apparel manufacturing. Services offered include a medical clinic, an on-site bank, regular garbage disposal, perimeter security fencing, periodic maintenance and trouble-shooting related to customs, telecommunications and labour-management relations. Women in the St Peter Claver Women's Housing Cooperative work in this zone, which is closest to their community.

Montego Bay Free Zone established in 1985, is located two miles outside of Montego Bay. In 1992, there were 21 companies, eleven of which are involved in informatics and data processing and ten in manufacturing. Of these, seven produced garments, two were electronics firms and one produced medical equipment. Three-quarters of these investors were from the USA. In 1992, they employed 3,648 employees in the data processing industry, which has been the dominant form of investment in this FTZ. The zone houses the Jamaica Digiport International (JDI) which is a joint venture between Telecommunications of Jamaica (TOJ), AT&T (USA) and Cable and Wireless (UK). **Garmex Free Zone** (GARMEX) is the other major FTZ and is also near to the Kingston Harbour. Nine firms (eight apparel and one footwear) produce goods for export. This zone has four Korean, four Hong Kong and one US firm which employed 4,253 workers in 1992. The government has also designated the **Spanish Fort** in Spanish Town and **Hayes** in Clarendon as FTZ areas. The total number of employees recorded for the

three main FTZs in 1992 was 14,220. Data on the FTZs in Jamaica are presented in Tables 2 - 5 (see also Figure 2).

FREE TRADE ZONES IN JAMAICA

Figure 3

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Adapted from:
 Montego Bay Free Zone Jamaica
 Produced by Lorna Gordon & Assoc. (Carib.) Ltd.
 Design: Cherry Types Ltd.
 1991


 FREE TRADE ZONES

TABLE 2 IMPORTS FROM JAMAICA

YEAR	KINGSTON FREE ZONE	MONTEGO BAY FREE ZONE	GARMEX FREE ZONE	TOTAL	% CHANGE
1983	243.279	-	-	243.279	-
1984	462.588	-	-	462.588	+90.15
1985	3.084.984	-	-	3.084.984	+566.90
1986	3.034.701	-	-	3.034.701	-1.63
1987	1.592.097	159.646	-	1.751.743	-42.28
1988	1.175.972	368.012	3.263.770	4.807.754	+174.46
1989	704.707	265.210	6.926.069	7.895.986	+64.23
1990	764.397	491.096	1.435.380	2.690.873	-65.92
1991	203.149	9.691	101.427	314.269	-88.32
1992	476.621	9.462	106.042	592.125	+88.41

Source: Free Zone Competitiveness Study
World Bank/Port Authority of Jamaica
1993

TABLE 3 FREE ZONE FOREIGN EXCHANGE EARNINGS
(Amounts in US\$ thousands)

YEAR	KINGSTON FREE ZONE	MONTEGO BAY FREE ZONE*	GARMEX FREE ZONE	TOTAL	% CHANGE
1983	1,762	-	-	1,762	-
1984	2,433	-	-	2,433	+38.08
1985	7,051	122	-	7,173	+194.82
1986	10,829	577	-	11,406	+59.01
1987	30,550	1,089	-	31,639	+177.39
1988	28,713	2,606	4,455	35,774	+13.07
1989	27,738	2,766	13,005	43,559	+21.76
1990	20,144	3,255	9,555	32,954	-24.35
1991	17,344	4,711	4,187	26,242	-20.37
1992	18,102	5,020	6,313	29,435	+12.17

Montego Bay Free Zone statistics do not fully represent the zone's activity as many informatics firms do not report their export sales.

TABLE 4 NET FOREIGN EXCHANGE EARNINGS RATIOS
(All US\$ millions)

YEAR	GROSS EXPORTS	FOREIGN EXCHANGE EARNINGS	NET FOR EXCHANGE EARNINGS RATIO
1987	102.7	31.6	31%
1988	119.1	35.7	30%
1989	154.7	43.5	28%
1990	169.1	32.9	20%
1991	180.2	26.2	14%
1992	201.6	29.4	14%

Source: Free Zone Competitiveness Study
World Bank/Port Authority of Jamaica
1993

TABLE 5 FREE ZONE EMPLOYMENT

YEAR	KINGSTON FREE ZONE	MONTEGO BAY FREE ZONE	GARMEX FREE ZONE	TOTAL
1983	960	-	-	960
1984	3,134	-	-	3,134
1985	5,085	-	-	5,085
1986	7,781	330	-	8,111
1987	11,049	383	-	11,432
1988	6,653	985	2,901	10,539
1989	7,441	1,148	3,265	11,854
1990	6,152	1,997	3,419	11,568
1991	5,273	2,363	4,269	11,905
1992	6,319	3,648	4,253	14,220

Source: Free Zone Competitiveness Study
World Bank/Port Authority of Jamaica
1993

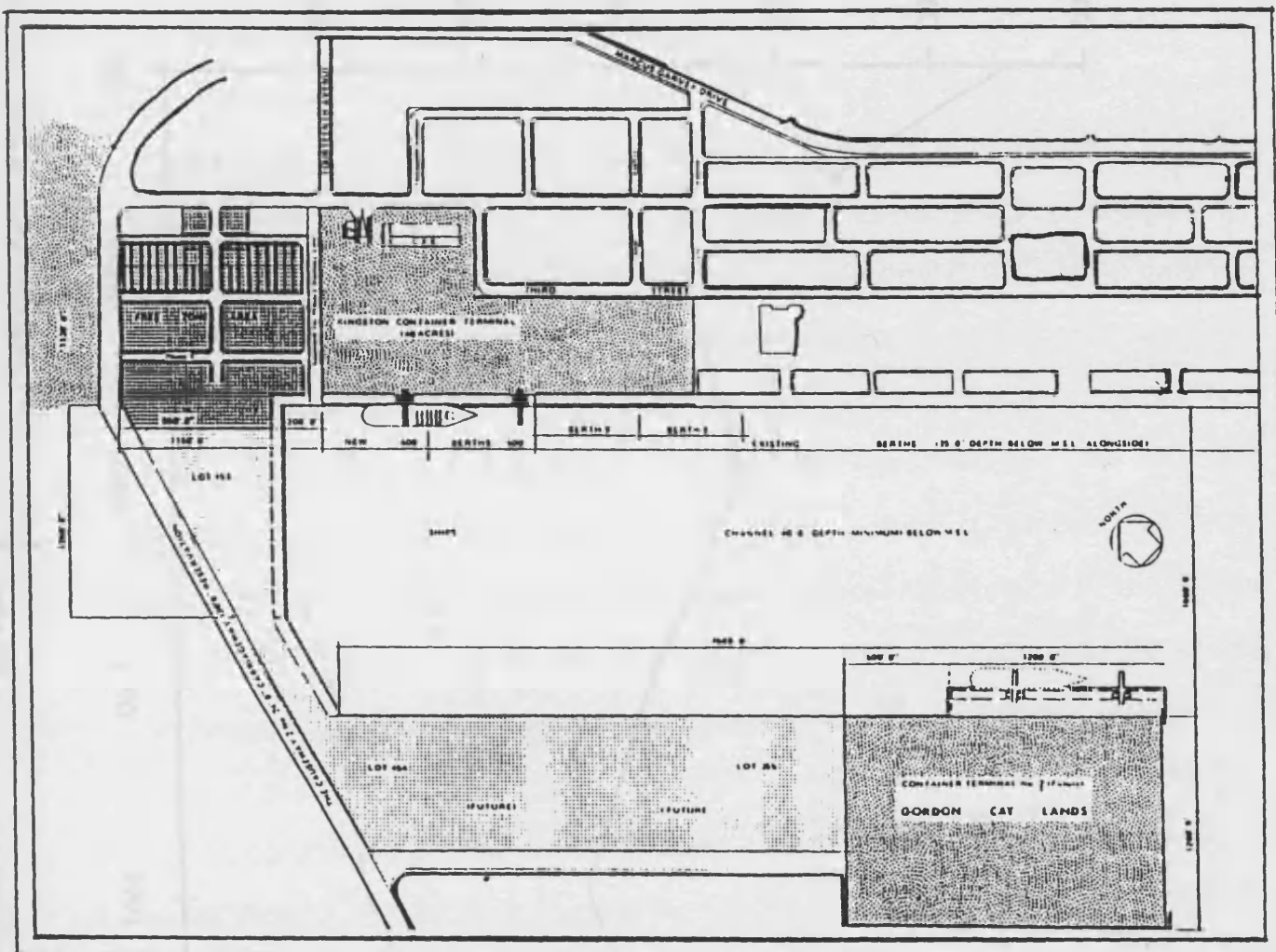
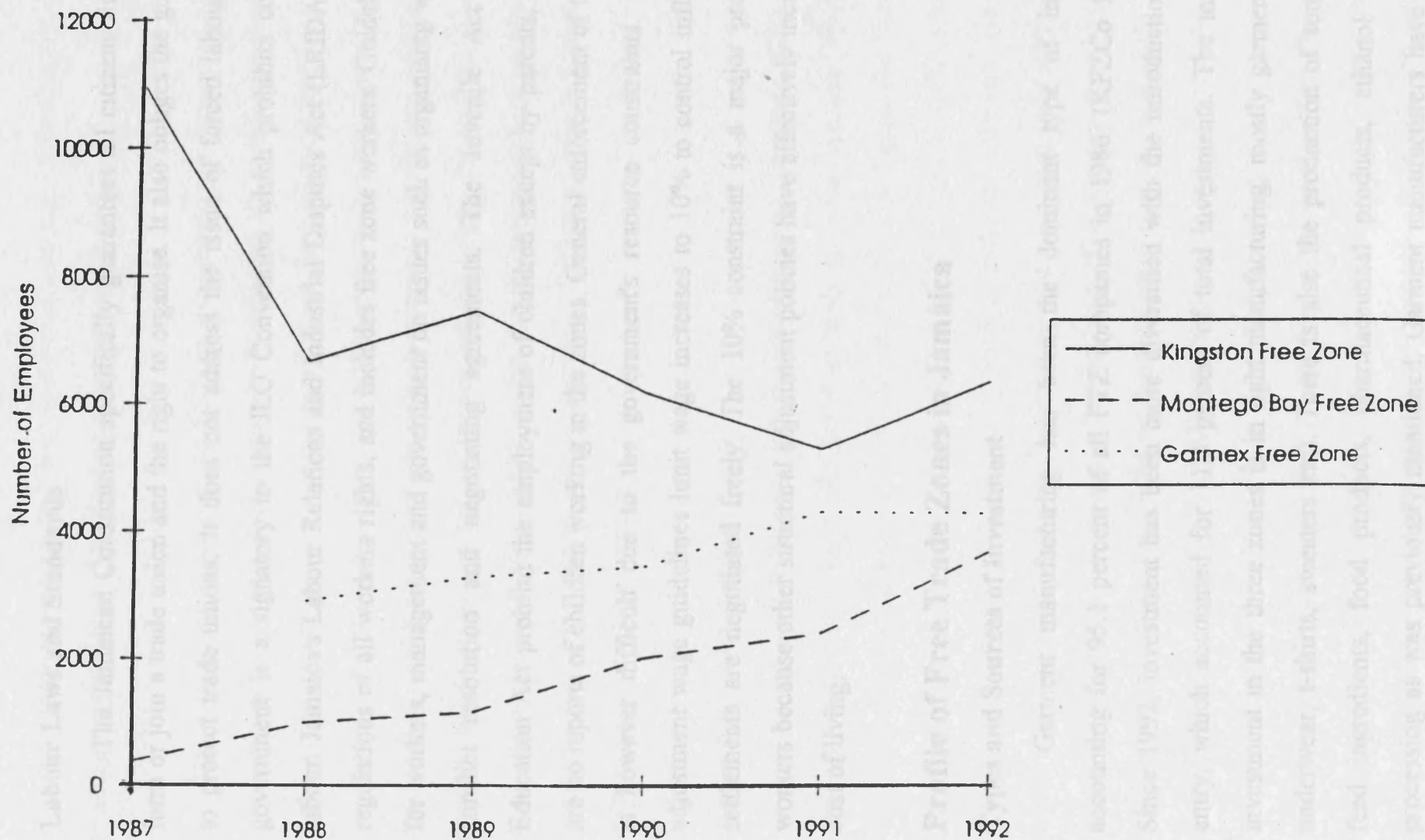


Figure 1

Layout of Kingston Free Zone

Source: 'Take advantage of Jamaica'
Kingston Export Free Zone.
1981

Figure 2 Number of Employees in Jamaican Free Zones



Source: Free Zone Competitiveness Study
World Bank/Port Authority of Jamaica
1993

Labour Laws and Standards

The Jamaican Constitution specifically guarantees all citizens the right to form or join a trade union and the right to organise. It also obliges the government to protect trade unions. It does not address the issue of forced labour, but the government is a signatory to the ILO Convention which prohibits compulsory labour. Jamaica's Labour Relations and Industrial Disputes Act (LRIDA) outlines regulations of all workers rights, and includes free zone workers. Guidelines exist for workers, management and government on issues such as organising work sites, conflict resolution and negotiating agreements. The Juvenile Act and the Education Act prohibit the employment of children except by parents, and there are no reports of children working in the zones. General enforcement of these laws is however difficult due to the government's resource constraints. Structural adjustment wage guidelines limit wage increases to 10% to control inflation, but settlements are negotiated freely. The 10% constraint is a major problem for workers because other structural adjustment policies have effectively increased the cost of living.

Profile of Free Trade Zones in Jamaica

Types and Sources of Investment

Garment manufacturing has been the dominant type of investment, accounting for 95.1 percent of all FTZ companies in 1986 (KFZCo 1989:2-3). Since 1992, investment has been more diversified with the introduction of data entry, which accounted for 11.3 percent of total investments. The majority of investment in the three zones is in light manufacturing, mostly garments (jeans, underwear, t-shirts, sweaters etc). There is also the production of some animal feed ingredients, food products, pharmaceutical products, ethanol and data processing as was previously mentioned. Garment manufacturers have access to

US markets through the Multi-Fibre Agreement and the US/Jamilateral Textile Agreement under GATT (The Daily Gleaner, June 25, 1993).

The investment pattern of the FTZs is 88 percent foreign-owned firms; 8 percent local and 4 percent joint ventures. US firms are the leaders accounting for half the volume and value of investments. These are followed by Hong Kong, Canada, India and Hungary. There are a few joint venture companies involving Norway and the USA and some twin plant investments with Puerto Rico in which part of the goods are assembled in Jamaica and the rest in Puerto Rico. These are then re-exported to the USA which is the major destination for goods. Other destinations include: Canada, West Germany, Denmark, Hong Kong, Grand Cayman and CARICOM countries.

Financial Costs and Viability

Indications are that although jobs have been created, Jamaica's FTZs are not financially viable. For example, the WB/PAJ study estimates that the Government of Jamaica has spent approximately US\$40 million in developing the three main zones to generate 14,220 jobs or an estimated US\$2,854 per job. FTZs had also created an estimated US\$222 million in foreign exchange earnings. The report however indicates that "the financial (internal) and economic rates of return are less than those projected in the appraisal document. The internal rate of return for 1982-1991 was -3.94 percent ^{for the whole period} compared to an adjusted appraisal projection of 7.91 percent (WB/PAJ, 1993:54). The FTZs were performing below projected levels.

The WB/PAJ report also indicates that services and facilities in Jamaica's FTZs do not compare favourably with private FTZs in the region, which offer day care services, worker transportation, payroll services, job bank and employee

placement services. The recommendation was that they should be divested and privatized. The perception of the firms interviewed, was that Jamaican workers are not interested in worker transportation and day care services. This was surprising as poor public transportation has an adverse effect on productivity and absenteeism, which some firms put at 10-15 percent, whereas most other FTZs in the region record five percent (WB/PAJ 1993:61).

The conclusion was that Jamaica's zones were not financially or commercially viable as presently structured and managed. Whereas they are covering their operating expenses, the zones cannot cover their financial debts. Several financial, management and administrative problems in Jamaica's three main zones, as well as the experience of other FTZs in the region, led to the recommendation that:

- a) Jamaica should privatize all existing FTZs;
- b) all future development in this sector should be done by private sector investment.

The development question arising from this recommendation, however is how would privatization affect women working in the FTZs, given the expressed wish of some companies to abolish trade unions? (WB/PAJ, 1993) and the government's introduction of flexible specialization? Jamaica's FTZs would become more modernized and equipped to operate in the global market. Indeed, more successful transnational practices (TNPs) may guarantee success in the global marketplace, but they may prove detrimental to the workers themselves, as production methods could make them more like robots than human beings. The tendency in Asia for authoritarian regimes to be associated with this strategy, also

raises concerns for the Caribbean situation.

Developmental Effects of the Free Trade Zones in Jamaica

As Table 4 shows,ⁿ Foreign exchange earnings from FTZs investments have been significant, but the level retained is low, fluctuating between 14 and 32 percentⁿ of export value. This is then shared between the cost of rental, utilities, local services and wages. Less than half is used for wages (ESSJ, 1992:10.6). The most recent figures show that while the total value of FTZ exports in 1992 was US\$201.6 million, only US\$29.4 million (14.6 percent) was retained locally. This was twice the amount earned in 1981 (US\$102.7 million), but was proportionately less. The highest rate of retention (31 percent) was in 1987, but was only US\$31.6 million. Earnings of 23 percent were recorded in 1989 when US\$26.8 million was retained of a total of US\$118.25 million (Wedderburn, 1990:43).

The actual contribution of the FTZs to the economy is a sensitive political issue, which probably explains the wide variety of figures often reported on earnings and employment. For example The Wednesday Observer, July 14, 1993:4, reports that export earnings from the Kingston FTZ increased from US\$98 million in 1987 to US\$144 million in 1992; ESSJ, 1992:10.5 reports that Kingston and Montego Bay FTZs earned US\$32.1 million in 1992; the WB/PAJ 1993:50 reports US\$23.1 million for the same period; The Daily Gleaner, January 15, 1993, reports Minister of Production, Commerce and Mining, Senator Carlyle Dunkley as saying that "Three hundred and seventy million dollars was earned last year from exports in the apparel industry". Then, The Daily Gleaner, June 25, 1993 reports that 30,000 jobs, 104 exporting plants and US\$393 million of exports were realised in the apparel sub-sector during the 1992/93 financial year, representing an increase over 1991.

However, vibrant parallel foreign exchange markets, liberalisation of imports and an expansion in the number of informal traders, also contribute to the leakage of foreign exchange from the system (McFarlane-Gregory and Thalia Ruddock-Kelly, on The Informal Commercial Importers of Jamaica June, 1993. The ICIs as they are called, and their equivalent in the Dominican Republic, are usually women who travel to consumer havens, areas such as Miami, New York, Panama, Curacao and Haiti, to purchase consumer goods for the local market. These goods are sold in "Flea Markets", popular shopping arcades and this practice contributes to a constant demand for dollars to purchase new stock. (Egbert Reid's article in M. Witter (Ed.). (1989). Higglering/Sidewalk Vending/Informal Commercial Trading in the Jamaican Economy, provides a good overview of the sector).

Technology transfer

The scope of FTZs to use advanced technology and transfer skills to local people is limited because most of the garments are produced under Tariff Schedules (TSUS) 806 and 807, now known as 9802.00.60 and 9802.00.80. (United States International Trade Commission, 1989). This means that pieces of the garments are cut in the US and assembled in Jamaica for re-export. 807 exports in 1989 were valued at US\$139.1 million, and were made with material containing 70 percent of US fibres (Schoepfle:1989). A higher level of skill was used in the production of garments produced under the Cut Make and Trim (CMT) arrangements, in which garments are designed, cut and sewn locally. This however attracts more duty on entry to the US, and is subject to quota restrictions.

Most technology transfer occurs through sub-contracting work to local companies. Paulette Rhoden, Managing Director of Crimson Dawn Limited, a

Jamaican garment manufacturing company, has noted however, that all garment manufacturers attending international trade events like The Bobbin Show in the US, are exposed to the same technology. It is available to any manufacturer who has the money to purchase it (Rhoden. Personal interview. August 15, 1990).

Employment and Skill Upgrading

Employment levels and the number of FTZ companies have increased since 1980, but have also fluctuated widely. Job losses of 4,396 jobs in the KFZ between 1987 and 1988 and another 1,289 between 1989 and 1990 were a major disaster for the women involved (WB/PAJ, 1993) (see also ESSJ, 1992:10.6 and Table 5 of this study). *Overall, more than 6,000 new jobs have been created.*

TABLE 6
PRODUCTION COST FACTORS AND BASIC ECONOMIC INFORMATION FOR SELECTED COUNTRIES

Information Category	Costa Rica	Dominican Republic	El Salvador	Guatemala	Honduras	Jamaica
Adjusted Hourly Wage for Operators (including fringes and social charges) (US\$/hour)	US\$1.18	US\$0.82	US\$0.60	US\$0.48	US\$0.64	US\$0.83
Fringe Benefit Ratio	49%	36%	28%	37%	45%	25%
Labor Productivity Ratio (1)	85%	80%	90%	80%	80%	80%
Ocean Freight Rate (US\$/40 ft. container to Miami)	US\$2,415.00	US\$1,580.00	US\$2,770.00	US\$2,105.00	US\$1,965.00	US\$2830.00
Air Freight Rate (US\$/lb. of cargo to Miami)	US\$0.84	US\$0.61	US\$0.71	US\$0.72	US\$0.60	US\$0.46
Electricity Rate (US\$/kwh)	US\$0.06	US\$0.16	US\$0.07	US\$0.09	US\$0.09	US\$0.12
Water Rate (US\$/cu.m.)	US\$0.74	US\$0.25	US\$0.37	US\$0.26	Water is included in the rent/lease price.	n/a
SFB Construction Costs (US\$/sq.ft.)	(Private) US\$17.00	(Private) US\$22.30 (Public) US\$10.20	US\$15.30	US\$15.80	US\$14.00	(Public) US\$20.00-45.00

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- (1) Labor productivity as a percentage of US labor productivity; as reported by IFZ manufacturers.
(2) A number of IFZs provide water as part of the base lease price.

Source: Free Zone Competitiveness Study
World Bank/Port Authority of Jamaica
1993

Backward and Forward Linkages

The scope of FTZs to create backward and forward linkages is limited by several factors. Among these are TNPs such as the trade agreements and the integrated nature of TNC operations, which severely restrict the potential for developing these (WB/PAJ Study, 1993). Linkages are also limited by the type of investment. As previously noted, garments and textiles dominate and an estimated 55 percent of Jamaica's investments in the garment sector are in TSUS 807, which requires limited local skills and uses cloth made and cut in the US. Jamaica's limited industrial base, reduces its capacity to produce the quantity and quality of goods required by FTZ export factories, and these areas have not been a priority for investment. Customs clearance to import goods from Jamaica has also been complicated, but was simplified in 1992. Backward linkages with the rest of the economy are recorded as inflows for local payments such as wages and utility bills. In 1992, retained earnings from the Kingston and Montego Bay Free Zones were valued at US\$14.75 million representing 46.0 percent of the total foreign exchange earnings realized by the sector (ESSJ, 1992:10.6).

There is relatively little transfer of technology. Some has taken place as workers have been exposed to high tech industries in the Montego Bay FTZ and some of these employees have found jobs in the tourism industry which is more financially rewarding (WB/PAJ, 1993:52). The East Ocean Textiles factories of the Esquel group in the KFTZ, are also reported as having "some of the most sophisticated apparel/knitwear operations in the Caribbean Basin." (WB/PAJ 1993:52).

Wages and Working Conditions

Jamaica's labour costs are comparable to others in the region (Table 6). The WB/PAJ (1993:25) indicates that adjusted hourly wages for operators including fringe benefits and social charges were US\$0.83 cents an hour in Jamaica. This is less than the Costa Rican rate of US\$1.18 and more than Guatemala's US\$0.48 cents an hour. The Jamaican and Dominican rates are almost the same (US\$0.82 cents). The fringe benefits ratio is however less in Jamaica (25 percent) compared with the DR (36 percent).

The minimum wage law provides for a 42 hour work week and overtime pay. Most employees work a basic 8 hour day, with an extra half-hour for lunch (eg. 7am - 3:30pm), and a few hours overtime if necessary. The law provides for 9 days vacation leave in the first year and two weeks after one year's service. Employers are also required to pay social security, worker's compensation and severance pay. The Factory Act also requires all factories to be registered and stipulates regulations for fire exits and occupational health and safety standards. Budgetary constraints however, restrict the level of monitoring done by the Ministry of Labour (Stone and Thomas:1991).

FTZs in Jamaica have had a history of difficult labour relations. Soares (1987) compiled newspaper clippings of labour related issues in the FTZs between 1985 and 1987. Since then there have been some improvements to areas such as lighting, security and the health clinic in the KFTZ. Orientation and training programmes have also been organised for foreign supervisors to acquaint them with the Jamaican labour force and this has helped to reduce the frequent conflicts associated with the FTZs in the earlier years (Dunn 1987; Anderson 1988). There are still problems however, as recent worker demonstrations in 1993 show. An

article entitled Keep Your Jobs Women Tell Free Zone in The Wednesday Observer (July 14, 1993:1) reported that although there were 2,500 vacancies, representing 25 percent of the jobs needed in the KFZ, there were few takers. Companies were reportedly spending thousands of dollars, advertising almost daily for sewing machine operators, ironers and packers, but were still unable to fill the vacancies. The report pointed to rapid staff turnover, complaints that the factories were "little more than work camps, with exacting hours, insensitive bosses and low rates." The "measly wages" was the major complaint however and the demonstrations were sparked by the absence of any announced increase in the J\$300 weekly minimum wage. The article also noted that most garment workers take home little more than the minimum wage.

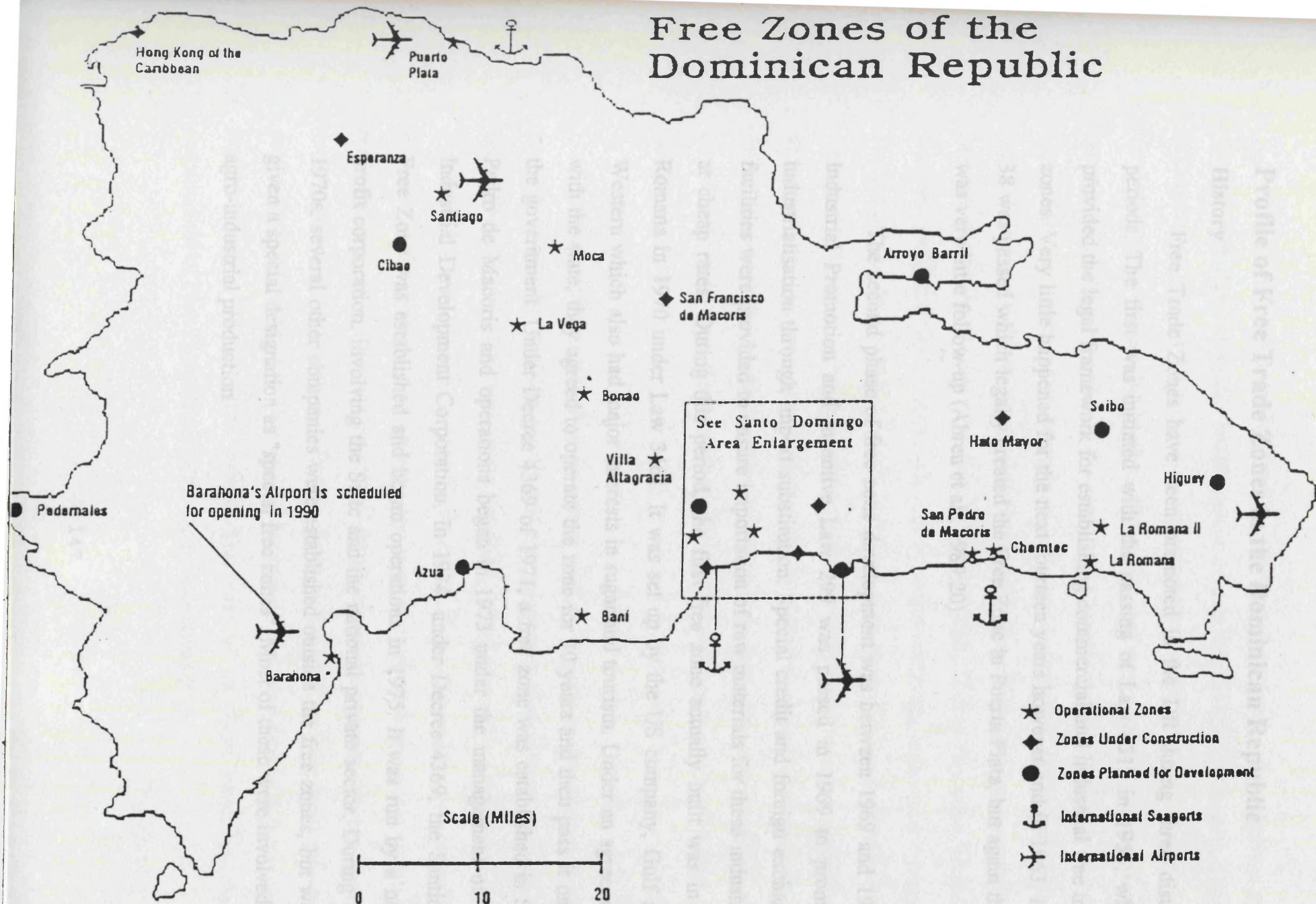
Environmental impact

Environmental problems associated with the FTZs have been reported at two levels. The first relates to the health of workers in the garment industry, who have complained of skin and dust related allergies as well as eye, muscle and back strains. The 1987 JTURDC/CUSO study in which I was involved, highlighted a number of work-related health problems affecting workers. These included: back pains, respiratory problems from overexposure to steam irons, stress from working at an intense pace for long periods, headaches, kidney and bladder infections from retaining urine for long periods, sinus problems and allergies from the dust and the materials used (Dunn, 1987) (see also Stone and Thomas, 1991). Environmental problems are also related to the provision of adequate garbage disposal, sanitation and eating facilities for a workforce of several thousand in a confined location. However, physical facilities in some factories are good. This was confirmed during a field visit to East Ocean Textiles in the Kingston FTZ. The factory was air

conditioned and well-ventilated. Ironically, human relations practices at that company, frequently led to industrial unrest (Dunn:1987).

Free Zones of the Dominican Republic

Figure 4



SOURCE: Dominican Republic Investment Promotion Council

Profile of Free Trade Zones in the Dominican Republic

History

Free Trade Zones have been promoted in the DR during three distinct periods. The first was initiated with the passing of Law 4315 in 1955, which provided the legal framework for establishing commercial and industrial free trade zones. Very little happened for the next fourteen years however and in 1963, Law 38 was passed which legally created the Free Zone in Puerto Plata, but again there was very little follow-up (Abreu et al., 1989:20).

The second phase of free zone development was between 1969 and 1983. Industrial Promotion and Incentive Law 299 was passed in 1969 to promote industrialisation through import substitution. Special credit and foreign exchange facilities were provided to ensure importation of raw materials for these industries at cheap rates. During this period, the first free zone actually built was in La Romana in 1970 under Law 3461. It was set up by the US company, Gulf and Western which also had major interests in sugar and tourism. Under an agreement with the state, they agreed to operate the zone for 30 years and then pass it on to the government. Under Decree 4369 of 1971, a free zone was established in San Pedro de Macoris and operations began in 1973 under the management of the Industrial Development Corporation. In 1974, under Decree 4369, the Santiago Free Zone was established and began operations in 1975. It was run by a non-profit corporation, involving the State and the national private sector. During the 1970s, several other companies were established outside the free zones, but were given a special designation as "special free zones". Most of these were involved in agro-industrial production.

Business developed fairly rapidly and things went well until a shortage of foreign exchange led to the establishment of a parallel market. The authorities allowed some areas of the economy to operate under the formal system and others to operate under the parallel market. This policy was used selectively to stimulate some areas of the economy. The free zone was allowed to use an exchange rate of one dollar with one peso to cover local costs such as salaries, rental and utility costs. This policy effectively subsidised the operations of the foreign companies because the exchange rate was kept artificially high. During the same period, however, neighbouring countries also hit by world recession, high interest rates, and the oil shocks of 1973 and 1979, devalued their currency, thereby giving the Dominican Republic strong competition in the area of foreign investment. During this period the government passed Law 69 in 1979 to promote export-oriented industrialisation. One of its main provisions was that non-traditional exports would be able to benefit from the parallel market, but the free zones were not included under this provision.

The government signed an agreement with the International Monetary Fund in 1982. With the decision to devalue the peso and give priority to export promotion, Decree 895 was passed in 1983, which formally established the National Council of Industrial Free Trade Zones. This state organisation brought together representatives from companies operating in each zone as well as representatives of the various industrial groups operating in them. In the same year, a non-profit company was formed, bringing the state and the local private sector together, to build a Free Zone in Puerto Plata, thus giving life to the legislation approved 20 years before. This marked the third phase in the development of Free Trade Zones in the Dominican Republic.

Types and incentives

The range of incentives offered to foreign investors include: lack of foreign exchange controls and free repatriation of profits; rapid investment licensing procedures; income tax incentives; access to foreign exchange for imports of raw materials and machinery; access to imported capital equipment and raw materials, without duties, complex procedures and delays; access to investment finance; access to locally produced inputs at world market prices without complex procedures and delays; access to non-tradeable inputs at competitive prices; high quality living conditions for export workers; and favourable labour code provisions (Yung Whee Rhee et al., 1990:27; WB/PAJ, 1993:23).

Although wage and productivity rates are almost identical for Jamaica and the DR, the factors which make a difference are ocean and air freight rates which are cheaper in the DR and electricity and telephone rates which are cheaper in Jamaica. Both countries have access to high-tech satellite communications facilities, but Jamaica is considered the leader in this sector. The higher unemployment rate in the DR, particularly among women, and the larger population, however mean that there is a larger pool of unemployed women from which to draw on for employment in the FTZs there, than in Jamaica.

Transnational corporations are not required to pay any duty on patents, municipal charges for production, or export costs except gasoline. Local companies get a 75% exemption on rentals as well as on production and export duties for the first 5 years, and 50% for the remaining years (de Moya Espinal, 1986:4-6). Companies pay their overhead costs such as rental and utilities to the government in foreign exchange. Workers are however paid in pesos, the local currency. Standard services offered by the FTZs in the DR are 24-hour perimeter

security (fences), maintenance of common areas, on-site Customs, and waste disposal. Employee referral and job bank services are also offered.

The climate for investment is also considered favourable because successive governments have maintained the same policy, and there is relative political stability. The deteriorating economic situation also favours investment because with each devaluation of the local currency, there is a reduction in production costs to the manufacturer. Additionally, lay-offs in the public and private sector, ensure that there is a constant supply of reserve labour which has few prospects for employment. Unemployment is about 24.8 percent and underemployment about 40 percent and many of these people are relatively well qualified. According to Abreu et al. (1989:115), the industries that come to the DR are labour intensive with most of them having labour as approximately 50% of production costs. In 1988, the basic salary was 2.60 pesos an hour, averaging a monthly wage of 500 pesos. This was equivalent to only US\$.41 cents an hour, which was 87 percent less than the average equivalent paid in the USA, for only a slightly lower rate of productivity (Abreu et al., 1989:115-117).

Expansion of the Free Trade Zones

There are three types of zones: some are privately owned, others are public and the remaining ones are publicly owned and privately managed. The zones vary in size from 20,000 sq ft. to 2,500,000 sq.ft. of factory space and operate between two and 80 businesses each. Expansion of the FTZs in the DR has been phenomenal and like Jamaica, has been achieved with the support of World Bank loans and private investors. Reports on the actual number of zones varies however. For example, The Caribbean Basin 1993 Databook (CBD-1993), reports that in 1992, there were 26 zones and an additional 13 were under construction or

planned for development. The report also notes that there were 373 firms, occupying more than 8.6 million square feet of factory space which is the largest in the Caribbean Basin. The WB/PAJ study however reports the DR as having 30 zones of which 12 are public, 18 are private and 12 are in the planning or construction stage. It records a total of 424 firms occupying 14.5 million square feet of a total 15.3 million sq.ft. or 95 percent occupancy (WB/PAJ, 1993:16). The General Secretary of the Independent Workers' Central (Central de Trabajadores Independientes) Antonio Florian, also estimated this figure at 340. (Florian. Personal interview, February 18, 1991). Using either of these sources, the 1992 estimates represent a significant increase on the 1989 estimates of 259 companies. (Abreu et al., 1989:72; Yung Whee Rhee et al., 1990:30).

San Pedro de Macoris Free Trade Zone

The San Pedro de Macoris FTZ, established in 1973, is one of the largest and oldest in the country, and provides employment for the women interviewed for this study. The city of San Pedro de Macoris (San Pedro) has a population of 188,563 (1989) and is situated 45 miles to the east of Santo Domingo. There are good access roads to the Las Américas International airport and the Port of Haina, 25 miles and 53 miles away respectively, making it a popular FTZ. In effect, there are two FTZs in San Pedro, covering a total of 255 acres, with over 2.4 million square feet of factory space. In 1989, the San Pedro de Macoris Free Zone was the country's largest zone. The 79 firms which had factories there, then employed 30,000 workers, the majority of whom were engaged in garment manufacturing (Dominican Republic Investment Promotion Council 1989:9-11).

Labour Laws and Labour Standards

Labour laws of the country provide the following guarantees for all workers: freedom of association, the right to organize and have collective agreements, freedom from forced labour, and acceptable conditions of work in respect of minimum wages, hours of work, health and social security. These rights are guaranteed by Section 502 (B) (7) of the law relating to business, passed in 1974 and revised in 1984. Additionally the Dominican Republic is a signatory to ILO International Labour Codes 87 and 98 which guarantee workers the right to organise. Laws governing US companies also establish similar rights for workers in their factories. But, despite these provisions from local, US and international laws, workers in FTZs in the Dominican Republic experience violations of their rights on a daily basis, as we will observe in Chapter 5. Appendix 6 provides an overview and assessment of FTZ labour standards in the DR provided by Schoepfle (1989).

Types and Sources of Investment

Most of the firms are foreign owned (72 percent); 16 percent are local and 8 percent joint ventures (WB/PAJ, 1993:18). Eighty nine percent of the free zone companies are multinationals and of this number, over half are from the US (52%); 19% are from the newly industrialised countries (Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong); 17% are wholly owned by Dominicans; 6% are joint ventures and another 6% are from other nationalities (Germans, Canadians, Panamanians and Puerto Ricans) (Yung Whee Rhee et al., 1990:14).

Developmental Effects of the Free Trade Zones in the Dominican Republic

Total FTZs exports were equally dramatic at US\$1.1 billion in 1992, five and a half times the value of Jamaica's FTZs exports which was US\$201 million.

This was the highest figure recorded for any Caribbean country (Table 8). Kennett notes the growth of the FTZ between 1979 and 1989 and the growth in export earnings between 1980 and 1989 (Kennett, 1990). He also shows that whereas the number of plants and the level of employment has risen steadily over the period, foreign exchange sold to the Central Bank, rose sporadically,. The level of foreign exchange earned per worker averaged US\$2,000 up to 1980, rose to a US\$3,000 range between 1980 and 1983 then has declined to the US\$1,000 range since 1984.

TABLE 7

GROWTH OF FREE ZONES

Year	Number of Firms	Employment	Under Roof Space
1979	24	11,500	925,000
1980	25	16,404	1,264,000
1981	30	19,456	1,370,000
1982	93	19,626	1,480,000
1983	107	22,272	1,680,000
1984	125	27,126	2,100,000
1985	146	35,720	2,750,000
1986	166	51,231	3,408,000
1987	178	69,538	4,970,000
1988	236	85,468	6,910,756
1989	290	112,000	8,140,115

Source: Investment Promotion Council

In: Case Study: The Impact of the free zone operation on the
Environment and urbanization in the Dominican Republic
by Milagros Kennett.

TABLE 8

EXPORT EARNINGS
US (millions)

Year	Free zone export earnings	Dom. Rep. net foreign exchange earnings from free zones	Dom. Rep. export earnings
1980	117.1	44.5	960.4
1981	135.8	57.6	1,189.6
1982	147.9	61.1	786.7
1983	175.0	61.9	787.7
1984	193.7	52.1	872.4
1985	204.7	44.6	745.0
1986	250.0	88.5	723.0
1987	323.7	98.1	717.7
1988	516.8	129.9	901.6
1989	692.0	180.0	1,018.6

Source: Dominican Export Promotion Center and Central Bank

In: Case Study: The impact of the free zone operation on the
Environment and urbanization in the Dominican Republic
by Milagros Kennett.

Technology Transfer

The level of technology transfer is influenced by the type and range of goods produced. These include: clothing and textiles (66%); footwear (12%); electronics (6%); food and cigarettes (3%); jewellery (2%); furniture (1%); pharmaceutical (2%) and others (8%) (Abreu et al., 1989:72; Santos, 1990, 148-151). With the exception of electronics, most of these industries are labour intensive, use low levels of skill and basic rather than advanced technology. As such, relatively few opportunities exist for foreign companies to transfer advanced skills to the local workforce for the same reasons cited in the case of Jamaica. Technology transfer is constrained by a sexual division of labour which is very much a part of the dominant patriarchal culture of the DR_H ^{as there is occupational stereotyping along gender lines.} This limits the scope for women to upgrade their skills by transferring to another industry. At present the workforce is predominantly female and concentrated in the garment sector. Reports on actual percentages vary. Santos (1990:161) for example, reports 79.1 percent females and 20.9 percent males, while Dietz (1990:10) reports 70 percent females and 30 percent males. Some industries (eg. leather and jewellery making), employ primarily males (de Moya Espinal, 1986:25).

Employment Creation

Employment figures in the FTZs show major fluctuations during the period under review, confirming that there is major instability in this sector. For example, in 1991, 120,000 workers were employed in the FTZs, 75-80 percent of them women (CTI:1991) and in 1992, employment was 142,000 workers (CBD-1993), but there were massive dismissals during the same period. (El Higuamo, April 10, 1991; El Siglo, September 2, 1992).

Backward and Forward Linkages

Backward linkages with the rest of the economy are quite weak. Dietz (1990:8) for example, indicates that in 1987 and 1988, slightly more than 30 percent and 26.7 percent of total FTZ exports respectively, were for local expenditures and only about 10 percent of all intermediate inputs were bought from the Dominican economy. The reasons were similar to those cited for Jamaica. Most of the foreign investment industries have a high import content and many of the investors are transnational corporations or their subsidiaries, who purchase their inputs from different sources. Among the reasons they give for not purchasing from local sources is the poor quality and limited quantity of the inputs needed. Agro-processing, an industry with the potential for many local linkages, is not a high priority for FTZ investors. This was confirmed by Mr Angel Castillo, Head of the San Pedro de Macoris Free Zone Council, in an interview with this researcher in 1991.

Wages and Working Conditions

Wages are low and fringe benefits are very basic. These issues are discussed more extensively in Chapter 6 which presents data from interviews with women workers. Briefly however, we note that in 1988, the basic salary was 2.60 pesos an hour, averaging a monthly wage of 500 pesos. As previously noted, this was then equivalent to only US\$.41 cents an hour, which was 87 percent less than the average equivalent paid in the USA, for only a slightly lower rate of productivity (Abreu et al., 1989:115-117). In 1992, the adjusted hourly rate for FTZ machine operators, inclusive of fringe benefits and social charges had increased to US\$0.82 cents in 1992 (WB/PAJ 1993:25). This is however, kept in check by high levels of unemployment (29 percent) and the repression of trade union activity. In respect of working conditions, we note that these have been

extremely problematic and are the main reason why women have demonstrated and organised. Newspaper clippings point to very difficult relations between workers and trade unions on one hand and FTZ authorities, foreign companies and the government on the other (see for example, El Siglo, September 2, 1992; El Nacional, August 1990; El Higuamo, April 10, 1991 and Economicas, September 14, 1990).

Environmental Factors

The environmental effects of the FTZs conflict with the concept of development outlined in earlier chapters as it impacts negatively on the health of women workers in the zones as well as on the wider environment. Lax environmental laws, for example, are a form of incentive to those foreign investors, who would otherwise have had to invest in environmental protection equipment for their factories, if they were operating in the USA or in territories where environmental laws are strictly enforced. In the DR, those laws which do exist are not monitored very effectively. Kennett (1990:5) for example, observes that although the government recognises that sustainable development can only be achieved by avoiding environmental degradation, environmental institutions responsible for monitoring industries are fragmented, independent and separated from those managing the economy. He notes the absence of environmental regulations associated with the establishment of new FTZs. Laws which limit environmental degradation and the institutions which monitor them are not coordinated and have no control over what happens in the FTZs. Physical planning of each zone such as water, sewage, roads and garbage disposal is the responsibility of each industrial park.

Industrial environmental problems also relate to resources and political will. Again Kennett observes a number of weaknesses. These include: the absence of a national environmental policy; unclear definition of the boundaries of institutions regulating or managing natural resources; limited law enforcement; under-funding of monitoring institutions, thereby limiting their level of effectiveness; and insufficient environmental awareness among politicians and government officials with the result that relevant issues are not sufficiently integrated into national policy.

In examining the free zone impact on urbanization, Kennett further observes that increasingly, vast tracts of agricultural lands are being used for free zone development. Squatter settlements tend to accompany their expansion as people migrate to areas to be in close proximity to their work. Housing conditions however tend to remain unchanged, as there is usually no piped water, sewers, paved roads garbage collection, fire protection or electricity. Pollution of industry poses another problem. Reporting on the situation in Santiago, Kennett states that in that city's FTZ, water containing detergents and chemicals from washing and dyeing garments, was being discharged into rivers, which were the main sources of potable water for the city. Garbage and food waste from 35,000 workers eating twice daily at the zones created a solid waste problem which the municipality and the industrial park were unable to handle effectively. The result was decaying waste, left in the areas surrounding the zone.

Rapid expansion of the FTZs also created environmental problems. For example, designated green areas were used for additional factory space. Factory shells were constructed and developers erected their own partitions. Buildings designed for 400 people were sometimes adapted to house 800. This overcrowding

created fire and safety hazards. But alternatively, Santos (1992), reports that physical facilities in most of the 80 factories in the San Pedro de Macoris FTZ were good (Santos 1992:118). Our own field visit to a factory in the same FTZ in 1992, however revealed that ventilation was poor and the heat was only partially relieved by fans.

Transportation is also an environmental problem. Kennett also notes that very large concentrations of toxic gases accumulate during arrival and departure periods at the FTZ. The concentration of vehicles at a single point in the city creates high amounts of Co₂, sulphur and nitrogen oxide from vehicle exhausts. (Kennett, 1990:10) (see also CIPAF, 1990:24). Although these problems are not unique to the FTZs, it must be recognised that they contribute significantly to the scale of the problem and present serious health and security risks for women and their families.

Chapter Summary

This overview of the FTZs in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic suggests a number of reasons why women workers in both countries have demonstrated against wages and working conditions, and have also organised themselves. While the FTZs have provided jobs for women, they derive relatively few benefits, despite the high volume of foreign exchange generated. Job instability and the emphasis on the types of investments which provide few opportunities for skill training and technology transfer but which reinforce the sexual division of labour, have in many view provided issues around which women have organised. These investments also restrict the development of backward and forward linkages which could utilise greater levels of skill or provide alternative sources of employment for women. Wages which are too low to meet basic family

needs, also motivate women to take action. Poor working conditions also present several health and environmental risks for women workers. The absence of day care centres, as well as poor transportation services, water, sanitary and canteen facilities, also create serious problems for women. These factors combined with limited social services in both countries, contribute to an on-going development crisis which women feel acutely because of their social roles.

Both countries have lowered wage rates through currency devaluations and enforced strict wage guidelines to provide cheaper wages to investors. The DR, because of its larger labour force, incentive package, and level of commitment to the FTZ strategy, is the leader in this sector within the Caribbean region. Jamaica's advantages are in its Digiport operations and lower telephone and electricity rates. However, indications are that without significant re-organisation, Jamaican women are unlikely to be able to depend on these jobs in the foreseeable future.

Results from both countries show that on all six criteria, the development potential of the FTZs is weak. Relatively little foreign exchange is retained or goes to women producing the goods which generate this money. Overall, this assessment of the FTZs stands in sharp contrast to the concept of development outlined in earlier chapters: one which is sensitive to gender issues, facilitates empowerment of women and encourages participation.

An examination of the working conditions associated with production for the global market has provided some insight into the first question. Generally, and specifically in relation to FTZs in the two countries, there is evidence of poor physical and social working conditions. These point to various issues in the working environment around which women would be motivated to organise. In the

case of the Dominican Republic, the problem of sexual harassment and the non-remittance of social security deductions to the government, are two important issues which emerged in the study and were common violations. The absence of day-care centres, poor transportation services, non-payment of overtime rates, the poor quality of drinking water, as well as poor sanitary and canteen facilities, also create serious problems. Additionally, inadequate social services in both countries result in increased pressure on women workers, motivating them to organise.

In Jamaica's case, low wages, job insecurity and abuses by supervisors are among the factors which have motivated workers to demonstrate. What is interesting however, is that women have not flocked to the traditional trade unions to defend their interests and we examine why in the next chapter. These two case studies provide an important basis for a preliminary assessment of the potential of FTZs to contribute to development as discussed by Sklair. Working conditions are the clearest indication that they are unlikely to contribute to the qualitative, alternative development paradigm which is people-sensitive and participatory. Some attempts have been made to form worker-management committees in some factories. The main objective however appears to be ensuring compliance with the wishes of the management and avoiding unionisation.

The development potential of the FTZs is weak, with poor working conditions, low wages and job instability being possibly the least acceptable aspects of FTZ employment. Undeniably, the FTZs are an important source of foreign exchange, but their benefits are primarily limited to services and wages which account for only a small percentage of the actual export earnings. Could it be that the price of this modest incremental growth is the reality that poor developing countries must live with? And if so how can women working in these

factories derive greater benefits to meet their productive and reproductive responsibilities? These issues are examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

WOMEN IN THE CARIBBEAN: ROLES AND ORGANISATIONS

Introduction

This chapter examines the situation of women in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic to understand how gender sensitivity, the need for empowerment and for participation could have influenced their decision to organise a housing cooperative and a trade union.

It begins with an historical overview to identify women's productive and reproductive roles within the family, as well as their interests, status and traditions of organising. It links previous and subsequent chapters by providing a framework for analysing the crisis in development and the dimensions which need to be considered in proposing solutions at the level of people and women in particular.

In reviewing the crisis in development, we noted that at a conceptual level, the traditional, narrow economic paradigm has been discredited. While integrating women economically, it had not addressed the structures which contribute to their subordination and low status and some development strategies have increased this. An alternative concept which is gender-sensitive, participatory and empowering has emerged, but relatively little is known about how the process of change takes place at the micro level, and the study tries to fill this gap. The thesis argues that the latest strategy, export-oriented industrialisation and the social and economic problems associated with development, have created conditions which have motivated women to organise around gender issues, using gender-sensitive methods. Understanding women's roles, will hopefully clarify why they

have organised around a housing cooperative, created their own kind of trade union and also how the development process operates at a micro level.

Caribbean women make up more than half of the region's total population of 26.4 million. Despite a tradition of being dominant in the family, strong, independent and able to cope with any major crisis which may arise, women in the Caribbean still face major obstacles to their full empowerment. Race, class and socio-economic variables are among some of the factors which create distinct obstacles for women. Like most women in all developing countries, Caribbean women struggle for their own daily survival, that of their children and their family network.

Women in the Caribbean have always been integrated into the labour force. During slavery, after emancipation and in the period since independence, they have been an essential part of the cash and non - cash economies of their respective countries. Their role is central to the family and the community, managing and organising to meet collective needs. Patterns of women's integration and involvement in the paid labour force reflect the historical and colonial legacy of the region.

A review of women's productive and reproductive roles within the Caribbean family from a historical perspective, combined with the presentation of findings on free zone workers and their methods of organising which are presented in subsequent chapters, helps to determine whether gender interests have influenced the choices of the two groups being studied. This first section therefore provides the background and historical development of women's productive and

reproductive roles and explains the various family forms commonly found in the region.

Historical Development of Women's Roles

Orlando Patterson observes that analysis of the role of female slaves in Jamaica can be divided into three periods. During the earliest period from 1655 to the beginning of the 18th century, estates were small and depended on natural reproduction to replenish the slave population. This changed in the early 18th Century, when the slave revolution incorporated Jamaica into the emerging world capitalist system and led to the use of extreme cost-benefit analysis in the organisation of production. Estates expanded to meet the demand for sugar. With the increased demand for labour, child bearing was actively discouraged as women's labour was needed for field work. By the last quarter of the 18th century and the early 19th century, there was the realization that the supply of African slaves would be halted and there was the eventual abolition of the slave trade in 1807. British colonial and plantation policy was therefore to encourage natural increase on the plantations creating the third discernable period (Patterson:1967 ; see also Lucille Mathurin Mair, 1986; Goveia, 1965).

Rhoda Reddock (1986:28) notes that women consistently resisted bringing children into slavery even during periods when incentives were offered. Their resistance is reflected by periods of low fertility across the region. She also traces the effect of slavery on the development of women's occupations, family patterns and the increasing sexual division of labour after emancipation. The adoption of Western European forms of household after slavery, meant that women worked at home more to combine work, household responsibilities and raising children. Many worked with other women on small plots of land and sold their produce.

Increasingly, women began to be paid less than men. Reddock further notes that with the advent of the "development decades" there were more opportunities for men on the plantations as well as in industry. This resulted in 40 percent fewer Jamaica women being involved in social production in the eighties than the immediate post-emancipation period. They were concentrated in hidden sectors of the economy as unpaid food producers and processors, petty traders and housewives (Reddock 1986:29). The major shift in women's employment over time has been the change from agricultural work to other forms of labour. Lucille Mathurin (1990) observes that between the nineteenth and twentieth century, there was a mass exodus from estate work. Only half the women remained in agriculture. Most of the black women migrated to cities to work in kitchens and households as over-worked and under-paid live-in domestic workers. The numerically fewer mixed race women were more likely to work in commerce (Mathurin, 1990:5). Very high unemployment led to mass migration to Panama, Costa Rica, Honduras, Colombia, Puerto Rico, Mexico, Cuba, and the United States between 1881 and 1921 (Munroe and Robotham, 1977:65). Most of these were men, leaving women with the sole responsibility for caring for their families.

Unlike English colonies where the slave population was equally balanced between men and women, in the Dominican Republic, women were roughly a third of the slave population between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. (Batista 1990:73). They were used as a counter-insurgency strategy by the Spanish authorities to control the scale of slave rebellions during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. Women slaves were introduced to marry male slaves as a method of control. (Celsa Albert-Batista, 1990:20). Women were also integral to the labour force, to its reproduction, and like men, were integrated into one of three areas:

- a) as field slaves but also working in factories;
- b) as wage slaves, hired out by their owners to do specific tasks; and
- c) as domestic slaves working in the estate houses, farms and palaces.

Within each category, there was a sexual division of labour. As field slaves women worked primarily in planting, weeding, maintenance and harvesting. They cared for domestic animals with support from children and older people. As wage slaves, they were hired by owners to sell food, cloth, firewood, flowers and clothing and had to give detailed accounts to their owners (Batista, 1990:30-33). Slaves were also used as public servants to construct roads and public buildings. As house slaves, women did general domestic work such as cooking, cleaning, washing and making things. They also worked as wet nurses and nannies for their master's children transmitting to them African culture.

Free women slaves were itinerant vendors, sold produce for large estates for a wage, were salaried domestic workers, small farmers with their own land and did days work on estates. Female slaves like Nanny of the Maroons in Jamaica, were also freedom fighters, and escaped from estates to fight the colonial authorities. After slavery was abolished in 1844, race increasingly influenced social life and work. Black women for example did work considered "inferior", because it was similar to what slaves had done. Lighter skinned, more educated women had wider options. Craft work was done primarily by rural women. In the main women's roles have continued to be stereotyped and Dominican women had fewer opportunities than their Jamaican counterparts, to become independent.

Caribbean creole society, is therefore a product of this historical process which integrated African slaves, Indian and later Chinese indentured servants into

the labour force. The later addition of Lebanese, Syrian and other national groupings was voluntary. The resulting creole culture is typified by divisions of race, colour, class, religion as well as social and economic status. Ellis (1986:1) notes that "these factors are responsible for the significant differences in [Caribbean women's] perceptions of themselves, their role and their contributions to the development of their countries". She hypothesises that this may be why many Caribbean women perceive themselves and their status more in terms of education and work opportunities and the effects of adverse social and economic conditions than in terms of inequality. Ellis also explains that the experience of slavery and the resulting low status of African-Caribbean men did not allow women to depend on their partners for family support (Ellis, 1986:3).

Patterson, Goveia, Mathurin Mair, French and Ford-Smith, Reddock and Batista, all clarify the origins of women's productive roles in the Caribbean. They note that although female slaves initially worked as field labourers and house slaves, doing similar kinds of work to male slaves, the sexual division of labour which developed, resulted in their virtual exclusion from skilled trades outside the home. After emancipation the majority of women became small scale agricultural producers, selling the surplus to become small traders or higglers. Others worked as house servants, dressmakers, nurses and in other service skills. Had they been given the opportunity to learn a wider range of skilled trades like their male counterparts, they could have earned considerably more, and made a significantly greater contribution to their families and the wider society.

Women's Productive Roles

This overview of the integration of Caribbean women into the workforce during slavery, helps to explain why African-Caribbean women today dominate the base of the social pyramid and are found in lower socio-economic groups. It also explains their major responsibility for providing for the care and economic support of their children. This history of women's work, has meant that employment is a logical extension of survival. It has given Caribbean women a long tradition of independence, access to money, broadened their social relationships beyond the home and considerable power within their family and community.

In this situation women became responsible for the economic and reproductive support of their children. Their tradition of working has persisted throughout various development strategies. In the period since independence, the industrialisation by invitation strategy helped to establish several international companies in the region. Women in both countries were used as a vital source of cheap unskilled and semi-skilled labour to augment the number of industries established. The resulting expansion of the local small business sector also provided additional jobs for women. With these developments, women's traditional niche in the informal sector, as petty traders, was expanded thereby giving them other opportunities for supporting their families.

The historical overview suggests that a similar process was taking place in both the English and Spanish speaking countries of the region. In the Dominican Republic, women's work during the nineteenth century up to the middle of the twentieth century was limited to domestic service although this was a period of industrial expansion under Trujillo (CIPAF, 1984). Recording of women's

productive activities was first introduced in the 1950 census and even then, there was a sexual division of labour. Half the economically active women were involved in the service sector, one fifth were owners of small businesses and one-sixth worked in the manufacturing sector (Ricourt, 1986). The same trend continued in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, although the number of women among the economically active population grew from 5.6% in the 1950s to 14.1% in 1980.

Ricourt (1986:36) concludes that although women in the Dominican Republic were becoming integrated into the labour force, they were subordinated to capital in the process. The limited job opportunities available were confined to traditional, non-productive sectors, that did little to boost national development. Women's growth in the manufacturing sector coincided with the expansion of industries in the late 1960s when President Balaguer pursued an industrialisation strategy which required cheap female labour. This is quite similar to the experience outlined by Ford-Smith, Reddock and others, which suggests that across the Caribbean, the majority of women have had similar productive and reproductive experiences and have been used by capitalism to serve its own ends.

Women's Reproductive Roles

In addition to Caribbean women's primary productive role, the structure of Caribbean family life also implies a major reproductive responsibility for them. This is further compounded by the high levels of fertility reported. Ellis (1986:7) for example indicates that seventy five percent of women in the English-speaking Caribbean have children, because child bearing is strongly associated with female identity.

Caribbean family life, as previously noted, has also been influenced by historical factors. Whereas the European concept of the nuclear family includes father, mother and children with the ideology of patriarchy and male dominance, the Caribbean family is characterised by a woman-centred, matrifocal structure and the traditional African extended family, in which women play a major role. Senior (1992) describes women in the English-speaking Caribbean as "'miracle workers', labouring long hours, both inside and outside the house creating 'something from nothing' (leading to) the general belief... that (they) are 'strong', 'powerful', 'matriarchic' etc." (Senior, 1992:187)

Female-headed households account for approximately one-third of the families in both the English and Spanish Speaking Caribbean, where the concept of family often include non-blood relations, close friends and neighbours. Powell (1984), notes that:

Women's familial roles encompass conjugal, maternal, parental and domestic dimensions. For women in the Caribbean, conjugal patterns have been described in terms of a three-fold classification which identifies married women, those in common-law unions and those in visiting unions (Powell 1984:102).

High levels of fertility are associated with what Brody (1984:6) refers to as a "culture of motherhood". Early pioneering work explaining this phenomena has been done by Clarke (1957), who observed that:

Not only is sexual activity regarded as natural; it is unnatural not to have a child and no woman who has not proved that she can bear

one is likely to find a man to be responsible for her since 'no man is going to propose marriage to such a woman'. Maternity is a normal and desirable state and the childless woman is an object of pity, contempt or derision (Clarke 1957:95).

R.T Smith, commenting during an earlier period on rural women in what was then British Guiana, observed that :

being a mother is a source of status and power for women in the household, to the extent that they may even extend their period of effective motherhood by taking over their daughters' children or adopting other children when their own period of childbearing is over (R.T. Smith, 1956:148).

Powell (1984), examining the role of women in the Caribbean nearly three decades after Clarke, noted that women still hold strong traditional views of motherhood. This position is also supported by Roberts and Sinclair (1978) who maintain that the "structural features of the family in the Caribbean have remained virtually unchanged for more than one hundred and fifty years". Powell also reports that women will get pregnant in the hope of developing and consolidating a relationship with a male and having a child, even at an early age, to prove their womanhood and fertility and avoid the negative labels attached to childless women (Powell, 1984:104). Durant-Gonzalez (1982) in summarising the multifaceted roles of Caribbean women, indicates that they are:

in charge of producing, providing, controlling, or managing those resources essential to meeting daily needs.... The realm of female

responsibility ranges from being singly in charge of economic resources and managing a household and its members, to sharing these responsibilities with a mate and/or relatives, to providing the full range of material and non-material needs of daily life.

(Durant-Gonzalez, 1982:3).

This central role of women in the Caribbean family structure means that for the most part they bear the brunt of productive and reproductive roles. Jackson (1982) observes that while some women have managed their multiple roles, others have found the experience stressful, especially when child-rearing and work responsibilities clash, a point also made by Senior (1992:187). Leo-Rhynie (1993) looks at continuity and change in the Jamaican family. She argues that social changes, social disorganization and deviant behaviour among other factors put the family at risk. This places additional burdens on women.

Women's responsibility for the health and education of their families and their dominance in these professions as nurses and teachers, also means that much of what Moser (1989) refers to as the community managing role falls to women. As such, the effects of structural adjustment policies on health and education, are felt most by women, because they have major responsibility in caring for the very young and old. Women have to fill the gaps left by cuts in social spending in these areas, which are vital to the health and well-being of the community.

The pressure to fulfil their productive and reproductive roles has made Caribbean women develop various survival strategies. Some support has traditionally come from the extended family network, but some of these strategies have also included several formal and informal community networks which allow

women to expand the resources needed to fulfil their various roles. Dependence on men and remittances from relatives and friends overseas are also common strategies. Others have included joining organisations to survive their multiple roles, but this has been done selectively. To determine why women have formed a housing cooperative and their own trade union, the second half of this chapter examines the kinds of groups that are priorities for women's scarce time.

During the 1970s, when the foreign exchange shortage was acute in many Caribbean countries, women expanded their wide-ranging skills to become traders as they had since slavery days. We recall the discussion of the Informal Commercial Importers (ICIs) in Chapter 3 which emerged as a response to the economic crisis and high unemployment among women. Travelling overseas to purchase foreign goods for trading represents a major change for women, who have traditionally been employed in the low-wage agricultural and service sectors. The phenomenon of ICIs is not uncommon and has also been observed in Haiti, the Dominican Republic and Jamaica, as well as in Zimbabwe. The skills learnt through travel and international trade have no doubt helped to improve the women's self-esteem and independence.

These various segments of the service sector are largely non-unionised. In parts of the English Speaking Caribbean, women are also highly represented in the public service which employs between 22-28 percent of them (Ellis 1986:6). Though unionised, their unions do not focus on women's issues, except in organisations where the membership and leadership is almost exclusively female, such as in the nurses associations.

Women and Education

Historically, education has also been important in supporting the development of women and has been an important variable in examining women's productive and reproductive roles. In the Caribbean, it has been an important route for social mobility and self development. Ellis (1986:94) notes that with the expansion of education in the 20th century, female participation at all levels of the education system increased throughout the English-speaking Caribbean. McKenzie (1986:104) however concludes that colonial education served to socialise women to accept the existing order. The traditional education has not prepared them to find lucrative employment in non-traditional areas. Leo-Rhynie (1989:95) also notes that the Common Entrance Examination in Jamaica, through which students gain access to high schools, discriminates against girls. Fewer girls are allowed to pass because of a need to provide opportunities for boys and because spaces are limited. Then, although there are more women than men registered at the University of the West Indies, they tend to be clustered in arts and education which are considered women's subject areas. On average there are more Caribbean women enrolled in education at various levels than men. (Anderson and Gordon, 1989; Leo-Rhynie, 1989:93). Their level of income compared to men has ^{however} been disproportionately lower.

Gordon (1989:67), notes that "despite the fact that Jamaican women acquire comparable levels of education to that of men and have high levels of work experience, they continue to be incorporated into the work force in a differentially unfavourable position." He adds that men consistently earn more than women in all major occupational groups. He concludes that although employment opportunities for Jamaican women have expanded in the post-war period and there has been some social mobility at different levels of the society, the position of

women relative to that of men has not greatly altered. He also noted that although women made up half the workforce in 1984, a third of those who could, did not participate in the workforce, compared to only one fifth of men (Gordon, 1989:78). He also noted that unemployment among women was higher at 39 percent, compared to only 16 percent of men.

In the last twenty years many more women in Jamaica have entered medicine, law, engineering, accounting, management, science and other high paying professions. The ESSJ (1992:18.13), indicates that females accounted for 62.3 percent of undergraduate enrolments, 63.3 percent of graduate students and they far outnumbered males in part-time education. Among lower occupational groups however, women's status has not changed significantly although there has been a move for more women to work in professions previously dominated by men. These include motor mechanics, construction, carpentry and plumbing. (Jamaica Bureau of Women's Affairs, 1992). However, most working class women are farmers, traders, domestic helpers, store attendants, cashiers and beauty salon assistants.

The sexual division of labour persists. In the free zones in Jamaica for example, most women are employed as machine operators in garment factories, whereas more highly skilled jobs such as machine mechanics, cutters and spreaders, tend to be held by men. In general the data show that despite their best efforts to get an education or acquire marketable skills Jamaican women are still at a disadvantage. This in my view, is an important factor motivating them to organise.

The situation reported by Anderson and Gordon is also common to women in Latin America. Elssy Bonilla (1990:208) for example used documents prepared for the IDB by Mayra Buvinic (1990) and Molly Pollack (1990), to look at the situation of "Working Women in Latin America" (and the Caribbean). Bonilla gives a more global perspective of the region's female labour force which the IDB estimates at 40 million in 1990. Using health, education, birthrate, employment and social equality as the basis for comparison, it ranks the situation of women in Jamaica as "good". Female participation in the labour force was 45.7% in 1990. The Population Crisis Committee also ranks Jamaica as third after the US and Canada in the Americas, on the Status of Women and Gender Gap, which measures life expectancy differentials between men and women. The situation in the Dominican Republic on the other hand, was classified as "poor", ranking 18 out of twenty five countries in the region. There, women's participation in the labour force was only 15% in 1990 (Bonilla, 1990:211)

The analysis offered by the report is that paid occupations of the majority of women are at a "low level of productivity" and therefore provide limited income. The reasons offered are women's lack of access to important factors such as capital, technology training and land, as well as their double burden of paid and household work, and inadequate training. The report however notes that there have been advances in women's status during the post-war period as a spin-off of the "modernization " process. This has included women gaining greater participation in the workforce, greater knowledge and access to birth control and thus having fewer children. Women are also more likely to be urban-based and have a longer life expectancy than their mothers.

Whereas we may not agree with all aspects of Bonilla's analysis, there is evidence that some women have gained. Those women working in the Caribbean free zones have benefitted from foreign investment and industrialisation by having jobs. The reality is however, that they are unlikely to have access to education or skills training to get better jobs. In fact, these women seem locked in a vicious cycle and their time for organising to change the situation or improving their education and skills is limited by their multiple roles. Social and economic institutions are also not changing at a pace that will afford women access to the capital and credit they require to raise their "level of productivity". As Gordon (1989) notes, when women do acquire the necessary education, they are still often barred from positions of leadership and decision-making power.

Women in Manufacturing

Earlier in this study, it was observed that women workers in the manufacturing industry tend to be grouped in assembly line industries that offer low wages, require limited skills and have few promotion possibilities. Like their counterparts in the Newly Industrialised Countries (NICs) of Southeast Asia, Caribbean women working in industries which are part of the New International Division of Labour, tend to be employed in jobs which are boring, repetitive and which reinforce their traditional roles within the household.

Whereas Ellis (1986) notes that women make up approximately 40% of the Caribbean labour force, there are great disparities between the different countries as seen in their participation in the Dominican and Jamaican labour force. The trend during the 1970s and 1980s was for an expansion in the formal sector including tourism, manufacturing, clothing, textiles and electronics industries. Although employment opportunities for women workers expanded, they were

concentrated in service industries. Ellis (1986:6) also indicates that women represent 53% of all service workers in the region as a whole and 66% in the smaller islands.

Whereas the manufacturing sector has expanded to provide more women with jobs during the 1990s, employment levels have been unstable. This is related to the pattern of foreign investment primarily in the garment sector. As we have seen, levels of employment in these factories have fluctuated radically. Employment in the Kingston FTZ fell from 11,000 in 1987, to 6,000 in 1992. Reports indicate that in the Dominican Republic, in 1991, 25,000 free zone workers were laid off, which is significant in relation to the total workforce of approximately 142,000 (Santos:1992). This type of job instability in FTZs could conceivably be one of the factors motivating women to organise. It would appear that organising can be a survival strategy, which helps women to cope with these roles and the challenges they face. They are however selective in their choice and may not gravitate towards traditional groups such as trade unions.

Women in Organisations

To analyze the methodology of organising used by women in FTZs in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic, this section of the study examines the organisations which women appear to join most frequently. This analysis will assist in clarifying the significance of the two organisations which have emerged as the focus of this study. Our discussion here builds on the earlier analysis of the situation of women in both countries and their respective roles as well as the challenges they face as members of societies which are underdeveloped and highly indebted. We argue that it is important to distinguish between organisations with and those without a gender perspective. Our examination therefore tries to identify

what roles women play in these organisations, what interests have motivated them to join and what gender interests are served if any. Collectively and at a national level, have these organisations assisted in the empowerment of women as a social grouping? To determine and understand women's lives in organisations, we begin with an overview of women's organizations in the region and explore five broad areas of women's activities.

Women in the Church

Within the Caribbean, the church is an important organisation for women, although they are not always represented at the leadership level. It provides emotional, spiritual and psychological support, to help many women cope with their various roles and responsibilities. Factors influencing women's choice in joining the church emerged from an interview with a household worker in Kingston, "Ms Enid". These findings challenge the oft-used argument that women do not join organisations because they are too busy. Some kinds of churches are more supported than others. The more popular churches are the Pentecostal, African-revival church, which women like Ms Enid attend six nights each week for an average of two and a half hours daily during the week and for six hours on Sunday ("Miss Enid". Personal interview. January 11, 1993). The time commitment is considerable against the background of women who often work in excess of eight hours daily and spend an additional three or four hours commuting. "Miss Enid" has a very full week as she, like many of her church colleagues, supplements her income selling clothes and shoes in the market on Saturdays.

"I feel to go to church because it helps to make my faith stronger and I have a lot of friends there. Its funny, but I don't feel tired when I go" she says. As head of household in a single parent family, she said that the church also helps her to

cope with personal problems. Her time is spread across several organisations in the church: the women's fellowship, the mother's union, the choir and a prayer group. Together they provide the emotional, spiritual and economic support and friendship she needs.

While the church is possibly the most popular organisation for many women like "Ms Enid", it rarely functions as a medium for organising women to articulate their demands and advance their interests and status. French and Ford-Smith (1986:154) in their examination of women in the early history of Jamaica, noted that "religion played an important part in promoting images of womanhood and in offering a focus for possible organisation". They further observed that the elements of African religion which survived and were further developed in the Jamaican context during and after slavery, offered women a basis for struggle. And they added that "Euro-Christian male-dominated Christianity which promoted the ideal of woman as a non-earning housewife, further eroded women's autonomy". Women's survival and resistance therefore took the form of integrating elements of their earlier religion with the Christian teaching, and they "created for themselves the possibility for the expression of personal strength, though not for exercising political resistance." The use of African religion to organise was understood by the British who tried to suppress it.

French and Ford-Smith also note the role of Nanny, leader, healer and priestess of the Maroons, run-away slaves who established their own independent nation within Jamaica. These researchers confirmed the important leadership roles women also played in the resistance to slavery, as healers and as heads of households. The latter position was only challenged by the arrival of Christian missionaries who advocated male-headed households and a dependent wife who

did not earn an income (French and Ford-Smith, 1986:160). Despite these rather negative views of the Western church, the emergence of the women's cooperative and to a lesser extent the women's trade union have both been facilitated by the church, which is discussed later. The evidence therefore suggests that the church often plays an important role in the lives of a number of working class women, providing them with friendship and spiritual support, but is rarely a point for mobilising them for political action. Non-governmental organisations, the new social actors discussed in an earlier chapter, have been more active in this area.

Women in Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

The First and Second UN Decades for Women, contributed to the formation of many national and regional institutions supporting women's issues. The Women and Development Unit (WAND), attached to the University of the West Indies in Barbados for example, serves as a research, training and advocacy network, supporting the work of both governments and NGOs in the region. The Caribbean Community ^{Secretariat} (CARICOM) also established a Women's Desk to advance the status of women in the various member territories. In fact, the United Nations Forward Looking Strategies which emerged from the Decade, encouraged many governments to establish national women's bureaux with similar aims. While some have been effective in promoting women's issues, many have been constrained by lack of resources and political will.

Several regional NGOs are headed by women. These include: the Caribbean Women's Organisation for Research and Action (CAFRA), the Caribbean Policy Development Centre (CPDC) based in Barbados, the Caribbean Network for Integrated Rural Development (CNIRD) in Trinidad and Tobago, and the Caribbean People's Development Agency (CARIPEDA).

At a national level, several women's NGOs have emerged. Among these are the Association of Women's Organisations of Jamaica (AWOJA), the Women's Resource and Outreach Centre (WROC), the Jamaica Women's Political Caucus, the Women's Centre Foundation (for adolescent mothers), the Women's Rape Crisis Centre, Sistren Theatre Collective (Jamaica), Red Thread (Guyana), CIPAF, Ce Mujer, Promus, and Identidad de la Mujer Negra in the Dominican Republic, to name a few. Their most common areas of work are training, research to identify needs, the provision of support services, organising women and supporting their programmes, projects and organisations to improve their income and enhance their development. Others are involved in advocacy and provide a forum for analysing and challenging structures that oppress women.

Several other groups are engaged in welfare-type work, supporting our earlier discussion that there are a range of organisations working with women. Each of these mentioned assumes a certain perspective and analysis of development. In general however, the efforts of the NGO agencies mentioned above, seek to identify and pursue alternative development strategies and help women fulfil their productive and reproductive roles.

The absence of a gender perspective in national programmes and development planning has however resulted in women having experienced either limited or negative effects from government policies. Many of the more gender-aware organisations mentioned above have sought to find alternatives to the top-down development strategies adopted by most governments, as well as multilateral and bilateral agencies. As these initiatives come to the attention of national and international development planners, greater attention is being paid to NGO programmes. The current trend is for funding agencies to include the NGOs as a

specific target group for supporting development programmes. Several women's organisations have benefitted, in areas which help women to meet their productive needs (eg. income generating projects, training), as well as reproductive needs related to health, nutrition and child care. A common weakness however, is the absence of methodologies which promote women's strategic interests. This underscores the importance of this study, as many women's groups are insufficiently aware of how the process of empowerment takes place at the group and individual levels.

There is no doubt that the work of these organisations is important and has made a difference to the people and communities involved. A major weakness however, is their inability to attract mass membership, regular participation, develop a common agenda across their wide range of interests, and collectively lobby for structural changes in critical areas. Both the women's housing cooperative and the trade union face similar problems, which this study should help to address. By building coalitions between women in different sectors and on common issues, they should give them opportunities for "muddling through" to achieve tangible benefits.

Women in Political Parties

Like the church, women have been active in political parties but are under-represented at the leadership level. In many countries of the English Speaking Caribbean, the early struggles of the trade union movement gave rise to political parties. Women have been involved in political action since slavery. (French and Ford-Smith, 1986:152; Batista, 1990:41).

Women were also very active in the Garvey Movement which emerged in 1914. Marcus Garvey, a Jamaican journalist and printer, founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) which functioned like a political party and later became an international movement. By 1921 Garveyism had spread to Africa, the United States and many countries of the region. The movement grew and became quite popular during the turbulent period of the 1930's. Garvey's message for black working people was anti-imperialist and anti-racist, while promoting black economic power and black pride. Women were active as Black Cross Nurses, a uniformed group which he formed, as well as in his economic ventures. Although the movement failed economically, it has had an enormous influence all over the world. (For a useful overview of Garvey's work and philosophy, see Rupert Lewis, 1971 and Munroe and Robotham, 1977:103, Struggles of the Jamaican People).

Women's participation in active party politics and the electoral process varies widely between the two countries. Whereas women in Jamaica's two main political parties comprise more than half of the membership and have been active at the rank and file level, they are disproportionately under-represented at the leadership level. They have been slowly gaining access to positions of senior political party leadership, as they have in the public and private sector. Hon. Portia Simpson, a Member of Parliament in the present administration of the People's National Party, has achieved the highest position thus far. As Minister of Labour and Social Security, she was also the first woman to run for leadership of a political party in Jamaica. The two main political parties as well as smaller parties all have women's sections or organisations.

In the Dominican Republic, women have not fared as well in political parties as their Jamaican counterparts. CIPAF (1991:37) indicated that women have remained for centuries without a voice or vote, largely invisible and marginalised in the political process. Almost two centuries after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and despite the Constitution of the Dominican Republic which establishes equal rights for all citizens to elect and be elected to political leadership, women there have remained on the fringes of the political process. Additionally, although the country ratified international conventions guaranteeing women equal rights under the law, little has changed since 1982. Fifty years after Universal Adult Suffrage in 1944, Dominican women who make up half the country's population still did not enjoy equality with men in practice. Despite their numbers, relatively few of them are registered to vote (CIPAF, 1991:38). CIPAF also noted that women's political sympathies are related to their domestic and reproductive responsibilities and as such these factors influence their social perceptions (CIPAF, 1991:44-51). Data from a 1990 Gallup poll cited in the text, indicated that women, particularly those in low-income groups, were more likely than men and to see inflation, the cost of living and electrical blackouts as the major problems any new government should tackle as priorities. Despite this, research showed that women tended to abstain from politics both at the state level and within political parties. Women are also generally resistant to change. CIPAF suggested that this was understandable given the tendency for the organisations and institutions of politics to be concentrated in economics, technology and science while treating private life and the family as secondary issues.

The level of political apathy of women was demonstrated by a fourth Gallup poll in 1990 in which 41.9 percent of women stated that they had no interest in politics, compared to 33.5 percent of men (CIPAF, 1991:64). Also quite

interesting was the revelation to Gallup interviewers that 40 percent of men and 59 percent of women had not participated in any type of activity (party political, trade union or community based) in the year prior to the elections. Also revealing was the fact that whereas 47.9 percent of men stated that they felt they belonged to their preferred political organisation, only 39.9 percent of women felt the same way. CIPAF also reported that their own study in 1988, indicated that only 10 percent of women interviewed were politically active, which is not surprising as women participation in elections is decreasing. Their level of apathy was such that in CIPAF's 1988 study, 30 percent of women interviewed felt that their vote did not matter. They were also firmly convinced that elections did not bring solutions. This kind of apathy is also seen in the low level of participation in trade unions.

Women and Trade Unions

Gonzalves (1977:89) defined a trade union as "a continuous association made up of primarily wage earners who use collective labour power mainly to improve their wages and working conditions." Barbara Drake (1984:198) in reflecting on women and trade unions in England, outlines various obstacles to their organising. Although the data relates to another period, and another culture, it is ironic that several of these factors are still relevant to the Caribbean experience today. Obstacles include: the character of women's occupations and the difficulty of organising semi-skilled and unskilled labour. Women's low wages were also cited as a drawback as this put them at a disadvantage in labour organisations. The delay of trade unions to recognise women, antagonism on the part of employers who often perceived women as docile and less of a power to negotiate with than men, were also factors. Then, women's need to take leave to have children, was seen as disrupting their term of industrial life. Finally, tradition in determining how women should behave and act was considered a difficulty. Drake concluded

that many of the problems women face in organising related to them belonging to a class of semi-qualified and badly paid workers (Drake, 1984:202).

Ellis (1986:14) also notes that although there are significant numbers of women in trade unions in the English-speaking Caribbean, they are rarely involved at the level of negotiations, bargaining or arbitration. She further observes that women's reluctance to become involved at the leadership level is related to the role ascribed to them in the domestic and reproductive sphere. In the political sphere she observes their conspicuous absence in the following areas: the region's houses of representatives, (9.7%); as senators (11.7%) and cabinet ministers (4.5%). These figures stand in stark contrast to data indicating that over 50% of the region's population are women. She also agrees that women's low-level of representation at the leadership level of political parties limits their ability to put gender issues on the agenda of these organisations. We argue that together, these factors are disincentives to women's participation in decision-making at the highest levels.

The patriarchal nature of most trade unions gives low priority to issues affecting women workers. Their predominantly male leadership structures and programmes, ensure that women have limited access to decision-making positions. Whereas women's limited time is often cited as the reason for their low participation, the discussion on women in the church shows that this may not be totally true. Bolles however found that male union officers had this perception and they stated that women's low participation was related to the fact that they were "preoccupied with children and making dinner for the family, so they never attended meetings." (Bolles 1981:9).

Whereas several of these factors are still relevant, ^{I would} ~~A~~ argue that women's participation is also affected by the attitudes of male members and the barring of women from leadership positions. The union's tendency to separate personal and domestic issues from public, work-related issues, also influences the focus of the union's activities. High unemployment also contributes to the problem, especially when there is competition for scarce jobs. In another sense, the sexual division of labour results in some occupations being classified as male or female, which should alter the perception that women are competing for male jobs. Lack of class and gender consciousness within both traditional trade unions and their membership do, we also argue, adversely affect women's ability to participate fully in traditional trade unions. The following section outlines the experiences of women workers with unions in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic.

Women and Trade Unions in Jamaica

Trade unions were formed in Jamaica from as early as 1919 with the passing of the Trade Union law, which gave workers the right to organise without being subject to criminal penalties. Gonzalves however describes four phases in their development leading up to the modern trade union in its present form. Within the English-Speaking Caribbean, the movement gained impetus during the decolonisation struggle in the 1930s, which was previously discussed and which played a pivotal role in the formation of political parties. Membership of these mass organisations has usually been drawn from various industries and sectors, although there are some unions which represent workers in a single sector.

Bolles (1981:1) notes that despite women's high level of participation in the Jamaican labour force, they have a low level of trade union membership. This must however be seen against the background that only a relatively small portion

of the working population is unionised. She reports that in 1976 there were 43 registered trade unions in Jamaica and nine employer associations. Together they included general unions, as well as professional and craft organizations (Bolles 1981:14). In 1993, there were five major trade unions and a number of smaller specialised labour groups of nurses, teachers and other professionals.

Marva Phillips, of the Trades Union Congress, one of the five unions mentioned above, is one of the few women trade unionists in a top leadership position and is currently Staff Tutor at the Trade Union Education Institute (TUEI) at the University of the West Indies. She indicated that 48% of women workers are unionised in Jamaica which is a similar proportion to the number of men. However, less than 1% of them are in leadership positions. (Phillips. Personal interview. November 22, 1992).

Phillips also noted that things are changing slowly at the regional level. To support this view she observed that a recent meeting of the Caribbean Congress of Labour had for the first time elected women in the positions of First and Second Vice President. There were also more women delegates than in previous years. Throughout the region, there were more women in leadership positions in some countries, as was the case in Barbados, where the Deputy leader of the Barbados Labour College is a woman. Phillips attributed the low level of participation of women workers in trade unions to their multiple gender roles, limitations imposed by unions. As employees of unions, women found the low wages insufficient for their family needs, leading to a high turn-over of staff. She also hinted that the ethos of male-dominated trade unions did not encourage women to stay. This is quite similar to Drake's observations cited earlier.

To increase women's level of leadership in unions within the English Speaking Caribbean, the TUEI conducted a training programme during the 1980s to identify the reasons for women's limited participation and access to leadership. Phillips was the Project Coordinator and she indicated that the main objective of the training project was to identify what was keeping women away from leadership positions. Findings suggested that they did not understand the currency of power and how it was being used against them. The aim therefore was to train women to use power more effectively and to understand how men used power to maintain their positions of leadership.

Socialization was also identified as an important variable in explaining women's low level of participation at the leadership level in trade unions. Women therefore had to be trained to recognise how this happened, as well as re-examine and re-negotiate their roles in relation to men. As a result of these findings in the first phase of the training course, men were included in the second phase, to sensitize them to the perceptions they had of themselves and of women, as a basis for renegotiating roles. Overall the training had some impact on those involved in the programme at the local level, but there was no direct follow-up in terms of specific programmes.

The programmes of traditional unions in Jamaica are centred on wages, but low priority is given to issues affecting women workers. Traditional trade unions often use a confrontational style of struggle, with the strike weapon being used liberally. This was problematic for free zone workers in both Jamaica and the DR who expressed reservations about this approach. This is illustrated in the following experience.

During one of the biggest FTZ demonstrations in the 1986-1987 period, the Bustamante Industrial Workers Union (BITU), tried to get demonstrators to their offices and register them quickly. This is one of Jamaica's largest unions and is affiliated to the Jamaica Labour Party, which then formed the government. Some women workers firmly rejected this overture and became suspicious of the union's intentions. Whereas they wanted their demands met by the authorities, they refused to join that union. Their caution is understandable in the context of Jamaica's traditional two party democracy. Each political party has its own union and there is a high level of party political polarisation in the country, which is sometimes "resolved" violently.

Women and Trade Unions in the Dominican Republic

Even trade union leaders in the Dominican Republic, admit that unions are fragmented, weak and are characterised by partisan, political division and competition. Corruption is also common and there is generally a lack of clear ideological lines separating them. Women's participation is low both at the membership and leadership levels. Programmes are generally focused on gaining increased wages and improving working conditions for employees in different sectors, with no regard for the particular problems faced by women. Trade union membership is a strategy for survival and even union leaders admit that workers join unions more for potential benefits than any commitment to ideology or class struggle. (Florian and Blanche. Joint interview. February 8, 1992)

The extent of division between trade unions in the DR was illustrated by Fenazucar's General Secretary, Antonio Florian. He estimated that in the sugar industry for example, there are 115 - 120 trade unions grouped under three trade union confederations. These are: the Confederación de Trabajadores

Independientes (CTI) representing an independent sector, the Confederación Autónoma Social Cristiana (CASC) representing a Christian Democratic tendency and is the government's union and thirdly, the Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores Dominicanas (CNTD) which is more pro-US. Victor Alvarez, a CTI union official, also observed that in essence, there are no major ideological differences between these unions. Florian also pointed out that union membership is an economic survival strategy within occupational groupings. He explained the concept of "buscarsela" (hussling), which describes a survival tactic used by workers, who always seek what is in their own self interest as a priority and try to survive (almost) by any means possible. He also noted the absence of class consciousness which reflects the reality of workers and that many of them are affiliated to several trade unions to increase their access to benefits. He further observed that the dream of many workers, including trade union members, is to one day become the "patrón" (owner) and be in charge of their own factory, business or farm. This was later confirmed in interviews with several women workers.

In researching the situation of women and trade unions in the DR, several interviews were conducted with FTZ workers, male and female trade union leaders and members of women's organisations. The objective was to find out how women perceive trade unions, why so few women join them and to explore the role of gender in this context. These investigations confirmed several of the issues identified by Drake and Ellis among others.

Women's perceptions of trade unions can best be illustrated by the views expressed by workers participating in a group interview in Barrio Linda, a low-income community in which many San Pedro FTZ workers live. At one of the

house meetings of the San Pedro union, women workers indicated that they were dissatisfied with traditional trade unions because they did not address their needs. Some had been members of a trade union previously, but had left to join the San Pedro Union which was led by women. Their perception of the traditional union was that it was controlled by men, who not only occupied most of the leadership positions but also dominated discussions. Some women said they felt intimidated by the atmosphere. This domination combined with the fact that there were fewer of them, meant that only a few brave women would speak up. The size of meetings also intimidated some women and made them afraid to speak in large meetings. This was understandable as a few of the women were reluctant to speak even in our small house gathering.

Job security also affected union participation and the women said they had to be careful of spies in the community who reported on people associated with unions. They stated that they could not afford to lose their jobs, as the cost of living was high. One of the few women who came with her husband, said that even with the two of them working, their wages were so low that they had a hard time managing on what they earned. Another more vocal and militant woman who was a widow, stated that since her husband died, she had been the sole breadwinner for her three children. Although she was afraid of losing her job, she felt it was better to participate in the San Pedro union, than be totally unprotected. Lack of child care to attend meetings was also cited as a problem by some women.

Looking around the small overcrowded room into which we were all crammed, women had babies on their laps, while older children played outside. The women stated that the venue of meetings also affects their ability to participate. Whereas our meeting was held in a home, in a tenement yard, in a

community, where their children could come and play, meetings of the traditional unions were held in a central office, outside the immediate community. Few of the women attended those larger meetings because it was necessary to use public transportation to get there and this had implications for the use of their time, financial resources and child care. It was therefore understandable that these factors would adversely affect their levels of participation. Later when we examine women's methods of organising, the venue of meetings also emerges as an important factor affecting participation.

These issues were also discussed in separate interviews with the leadership of the San Pedro Union and Fenazucar, the larger trade union which had been assisting them. Jiminez, Segura and other executive members of the San Pedro Union, also confirmed that it was difficult to get women to participate in meetings and observed that there was considerable dissatisfaction with the style and programmes of traditional unions (Group interview. February 19, 1991). Antonio Florian, General Secretary of Fenazucar and Milagros Rosa, executive member in charge of education, also confirmed the low level of women's participation in their union. Similarly, Magaly Pineda, Coordinator of CIPAF, also noted that women's level of participation in trade unions was low. ^{I would} argue that the background and structure of traditional unions described above, provides some justification for this. Their programmes are also examined to determine whether gender is a factor affecting women's interest in trade unions.

Apart from the perception that traditional unions are male-dominated and all that this implies, the study argues that social and economic reality as well as women's historical roles which were previously discussed, also influence how they relate to trade unions. We also observed that women's political attitudes and their

interest in political parties are also affected by the extent to which these parties take an interest in matters related to the domestic sphere. In analysing women's perceptions of mass organisations like trade unions, we now argue that their level of interest is also related to their perception of the importance which such organisations place on their own needs. To illustrate the point, data from interviews with women workers in the two countries are examined to identify factors which alienate and discourage them from joining traditional unions. This also helps to determine whether gender interests influence the methods and style of organising.

Jiminez, Segura, and "China" three women trade union leaders interviewed in February 1991, observed that from their experience, women do have a style and approach to trade unionism which is distinctly different ^{from} that of men. Segura in particular stated that it was important to apply this when organising within the free zone. She also noted that women bring sensitivity and warmth to their work, although trade union discipline and hard work transcend gender differences. These women are new role models of trade union leaders. Young, bright, economically poor but aspiring to improve their education. They are committed to working for improvements in wages and working conditions of their former colleagues in the FTZ.

Like their counterparts in Asian women worker organisations, they were fired because of union involvement (see Asian Women Workers Newsletters, Committee for Asian Women (CAW). In a cultural context where dress fashion is important for social and peer group acceptance, these three female union leaders blend in effortlessly with their age cohorts. Their modern, attractive dress style, reflects the social norms and makes them acceptable to other women workers. In

so doing, their statement to these workers is that one can be attractive, well-dressed and still be active in and committed to trade union work.

They observed that creating awareness among the women, has to be done from a women's perspective, patiently, naturally and in a non-judgemental way which will build women's confidence. It was also important they noted, to recognise "where women are coming from" and empathise with them. They will only be convinced and more committed when they understand the issues and feel confident in their ability to contribute. Segura, as a single mother, also noted that there is need to balance basic economic survival and family responsibilities with trade union work. Women, she said, will relate to the struggle for better wages and working conditions, only if they can link it directly to their daily struggle for family survival. Data collected from community and other meetings of the women's union, helped to highlight these and other problems, as well as the fears and aspirations of their members. Some of these relate to their multiple roles as workers, mothers, partners and trade unionists, but also their expectations of a new kind of trade union. Women workers indicated that their union would not only seek to improve their wages and working conditions but also help in their personal development, well-being and security. Practical needs were cited, such as improved transportation services between home communities and the free zone. This was particularly important late at night for women working overtime and for those who have to travel long distances.

The elimination of sexual harassment and the sexual division of labour in the workplace, which traditional unions did not see as important were also cited as priorities. The women also expected their union to support them on the issue of domestic violence, which they felt was linked to the change in their role from

secondary to primary breadwinners. They also expected their union to understand the pressures of their dual productive and reproductive roles and the unequal sexual division of labour in the household. These and other factors contributed to tensions with their male partners which were often resolved violently.

Their view was that traditional unions view these matters as private domestic affairs that are unrelated to the work of the union but they disagreed. Similarly, women expressed the view that unions should lend support to their struggle for child care facilities and child maintenance. Again, their perception was that traditional unions did not consider these as important as the struggle for wages and working conditions (Union leaders. Group interview. February 22, 1991).

Views expressed by some of the women attending Fenazucar's Sixth Congress in February 1991, indicated that they felt that the union should value their ideas and skills in areas other than administrative work and organising food and flowers for union events. Jiminez said that many women felt intimidated by the confrontational style used by traditional, male-dominated unions, but this was not effective in dealing with free zone managers. According to many of the women interviewed, frequent use of the strike weapon was also not appropriate, as the unions were unable to provide alternative sources of employment (Elida Segura. Personal interview. February 16, 1991). Instead, they suggested, negotiation was more effective in the struggle for improved wages and working conditions in the zones. For them, it reduced the risk of dismissal and jobs were essential to meet family commitments (Group interview. February 16, 1991).

Women also expressed the view that "machismo" (male domination) as well as the male culture and structure of traditional unions were both intimidating and

made them reluctant to speak up in meetings. The structures reinforced traditional cultural practices with an inherent sexual division of labour, such as delegating the responsibility of food preparation to women and having men deal with the "more important issues". This view was most graphically demonstrated in a Sunday meeting of representatives from various unions and community organisations to plan the 500 Years Celebration in the DR in 1991. Having observed that the majority of participants were male and that most of the women there missed the majority of the meeting because they were organising the lunches, one was interested when the question of women's participation in the meeting and other upcoming events was raised from the floor. The response from the leadership was that women had been invited but were obviously not interested because the majority had not come. The discussion then revolved around the fact that meetings were held on Sundays which was not a very convenient time for women because of domestic responsibilities. (Field notes: 500 Years Committee planning meeting held at the headquarters of the Movimiento Campesino Independiente {Independent Peasant Movement} in Santo Domingo, February 17, 1991). Sex-role stereotyping is deeply engrained in the Dominican culture.

Women were also dissatisfied with the token representation at the leadership level afforded them by the traditional trade union, although some of the women in Fenazucar admitted that things were changing slowly. As participant observer at several meetings of the female-led San Pedro de Macoris union, with its male and female members, it was noted that men frequently tried to dominate discussions. The leadership regularly had to ensure that women also got a chance to speak. In addition to the internal group dynamics of leadership, participation and the issues which women see as priorities, the other factors affecting their involvement in unions was the time at which meetings are held and their

frequency. Earlier we noted that women were more likely to come to meetings if they were close to where they live. The timing and length of meetings also affected participation as women's multiple roles demanded that they manage their time to fulfil their industrial work commitments as well as care for their families.

The macho culture also assumed that child care is a woman's responsibility and as such, no consideration was given to the timing and length of meetings. Whereas the San Pedro Union organised meetings so that women could have their children around them, the traditional unions made no such provisions. (Group interviews. February 1989, 1990, 1991, San Pedro de Macoris) Differences between the two styles emerged even around social activities of the unions. Women interviewed between 1989 and 1991 indicated that they preferred to attend activities and outings to which they could bring their children and families. In explaining the process of organising in the Dominican Republic and Jamaica, these social events emerged as important.

Members of the housing cooperative, for example, valued the social activities planned by their organisation and brought their children along. Women workers also indicated that they were discouraged from participating in education programmes of traditional unions, which were often boring and monotonous, consisting mainly of abstract and rhetorical speeches, designed more for party political platforms than trade union seminars (SPM Union leaders. Group interview. February 4, 1990).

In summary therefore, there are distinctive features and differences in the way women and men operate in unions, and these help us to understand development at the micro level. Women want support to meet their various

responsibilities, both those linked to work and home. For them, the two are inextricably linked and cannot be separated. We argue that gender does influence women's interest in participating and they have particular needs which traditional unions do not perceive as a priority. Whereas relatively few women participate in trade unions there is an indication that they would be willing to invest the time if they perceived certain benefits.

Chapter Summary

The Caribbean's historical experience has helped to shape and structure social institutions like the family. Women's social roles and their patterns of integration into the labour force have also been affected by these experiences. Their personal and public experiences are so interlinked that in practice it is difficult to distinguish between their productive and reproductive roles. Caribbean family patterns are largely matrifocal and have been influenced by the experience of slavery. The tradition of single mother families places a disproportionate burden of responsibility on women, while poverty and socio-economic underdevelopment limit opportunities for employment of women as well as men.

Women's efforts to use education as an avenue for social mobility, have been of limited benefit to them because patriarchy and prejudice in the labour market relegates them to low-skill, low wage jobs in services, agriculture and export manufacturing. Although the export-oriented industrialisation strategy has provided jobs for women, it has often created role conflicts. We argue that the exploitation often associated with employment in this sector, continues because trade unions in the two countries are weak, divided and do not have a clear gender focus. It is therefore understandable that women would want to form their own organisations.

Although women do have a tradition of organising, it would appear that they give priority to organisational forms which meet their psychological, social, emotional and economic needs. Most of these are community groups. Jamaica has a larger population of working women than the DR and also has a higher proportion of women in unions. Although they are involved in political parties and labour unions, their limited access to leadership positions reduces their power and influence over decisions that could enhance their status. These could be some of the factors explaining why the number of women in trade unions has been low, while the number of women organised through non-governmental organisations has grown. More consistent attention to addressing gender needs in these groups, has also encouraged their growth and development. We argue that as a result of these changes, more women have been open to joining these organisations to improve their social and economic status.

PART 2

RESEARCH FINDINGS

CHAPTER 6

PROFILE OF FREE ZONE WORKERS

Introduction

Findings from interviews with women working in the FTZs of Jamaica and the Dominican Republic are presented in this chapter to understand how the need for sensitivity on issues affecting them, for empowerment and for participation, have possibly influenced their methods of organising. This includes data on their domestic and work lives such as their socio-economic and demographic characteristics, their roles and responsibilities, as well as the conditions of their integration into the Dominican and Jamaican free trade zones. The needs related to their productive and reproductive roles are highlighted, as a basis for examining how women have organised in the next chapter. This, I argue, will help to determine whether the methods women have adopted, reflect their gender interests.

This analysis comes against the background of the crisis and an alternative concept of development, as well as the need to understand the process at a micro level. Indications are that development is not a linear process, but is derived from trying various programmes and strategies. The socio-economic background of Jamaica and the Dominican Republic as well as characteristics of employment in the FTZs show how global factors impact at a micro level. These factors influence women organisational choices we argue, because of their social and economic roles and responsibilities. In turn, these roles have created particular gender interests which then affect the kinds of organisations which women are more inclined to join or form.

Profile of Free Zone Workers in the St Peter Claver Women's Housing Cooperative

Demographic Data:

Age

Members of the Coop are young with an average age was 24 years. This is similar to findings of FTZ workers in Asia and the other studies of free zone workers in this community previously mentioned (Anderson, 1988:1; Dunn, 1987:57; Stone and Thomas, 1991). The data also confirm that this age group is a priority for FTZ employment because of their generally very high levels of unemployment (60% in 1992) and fertility.

Education

The data show that the majority of Coop members (64.3%) had reached Grade 11, 28.6% had attended elementary school and 7.1 % had gone to high school. Anderson reports that 46 percent had completed Grade 11 and an additional 12 percent had finished Grade 10 level (Anderson 1988:1). Although the trend is the same, the difference may be accounted for by the growth in the group's membership. Most women in the sample have benefitted from the expansion of secondary education in the 1970s as Anderson and Gordon (1989), Ellis (1986:94) and others have noted. It also shows that there has been some change since the earlier work of Froebel et al, which indicated that most FTZ workers had low levels of education.

Marital Status

The major finding was that ownership of a coop house accords women power and status as head of their household, regardless of their marital status. The

most common forms of marital union in rank order were visiting relationships which accounted for more than half of the women interviewed, followed by common-law marriages. Less than 10 percent of the women were legally married. This is consistent with findings of The Contraceptive Prevalence Survey (1989), which reports that the type of union status of women aged 15-49 years in Jamaica, varies with age. Younger women tend to be in visiting relationships, moving to common law marriages as they get older and to legal marriage later in life (see also Brown et al., 1993).

Household Headship, Power and Status

Household headship is an issue addressed by most household studies, because it is influenced by marital status and the level of disposable resources. The general pattern is for men to be considered head of the household and women only assume this position if no husband or partner is present. Within the Caribbean, however, more than a third of households are headed by women. Household headship varies by union and in the majority of cases these are single women, followed by women in common-law unions and then married women. Powell (1986) for example, reports that "women in visiting unions and those who are single tend largely to be self-supportive" (Powell, 1986:102). The ESSJ (1992:16.3) notes that in Jamaica, women accounted for 43% of household heads in the labour force.

Having established a link between type of marital status and economic support, it was expected that the women who were single or in visiting relationships would be the main source of income for their families and heads of their household. Most Coop members were in this group. However, women in legal and common law marriages also reported that they were heads of their

household. This was obviously a source of pride and power for all the women. Their response might be explained by the fact that only females are allowed to be members of the Coop. Some men may also have been initially reluctant to live in houses which they neither own nor control. For example, one married women interviewed, admitted that her husband was uncomfortable living in this situation, but he put up with it because the Coop offered them better accommodation.

In establishing a relationship between marital status, household headship, gender and empowerment, I note that power appears to be derived from the provision of resources (such as the provision of shelter). It is also regarded as a gender issue because all the heads of households are women. Powell (1986), in examining power and decision-making in the household, notes the relevance of at least one aspect of resource theory (Blood and Wolfe, 1960). Resource theory argues that within a conjugal relationship, the decision-making power of each spouse will vary according to the value of resources each partner brings to the relationship. This could include education, occupation as well as material resources such as housing. Powell however notes that despite many variations in the findings of the resource hypothesis, a positive relationship is consistently found between resources and women's power and that this is particularly relevant to economic resources (Powell, 1986:103). I support this view and therefore argue that women in the Coop derive power and status from owning their houses, from being heads of their households and from being the main providers of household income. Organising under the umbrella of the Coop has therefore enhanced their power and status as women and has also contributed to their process of empowerment.

Coop membership also appears to have influenced women's power and status derived from marital status. While legal marriage in general gives women a higher status than common-law union, visiting or single relationships in Jamaica, all Coop members appear to derive the same amount of power and status from household ownership, regardless of marital status. The findings also suggest that ownership of a Coop house gives women more power over their relationships with men. A common sentiment expressed by several women interviewed was that ownership of the house, now gave them choices in their relationships with men. They were no longer dependent on the goodwill of a man. Now that they held the keys to their own house, the man was now the one that had to leave if there were problems which could not be resolved. Millie for example, was a single parent, with six children and had established a common law relationship since moving into the Coop. She quickly asserted however "it is my house" and gave an overview of her financial responsibilities:

I am responsible for my five children and myself and my partner. is a tailor, but he helps. I am responsible for the money. I am in deficit. The wages can't meet the demands. I am now paying more for rent (\$300 for three rooms). The children are in school and I have to find school fees, bus fares and food. Then there are furniture bills (\$270 weekly) and for the mattress. I have to be cutting, carving and rearranging all the time (Millicent "Millie". Personal interview, August 16, 1990).

Fertility and Reproductive Roles

Children also represent a gender issue around which women would organise as they have traditionally had primary responsibility for their care and

maintenance. Most women in the Coop (83.1 percent) have children. Over half of them have one or two children, while approximately 28% had responsibility for more than two children. The average family size was three, a mother and two children, although some families were larger. In allocating houses, the Coop has always given priority to single women with dependent children, but those women living in extremely poor conditions, were also given higher priority.

It emerged in the interviews that several women joined the Coop to provide a better standard of living for their children. The Coop house was an escape from overcrowded, noisy and violent living conditions, rented accommodation with exposure to sexual harassment from landlords, and dependence on parents or partners. Children now had safe, protected yards in which to play, instead of the streets. For Millie, like many other women, life was markedly different after joining the Coop:

The previous five years was the worst period in my life. I was a single parent and went to my father's 'yard', planning to stay three to six months because of the low rent and I stayed for five years. It was the worst period of my life because I had sold out all my things and had gone to Cayman and I had nothing. It didn't work out so I had to come back. I am very glad for the house, for if it wasn't for the Coop, I couldn't get this quality of house for the money I can afford. I well wanted to leave my father's yard because of the conditions. I lived with my sister and brother and the children all in one room. It was very overcrowded and very untidy. My brains were very upset and I was worried because of the conditions (Millie. Personal interview, August 16, 1990).

Grand Cayman, which is close to Jamaica, is a popular destination for Jamaican women like Millie, seeking to improve their income. Many of them get service jobs in households or buy and sell consumer goods.

Angela, regarded the Coop house as a "novelty" because she noted that:

The other place where we used to live, apart from the overcrowding, the roof was raw zinc, so it was very hot and noisy when it rained. The roof also leaked very badly, so there were pans everywhere to collect the water (Angela. Personal interview, August 13, 1990).

For Euphemia, her partner and their two children, the Coop house was also an escape.

The place we lived in before was over-run with roaches and croaking lizards. It was hot and cramped and not very secure. The walls were dirty and the owners didn't fix the place. And because the people living there didn't own it, they didn't care it very well. Here in the Coop house, life is totally different. You have your own bathroom so you don't have to get up extra early to get in the line for the bathroom. It (the bathroom) was so dirty that your washrag or underwear dropped on the floor, you would have to throw it away (Euphemia. Personal interview. August 13, 1990).

The need for child care and friendship also emerged as gender issues which were met by living in the Coop, as the women looked after each other's children.

As Cherry, Coordinator of the Coop noted, "the women... always give an eye (refers to child minding) on the children. We also help each other out". As such, they shared the responsibilities for child-care. One member who regularly went to a bar and used to take her small son with her, even during school time, now had somewhere secure to leave him. Since living in the Coop, she now had company and didn't go out as often. There was also peace of mind when women were late coming home from work, knowing that their children would be cared for. Cherry said for example, that when she was late, one of the women would either give her son something to eat out of her pot, or would go over to her (Cherry's) house and fix him something to eat. Women also supported each other in providing for their children's material needs. Cherry further observed that

if a child needs an exercise book, a pencil or doesn't have money for school lunch or bus fare, you will find that they don't have to go without because they can get it from someone else in the yard.
(Cherry Turner. Personal interview, April 20, 1992).

The interviews also confirmed that all the women, even those with partners, had the main responsibility for reproductive work which they did at the beginning and end of the work day. This included: child care, cooking, cleaning, housework and laundry as well as their free zone jobs. Their work day was therefore extended from 5 am until 10 or 11 pm.

Financial Responsibilities

Parental support was also another gender issue which emerged. Most of the women were rural migrants, whose parents were small farmers. Some mothers were higglers who bought and sold fresh market produce, as well as consumer

goods, such as cosmetics, cloth ready-made clothing. Despite their low income, some of the women sent money to their parents when they could. A few parents had come to live in the Coop, and the women were responsible for their upkeep.

As heads of household, income earning was a primary gender issue for all the women. They complained that low wages made it difficult for them to support their children and families. In 1990, FTZ workers got a minimum wage of J\$160 (US\$7.0) per week and production workers were able to earn more. According to the Ministry of Health, Nutrition and Dietetics Division (1991), in September 1990 the cost of a basket of food to feed a family of five was J\$240 (US\$10.50). For those women with two or three children, their wages were not even covering their food requirements, as there was a gap of J\$80 (US\$3.50). The situation was even worse for women with five and six children like Millie and Gloria. With an average of three bedrooms, they had to pay more and all their expenses were in multiples. Recurrent expenses like the housing charge was then \$150 per month for a 2 bedroom unit. Electricity bills averaged \$200 -\$400 monthly (depending on whether they had a refrigerator). With the additional costs for school lunches, bus fares and furniture bills, their wages were already overcommitted.

Wages were insufficient. Euphemia observed that "the Free zone money helps, but not much and I am still in need. The money can't stretch. When I do overtime things are a little better." (Euphemia. Personal interview, August 13, 1990). Some groups of workers were however able to cope better than others and had to find alternative sources of income. Angela, for example, stated that

menders are at a disadvantage because there is no piece work, only basic pay. I get J\$270 each fortnight (then US\$23.63 monthly). After

deductions, I take home \$240 (US\$10.50). From this I have to pay rent, light bill and everything else, At the end of the year I get a J\$50 bonus which I think is very cheap. The only way I survive is by throwing "partner"¹ each week. I sometimes join many "partners" but work is only available for 2-3 months. Sometimes I don't go home with much money on payday, and there are many mouths to feed. I survive by doing a little hustling, selling things like hair products, lotion and biscuits. Business is slow now and only a few people are buying, and only foodstuff. I buy the things from people who travel overseas" (Angela. Personal interview, August 13, 1990).

Cherry explained that

many women throw a "partner" and buy their furniture in cash. For example, the women working in a factory together will throw a partner. They also cooperate at the household level to join larger partners at the factory which has a larger "pot" averaging \$3,000 - \$4,000. A group of 40 of them would throw \$100 per week so each week someone would get a "draw" of \$4,000 and it would go on and on until everybody got a draw (Cherry. Personal interview, April 20, 1992).

Women were also dependent on the "partner" because their earnings varied. Sylvia, justified her participation in this popular savings tradition, explaining that:

there are three rates of pay for production workers. There is the

¹The "partner" is an informal traditional savings system. Members of the group save a regular, agreed sum daily or weekly and take turns in sharing the total amount collected.

standard rate of J\$260 that is applied to new work such as making a new kind of bra. During the training period, with any new work, you get seven bundles a day. Then there is the production rate of J\$200. Then there is the plan rate which pays J\$230. You get new work and you have to do a certain amount to a plan or you don't get any money. Most of us prefer the standard rate because you don't have to work a certain amount to get it. I take home \$200-\$300 per week and there are deductions like tax, NIS (National Insurance Scheme), NHT (National Housing Trust) and Education tax. Sometimes I can manage and sometimes I can't. It all depends on what bills I have to pay. That is why I join a "partner". My major bills are furniture, light and rent. Then there is food, clothes and transportation"

(Sylvia. Personal interview, August 14, 1990).

Elaine also depended on the "partner" for survival because

production work is not regular. For the past six to seven fortnights there has been no production work, and so I only take home the basic. Then, with some garments, you can't do production. I take home J\$253 ... pay J\$150 a month for rent and J\$200-plus every two months for light. I usually join a partner but I am not in one right now, but I am due to start again weekend. And that is J\$40 a week. Partner is the only way I can buy anything. I have a small bank account with about J\$80.00" (Elaine. Personal interview, August 14, 1990).

Janet, a single parent with two children, also used the "partner" to improve her material standard of living. She stated that

life is much better since I am working at the free zone. At East Ocean Textiles, if you do production, you get a bonus and can earn J\$700 - J\$800 per fortnight. Then I throw a "partner" of J\$100 a week. This has helped me to buy a dresser and a table. If I was still at home not working, I couldn't get them. I feel more independent...It felt so good to get my first pay and know that I could do as I want with it. No one tells me how to control my money. I get J\$20/day bonus for lunch and bus fare. At East Ocean we get birthday presents for example slippers, chain, and shades." (Janet. Personal interview, August 15, 1990).

Income was therefore increased through a number of sources: production bonuses, transportation and lunch subsidies, partner "draws", and on special occasions, material gifts. Janet's pride in earning her own money and the independence derived from this is unmistakable. The scope for high earnings was not consistent however. Marcia said "if I do production, I can earn J\$1,000 every two weeks, including bonus allowance.. I have been able to buy a dining table, a bed, a dresser and I also support my children" (Marcia. Personal interview, August 15, 1990). Trimmers were also able to boost their earnings. Janet, who works as a trimmer, reported that "there was an order once and when I got paid, I went out and bought a colour TV" (Janet. Personal interview, August 15, 1990).

Earnings varied from menders with a basic salary of less than J\$300 weekly, to production workers who were occasionally able to take home J\$1,000 per fortnight. The "partner" is apparently integral to the earning structure of most women. While the weekly investment is considerable, they make the sacrifice, and

use other strategies to survive, knowing that they can look forward to a lump sum at an agreed time, to pay bills and make major purchases.

Dissatisfaction with low wages could also have motivated women to organise and they shared various solutions to the problem. Marcia summed up the feelings of many women when she stated that "the minimum wage should be J\$150 per week and it should be in US dollars because the government gets the foreign exchange benefit. I don't know how much US garment workers get". She then asked "do Mo Bay free zone workers get more than us? They should raise the piece rate ticket, but management resists saying that if they do that, they can't pay us." (Marcia. Personal interview. August 15, 1990).

This organised approach to solving the problem of low salaries, is ~~an~~ argue, indicative of a development process. The next chapter shows that the Coop lobbied for an increase in wages. This may have heightened Marcia's awareness of the various strategies to address the problem. Her proposal that wages be paid in foreign exchange and her interest in finding out what women working in other FTZs were being paid, were in ~~any~~ view, strategic ways of strengthening women's wages and their bargaining position.

The interviews show that in addition to the power from owning their own house, earning their own money gave the women pride and boosted their sense of independence. They also obviously enjoyed the freedom and power of being able to control their own wages. The variations in income also meant that when the opportunity presented itself, women pushed themselves to earn as much as they could, working extra hours. Marcia, for example, reported that "some women work through their lunch time to make more money to buy books and pay their

children's school fees."

Despite the low wages and their considerable expenses, it was obvious that women placed a very high value on being members of the Coop. They were generally very responsible in paying their housing charge into the Credit Union office. Cherry noted that "sickness sometimes caused women to pay late but in general rent arrears was not a problem. If they are late, they can pay it into the (Coop) office" (Cherry. Personal interview. April 20, 1992).

Job Skills Training

To determine women's level of job skill, a number of factors were examined: level of education, previous employment and the type of job being done. The findings confirmed that although the women have relatively low levels of industrial skills, their collective range of skills was wider. Limited skills were associated with leaving school before completing a basic secondary education. About a third of the women had previously worked in a factory, while others had been housewives, domestic workers, one had worked as a clerk in a shoe store, while another had operated a small business (a bar). One member of the Coop who was interviewed, had never worked in the FTZ, but was admitted when membership was opened to other women in the community. She works with an organisation of disabled persons and has training in sign language. The free zone offered many young women their first job, while the others had moved from other sectors into the free zone because of the possibility of increased earnings.

Possibilities for increasing skills on the job were severely limited however. The sexual division of labour confined most women to one of three grades: machine operators were the highest, menders second and packers and trimmers

were the lowest. Angela for example, stated that "there are few areas that menders can move up to. Maybe packaging, but the pay is cheap and if you are not accustomed to doing a job, you will do it slow" (Angela. Personal interview. August 13, 1990). With earning linked to skill and speed, few women reported any mobility and most remained in the area of work they originally entered. Only Millie had been promoted to the position of supervisor and ironically, she was earning less than she earned as a production worker.

Whereas the FTZs are supposed to provide skill and transfer technology, there was a distinct difference in perception between workers and management. Whereas the women felt they had learned very few skills, Mr Blake, General Manager of Fineline, an FTZ garment factory, stated that the company was "concerned about the number of unskilled persons and (had) an on-going training programme (but) "there was little transfer of skill" (Mr Loxley Blake. Personal interview. August 14, 1990). Basic training had previously been provided for garment engineers and supervisors, by sewing instructors from Haines in the USA and the Jamaica Industrial Development Corporation (JIDC). The programme had however been scaled down.

In comparing the level of skill, technology and earning levels of garment industry workers in Jamaica and the USA, Mr Blake noted that those in the US were older (40 - 50 years), had been working in the industry longer (25-30 years), had acquired skills via repetition, used a higher level of technology and earned US\$4.50/hour for a forty hour work week. In Jamaica, however, workers had been employed only a few years, production was more labour intensive and wages were lower. The interview with Mr Blake also confirmed the earlier report that the more skilled jobs remained in the North. He stated that:

in the US, there are more white collar jobs in the industry, so there is heavier use of computers. If the technology increased in Jamaica, investors won't want to use the sewing machines any more. They will want a computerised machine. There are a lot of technological improvements in sewing machines, and a few of the machines (here) already have computerised attachments.

(Mr. Loxley Blake. Personal interview. August 14, 1990).

He however felt assured that there would always be jobs for women. He made the point that "there will always be a need for women workers (because) there are some things that the machines won't do, such as feeding buttons on to the machine". Although Fineline employed a few sewing machine mechanics on staff and used experts from the Singer Company in Kingston, none of these were women, neither had they considered training women as mechanics.

This was ironic, as some women reported having learned to do minor repairs to their sewing machines, because it was vital to their level of earning as delays represented a reduction in their earning capacity and machine mechanics were also not always available when needed (Dunn, 1987). The perception that there would always be work for women workers regardless of the technological improvements in the industry, also placed severe restrictions on the scope for women to advance technologically to increase their earnings in this field. According to the Jamaica Employers Federation Wages, Salaries and Benefits Survey (1985) adjusted to 1989, production workers in the manufacturing sector were then earning US\$1.43/hour compared with mechanics who earned US\$1.77/hour.

Though faced with limited opportunities for skill training and advancement on-the-job, several women had business skills, which they used to enhance their

earnings. They bought and sold goods, sewed clothes, did hairdressing and crocheted items for sale. Money management skills were also evident in their ability to acquire furniture and survive on such a small and variable income. A few used the evening courses at the church to increase their skills and employment options. Others, like Margaline, looked further afield and the Coop gave her a scholarship to do a secretarial course.

Employment Conditions

The unstable pattern of employment may have encouraged women to organise. Half of the women interviewed had been working in the free zone for four to five years. Half of the remainder had been working for two to three years and the others less than two years. For many, this was not continuous service with one company, but involved changing jobs, accompanied by slow periods of part-time employment. Angela stated that she had been working in the free zone since 1985:

... the work is staggered (and) is seasonal. Sometimes it is up and down and I work alternative weeks. There is a constant fear of redundancy without notice or compensation. The company works very clandestine and will fire people without reason, under the guise of low production... People cry when they get the shocking news that they have been laid off. What is happening is that they will lay off regular day workers and may employ some of them for the night shift. The company also gives some of these women's work to children on holiday and this is unfair to the workers (Angela. Personal interview, August 13, 1990).

The fear of dismissal expressed was real, as indicated by the fluctuating levels of employment reported earlier (11,049 in 1987 and 6,152 in 1990). Some factories had been adversely affected by the recession and had cut back on production. To retain jobs, Fineline was only producing at about a third of their capacity, and had actually reduced the range of goods they normally produced to be more cost effective. Some 52 workers were laid off and daily working hours were reduced from eight to six and a half hours. (Mr Loxley Blake. Personal interview. August 14, 1990).

A follow-up interview with the Coordinator of the Coop in October 1993, revealed that since 1990 when the interviews for this research were done, most women were still working at the Free Zone. One had left to study, another had become ill and pregnant, and a third person had been fired. This suggests that despite periods of instability and reduced hours, in general most of the women in the Coop, had retained their jobs in the Free Zone.

Working conditions influence women's reasons for organising. These include: company benefits, incentives, and the worker-management environment among other factors. Data gathered from interviews show that most companies comply with the legal provisions such as sick and maternity leave. Several women reported that statutory deductions such as National Insurance were made from their wages and there were no reports of problems due to non-payment to the government. The Free Zone Authority also requires each company to contribute to the cost of operating the health clinic in the Kingston Free Zone. Not all companies complied because of the limited services then available. (Mr Loxley Blake. Personal interview, August 14, 1990). Improvements were however subsequently made to the clinic. (Women's Action Committee. Group interview.

August 28, 1992).

In addition to the monetary incentives mentioned earlier, the interviews pointed to several other kinds of incentives aimed at increasing productivity and improving worker-management relations. Marcia for example, stated that:

At Afasia, the best worker for the year gets a trip to Miami and the best supervisor gets a trip to Malaysia. The employee of the month gets J\$100 and a citation for encouragement. There is a break at 9:15 for the Christian group. And at Christmas, Needlecraft gives workers four to five pounds of chicken and wine and beer. They also had a party but it was stopped because a fight broke out (Marcia. Personal interview: August 15, 1990).

Janet also observed that:

East Ocean Textiles has changed a lot. They now have a Staff Council body that identifies problems in each section and takes it to Mr Chang. Now the bathrooms are fixed more easily and there is a sanitary inspector. Management has changed a lot too. They are now promoting more black people and last year took some of them to Hong Kong. And they got pay as usual and pocket money. They went to the company's Hong Kong factory. Sometimes East Ocean gives a fridge as a production bonus or a colour TV or a fan. ... (They) also give six year achievement certificates and organise a concert at the Ranny Williams Centre. Then there is a party at Tropic (a nightclub). In June there are sports events.... They (also) give vouchers for bully beef (corned beef) and oil at supermarkets.

You can gamble and get basins, strainers, wine and Shandy (a drink). They give out Easter Bun and cheese and they give "schoolers" (school children) holiday work from age 13, in the trimming or checking section and they get a bonus. East Ocean also has a clinic with two nurses who are very helpful and they refer you to the Medical Centre if necessary (Janet. Personal interview, August 15, 1990).

Some companies also provided incentives in the form of educational support for children. Janet also indicated that "at East Ocean they have a newspaper "Ocean News" and recognise (worker's) children in it and give scholarships to buy books and give money for school fees". Marcia said that "At Afasia you can send up your name to get a scholarship for the child and they check it out and then decide" (Personal interviews, August 15, 1990). At Fineline, Mr Blake indicated, cash prizes and gifts are given each month as incentives. They also had an employee of the month scheme, to identify and reward high producers. Some companies also gave a nominal grant to their workers after Hurricane Gilbert. East Ocean for example was damaged, closed for two weeks and donated a lot of things to children's homes during that time.

Together, these interviews show extensive use of monetary, material and psychological incentives within the workforce. Contrary to the images often projected of sweat shop conditions within the free zone, they present a picture of responsible, caring, corporate citizens who are not unmindful of the problems of their workers and the community as a whole. Analysis of the kinds of incentives however suggest that they are more likely to meet immediate material needs rather than strategic, intellectual, or long-term needs. It also appeared that companies

have tried to compensate workers for the lack of opportunity to advance. In discussion with Marcia for example, she lamented the fact that

...there is no promotion. Before you get a promotion you go through the gate. You do the same work all the time, doing button holes. I could have got a promotion as a supervisor, but they said I was too little. Anyway production workers get more than supervisors - about twice more. The supervisor gets dinner as a bonus or presents (like) jewellery. They also give big cash bonus to those they favour (Marcia. Personal interview. August 15, 1990).

Millie, confirmed this. She was the only Coop member to have been promoted from machine operator to supervisor, although most women had worked in the KFTZ for nearly five years. The increased status and the confidence offered some compensation, but she suffered financially. Progress, in one sense, was also a loss. This kind of frustration, combined with the economic pressures, also suggest reasons why the women were motivated to organise.

Relationship with Supervisor

Poor relations with their supervisors, low wages, conditions at work, the pace of work, may further explain why women have organised and appear to have low job satisfaction. Janet for example, indicated that "there is less harassment with local companies...I used to have a Chinese supervisor who used to 'kunck' (hit) you in your head... if you have a conflict with the Chinese, you have no rights and you can get suspended or fired". There was also a perception that some actions were racist. Marcia stated that "at my factory, the supervisor doesn't like black" (Janet. Personal interview, August 15, 1990). Poor relationships with foreign

supervisors had been a major problem in the KFTZ in the mid 1980s. The Free Zone Authority had therefore encouraged companies to hire more local supervisors. Millie (Millicent) was one of these and felt that her approach was different.

Because of my previous experience as a machine operator I am sensitive and don't push people around. I take time with them and don't run to the boss. I (also) try to solve on-line problems without taking it to the boss. I feel good that they say I am doing a good job and my line is doing a good job, The only problem is that the wages could be more. (Millie. Personal interview: August 16, 1990).

Occupational Health and Safety

Poor health and environmental problems could also have motivated the women to organise. Many Coop meetings focused on health and other problems at the work place. It also emerged from the interviews that the health of a number of the women was being adversely affected. The main complaints were: headaches, sinus and throat problems, backache and joint pains. Illnesses at work were reported by 66 respondents, and 53 of these attributed their complaints to the conditions at the factory. Other studies of free zone workers in Jamaica have all pointed to health hazards. (Anderson, 1988:8; Dunn 1987).

Elaine, who worked in the ironing section and was on her feet all day, complained

sometimes my feet are very swollen in the evenings. The steam (also) causes my eyes to swell up and I get cramps in my belly sometimes. I am also overtired. There is a lot of dust on the flannel

after blowing my nose. Then I also sneeze (Elaine. Personal interview. August 14, 1990).

Although machine operators complained of dust and lint, they were reluctant to use dusk masks because of the heat generated by the machines and the factory environment, which was not always properly ventilated. We recall that several factories in the KFTZ had been designed as storage warehouses. Sylvia and several other women complained of headaches, dust in their throat and nosebleeds from their allergy to the materials. Janet, also complained that "sometimes the fur we are working on spoils our clothes and irritates our skin and face. My hair used to fall out because of something in the place" (Janet. Personal interview. August 15, 1990).

The Women's Action Committee (WAC) has lobbied the Client Services Committee of the Kingston Free Zone Company, to improve occupational health and safety in the free zones. Coop members had reported that fire exits in some factories were blocked with goods. WAC contacted, and was able to secure the agreement of the Kingston Free Zone Company Board that there would be more regular monitoring of locked factory exits. They also agreed with WAC's recommendation that keys be placed in glass cases near the exits, which could be broken in case of an emergency (WAC Status Report: November 1989-October 1990). Stone and Thomas (1991) also mention a low level of confidence about the ability of factories to withstand man-made and natural disasters. Some 68 percent of respondents in their study felt that their factories were not safe. These researchers recommended a safety awareness programme to improve workers' knowledge of safety measures, encourage factories to increase the number of exits and keep them clear. (See also Green, 1990:120 on occupational health and safety

in FTZs in the Eastern Caribbean). Few workers however, recognise or are aware of either the immediate or long-term cumulative effects of using some of the chemicals. At another level workers are exposed to poor sanitation associated with vending of food outside the KFTZ. Women prefer to buy this cheaper food because they can get credit and the food is tastier. (Dunn, 1987).

Overtime

Excessive overtime is unlikely to have been an issue of major importance. The findings show that although most women did overtime, they each worked only an average of two hours extra daily and only when necessary. Anderson (1988:5) reports that 69.3% worked overtime but the number of hours was not specified. The current study suggests that there is even less overtime than the levels reported in earlier studies, no doubt due to the US recession and its impact on the garment industry. Both Dunn and Stone and Thomas indicate that approximately half the women in their samples worked less than 10 hours a month, which was not prohibitive by FTZ standards.

Forms of Resistance

The women fought back, trying to control some areas of their work life. Marcia's strategy was flexitime: she reported that she slept when she wanted, but made up her production. None of the women reported lowering their production rates or stealing. Some joined demonstrations and tried to get union representation. While they expressed the need for a union, they were also reluctant to join the main trade unions for fear of being dismissed and not being sure how the union would represent them. Janet had in fact joined one of the largest demonstrations which caught the attention of the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU). According to her:

there was a dispute because the pay was too low and they wanted to start paying people on Saturday instead of Friday. So we locked down the factories in the zone and marched to BITU, NWU, JBC and RJR. When we got to the BITU, they made us sign union forms and talked to us but nine days passed and there was no action. There was a rumour that they were bought out (Janet. Personal interview, August 15, 1990).

The NWU is the National Workers Union, one of the three largest trade unions. JBC is the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation, which was then the country's only television station. RJR, Radio Jamaica and Rediffusion is another radio station. The workers were seeking media exposure to air their grievances. This alternative account of the largest FTZ demonstration, shows that some women did sign up as members but union did no follow-up. In general, the trade unions have been weak and at best ineffective in supporting the call for unionisation of workers in the free zone, although there are so many areas of job dissatisfaction.

Occupational Aspirations

High personal aspirations and limited opportunities for advancement are also likely to have motivated the women to organise. Euphemia for example, stated that "...although the treatment (in the FTZ) is not that good (she) couldn't do better." Cherry also viewed her experience of working in the zone as very negative and said that it brought out the worst in her. She found it frustrating because although she had passed a number of subjects at secondary school, there was no scope for promotion to an office job. She wanted to do Advanced Level

Cambridge exams and go on to CAST (College of Arts Science and Technology). Like her, Marcia also wanted to complete her education, and planned to do CXC exams, typing and computer studies, which is what she originally wanted to do before working in the free zone. The Caribbean Examination Council (CXC) examinations are equivalent to the GCE/GCSE examinations.

According to Marcia, "workers want more involvement in decision making. They can give advice on where the company could cut a little (save)." Most women wanted to be independent and own their own business. Janet summed it up when she said "I don't want any boss over me". Several women also traded their skills and services, with the most popular choices being dressmaking and hairdressing. Sylvia for example wanted to do dressmaking, but recognised that the local market was flooded with imported clothes.

Millie regretted that she did not have a good education, but wanted to go further. She had in fact started, but did not complete a management course. It was while she was doing the course that she left for Cayman. Having owned a bar previously, she said that she may try that again or sewing and selling clothes. "After working for myself, I was a little let down to be working in the free zone and I felt stupid for selling out and going away. I feel the bar is better than the free zone. When you're doing your own thing you feel you are master of it." (Millie. Personal interview. August 16, 1990).

In general the occupational aspirations of the women were quite traditional. The commonly expressed aspiration of owning their own business could reflect a number of things: a desire to be independent, powerful and have control (no bosses over them). It could also be an expression of the individualism which

characterises the informal sector, in which a number of them were already involved as traders. Or, it may express their desire to become like owners of the factories in which they worked, given the image of success portrayed. Although education and skill training were perceived as vehicles to advance their career aspirations, several factors intervened. Relatively few of them were able to attend the classes, given the economic and domestic demands on their time. Others frankly lacked the discipline.

The Community

The depressed state of the community in which the St Peter Claver Housing Cooperative operates could also have motivated women to organise the Coop. It is a large inner-city area of Kingston, which has several social problems: overcrowding and inadequate housing, high levels of crime and violence, poor social services and noise. The community's proximity to the free zone, is an advantage. There are several churches, small, medium and commercial businesses and entertainment spots surrounding the St Peter Claver Church.

The analysis suggests that the demographic background of Coop members, as well as wages and working conditions in the FTZs have created reasons for women to form the organisation. Most of the women are young, single parents, heads of household, in visiting relationships and are the main source of family income. These commitments, combined with low wages and unstable income, require them to supplement their earnings by trading goods and services or joining a "partner". Having had their secondary education interrupted by pregnancy and with few marketable skills, the FTZ job offers some scope for independence. But there are few opportunities for advancement, participation in decision-making, or control over their work environment. These, combined with their high job

aspirations are likely to create frustration.

Profile of Free Zone Workers in the San Pedro de Macoris Free Zone Trade Union

Demographic Data:

Age

Like women in Jamaica and other parts of the world, Free Zone workers interviewed in the San Pedro de Macoris were young, below the age of 25 years. Half of them were under twenty and the other half between 20 and 24 years. In one community group meeting in Barrio Lindo, the average age among the six women interviewed was 25 years (Group interview. February 22, 1991). These results concurred with pioneering studies of free zone workers in the DR. (CIPAF, 1981; Duarte and Corten 1981). The pattern is also similar to FTZ workers in Asia and other parts of the world. ILO/UNCTC (1985) for example, indicated that over 85 percent of women working in FTZs were under 25 years of age. Froebel, Heinrichs and Kreye (1980:348) report that most FTZ workers are between 16 and 25 years, while Fernández-Kelly (1983:344) reports that the age of female maquiladoras on the US - Mexico border in City Juarez varied between 17 and 25 years in the 1980s.

Joeke (1987:56) reports that the median age of FTZ workers in the DR was expected to rise as the zones expanded. However, ^{in our study} nearly half the women were below 25 years. ^{This is comparable to} 48 percent in the 1981 studies, and suggests that a steady and larger stream of young women may be entering this area of employment.

Joeques reports that some free zone employers had a preference for younger or older workers. For example, the workers in one electronics firm averaged 18 years, whereas firms in other industries reported upper age limits of 35, 30 and 26 years among the workforce. Her research also showed that the female workforce in the zones is younger than in Dominican industries. Only 27 percent of that group of workers were 24 years and under and 65 per cent were over 30 years (Joeques 1987:57). The CIPAF study indicated that the mean age of women workers in the free zone was lower (26.9 years), than the 35.4 years in domestic industries (CIPAF: 1981).

Education

About forty percent of the women interviewed in San Pedro de Macoris had secondary education, representing between seven and nine years of schooling. Nearly half had completed five or six years of primary education, and one tenth had post secondary education. There were no illiterate workers in the sample. These findings compare favourably with CIPAF's study of the general educational level of women workers, which showed that free zone workers have a higher level of education than the national average. It showed that 38.5 per cent of these workers had a secondary education compared to 33.5 per cent of women workers in domestic industries. In that study, 56.3 per cent of free zone workers had a primary education compared to 59.1 per cent of workers in domestic industries. This suggests that workers in the DR have a higher level of education than was predicted by Froebel, Heinriche and Kreye (1980:348). Fernández-Kelly (1983:52) also indicated that 95 per cent of the maquiladoras in Ciudad Juárez had attended school and many of them had taken courses in typing and accounting. This confirmed an earlier observation that women are taking advantage of educational opportunities. Levels of illiteracy had dropped and women were now

more likely to have secondary than primary education, compared to a decade ago when the reverse was true. Similarly, more of them had post-secondary education (21.0 per cent in 1991 compared to 12.6 percent in 1981).

Marital status

Three quarters of the women interviewed in San Pedro reported that they were single, one sixth were either married or in a common-law marriage and the others were in visiting relationships or were widowed. While this shows some similarity with free zone women workers in other countries, it represents a major difference in the pattern of FTZ workers in the DR. The majority of Asian FTZ workers are single and young (Safa, 1981:428). Fernández-Kelly (1983:51) also indicates that more than half the women working in Mexico's FTZs were single (57 per cent). CIPAF's (1981) study showed that the majority of free zone workers (51 percent) in the DR were married, single women were in the minority (22.1 per cent), 25.1 per cent were divorced or separated and 1.7 per cent were widowed. In effect half the women were married and half were "single". The difference in findings of the present study could possibly be explained by the absence of "divorced" as an option in the questionnaire. Women no longer living with their husbands could therefore have said that they were single. By comparison there were more Jamaican women in visiting relationships than in the DR. This may reflect the reluctance of some women in the DR to report that they were in visiting relationships, which was mentioned in the introductory chapter.

The fact that more women were married in the DR group than in the Jamaica group, reflects a major cultural difference between the two countries. The former marry young while the latter tend to delay marriage until late in life. For example, nearly sixteen percent of the women interviewed in the DR were married

compared to ten percent in Jamaica. Arregui and Baez (1989:38) also indicate that women in the DR marry very early, with the first marriage being about 17 years and therefore the majority of the Dominican labour force is married. This was also to be considered with the fact that some employers preferred married women, on the assumption that because of family commitments, they would be more dedicated and docile. These factors could also explain the presence of young widows in the DR, and their absence from the Jamaica sample. For the purpose of examining the role of gender in organising, the important finding of the current study is that the majority of women were single parents.

Household Headship, Power and Status

In the patriarchal society of the DR, possibly even more so than in the case of Jamaica, the man is considered the head of the household, unless women live alone. However Arregui and Baez (1989) report that a significant number of women in the DR's FTZs are heads of household. CIPAF (1981) reports 38 percent while Duarte and Corten (1981) report 31.5 percent. It would appear that the majority of the women living alone with their children were heads of household. Recalling our discussion of resource theory in the profile of FTZ workers in the Jamaican case, it appears reasonable that income earned would be a resource women would bring to their family. Those living with a partner would therefore derive some power and status from contributing to the household budget. In effect however, the interviews showed that most of the women were the primary breadwinners for their families.

Fertility and Reproductive Roles

Both the number of children and the work associated with caring for them could have motivated women to organise the trade union. Fertility among women

in the DR is high and more than half of the women interviewed had children. CIPAF (1981), also reports that 63 percent of FTZ women workers had children. Sixty percent of the women in the current study had one or two children, another 30 per cent had three or four children and 10 per cent had more than four. This concurs with the CIPAF study in which almost 31 per cent of the women had three or more children. Duarte and Corten (1981) however reported much higher levels of fertility in their national study. In their sample, 84 percent of women had children and of these 38 per cent had four or more. Regardless of the differences however, the findings of the current study, established that most free zone workers are mothers with an average of two children for whom they have sole responsibility. This puts an additional pressure on them economically and psychologically. Elida Segura noted that the need to share and support each other as single parents provided a focus for the informal discussions that got the union started (Elida. Personal interview. February 17, 1991).

Then, the results from interviews confirmed that all of the women had primary responsibility for the domestic and child care chores in the house. This was usually done before and after work. It is therefore understandable that almost 90 percent of them said they did not get to bed before 10 pm and 11 pm after rising at four or five in the morning. Half the women lived with blood relatives in medium-sized families with less than five persons. Slightly more than a third had larger families, comprised of five or seven persons living together. This compared favourably with CIPAF's (1981) Labour Force Study, in which 56.5 percent of women workers in the DR lived with relatives.

Financial Responsibilities

Like their colleagues in Jamaica, the women also had to consider care of their parents and other relatives as well as their children. Care of other family members therefore emerged as a gender issue. Findings from interviews indicate that the women all came from working class families. Their fathers were fairly evenly distributed across three main occupational groups: a third of them were small farmers, another third were workers in the sugar factory, and the others were skilled tradesmen. Almost all of the women said their mothers did domestic work, but it is not known whether they worked in other people's homes, their own or a combination of both. Maternal occupations mentioned also included a nurse in social security and a food vendor.

These findings support those of Nash and Safa ^(eds.) (1980) and Pineda (1984:3) on the Dominican Republic. Nash and Safa concluded that sex and class influenced women's integration into the workforce. Pineda also noted that these two factors explained women's alienation in the labour force and the data showed that women clearly had differential access to the labour market. The parental occupations cited are low-paying and many of the women supported their parents financially. In some cases, they had to leave their children with grandparents and send money for their support (Arregui and Baez 1989:39). Parental and child support further stretched the limited income of many women working in the FTZ.

Income earning was a major gender issue, which we argue motivated women to form their own union. This emerged in the group discussion in Barrio Lindo mentioned previously and in the questionnaire responses. It was also the central issue raised in many of the union meetings attended. Women felt very strongly about this because they were the primary breadwinners for their families,

were heads of household and had children, parents and relatives to support. However, many of them earned only \$480 pesos each fortnight. This was equivalent to \$233-240 pesos each week or an average of \$1,000 pesos a month (US\$77) and was insufficient to support four or five persons. Economists estimated that a family of five required a minimum of \$5,000 pesos (US\$400) a month to survive (Santos, 1992). The fact that most women earned only one-fifth of what they needed for basic survival, indicated the level of desperation which many of them faced.

Given the low level of salaries, earning the minimum survival wage was only possible in households where two people were working. As many women lived in extended family households, the study tried to determine the level of contribution from other sources to each household. Nearly three quarters of them reported that other household members made financial contributions. But in roughly half of these cases, the additional weekly contribution represented less than \$100 pesos. In another third of the households, the contribution ranged from \$101 - 200 pesos. Only in one fifth of these households, did the contribution come close to the minimum amount required and even so, it was only an additional 200 pesos a week or \$800 per month. This pattern was consistent with the findings of Joeke (1986) and others which concluded that women's income is the main rather than the supplementary source of income and it was low. Given the high cost of living in the DR, it is understandable that all the women interviewed indicated that their salary was insufficient to meet their basic needs.

The interviews revealed that "pluriempleo" (multiple employment) was quite common as a survival strategy. Several of the women attending the group meeting in the Barrio Lindo, the poor community in the suburbs of San Pedro de

Macoris, indicated that they did many other activities to supplement their wages. The main activity was buying and selling referred to as "compra venda". This included: making and selling sweets and coconut cakes; making or buying clothes to sell; baking; making ceramics and hairdressing (Group interview. Barrio Lindo. February 22, 1991).

Economic survival also hinged extensively on credit from a variety of sources. Shopkeepers and other traders provided credit for food, groceries and other consumer goods. Money-lenders were also used extensively, but Sofia, however complained that:

they charge you a lot of interest. They charge 20 percent every 20 days. Some (money-lenders) give you 120 days of grace and you use things like radio, beds, fridge to get the loan. But 50 percent of the people lose their things because they can't pay back" (Sofia. Group interview. February 22, 1991).

Like FTZ workers in Jamaica, women's earnings varied according to the kind of work they did. Production workers had the opportunity to earn more, but this also varied quite widely. Delores, in the same group interview, explained that she sometimes earned in one day what it would take her a whole week to earn. She also pointed out that what a professional teacher earns in a month, is the same that a free zone worker can earn in a fortnight, which was about \$500 pesos.

Evidence of very low wages recurred several times in the discussion, but regardless of the actual amount, all the women placed great value on being able to earn their own income. Carmen, who was 21 years old said that she started to

work in the free zone at age 15 years (six years earlier). She got eight pesos a week when she started. Beatrice, the 31 years old widow, worked as a machine operator. She stated that she earned only \$10.70 for nine hours of work in her first week at the free zone. Life was very difficult for her but she echoed the sentiments expressed by several of the women in the meeting, when she stated, "It is important to be self-sufficient and you can decide to buy things for yourself". Power and control over decision-making was therefore of critical importance and the women valued them highly. It was the source of their independence.

Women in the DR, like their colleagues in Jamaica, also depended extensively on their informal savings network. "San", the equivalent of the "partner" in Jamaica, was an essential part of women's economic survival strategy. "San" emerged in several discussions with women and was quite common in the community. They saved a minimum of \$100 and a maximum of \$500 pesos each week, then drew lots to see when they would get the total draw. Within Barrio Lindo, several "sans" operated on a daily basis (Group interview. Barrio Lindo. February 22, 1991). Women's survival strategies included: the "san", loans from the pawnbroker, credit from the shop keepers and their own ingenuity to make their wages stretch.

An interesting observation was made. Unlike women in Jamaica who used extra income to purchase furniture, women in the DR appeared to exist at a more marginal level. Echoing a common sentiment, Sonia, a resident of Barrio Lindo, regretted that despite years of working in the free zone, she had not been able to buy anything of value. Margarita then joined in the discussion saying said she was thinking of getting together with some other women to buy something. Delores gave an indication of their standard of living when she said, "Extra income is used

to buy household things like plates, or clothes or underwear" (Group interview. Barrio Lindo. February, 22, 1991).

This basic level of existence, limited food, poor housing and its impact on families, influenced women's decision to organise the union. For example, the community of Barrio Lindo was anything other than beautiful as the name suggests. The house in which the meeting was held was in a narrow unpaved lane, behind a zinc fence and in a yard shared by several other families. The house was very small, household contents were very basic, and extra seating was ingeniously created by placing pieces of wood between chairs and stools. There was very little room and everyone crowded into the space available, sitting where they could or standing. The spirit of the women was positive and hopeful however, oblivious to the poor physical conditions of the building, the noise and overcrowded conditions in the yard. Older children played outside, while the younger ones were tended by their mothers. The women were proud and in looking for a better way of life, obviously embraced the union as a lifeline.

Job Skills and Training

Limited skills combined with the need to earn enough to support their families, no doubt influenced the women's decision to organise. The interviews and questionnaire responses confirmed that more than half of them were semi-skilled. In Barrio Lindo for example, the group of six women included, two machine operators who made polo shirts; another two who made pants, panties and brassieres; a trimmer, cutting loose threads from finished garments; and a mender. However, only one of the women had worked as a production worker, which meant the earnings of the others were basic. Seventy percent of the women interviewed for this study were machine operators.

Although most women had more than a basic education, only low-skilled jobs were available to them. Many had interrupted their education because of pregnancy, which limited their employment prospects and experience. The free zones had as we previously noted, provided many of them with their first job as more than three quarters of those interviewed indicated that they had not worked previously. In Barrio Lindo, only one of the women interviewed had worked previously. This was Beatrice, who had several jobs. She first worked in a grocery, then a beauty salon, later a national lottery office, a pharmacy and finally in the free zone. Of all the jobs, she stated that the free zone job was the worst. Other union women who had worked, had been employed in the service sector doing ironing, sewing or working in small businesses. Despite the low social status of these occupations, nearly all of the women in the study, viewed the free zone job as worse and said that they wanted a change, despite the potential to earn higher wages. The other five women interviewed in Barrio Lindo, had not worked outside the house previously, so for them it was a big break. Overall only 21 percent of those who answered the questionnaire had worked previously. This reflects the very low level of employment among women recorded and is consistent with other reports. Baez (1985) for example, reports that in 1980, only 27 percent of women were employed and Joeke (1987:12), put the figure at 37 percent.

Women in the DR also found the free zone work environment fairly inflexible in providing opportunities for advancement. Despite a well-established pattern of employment, only one tenth of the women interviewed reported having received any training and only one twentieth had received promotions. As it is not common to move from one section of the assembly line to another, except as a punitive measure, the likely promotion would have been to supervisor. When

asked whether they would like to be supervisors, all the women in the Barrio Lindo group said yes and gave reasons why they could have been considered. Beatrice said she was trained and would like to be a supervisor or an inspector but there were no opportunities. Carmen said she would like to be a supervisor but she was disabled. Describing herself as a "high production worker", she felt that it would be an incentive if the company offered her work as a supervisor. Margarita felt that

it all depends on your ability to sew, your knowledge of the machines and your development in different operational areas (as well as) knowledge of the rules and regulations. You need to know everything. There is no training. The knowledge you have is from your own initiative. For example, to earn more, you have to learn to change the needle rather than wait for them to do it. Or, you teach yourself to repair your machine to earn more (Group interview. Barrio Lindo. February, 22 1991)

None of the women interviewed in Barrio Lindo for example, had been promoted while working at the free zone. It also emerged in one of the union meetings that some companies preferred to promote younger people. (Union meeting, February 23, 1990).

Promotion prospects were also limited by a rigid sexual division of labour. As previously noted, women worked primarily in garment production, while men worked mainly in jewellery and leather craft industries. More than three quarters of the women interviewed in the study through the questionnaire, personal interviews and group interviews, had been working in the zone for five years

which had been long enough to receive permanent posts. They had neither moved laterally to other jobs to learn new skills nor horizontally from a more basic skill such as packing to working on the sewing machine.

While women strongly felt there was no scope for promotion and skill training, as in Jamaica, a FTZ management representative had a different view. In an interview, Mr Angel Castillo, Chairman of the Free Zone Authority in San Pedro de Macoris, spoke of the recognised need to train technicians, but noted that the Universities "had been a little timid and there were only courses in traditional careers, lawyers, doctors...". At the level of most workers, he felt very strongly that their main problem was their lack of education. He kept coming back to this in his analysis of the situation. Pointing to the country's success with the FTZs after 18 years, he felt that the only reason they had managed to succeed was because the managers had educated the workers and taught them the technology required. He stated that the quality of work had improved and this was the reason for their success. He felt that the lack of education made workers fight because they don't know what to do. He recognised the need in future to "emphasise training of personnel so they can really assimilate the technology." (Angel Castillo. Personal interview. February 22, 1991).

Responding to allegations that managers abused the three month training period by extending it, Mr Castillo implied that it was the attitude of the worker rather than their level of skill which was the deciding factor in making them permanent employees. He stated that:

within these three months we try to ensure that this worker learns and assimilates. There are workers in some factories that are not

doing the level of production that is required, or the quality. But there are others, that in three months show by their attitude what they can do. In these cases they make the worker permanent in the factory... automatically. (Angel Castillo, Personal interview, February 22, 1991)

By education, Mr Castillo also implied work attitude. He compared the work ethic of a Dominican worker in the DR and another in the USA, noting that whereas the person working locally would have a litany of excuses why they couldn't come to work, their counterpart in the USA knew that whatever happened, they were expected to be at work or they would not get paid. "There, you go to work, to complete your work. There it would be a miracle to abuse this, but here it is different."

While not having Jamaica's long tradition of garment manufacturing, it is generally recognised that the skills most of the women would need, could be learnt in a few weeks. After three months they could be efficient, high quality producers. The interview with Mr Castillo confirmed that there was need to expand training and increase workers' exposure to more advanced technology. The wider range of goods produced in the DR's FTZs suggests in theory that there is scope for increasing the range of skills taught. There was no indication however that companies had a career development plan for workers. Rather, the emphasis was on ensuring that they had the right attitude, came to work regularly and on time and produced high quality goods, to contribute to the country's success in exports.

Employment Conditions

Attention is again drawn to the fact that most of the women had been working in the FTZ for an average of five years, but very few of them had been promoted. As in the case of Jamaica, company benefits, incentives, worker-management relations, the physical environment and relations at work were examined to develop a profile of working conditions. Several problem areas emerged from the interviews. Several conflicts were identified which related to differing concepts of work discipline.

Other conflicts related to women's need to balance their productive and reproductive roles. Several examples were cited of women having problems when they had to take sick children or family members to the doctor. While some factories insisted on having proof, there were reports of women being laid off because they had taken sick children to the doctor. This was apparently a common area of conflict which Angel Castillo also cited. In general the companies appeared intolerant of illness. One of the cases discussed in a union meetings related to an older man, employed as a sweeper, who had been immobilised in an accident and eventually required several operations. While he was in hospital, a letter was sent to his house informing him that he had abandoned his job and was therefore dismissed. It was also reported that his supervisor had put good materials in the rubbish he had swept to implicate him. It emerged from the number of complaints that there was a tendency to find some pretext for laying off older workers, particularly if they were sickly. Another woman attending a union meeting complained that she had worked with a company for 15 years, became ill, received her three weeks sick leave and returned with her doctor's certificate. She was then told that her sewing machine was being repaired and was laid off.

Any suggestion that a worker was interested in unionisation was also quickly repressed, creating an atmosphere of intimidation. It emerged that some workers saw their survival as linked to spying for the company, reporting colleagues interested in unionisation, and we recall that in the Barrio Lindo discussions meeting, this concern being raised. The waves of dismissals, the harassment at work, the desperate need to keep a job to support their families, created tension and stress for the workers and reasons for organising. The problem of unemployment was exacerbated as some factories did not pay any compensation after dismissal. In fact this was a major area of litigation for the union's lawyer, who in February 1991, said she had 1,500 cases in the court (Mercedes. Personal interview. February 22, 1991).

Among the possible reasons why workers were so strongly motivated to form a union was the common practice of some companies not to pay social security deductions to the government, because this precluded them from being treated at government hospitals. This was usually only discovered on arrival for treatment. The indiscriminate firing of workers, also helped to expand the union's membership. Many workers joined the union after they had been dismissed or after several successive attempts to find work, discovered that their names had been blacklisted in the Free Zone Authority's records. Some workers reported receiving death threats, while others said they were wrongly accused and were given no chance to defend themselves.

The problems cited were exacerbated by the Ministry of Labour's inability to effectively arbitrate in labour disputes. According to the San Pedro Union's General Secretary, there was no separate labour dispute tribunal. This was one of the issues around which they campaigned: to establish a network of these tribunals

across the country so that cases could be heard more quickly. Hearing them, in the regular courts, usually meant delays of several years. The San Pedro Union's General Secretary also reported that a Ministry official and herself met with several managers who reassured them that they had no objection to the union as it would boost productivity. After their visit, several workers reported that they were victimised and harassed. In her view, the Ministry seemed incapable of insisting on the principle of unionisation which had been established.

Against the background of these concerns, it is understandable that so many workers were motivated to organise. It took three years of constant harassment before the government recognised the right of unions to organise in the FTZs and officially registering them. They had existed in various factories but were not officially recognised.

Physical facilities were also problematic and poor maintenance of bathrooms was a major source of discontent. Workers in Carter Dominicana, for example, complained in union meetings and described the conditions as "disgusting". There were also problems related to certain occupational tasks. Elena, an ironer, complained that working over a steam iron for four years affected her badly. She had to stand for long hours and sometimes escaped by going to the bathroom. Another ironer, who had been working with Carter Dominicana for thirteen years stated that she developed pains in her body and legs from the steam and long hours on her feet. If she was tired and sat to iron, the supervisor took her chair away. She was now being accused of low production which meant they wanted to fire her. Work discipline was so rigid in some factories that if a pregnant woman spent more than five minutes in the bathroom she was penalised. This took several forms, one of which was giving a worker a bad machine to slow down her

production.

Lack of adequate canteens was also a problem. On a visit to the San Pedro Free Zone in February 1991, thousands of workers were seen streaming out of factories at lunch time. They sat on the ground or stood during their 45 minute lunch break. A number of short interviews selected non-randomly during this period, confirmed the problems cited in the union meetings, community discussions and elsewhere. It also emerged that workers bought their lunches from the network of vendors who sold on the streets within the FTZ. They rushed to grab something to eat and drink then prepared to report back to work. Workers were willing to talk, but the interviews were discontinued when it was observed that managers and supervisors were taking a keen interest.

Sexual harassment was a major issue affecting women in addition to the other problems cited such as conflicts between their productive and reproductive roles. Several women reported that they were faced with the option of trading sexual favours for getting or keeping their jobs. Unlike traditional unions the San Pedro Union gave priority to this and called a press conference with the support of several women workers in 1991.

Relations with Supervisors

The relationship between some workers and their supervisor also emerged as a source of job dissatisfaction and a possible motivation for organising. We recall that in the earlier days of the FTZs in the DR, there are reports of violent confrontations between workers and Asian supervisors and that a major confrontation in 1987 gave rise to the first mass movement which led to the formation of the union in the FTZ. A pregnant woman was kicked by a Korean

supervisor and lost her baby. Mr Castillo confirmed that there had been problems in the earlier years when he stated that "there (had) been a long list of problems and events." He noted in particular that Korean and Italian owners who were from a different culture, had treated their workers in ways which caused problems. These he saw as isolated cases however, and further noted that his Association was now helping to orient them. He said that there was "one case ... where the supervisor used excesses and ill-treated workers. This we would not tolerate, even among us. We are Dominicans." It therefore appeared that the local Association, like the Kingston Free Zone Clients group, took responsibility for trying to reduce these conflicts by providing a training programme available to investors at their request. They also hired more local supervisors. Some like Elida, and Millie in Jamaica, used an alternative approach which is discussed more fully in the next chapter on organising. Findings from the interviews however show that several problems persisted.

Whereas about a third of the women reported having positive relationships, with their supervisor, almost half of them said that the relationship was negative. Maria for example said that "relations with the supervisor are very complicated, sometimes they treat us well and sometimes badly" (Maria. Personal interview. February 15, 1990). Ana, Mary and a number of other women felt more strongly, describing their relationship as very bad, while Julia stated that "sometimes we fight" (Personal interviews. February, 10, 1990).

Occupational Health and Safety

Nearly all of the women reported having work-related illnesses. The most common ailments were: allergies; kidney problems; menstrual problems; stomach aches; headaches; and asthma. The combination of excessive overtime, health

complaints, long years of service with no promotions or training, made employment in the FTZ stressful and unfulfilling. These, together with insanitary bathrooms, limitations on bathroom visits, poor canteen facilities, the inhuman treatment of workers, contaminated drinking water, heat and lack of ventilation in factories created a work environment which in our view, motivated women to organise.

Overtime

Excessive overtime also contributed to job dissatisfaction. The earlier reports that the DR leads the region in exports, are obviously gained at a high cost to women workers. Although most women reported that they worked overtime, more than half of them stated that they did not work voluntarily. Overtime appeared excessive because two thirds of the women interviewed reported that they worked between 10 - 29 hours overtime each week. About a third worked even longer: between 30 and 50 extra hours. Given women's reproductive roles, this level of overtime would understandably create difficulties for them to fulfil their domestic responsibilities.

Occupational Aspirations

Given women's limited opportunities to advance in their FTZ jobs and their obvious frustration, efforts were made to ascertain workers' self perception and career aspirations. They were therefore asked what they would like to be doing if they were not working in the zone. Interestingly, nearly half of the women said domestic work, while the others were evenly split between a professional career related to nursing, teaching, secretarial work and skilled trades such as beauty culture and dressmaking. Given the fact that the majority of the women had worked in the free zone for an average of five years, it was interesting

to note that their career aspirations had not changed significantly from that of their mothers. Excessive overtime and family commitments however left very little time for education, training and self development.

In summary therefore, working conditions at the FTZs in the DR were extremely problematic for the workers. While the jobs helped women to fulfil their productive roles, working conditions appeared much more severe than in Jamaica. Managers perceived the problem as poor education as well as poor work attitude and work ethic, while workers perceived the problem as one of exploitation by management and the abuse of workers rights. The findings suggest that all these factors contribute to the problem. A fundamental concern for the development of women, is workers' lack of knowledge about their rights and responsibilities which makes them vulnerable. Government's role in supporting workers rights also needs to be assessed. Several issues emerged around which women have organised and these are discussed in the next chapter.

The Community

The overview of living conditions in the communities also indicates why women have organised. The decision to include information on the community in the study was to provide a context for understanding women's actions more fully. Moser (1989) has described the community as a woman's domain. It was therefore interesting that both the Coop and the trade union are organised at a community level. While the earlier description of Barrio Lindo suggests socio-economic reasons for organising, it is important to note that some workers lived even further away from the zone and in much poorer communities. The next chapter includes a description of the bateyes, which have concentrations of Haitian descendants.

There was a strong community spirit in San Pedro de Macoris. Nearly half of the women had lived there all their life. Others had been resident for between five and ten years and may have migrated to work in the zones. Conditions therefore existed for friendships to develop and these were no doubt consolidated by commuting to the zone together and working closely over five years (Group Interview, February 19, 1991).

The emerging profile of the majority of FTZ workers in San Pedro confirmed that the majority are young women below 25 years, with at least an intermediary secondary education. They tended to be single, heads of household, with at least two and possibly three dependent children. They lived with their extended family but had primary economic responsibility for them. The majority of women were semi-skilled machine operators earning a basic wage of 233 pesos weekly, (US\$18) which was insufficient to cover basic family expenses. This was their main source of income although most of them received an additional 100 pesos, on average, from other members of their household.

In general the work environment robbed women of power and status in several ways. Wages were low, working conditions were poor and allowed women little control over their personal lives. Sexual harassment and conflicts between their productive and reproductive roles were common. Jobs were vital to their survival but offered little scope for advancement, promotion or training. Overtime was excessive but did not provide enough income. Women therefore survived using a variety of strategies. They earned extra income by sewing, selling products or pooling their resources with other women in "san" savings groups. FTZ production also created health and environmental problems for them as women, as it did not readily accommodate illness either for themselves or for their family

members. The work environment also tried to control the women by restricting their access to union representation or their participation in decision-making on the shop floor.

Women were further disempowered by the practice of some companies to restrict payment of statutory government provisions. Limited company benefits, poor physical facilities and water, strict work practices and what many described as the inhumane treatment of workers, together contributed to their job dissatisfaction. The combination of these factors it would appear, motivated women to organise around gender issues.

While most women expressed interest in changing their job, their preferred options were traditional female service roles such as domestic and secretarial work, nursing and teaching. A few wanted to go into their own business as hairdressers and beauticians. Women advocated setting up a union to struggle for improved salary and living conditions but they wanted a union that was sensitive to their needs such as sexual harassment, maternity leave, child care and security. They also wanted a union which was less confrontational, to ensure that fewer jobs would be lost.

Chapter Summary

Several common features emerge from the two sets of data. Both groups of women are young, below the age of 25 years, with at least some secondary education, which is higher than the level associated with FTZ workers in Asia. Their socio-economic background is similar. Most are single, heads of household and primary income earners for their families. Where applicable, their previous employment has been primarily in low-skill low-paying jobs. Several are working

outside their homes for the first time. Their backgrounds and experiences are similar, suggesting common gender issues around which to organise. Their productive and reproductive responsibilities sometimes caused conflicts, such as when production deadlines clash with taking a sick child to the doctor.

Women's position of powerlessness in the workplace meant that they were vulnerable and some were exposed to sexual harassment. Their low status jobs and the limited opportunities for skill training, promotion or the acquisition of new skills, further limited their ability to improve the standard of living of their families. These jobs and the structure of leadership within the factories offered the women no opportunities for participation in decision-making although some had ideas of how production could be more cost-effective. They had limited power and control over their level of income each month. As earnings were based on job availability, production rates and quotas determined by external orders, women were unable to accurately predict their level of income and could therefore not budget. Added to this, the economic environment which was severely affected by structural adjustment policies which were examined in a previous chapter, increased women's level of powerlessness.

The FTZ environment also disempowered women by denying them access to union representation. Even when unionization was an option, it was usually at a high cost, including job loss or job insecurity. A major difference in the two groups was the excessive hours of overtime worked by women in the DR and the harshness of working conditions. The DR's highly reported success with the FTZ strategy therefore had adverse effects on women workers. This brings us back to some earlier questions. Can this be real development if women are exploited and disempowered? Can it be real development if it is dependent on the continued

subordination of women?

In summary therefore, the findings confirm the need for an alternative concept of development as the economic model has obviously created problems for the women even while offering them jobs. Several reasons may account for women choosing these two different methods of organising to meet their gender needs. Some of these may emerge from the analysis of the process of organising which is the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7

WOMEN ORGANISING IN JAMAICA: PROCESS, METHODS AND IMPACT

'Few who have studied women's position would conclude that fundamental change for women... can be based solely on increasing their individual earning power. Feminist theorists have identified collective action as a primary step for women in achieving personal power and status in the public domain'.

Bruce (1989:987)

Introduction

Collective action, guided by gender sensitivity, the need for empowerment and for participation have contributed significantly to the process of organising women workers in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic. This chapter presents details of the process leading to the establishment of the St Peter Claver Women's Housing Cooperative. In so doing, it provides details on how the three variables of interest have influenced the development of women workers. It builds on the earlier analysis of the crisis in development, associated with the neo-liberal strategy of structural adjustment, the structure of production in the FTZ which are the economic answer to the crisis, and the traditional roles of women in the Caribbean. Thus far, the findings suggest that separately and together, these factors have served to disempower women and reduce their participation in the development process. They have therefore provided what appear to be ample reasons for women to organise. This chapter therefore examines the process and methods which have been used and their impact on women.

Export oriented industrialisation, the New International Division of Labour and FTZs have undoubtedly given thousands of women jobs to meet some of their basic needs. But, as Lindblom suggests, the path to progress has not been linear. The jobs in themselves, have neither supported their strategic development, nor given them higher status and personal power. Indeed, the evidence suggests that women's central role as care givers and economic providers, often conflicts with the demands of assembly work. The organisations they have formed, reflect women's multiple roles and needs.

Free Zone Workers Organising in Jamaica

While women workers in Jamaica have organised since slavery, up to the mid 1980s, there had been relatively little documentation of women organising in the new industrialisation process in the Caribbean. The absence of hard data, the expansion of the FTZs in the Caribbean, the demonstrations, allegations of exploitation of women workers, and the denial of union representation, led CUSO, a Canadian Development Agency, to support research on women in the free trade zones in Jamaica and the Eastern Caribbean. Selena Tapper, CUSO's Regional Field Officer, a Jamaican woman committed to gender issues, approached the Joint Trades Union Research and Development Centre (JTURDC), an umbrella group for the five major trade unions in Jamaica, to collaborate on the research in Jamaica. I served as Research Coordinator for the project. The Women's Action Committee (WAC), a group of activists on women's issues, was established as a recommendation from the study. This experience, in our view, has been integral to the formation of the St Peter Claver Housing Cooperative as WAC has provided critical support to both the Free Zone Group and the Housing Cooperative, in the form of advice, training, moral support and collaboration on advocacy issues.

There are several parallels in the strategies used by the two groups which inform our understanding of the development process.

Women in Industry Project

The JTURDC/CUSO research project arose out of an assessment by CUSO-Caribbean, of the real advancement made especially by working-class women, at the end of the Decade for Women in 1985. While some women had benefitted from local activities and international exposure during the period, this was primarily confined to the middle class and the lives of poor women had been largely untouched by Decade activities. More significantly, however, these women were being targeted in 1985/86 period as the principal workers for new garment industries being opened in the Kingston Free Trade Zone; industries meant to earn much-needed foreign exchange. CUSO's unstated objective was to sensitize the JTURDC to gender issues (Selena Tapper. Personal interview. December 16, 1992). The terms of reference of the JTURDC/CUSO study were to investigate allegations of abuses related to wages and working conditions in the Kingston Free Zone, compare these with conditions in the local garment factories producing for export and recommend changes (CUSO Free Zone Document, 1986). It was strategic to "house" the study within the JTURDC, given its potential and scope for maximising the impact of the study and strengthening gender-sensitivity in the trade unions.

A combination of research methods was used. This included a small quantitative questionnaire survey and several qualitative, participatory research activities. The participatory research methodology was used to involve the women working in the Kingston Free Zone in identifying problems related to their work and supporting them in finding solutions. This approach was used as it offered the

scope for involving a large number of national groups and sectors in taking a critical look at the impact of the zones on women. As was discussed in the introductory chapter, the process of reflection and action involved, would provide opportunities to address the problems identified.

Several participatory methods were used to share information, build awareness, increase the level of participation, stimulate discussion among women workers and collect data. Three workshops and a seminar were held to collect information and share the findings. Drama was used in some of the workshops, to expose women workers to the use of drama as a tool for analysis and organising. Honor Ford-Smith of Sistren Theatre Collective (Sistren), a women's popular theatre group, co-facilitated these workshops. Sistren is a group of primarily working class women who have developed skills in using drama as a tool for analysing community and women's issues. During the period, they consistently highlighted the situation of free zone workers in their workshops and plays. (Sistren, Muffett, Kingston, 1987). A photo-slide show from the researcher's visit to the Philippines was prepared and presented in workshops. A graphic exhibition on the life of "Fay", a free zone worker was also prepared. It was used in workshops and for public education programmes around the island in 1986 (Lucy Brown-Hutton, Fay, JTURDC/CUSO, Kingston, 1986).

A number of field visits also helped in data collection. There were visits to: communities in which workers lived; the Kingston Free Zone; to local garment factories; a Caribbean women's meeting to share information on the Jamaica and the Eastern Caribbean research at the end of the project. At the beginning of the process, the researcher participated in an international conference entitled "Micro-Chip Technology: its Impact on Women Workers" and a visit to the Bataan Free

Trade Zone, both in the Philippines, as well as to women's organisations in Sri Lanka's FTZs. These visits helped to place the Jamaican experience within the context of the New International Division of Labour. They also provided important opportunities for networking with a broad cross section of women's groups, as well as for information sharing and data gathering. Some of these groups were: Women Working Worldwide in the United Kingdom; the Institute of Social Studies in the Hague; ISIS in Rome; Sistren Theatre Collective in Jamaica; the Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action (CAFRA) and Working Women for Social Progress in Trinidad; the Women and Development Unit (WAND) and the Women's Studies Group, of the University of the West Indies (UWI) in Barbados and Jamaica respectively.

Documentation of the findings took several forms. Newspaper clippings were compiled, edited and copied. This production summarised free zone events between 1986 and 1987 and served as a record of the debate and the workers' struggles to organise. Journalists who were invited to participate in the workshops, regularly published articles on related issues both locally and regionally. (See Soares, 1987 for examples). Two unpublished academic papers were written for the workshops (Girvan, 1986 and Cowell, 1986). Reports on the workshops and the final report of the study completed the formal documentation from the project. (**"The Women In Industry: Report of a Participatory Research Project on Women in the Garment Industry in Jamaica"**, Dunn, 1987). This final report was shared locally, regionally and internationally and was then the only source of hard data on the experience of women working in Jamaica's FTZs. The photo slide and graphic exhibition were used for public education work.

Some of the interviews were done at the St Peter Claver Church, in the Waltham Park community, near to the Kingston FTZ, where the church had begun to take an interest in the FTZ issue as a social justice concern. They were invited to the workshops and subsequently did a survey of free zone workers in their area. (Anderson 1988). This process eventually led to the formation of the St Peter Claver Women's Housing Cooperative.

Organising Strategies

Gender networking in the "Women in Industry" project, facilitated contact between several "actors" in a complementary way (workers, academics and activists). This was happening at a local, regional and international level. It appears that participation empowered all groups by building awareness around gender issues and collective action helped to gather and compile the data.

Education and Awareness - Building: Using the Media

The mass media, as agents of socialisation and communication, played an important role in educating the public and building awareness. Public attention was focused on the issues and public opinion was mobilised for change. Investigative journalism flourished, when a young, female journalist went undercover, as a machine operator on the night shift in a free zone factory and published her experience (Phyllis Thomas, "Night Shift on the Free Zone." The Star, {Kingston, Jamaica}, October 24, 25, 27, 1986 in Soares, 1987). Escalated unrest in the KFTZ, resulted in newspaper articles, public discussions, campaigns and public participation in daily radio call-in programmes which were very popular.

Culture also emerged as an effective strategy in organising women. An annual, Sistren -sponsored, International Women's Day, reggae music concert ("Sister's Celebration") in 1987, also helped to educate the public and support free zone workers. Women's organisations mobilised free zone companies and workers. The female MC for the show, interspersed the songs with information on conditions in the free zones and encouraged the women to continue their struggle.

Possibly the most important action emerging from the research process was organisational development. The recommendation to establish the Women's Action Committee (WAC), emerged from the second workshop in December 1986 where a broad cross-section of participants proposed the establishment of " a Women's Action Committee to include representatives from the media, the churches and from women's organisations." The objectives were:

1. to gather data and analyze the situation in the free zone with a view to assisting the development of a totally self-defined union among women in the free zone.
2. to lobby for trade union access to the free zones.

It was also noted that the Committee "would function for one year in the first instance " and would be convened by the JTURDC. (Dunn, 1986, - Report of Workshop 2. Women in Industry Project, held on December 11, 1986 at the Trade Union Education Institute, UWI, Mona).

The JTURDC did not convene the WAC. After a year of persistent reminders and lobbying by various groups, CUSO took the initiative to establish

the WAC. The experience supports Ward's (1986) view that there is need for alternative methods of organising women workers. WAC then became a broad-based group of 15 organisations including the St Peter Claver Free Zone Women's Group and seven individuals. Its role was to monitor developments in the zone and support the efforts of free zone workers for improvements in their wages and working conditions. WAC's strategy was research, education and support to women workers. They have also played an important advocacy role on matters relating to women in the free zones.

Empowering women through information and awareness building were also evident. In 1990, WAC published a cartoon booklet "Rights as well as Jobs" for free zone workers outlining their legal rights and responsibilities. The group continued to work closely with the Chairperson of the Client Services Committee of the Kingston Free Zone Company Ltd. This Committee had the responsibility of ensuring that the needs of free zone foreign investors were met and it worked to speedily resolve problems as they occurred, to ensure the satisfaction of free zone clients. By participation in and collaborating with the Chairperson of this group, WAC was able to contribute to the process of the women's physical development. Wages, working conditions and general facilities in the Kingston Free Zone improved in several small ways (canteens were increased, security and transportation services improved).

Public Enquiry

The strength of public opinion and continued unrest in the KFTZ, forced the government at that time to establish a Commission of Enquiry. A very large demonstration of free zone workers on International Women's Day, March 8, 1988, may also have influenced their decision. Sole Commissioner Dan Kelly was

appointed on March 21, 1988 under the provisions of Section 14 (2) of the Labour Relations and Industrial Disputes Act. The terms of reference were to:

enquire into and report on the terms and conditions of employment and other aspects of labour relations in the garment industry in Jamaica with special reference to the garment industry in the Kingston Free Zone and other Free Zones in Jamaica and to make recommendations thereon.

(Ministry of Labour Report of Enquiry into the Garment Industry: February 1, 1989).

The 15 groups presenting evidence to the Commission represented a wide cross section of organisations. These included: trade unions; organisations of employers, manufacturers and the private sector; government institutions and women's organisations. The latter included the St Peter Claver Free Zone Women's Group, Sistren Theatre Collective and the Women's Action Committee. With CUSO's assistance, the Women's Action Committee, hired one of the country's top lawyers, Sonia Jones, to present their submission to the Commissioner. The choice of a well-established, female lawyer, was strategic to the organising process. She was sympathetic to the issues, her seniority in legal circles as well as her track record, made it more difficult for opponents to refute and dismiss her arguments (Selena Tapper. Personal interview. September 4, 1992).

The St Peter Claver Women's Housing Cooperative also presented evidence to the Commission, based on their own research and the actual experience of their members who work in the free zone. Both the process of collecting and presenting

evidence to the Enquiry and later pressing for the findings to be released, were important lessons in organising.

Gender sensitivity and participatory research emerged as important to the process. The availability of basic data was essential. Identifying and prioritising issues, clarifying objectives and conducting research were also vital. Formation of an organisation to take the issues forward, suggests an effective way of empowering women. Facilitating women's participation in the process of research, reflection, analysis and action, has also contributed to the process of women's empowerment. This has also enhanced their understanding and use of power to advance their position. Several of these issues emerged in discussion with Coop members.

Organisational Development: the St Peter Claver Women's Group

Anderson's (1988) report, underscored the development problems faced by free zone workers in the community. Social, economic, political and environmental problems abound in the area. Very high unemployment (seen in the consistent pattern of scores of people sitting on the sidewalks talking and men drinking in bars); precarious and overcrowded housing conditions; partisan political tribalism, accompanied by violence and intimidation typical of inner city areas of Kingston, has been widely documented. (Stone 1983:140).

The church invited women in the community to share the findings and explore solutions. Regular monthly meetings were held in the church hall on Sunday evenings. The group became known as the **St Peter Claver Free Zone Women's Group**, and over a period of several months, expanded to a registered membership of 175 women. Though small in relation to the number of women

from the community working in the free zone, the size of the group was considered significant, given the low level of organising among women workers. A Progress Report from the group dated July 13, 1988, indicates that attendance fluctuated widely, averaging 25 women at most meetings. Programmes designed to build women's self-esteem, trust and confidence included the use of video productions on women's issues. For example, Sistren's own production Sweet Sugar Rage was used, as well as The Global Assembly Line - a video on garment workers.

The group's discussions on problems in the home and the workplace circulated by word of mouth and were announced in church services and domestic workers, street vendors and unemployed women came to the meetings. The report also observed the difficulties encountered in organising unemployed women. What was also interesting in the report was the recognition of the need "to hire a young woman to organize games etc., for the children who accompany their mothers to the regular meetings." (St. Peter Claver Free Zone Group Progress Report, July 13, 1988). Such gender-sensitivity is uncommon in most trade unions.

The monthly Sunday meetings provided a forum for discussing problems at work and the impact it was having on families and helped to identify priority issues for action. Over time, bonds of friendship, solidarity and support developed among the women. They also identified the need for training at various levels. To overcome their low level of education and skills, classes were organised in: literacy and basic education (English Language and Mathematics) and sewing. At another level, the women examined the problems they were experiencing as single parents trying to manage on a limited income. Many of them also lacked self-confidence and knowledge about what was best for their children. They expressed concern about the harsh punishments they sometimes inflicted on the children, because of

tension and conflicts with their partners, supervisors and managers at work. A personal development programme was therefore organised. Resource persons were invited to the Sunday meetings to address a variety of gender issues such as parenting, sexual and domestic violence, grievance procedures, household budgeting and money management. Most of the resource persons were professional women and members of women's organisations like Sistren Theatre Collective who introduced the group to using drama as a tool for analysing issues affecting women and problem solving (SPC Progress Report, July 13, 1988).

Members of the group provided practical support to each other in several ways. Those women seeking jobs were informed of vacancies in the KFTZ and given Free zone passes, which gave them access to enter and attend job interviews. Social events were organised and played an important role in building the group. These provided opportunities for outings to places that were previously inaccessible to the women, like the theatre, the beach and rural visits. The women also organised birthday parties for the children.

Organising these various activities helped to develop leadership skills, gender awareness and strengthen contacts with women's groups. Interviews with Coop members suggest that the skills learnt in coordinating and organising small programmes and projects, helped to give them confidence to prepare larger events and develop team work skills. A core of leaders emerged. Then, increasing awareness that women have special needs which can be addressed collectively, led the Free Zone Group to become members of the Women's Action Committee and the Association of Women's Organisations of Jamaica (AWOJA). The Group, provided WAC with a vital communication link on events, as they occurred in the Kingston Free Zone. They also helped to sensitize WAC members about the views

of women workers and influenced the content of WAC's programmes. The Group also worked closely with the Women's Construction Collective (WCC), a group of women involved in training and employment in construction skills.

The evidence suggests that interaction with women's groups and collective action on a number of joint issues, helped to integrate the St Peter Claver Group into the national women's movement. These actions contributed to a sense of empowerment, as the free zone workers became part of a wider process to support the development of women. The experience also exposed some members of the group to social, economic and political issues at a national level. Increasingly they were able to link their experience as free zone workers with national economic policies such as structural adjustment and the debt. They were also able to make connections between the work they were doing to survive and improve their standard of living and their role as women and as workers. Contacts were also established with free zone workers in other countries and the group has, on several occasions been invited to share their experience with other organisations. This process has helped to build the self esteem and self confidence of several of the women.

As references from Lindblom suggested in the earlier chapters of this thesis however, the process of the group's development has involved both advances and setbacks. Several problems were encountered in getting women to work together. The Church's early efforts to bring unemployed women together through upgrading English-language skills, were not successful. The 1988 Progress Report of their **Working Women's Outreach Project**, indicates that attendance at meetings was irregular, there was a lack of motivation and the burden of survival made progress and consistency difficult. The skills training programme also

encountered difficulties. Having acquired sewing machines, there was a delay of several months before classes started as construction of additional rooms at the school adjoining the church, had to be completed. The church had also anticipated that the sewing classes would help them to organise the large number of unemployed women in the community. This was particularly important as approximately 300 Free Zone passes had already been acquired and distributed, although after a while, they no longer had access to these passes for prospective job applicants.

In analysing the issues raised in the Report, it was also interesting to note that whereas the idea of starting a credit union had been mentioned on a number of occasions, the assessment in July 1988 was that "the development of a Credit Union... was not a priority need." The Report however stated that:

What has emerged as a high priority is HOUSING. For the past six months we held meetings with women who are interested in the development of a Cooperative Housing Project. Between 10-20 women have been attending. The meetings so far have consisted of explanations about the benefits and responsibilities, the structures, legal aspects, organization etc.etc. of a housing scheme. A CUSO volunteer (sic) has joined us with considerable experience in the development of Co-Op Housing. The women have shared their present living situations with us which provide incentive to press on with this project.

(St Peter Claver Progress Report: Working Women's Outreach Project July 13, 1988).

St Peter Claver Women's Housing Cooperative

In addition to these internal factors associated with the Church's interest in establishing a social outreach programme for working women in the community, which are discussed above, a number of external factors assisted in the formation of the Housing Coop. As stated above, members of the St Peter Claver Free Zone Women's Group had identified poor, overcrowded housing as a critical problem affecting many of them. Hurricane Gilbert, one of the most violent tropical storms this century, devastated Jamaica on September 12, 1988 and made the need for housing more acute. Many free zone workers lost their already precarious accommodation and were forced to share the already overcrowded facilities of relatives and friends.

Within the community of non-governmental organisations, the problem of affordable housing for low-income women had previously emerged as a major issue. The Women's Housing Group, an informal network of women had been formed earlier and met regularly to examine various options and solutions to the problem of affordable housing for women. With support from CUSO, the group researched the problem and identified cooperative housing as a possible strategy. Membership of a number of these women in the Association of Development Agencies (ADA) and the Council for Voluntary Social Services (CVSS), two umbrella NGOs, contributed to these two bodies organising a "Shelter Workshop" early in 1988. The one-day workshop and exhibition examined and displayed problems and solutions associated with people's access to safe affordable housing. The work of various organisations and groups involved with the issue was also presented. As members of the NGO community, the St Peter Claver network also participated in this activity. (Field notes).

Hurricane Gilbert wreaked widespread havoc on most of the island in September 1988 and made housing a top priority. The Women's Housing Group invited Roman Catholic priest, Fr Jim Webb from the St Peter Claver Church to become a member of their group. Whereas the church had considered a housing scheme, the idea of the cooperative took root through this contact and the Women's Housing Group agreed to give their support to the project as a tangible expression of their work (Selena Tapper. Personal interview. August 15, 1990). Several groups and agencies provided assistance in establishing the Housing Cooperative. The church coordinated local and international fund-raising and provided space for the group to function. The Department of Cooperatives organised a series of training sessions in cooperative principles and the women who completed the course, formed the Housing Coop. It was legally registered on January 26, 1989. CUSO provided a Canadian volunteer with experience of housing cooperatives in Canada to work with the group. The volunteer, Sarah Power, spent the next two years training members of the Coop to manage and run the organisation.

Funding the Coop: Debt Swap for Housing

The principle of a debt swap was used to finance the Coop, and is similar to debt for nature swaps. Debt swaps are done between debtor countries and international creditors. Creditors will release debt papers for a fraction of the original value in situations where it seems unlikely that the full amount plus interest will be repaid. In this way some of the money is recovered and the debtor agrees to donate the equivalent in local currency to a local organisation.

Canadian priest, Fr. Jim Webb, coordinated fund-raising activities for the Coop. The strategy used was to raise money from international NGO funding

agencies in Canada and the United Kingdom, to create capital to purchase houses. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) agreed to match these funds on a 4:1 ratio. With agreement of the Jamaican government, and support from the Jesuits in Canada, the foreign exchange raised was used to purchase some of Jamaica's foreign debt at a discounted rate. The Jamaican government, through the Bank of Jamaica provided J\$2,233,631.40 which was the equivalent of the foreign exchange collected and matched by CIDA 4:1. The Coop used this to purchase and renovate eight houses in the community and in so doing provided improved housing for nearly a hundred people.

Organisational Structure of the Coop

The St Peter Claver Church has continued to provide office and meeting space for the Coop and the cost of utilities are shared. The structure of the Coop is simple. Day to day administration and management are done by the Coordinator, who was trained by the CUSO Volunteer. She is responsible for identifying, purchasing and overseeing the renovation of new houses as well as managing the repair and maintenance of existing properties.

A Board comprised of Coop members, and elected at the group's Annual General Meeting (AGM), meets twice monthly to oversee the administrative and financial aspects of the organisation. They also provide support and advice to the Coordinator. Policy decisions are agreed at the AGM. Monthly general meetings of the membership, are used for administration, programme development and education. Several Volunteer Committees elected at the AGM, coordinate activities in a number of areas related to the life of the group. The Membership Committee reviews applications from the hundreds of women who apply for membership. These are then evaluated against the criteria collectively agreed on,

to screen, shortlist and interview applicants. Coop training is then arranged and the names of those short-listed are considered when housing units become available. The Maintenance Committee monitors the upkeep of existing Coop houses as well as the purchase and renovation of new houses. The Social Affairs Committee organises social and educational events for the Coop. The Finance Committee prepares the budget, monitors expenditure and is learning to do fund-raising. There are also "Yard" meetings of women living at each property site, to identify and handle problems.

In assessing organisational strengths and weaknesses, we note that whereas the structure exists, active participation of members has varied and too much responsibility has been placed on the Coordinator. Continuous monitoring of developments in the group by this researcher has indicated that the membership had become very dependent on her at a time when she was still learning to manage a programme of this size. Participation in several Board meetings, general meetings, the AGM in 1993 as well as interviews with the Coordinator, Fr Webb and members of the Coop, suggest that insufficient training, inadequate monitoring, administrative and leadership support had adversely affected the programme. To address these weaknesses, boost self-confidence and equip the members with a variety of organisational skills, a training programme for the leadership and membership of the Coop was therefore developed in 1993.

Empowerment: Participation and Programme Development

Like the WAC experience, establishing the Free Zone Women's Group and the Housing Cooperative, point to the importance of participation in collective action as an important factor in organising. Whereas a macro-economic strategy like EOI has had a varied impact on women, the evidence suggests that a bottom-

up strategy of addressing gender issues, increasing participation of members in the Coop and the Free Zone Group, have contributed to their empowerment and development. The tangible results of the Housing Coop, has changed the collective status of group members, and serves as a model which women in other communities have begun to explore.

An interesting observation is that a housing cooperative has become a basis for the development of women. In establishing their own organisation, women have not established an economic institution but rather a social one which meets their needs. The credit union has been used as an alternative to the main banking system, because it is perceived as more people-sensitive and is linked to the national cooperative movement.

Programme development around gender issues also emerges as important. The acquisition and allocation of houses to women in the Waltham Park community, has been the priority issue for the Coop and all other programme activities support this process. The thesis therefore argues that in the process of organising around housing as a gender issue, the women are learning how to run an organisation, set goals, plan activities, evaluate their programmes and deal with internal and external factors affecting them. The acquisition of new skills and knowledge has effectively increased their store of resources as well as the power they hold. Group and individual interviews have indicated that economic survival is the primary goal, while better parenting skills and managing the Coop more effectively are lesser priorities. As such they will remain interested to the extent to which the Coop can help them meet other interests and objectives. Sustaining the programme has however been very difficult as most of the women face job instability, constant rises in the cost of living, low wages that do not keep pace

with inflation and a minimum wage that has remained unchanged for a number of years. Programme development is also hampered by limited access to funding, especially since resources of international funding agencies are now more limited and there is less interest in debt swaps. Major financial institutions now perceive that the debt crisis has ended. At the same, the Coop feels the pressure from members and applicants to expand the number of housing units it owns and are exploring ways of raising some funds locally.

This thesis argues that empowerment of women has taken place through participation in collective action. The interviews show that the experience of purchasing, renovating and allocating houses has been invaluable. Establishing rules for the Coop, developing criteria for allocating the houses, maintaining discipline within the group, handling conflict that arises from sharing facilities (bathroom and kitchen), has strengthened some of the members. The first eight houses accommodated 16 Coop members and their families, and priority was given to single women with children in the most precarious housing situation. The programme has expanded and this has included a merger with another women's housing group which started in Eastern Kingston. The Property Report presented to the Coop's AGM in May 1993 indicated that the group is growing. Two houses had been acquired through the merger and three others were being purchased which would give them a total of twelve houses. This information was compiled from interviews with St Peter Claver Housing Cooperative members in August 1990, June 1991, January 1993 and Annual Report to the AGM, May 9, 1993.

Advocacy and education work has also been part of the programme. In 1990, the Coop produced a video documentary about their experience entitled We Run Things, which they use for education and to animate group discussions.

Additionally they have been the subject of video documentaries on the impact of debt and structural adjustment on women. For example, a video entitled Jamaica, No Problem? was produced by the UK based charity, Christian Aid 1991, with whom I worked as Project Officer. The organisation has supported the Coop since 1987.

Interviews with members of the group have also been published in Sistren Magazine and elsewhere. Some members have also done public speaking engagements about the Coop experience, but their more consistent advocacy work has been done with WAC. Their archives show that occasional letters have been written to the press on issues affecting free zone workers. They made submissions to the National Minimum Wage Commission in 1989, arguing that minimum wages should be restored to 1987 levels. As previously noted, members of the group also gave evidence to the Kelly Commission of Enquiry based on their own experience as workers in the zone.

Advocacy work has also been done on specific issues in the KFTZ. For example, in July 1989 the group prepared a News Release in response to a controversial inter-office communication issued by the management of Jamaica Needlecraft, a subsidiary company of Maidenform Inc. of Bayonne, New Jersey, USA. The memorandum dated June 21, 1989 was issued by Mr Harold Duggan, General Manager of the company to all employees. It provided statistics on the number and percentage of pregnancies in the previous year, calculated the total person-hours the company had lost and noted that "employees should not expect to shift the responsibility of their pregnancy to someone else ... (and) the company could only, within very narrow limits, consider transfers to other activities as the

women would be less than productive." (Jamaica Needlecraft Inter Office Memorandum dated June 21, 1989). The News Release issued by the St Peter Claver Free Zone Women's Group was entitled Women Free Zone Workers Feel Degraded by Letter Advising Against Pregnancy, and indicated that the letter had elicited a very negative response from the workers:

The attitude of the company conveyed in the letter is degrading and shows no regard for either the dignity of motherhood or their female workers... The company should apologize to their pregnant employees and implement steps necessary to accommodate women during pregnancy. To suggest that women employees should choose not to become pregnant so as to increase the company's productivity is insulting (SPC Women's Group News Release. Signed by Marlene Turner, July, 10, 1989).

Feelings that their reproductive rights were being challenged, evoked this sharp response from the group. Publicising the issue led to national debate in the media and Ms Turner was invited by JBC TV to participate in a programme soon after the release came out. Similar condemnation from Sistren Theatre Collective, was also carried in the two main daily newspapers. A number of women were also interviewed at the factory, who voiced support for the management (St Peter Claver Free Zone Group Report. September 12, 1989). The management subsequently dropped the issue. It is agitation on matters such as these which directly affect women that traditional trade unions may be less willing to support.

The invitation extended by the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation for Ms Turner to participate in their current affairs television programme, illustrates the

public's recognition of the Group's role in advocating the rights of women working in the free zone. It further shows that participation in advocacy issues and the responses these have evoked, has enabled women to learn the importance of collective action on issues which affect them and this has contributed to the process of their empowerment. As with FTZ workers in Asia, the Dominican Republic, Mexico and elsewhere, collective action on issues affecting women has also helped to consolidate friendships and bring the kind of changes which accord with the concept of development outlined in our earlier chapters.

Empowerment at a personal level also emerged as an outcome of the Coop experience. Interviews with Coop members presented in the previous chapter, indicated that the experience had provided access to better housing which was comfortable, affordable and more secure. Household ownership had also increased social status, power and resources. Many women had become more confident, articulate and assertive in standing up for their rights at home and at work. Organisational skills had been acquired from running an organisation, purchasing and managing properties, building participatory structures and negotiating. For example, Margaline, a young quiet member of the Board, indicated that involvement in the Coop and as a member of the executive has helped to make her less introverted. Talking in meetings was easier and she felt more confident and articulate in expressing her opinions (Margaline. Personal interview. August 12, 1990). Millie, the former President of the Housing Cooperative, had also noted that leading the group had given her extra confidence which may have contributed to her being promoted to the position of supervisor at work. With this had come respect from colleagues at work and in the Coop (Millie. Personal interview. August 16, 1990).

Similarly, Cherry stated that the experience gained as Coordinator of the Coop, had boosted her self confidence. She felt more capable of making a contribution to issues affecting the development of women. The experience had also fundamentally changed power relations between men and women in the Coop. As owners of the houses, women held the keys and this gave them strength to negotiate in male-female relationships and had helped to establish a basis for greater independence. Some women had tolerated relationships because they were unable to afford their own housing or support themselves. This dependency was the basis of several other problems which regularly arise in male-female relationships. Providing low affordable housing with more space and better facilities had increased the demand for units and there were reportedly more than 200 women on the waiting list.

Cherry also noted that the Coop also allowed women to live or be reunited with their children, as many landlords discriminate against children. The experience had also helped to create bonds of friendship among the women, particularly those in the same yard. They sat together in meetings, shared food, confidences, problems and happy occasions. Women gained power from friendships. Living in the Coop also gave them hope and allowed them to "think more positively about life". It also increased their awareness and gave them support with various problems. (Cherry. Personal interview. August 16, 1990). The Coop also facilitated economic support by providing loans for expenses such as connection costs for electricity supplies. Increased trust and social cohesion also enhanced the operation of the many "partner" groups discussed earlier.

Organisational Options: Coop or Trade Union?

Asked why women joined the Coop instead of a trade union, Cherry expressed the view that a trade union has set rules and methods of working, so if a problem arises there are rules to decide how it should be resolved. (By implication, members had no input into deciding those rules). Alternatively, she said, the Coop works collectively: if a crisis emerges, the members pool ideas, identify options and see how they can combine opinions to get to a solution. Decisions are made collectively rather than by one person or the leader. She also noted that union members pay dues whereas in the Coop there is only the housing charge. Members are however required to invest time in attending and participating in activities. Cherry also felt that the interests and motivations of the trade union and the Coop were different. Trade unions were perceived to be more interested in status, while the Coop focused on providing service, advice and support to the members.

Size was a factor which affected the quality of relationships in groups and the Coop's small size allowed for more personal interaction. Alternatively, trade unions, being larger, dealt with the concerns of members through representatives. Finally, she noted that in a politically polarised country like Jamaica, trade unions are usually affiliated with a political party and inner city areas of Kingston are badly affected by party political tribalism. The Coop offered an alternative to divisive tribalism and political patronage. As a non-partisan, non-religious group, she said, members studiously avoid discussion of politics and religion. They also attend a wide range of churches (Cherry. Personal interview. London. May 26, 1992).

Against this background, we therefore argue that the programme content and group processes of the St Peter Claver Free Zone Group, the Women's

Housing Cooperative, and WAC together represent alternatives to the traditional trade union method of organising workers. Given the very limited success of and scope for integrating women into existing trade union structures, the Coop experience in particular, is a valuable one from which lessons for organising can be extracted, to support women in fulfilling their gender roles and indeed their own growth and development.

To assess whether these organisational innovations may have had any tangible impact on the situation of workers in the free zones, we attempted to assess the general situation in the Kingston Free Zone at three intervals: 1987 using the JTURDC/CUSO study; 1991 using the Stone Thomas study and 1993 using the World Bank/Port Authority Study prepared by The Services Group. This task was assisted by a WAC report prepared by Jennifer Jones in 1992, which compared findings of the JTURDC/CUSO study in 1987 and the follow-up study for WAC prepared by Elizabeth Stone and Jessica Thomas in 1991.

Changes in the Kingston Free Zone

Jones (1992) notes that whereas working conditions in the Kingston Free Zone were still not ideal, the industrial climate had improved considerably. The litany of abuses that had been regularly publicised during the 1986 - 1988 period had subsided considerably. Not to discount the role of public opinion in moving for change, the evidence suggests that actions of the Women's Action Committee and the Coop have helped to improve the industrial climate at the Kingston Free Zone.

The comparison of the two studies indicates that some improvements have been made since 1987, although a number of problems have remained. Low wages continued to be a problem although salaries had improved minimally. The average

mean basic weekly salary was increased from J\$127 in 1987 to J\$137 in 1991. Whereas 11 percent of the workers took home more than J\$200 in 1987, 17 percent took this home in 1991. The standard of living of workers had dropped however, reflecting the wider problems of structural adjustment. Whereas the weekly budget in March 1987 was two and a half times the average weekly wage of J\$127, in November 1990, it was three and a quarter times the average weekly wage of J\$137. There is a note that the budget excluded clothes, medical expenses and school fees. Jones therefore concluded that "wages are too low for worker health, for productivity and the long-term national interest." (Jones, 1992:9). Comparison of the two studies however showed a vast improvement in the payment of minimum wage rates to employees serving their probationary period in 1991.

More than half the women interviewed in both studies complained of occupational health problems. Preference for purchasing food from vendors rather than using the canteens continued, because although canteens were more sanitary, credit was available from vendors. Common problems which persisted were the violation of fire and safety procedures, inadequate physical facilities such as bathrooms and work-space and inadequate ventilation and cooling systems in many of the factories. Increase in skill had not occurred because only about a quarter of the women in both studies had indicated that they could sew a whole garment. The level of worker apathy also remained virtually unchanged, as about half of those interviewed in both studies said that they did not want to learn other skills on the production line, although their job was monotonous. Dissatisfaction with how complaints were handled continued to be a problem, although Worker Councils had been introduced to some factories (Jones, 1992).

In summary, this comparison of research in the two periods, supports the need to question EOI as a development strategy. Changes were cosmetic but fundamental structural problems remained. From a different perspective, it is however understandable that there is evidence of improvements in physical facilities in The Services Group Inc. report to the World Bank and the Port Authority of Jamaica. These included an increase in the number of canteens, the upgrading of health, transportation and security arrangements, and the introduction of training and orientation programmes for foreign personnel who have to interface with the local workforce. The use of more Jamaican supervisors had helped to reduce the number of clashes between Asian supervisors and local workers which had earlier been a major source of conflict. There was also evidence that more training was being given to Jamaican supervisors, including sending some of them to factories in South Korea. (The Daily Gleaner, May 9, 1993:5).

Negotiation rather than confrontation marked a change in the relationship between workers and management in the earlier and later periods of the free zone. This is an interesting observation as this strategy was adopted by the women in both Jamaica and the Dominican Republic. Both groups have noted that negotiation and collaboration have been more effective than confrontation which is the style most commonly used by traditional trade unions. WAC's relationship with the Chairperson of the Free Zone Administration's Client Services Committee, Mrs Beverly Dunkley was based on cooperation and collaboration. While this was not an easy alliance, there was mutual respect and a commitment to improving the situation of women workers. (Mrs Dunkley. Personal interview. August 14, 1990). Close links between herself and WAC members, have helped to improve working conditions, though this does not suggest that any changes are solely the result of WAC and women in the St Peter Claver community. The

evidence however suggests that their interventions contributed significantly to a larger process of changing wages and working conditions in the zones. These were in the interest of both the government and foreign investors as it enhanced productivity. Both the activists on women's issues and women managing the Kingston Free Zone, appeared committed to negotiating for changes that ultimately served the interests of the workers, the manufacturers and the government (Personal interviews with Mrs Beverly Dunkley; Ms Selena Tapper; and Ms Lisetta White, August 14, 15 and 16, 1990). The thesis argues that traditional trade unions are unlikely to have used these approaches and if they had, employers and the Free Zone personnel are unlikely to have negotiated with them in the same way. Persistent persuasion by WAC has in our view helped to improve working conditions albeit in a modest way.

Gender sensitivity was also evident in reports that a few of the women factory managers have introduced changes that meet the needs of their workers while not harming production. For example, weekly shifts were arranged in one factory to allow women to leave early on Friday evenings to handle their domestic affairs. Similarly, in cases where temporary lay offs were necessary because of reduced orders for garments, some companies staggered the workforce to provide more women with jobs, albeit at a reduced level. (Interviews with Coop members and WAC members, August 1990). Interviews with Coop members also indicated that organising at a community level was less threatening than joining a traditional trade union. It also made them feel more capable of changing working conditions in the free zone.

Chapter Summary

This new-found power to influence their future and exercise some control over their productive, reproductive and community managing roles, has contributed to women's strategic development as they recognised their ability to create change. The inadequacy of their representation within existing, male dominated trade unions has been a significant factor in their self-organization efforts. This experience within established trade unions appears to reflect an international pattern, as appropriately described by Elson and Pearson:

The forms that workers' organisations have traditionally taken have been inadequate for women's point of view because they have failed to recognize and build into their structure the specificity of gender. Trade unions, for instance, have been organised to represent 'the worker', political parties to represent 'the working class'. The failure to take account of gender means that in practice they have tended to represent male workers. Working women have tended to be represented through their dependence on male workers. In addition, the specific problems that concern women as a subordinated gender are often problems which it is not easy for conventional forms of trade union or working class political activity to tackle (Elson and Pearson 1983:164).

Participation in the running of their organisation, has helped to prepare a new cadre of Caribbean women leaders who are learning to make strategic interventions to change their situation and take more power and control over their own lives.

CHAPTER 8

WOMEN ORGANISING IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC: PROCESS, METHODS AND IMPACT

Introduction

Earlier chapters suggested why women have organised. In essence the thesis has argued that their actions were a response to the crisis in development and how this affected their reproductive and productive roles. The social and economic problems associated with underdevelopment, the impact of structural adjustment policies on them, the structure of the assembly process within the FTZs, have created challenges for women. This chapter, like the previous one, focuses on how women workers have organised. It outlines the process and methods which they have used and how this has impacted on them. This case study of the emergence of the San Pedro de Macoris Free Zone Union, therefore explores how women have created a trade union which is sensitive to their needs, which supports the process of their empowerment, facilitates their participation in decision-making and advances their development. Like the previous chapter, it suggests an alternative approach to development which is participatory, people-centred and gender-sensitive.

Like Jamaica, the period of free zone expansion in 1985 in the DR was accompanied by an increased number of demonstrations among the expanding workforce. Public debate on working conditions in the zones increased. CIPAF had done a study on conditions of workers in the zones and assessed the implications for the changing role of women. They were encouraged and

supported by opposition political leaders and trade unionists. It is against this background that the San Pedro de Macoris Free Zone Union emerged.

Organising the Union

Earlier we noted that working conditions in the FTZs in the DR were much harsher than in Jamaica. This may be one of the factors accounting for the determination of the workers to form a trade union. An illustration of some of these problems was summarised in a three-part serial written by Vianco Martinez published in the Dominican newspaper El Nacional, of August 5, 6 and 7, 1990. The article of August 7, was entitled "La libertad sindical es sueño en zona franca" (Trade union freedom is a dream in the free zone). It outlined a litany of dismissals from various factories in San Pedro de Macoris, suggesting that frequent layoffs may have been one motivating factor. Another may have been the treatment of workers by supervisors. For example, the article mentions several incidents recounted by union leaders and members. According to the report, efforts to establish a union were intensified in November 1987 after a pregnant employee of CLOVER COMPANY, in the San Pedro de Macoris Free Zone, was kicked by a Korean supervisor and lost her baby. Workers in the FTZ demonstrated and the incident became the focal point around which workers in the San Pedro de Macoris Free Zone rallied and the union was formed on November 14, 1987. The first request for formal registration was lodged with the Ministry of Labour on November 24, 1987. Subsequent requests were also ignored and on July 11, 1990, over 200 workers occupied the second floor of the building where the Ministry had its offices, demanding the recognition of the union. (El Nacional, August 7, 1990). Mayra Jimenez, General Secretary of the Union, who was interviewed in the same article, noted that the union "had fulfilled all the requirements established by the Labour Code, and still they did not register us." Elida Segura, another union

leader, who was also interviewed in the same article, stated that "in the inaugural assembly, some 2,400 workers participated." Martinez indicated that union membership at the time of writing had grown to more than 4,000 affiliates.

Another critical incident occurred at American Sport clothing factory in 1988. Workers at this factory stopped working for a few hours to press their demand for better wages and working conditions. Forced overtime was an issue of concern, as employees were sometimes locked in the factory to complete production quotas for overseas orders. A few days after the work-stoppage, there was a witch-hunt to identify those "suspected" of being union members. Several workers were dismissed which made them angry enough to do something about it - and they joined the union.

Prior to this incident, another Korean factory, Tejidos Internacional (TISA), reportedly laid off a number of workers. Jiminez stated that this factory was known to violate the labour code because it employed minors. Tensions between workers and management escalated because they threatened to lay off the entire workforce, alleging problems with their electrical generators. The dismissals were reportedly not authorised by the Labour office. The workers protested and tried to reason with the company's representatives, but as Jiminez, noted, "there was no way of explaining that trade union militancy in this country is not a crime. Factory owners upheld the dismissals despite all the protests and all the explanations" (El Nacional August 7, 1990). Martinez, also stated that affiliating, or even talking about a trade union is the worst offence that a free zone worker can commit.

Another dispute involved workers at the Suprema Manufactur Company, where the denunciation of labour violations had become customary. A number of

workers had been unjustifiably dismissed and a strike was called to have them reinstated. Two weeks later, several workers who had been involved in the strike were dismissed. Problems related to pregnancy Martinez noted, were common in the San Pedro Zone. Women's need to visit the doctor, go to the bathrooms more frequently or their request for transfers to areas of work compatible with their pregnancy, often caused conflict although there were provisions to cover these rights under the Labour Code (El Nacional, August 6, 1990). Martinez also noted that in the San Pedro Free Zone, strikes were a daily occurrence and some foreign executives had indicated that they would prefer to leave the country with their factories and machines than allow a union to operate (El Nacional, August 7, 1990).

Organising Methods and Strategies

Organising took various forms, depending on the situation to be addressed. Mayra and Elida both indicated that women workers felt extremely pressured and vulnerable by the constant violation of their rights. The struggle for union recognition was arduous, with workers being arrested, beaten and dismissed. Building links in the factory was also very valuable. It emerged that the process of organising started with a core of concerned women contacting colleagues at work. They talked during lunchtime and while travelling between work and their home communities. About a third of these women were the sole breadwinners for their families and by sharing their frustrations and personal problems related to work and family over time, trust and friendships developed.

Then some supervisors, as leaders of a group of women, also played an important role in getting the women to organise. Elida, a former supervisor, explained how she had used her position to help the union get started. She was

responsible for ensuring that production targets were met or exceeded by workers in her section. Whereas she could have used domination, coercion or cooperation, she chose the latter and managed to create a group of high quality producers, who usually exceeded their production quotas. Motivation was achieved by encouraging the women to have pride in the group and generally developing a team spirit. Rewards and incentives were provided by using part of her wages to provide small gifts. Inexpensive cakes, sweets or drinks were used to reward the group when they had achieved or exceeded their assigned production targets. As team spirit developed, the group would often pool their pesos to celebrate birthdays or special events together, usually with their children. Support, solidarity and friendship helped to cement the team, who increasingly acted as one body. In addition to being high producers, they would also raise problems related to work. Elida was eventually fired for being a union activist and blacklisted in the Zone. As a single parent with two children to support, this was a major blow and she, like Mayra used the time to organise workers on a full-time basis (Elida Segura. Personal interview. February 17, 1990).

Building links in the community was also important in organising. Friendships which developed at work were consolidated by visits to each others' homes at nights and on weekends. In the early days of the union, these visits became house meetings in which work and domestic problems were discussed and advice, support and solutions offered. During the 1990 interview, the two San Pedro union leaders, reflected sometimes humorously, on various experiences they had shared. They recalled attending as many as five house meetings one night, returning home in the early hours of the morning, with sore feet and broken shoe heels, barely going to bed before it was time to get up for work (Mayra and Elida. Personal interviews. February 17, 1990).

These weekly meetings became vital channels for communication, to share information and strategies for dealing with work-related problems. Committees were set up in several communities, which met in workers' homes weekly, or more frequently if necessary. Organising in communities also had its disadvantages as spies "carried news" to factory managers, in the hope of securing favours and for personal advancement. Despite threats from managers and the Secretary of Labour, the women continued to meet to plan strategies and protest actions. These meetings became an important forum to vent pent-up anger. The union subsequently employed a full-time animator who visited women workers in the community, talked with them, organised house meetings and collective action to address problems identified. "China", a former free zone worker herself, also accompanied the women in struggles with factory owners and the police ("China". Personal interview. February 8, 1992).

Successive struggles and violations of their rights made workers recognise the need to take some joint action and the union was formed in November 1987, as was previously noted. Mayra was elected as General Secretary, with Elida as an executive member and "China" responsible for organising and animation work. Two male free zone workers were also elected to the executive. Building links with other unions and groups helped to inform and strengthen public opinion and create a climate for change.

The determination of the workers, public opinion and support from established unions and organisations helped the union to emerge. The fledgling union in San Pedro de Macoris Free Zone was supported in its demands by the Independent Workers Central (CTI) one of the eleven trade union blocks in the Dominican Republic to which Fenazucar, a union originally representing sugar workers, was

affiliated. In October 1990, the General Secretary and the Organising Secretary of Fenazucar, visited the International Labour Organisation (ILO), as well as several church and labour groups in Europe, informing them of the situation regarding free zone workers and mobilising support for them. The report of one of these meetings organised by Christian Aid supporters in Manchester (UK), gives an idea of how international pressure may have contributed to the government's decision to grant trade unions permission to organise in the FTZs. The report indicated that a letter and telegram writing campaign to President Balaguer was organised after the event. The Director of St Anthony's Centre where the meeting was held, was interviewed on Radio Manchester on 'Sunday Best' about the visit and follow-up work also included information dissemination through newsletters, union support, public speaking and drama (Report from St Anthony's Centre for Church and Industry, Manchester, dated November 11, 1990).

Union Programmes

In November 1990, after three years of pressure, the government bowed to national and international pressure and declared that trade unions could organise in the free zones. In January 1991, the San Pedro de Macoris Free Zone Workers Union was formally registered. Fenazucar and the CTI gave critical support in the form of fund-raising for legal aid and education programmes as well as training in organising techniques. Fenazucar had become involved we recall, because many dismissed sugar workers, had found jobs in the San Pedro Free Zone. Like their counterparts in Jamaica, the integration of the Dominican Republic's workers into the new international division of labour, meant free zone workers faced a new and unaccustomed structure of work. In seeking to address the needs of members in this sector, FENAZUCAR changed the focus of its work in relation to the zones over the next three years. Originally they had met the challenges of the NIDL

through confrontation, which was their traditional style of struggle, with many casualties, job losses and arrests. Their strategy therefore shifted from a campaign of mass demonstrations and public denouncements to stop the expansion of the zones, to accepting them as sources of much-needed employment. They gave active support to the emerging union in San Pedro de Macoris, as previously mentioned and helped to organise workers in other zones, by providing support services and generally working for what General Secretary Florian called, "the humanization of working conditions in the zones." (Antonio Florian. Personal interview. February 18, 1991).

Education and training programmes were vital to the organising process, which was observed over a five year period from 1987- 1992 from the point of view of a funding agency's representative. Programme funding for the union's education and training programme from Christian Aid, provided a basis for maintaining contact, through correspondence, programme reports and annual visits to evaluate and assess the impact of their work. This provided valuable insight into events as they unfolded. A number of issues were identified. One of these was that the relationship between the traditional and new trade union was mutually beneficial, though not without its problems. Fenazucar provided training, guidance and support which the women leading the union used selectively. The relationship also resulted in Fenazucar placing greater emphasis on women's issues. At their Sixth Congress held in February, 1991, for example, they established a women's section and elected a woman to head it. Maria Roques was the only woman on the 31 person executive (1991 Report and Resolutions of the Sixth National Congress of Fenazucar). They also used their international contacts, to extend the San Pedro Union's contacts with other women trade unionists in Central America and the Caribbean.

This gave Mayra who participated in one of these meetings, contact with other groups of women facing similar issues. According to Maria Roques, the executive member in charge of Women's Affairs in Fenazucar, a few programmes were introduced for women, which were extended to the San Pedro Union. The Women's Affairs Committee linked up with CIPAF, the woman's research group, to gain support for education, research and training programmes (Maria Roques. Personal interview. February 18, 1991). Education programmes were introduced to teach women workers their rights and increase their participation in union activities. The format and content of training sessions also changed and non-formal education techniques were used. Programmes moved beyond formal trade unionism to include a wider range of issues. Efforts were made to train trainers in popular education skills (Fenazucar. Annual Report to Christian Aid, 1991). Magaly Pineda, the Director of CIPAF, also confirmed that they were designing programmes for the two unions to meet the needs of women workers (Magaly Pineda. Personal interview. February 5, 1992).

Community Development Programmes

Community outreach also emerged as an important part of the organising process. Sensitive to the thousands of free zone workers dismissed in 1990 and 1991, Fenazucar established a non-governmental organisation in 1992, to support economic and social projects to assist retrenched workers. The union had also started a small community cooperative of multiple services to support women who had been laid off. This included helping them to find sources of credit for income generating projects. In a few communities, health education, programmes were started as well as projects for the repair of schools and the organisation of social activities for youths. A day care centre for Free Zone workers was also started in Haina, a sea port which had 90 factories in two free zones (Group interview with

representatives of FENAZUCAR and the new community organisation, February 8, 1992).

Gender and Leadership

While appreciating the support of Fenazucar, the leadership of the San Pedro Union was also aware of several constraints which they wanted their own union to avoid. One issue was not wanting to become embroiled in party political struggles. In reflecting on the relationship between the women's union, Fenazucar and the umbrella CTI, Mayra Jiminez for example, noted that whereas they had continued to be supportive, the CTI like other confederations had many ideological tendencies which divided workers. Then, while wanting to learn from more experienced male trade unionists, they made it clear that their leadership approach and style were different. Most importantly, they wanted to maintain their independence from these groups as far as possible. (Mayra Jiminez. Personal interview, February 8, 1992). This supports Nicola Charles's view that "for any real transformation to take place in union practices, it is essential that women organize themselves within the unions to formulate their own demands and to ensure that at a local level, unions put into practice what is enshrined in policy statements and resolutions at the national level" (Charles 1983:20).

Class and Gender

Class and gender are important variables in the process of organising. Whereas collaboration between the two unions had been generally positive, the basis of their struggle was different. Jiminez reports that women are motivated by economic survival and issues affecting them directly as women. Fenazucar's struggle, by the General Secretary's own admission, was explicitly motivated by class struggle (Antonio Florian. Personal interview. February 18, 1991). For the

San Pedro Union, issues affecting women such as the treatment of pregnant women and allegations of sexual harassment received high priority. In fact, sexual harassment by male managers in a number of factories was one issue which was dealt with very successfully by the San Pedro Union. In response to persistent reports from women, they called a press conference and many of the women identified offenders by name. They reported that the embarrassment this caused, helped considerably to reduce recurrences as there was now the possibility of public exposure.

Gender also influenced organising strategies. For example, the San Pedro Union focused on organising in the community where women could come to meetings with their children. Fenazucar's meetings on the other hand were held in locations which required a larger commitment of travel time for most people. Having participated in union meetings of both the San Pedro Union and Fenazucar, between 1988 and 1992, several differences were noted. For example, Fenazucar's meetings were more formal and the leadership made more speeches. In contrast, the San Pedro house meetings which were attended almost exclusively by women, were informal and there was a higher level of participation. At general meetings of the Free Zone Union held at the church and later at their own rented headquarters, men often tried to dominate the discussions. The women chairing the meetings however did a good gate-keeping job, giving them space but also ensuring that women workers got their turn to speak. The San Pedro meetings were also action oriented. The business of the meetings also included listening to complaints from workers. The union's lawyer attended some of these meetings and she listened, asked questions, made arrangements to get additional information and gave updates on the status of legal action being taken. Alternatively, the content of many of the Fenazucar meetings attended, focused on planning action to struggle

on behalf of the working class. The need for class struggle and recognition of their party political affiliation was often mentioned verbally and in their publications. Women leading the Free Zone union, acknowledged, but did not publicly dwell on the support of Fenazucar and the CTI. In fact, from the interviews with both Mayra and Elida, one drew the conclusion that party political affiliation was a divisive force which they tried to avoid. This confirms the earlier observations in Chapter 5 that women were not very active in political parties in the DR, and that they related to bread and butter issues for elections, rather than class affiliation. But as Fenazucar's leaders admitted earlier, members of most trade unions, had multiple affiliations and joined unions as a means of securing benefits, rather than from any commitment to a particular class or political ideology. Women's approach appeared more straightforward as they stated their lack of interest up front.

On the other hand, Fenazucar's leadership being older and more experienced, was able to speak more directly, linking problems of the workers with the economic crisis and its impact on them as a marginalised class in an oppressive society. In his address to the Sixth Congress, Florian for example drew the attention of his audience to an international plan aimed at returning the DR to a situation of slavery as typified by the deplorable conditions in sugar bateyes (barracks/slums) around the country. Even the language used to describe workers was different. Florian tends to use "obreros" (workers) a word more associated with Marxist analysis of class, while Jiminez tends to use "trabajadores", (also meaning workers) which is a more general word describing a person who works.

Antonio Florian, also noted the absence of class consciousness among the free zone workers who are new to the workforce. He observed that "Whereas they

are aware of their poverty, they are not conscious of themselves as workers" (Florian. Personal interview. February 18, 1991). His views were supported by women workers who see themselves as women working to earn a living, not as a group of industrial workers who share a common experience and who need to join forces to change their situation. Many said that they would like to set up their own business; sewing, hairdressing, or own their own grocery shops (Group interview. February 22, 1991). As time progressed however, there was a growing awareness of common problems that industrial workers face, and a decreasing perception that such problems are personal. The women still, however, saw themselves as women first and workers second.

Building alliances with other groups played a critical role at several levels. As we observed in the Jamaica case study, networking with organisations, especially women's groups and the church, provided support to the Free Zone Union. Contact with international research and funding agencies provided resources for education and training programmes. Then the church, we recall, provided an initial meeting place for the San Pedro Union. Families of union leaders also played an important role in organising, although only the women spoke about this. Mayra, Elida and "China" in particular, noted the support they received from their families. Space was provided in their homes for meetings and temporary "office" accommodation, for files, correspondence and their donated, manual typewriter in the early years.

Mayra noted the economic and moral support her mother had given after she had been fired from her free zone job. This was particularly appreciated because her mother was also poor. Then, Elida's family had not only provided economic and moral support to her as a single parent, but also gave assistance with

child-minding, while she was out organising. It appears significant that the women trade unionists mentioned their families and the support they had given, whereas this never emerged in discussions with male trade unionists. In fact, in interaction with the two unions over a five year period, there were more opportunities to meet the families of the women who were in the San Pedro Union than those in Fenazucar, but several factors may have accounted for this.

Research, publication and advocacy work of several women's organisations have also been pivotal to the union's development. CIPAF and Ce Mujer have published several books on the situation of women working in the Free Zones and the general conditions of women in the country. These include a booklet, "La vida mia no es fácil: la otra cara de la zona franca" Pineda/CIPAF, 1990 (My life is not easy: the other side of the free zone). Their monthly newspaper Quehaceres, of May, 1988 and Volume two of their Ediciones Populares Feministas, published in March 1987, are examples. Most of these publications are produced with cartoons and simple text for easy communication and comprehension. NGOs supporting community development like the Centro Dominicano de Estudios de la Educación (CEDEE) and the Centro de Planificación y Acción Ecuménica (CEPAE), have also done research and published documents on workers in this growing industrial sector (Santos, 1992). There is scope however to establish more consistent and organic links, between these groups and workers' organisations actually involved in the process.

At another level, international links have also been beneficial. According to Victor Rufino Alvarez, another Fenazucar leader, contacts with groups like the Transnational Information Exchange (TIE) in Holland had helped to research methods of work in the FTZs, and had provided material which enabled the union

to better understand how transnational corporations controlled trade, the global market and their own country (Alvarez. Personal interview. February 8, 1992).

The role which international development NGOs committed to social justice have also had in providing financial resources for union programmes or mobilising public support, has already been noted. The San Pedro Union's 1991 report to Christian Aid indicated that the grant made had enabled them to form twenty small union branches and improve working conditions in some factories. This was the result of having resources to organise and travel more consistently. They also reported that the condition of bathrooms in unionised factories, had improved. Whereas the union had not been able to stop job losses due to the US recession, it had successfully negotiated increases in the weekly wage in some factories. For example, whereas in 1992, the monthly minimum wage was \$1,040 (US\$83), the union had managed to get an agreement for \$2,000 (US\$160) at a jewellery company in the zone (Mayra Jiminez. Personal interview, San Pedro de Macoris, February 8, 1992). The support of various groups had been vital to the union's development and growth. The thesis argues that these contacts helped women to meet various gender needs. Opportunities were provided to participate in a wide network of activities and this empowered the members.

The media in the DR has also played an important role in helping the union to expose problems in the free zones, similar to what was observed in Jamaica. The publication of articles by organisations in the social sector such as CEDEE and CEPAAE, trade unions, manufacturers and business interests, have helped to create public awareness and debate. It has also built a body of public opinion for change and development.

Training in managing the mass media was organised by Fenazucar's public relations officer, who taught union members to prepare campaigns and news releases, as well as handle radio and television interviews (Sucre Vasquez. Fenazucar Public Relations Officer. Personal interview. February, 22 1991). This was useful, particularly to launch the campaign against sexual harassment. Mayra Jimenez learnt to handle the media very effectively and became a well-known public figure, through media exposure. The photograph of this young leader appears periodically in the print and electronic media. She is also interviewed regularly on television during strikes, demonstrations or on television discussion programmes. The thesis argues that learning how to raise gender issues effectively in the media, was important in making women aware of their power to change their situation.

The findings provide many lessons about organisational development. This analysis of the process, indicates that the union started with a small team of workers who established personal contacts with colleagues in the workplace and community, on the basis of friendships, trust and sharing common problems. Networking with a variety of institutions provided skills and resources to support their basic survival needs as well as advocate changes which would increase their power and control over themselves and their bodies. Even with this support and a knowledge of how to handle the media effectively, the process of organising would in our view be seriously constrained by a union that is weak internally. Institutional strengthening to build a strong, democratic, and effective union has therefore been an important aspect of the strategy used by the San Pedro Union.

The union adopted a basic structure with elected officers and a programme which encourages participation among its members. In 1991, the leadership of the

union was comprised of three women leaders working full-time, with one female and two male collaborators working part-time. One of the men, Raimundo, went to the Office of the Secretary of Labour daily to present demands of various workers and to pressure for appropriate action to redress the problems raised in individual cases or collective problems affecting workers in a particular factory. Carlos, the other collaborator was responsible for propaganda work. He helped to restructure the union and organise regular union assemblies. Elida was responsible for women's issues and maintained contact with the workers, placing special emphasis on identifying and addressing cases of sexual harassment or sexual discrimination in the factories. "China" also called Ana, we recall, was responsible for education, animation, organising and outreach work with women in other free zones, particularly La Romana. Josefina, another collaborator, provided secretarial assistance to the General Secretary, who herself had major responsibility for coordinating programmes, supporting the legal campaigns and actions and representing the union publicly. Other volunteer collaborators functioned as legal aid assistants or promoters who collected data and taught workers their rights. In an interview at their headquarters in San Pedro, the union executive shared the goal of organising a national free zone movement. The outreach work in La Romana, was the start of this process. The union had regular meetings in their centre, but reported that teams in each factory also met regularly when there was a conflict. At the time of our meeting in February 1991, the union was evaluating their experiences and reorganising.

It would appear that the internal structure of the union as well as its programmes and priority interests, have contributed to the development of women and facilitated the process of organising. Assigning someone to work specifically on problems of sexual harassment, and issues affecting women, could be

interpreted as a demonstration of the union's commitment to supporting women. Reports and a review of some of the literature on traditional trade unions, also suggest that it is rare when priority is given to problems such as these which affect women in the majority of cases. It is possible that providing this level of support to women, is likely to have contributed to the process of organising. We argue that women would be likely to join the union if they know that there is a commitment to fighting gender battles, such as sexual harassment.

Priority was given to education, training and strengthening administrative structures. Overseas funding and union dues provided funds for education programmes, modest salaries for the union secretariat, office space and equipment. Two female lawyers were also retained on a part-time basis to select cases reflecting common problems and have those tried for arbitration. The aim was to establish legal principles which could then be applied more generally. This process helped to build worker's awareness of their rights and to increase union membership. Interviews with union members, attendance at union meetings and an analysis of the content of their programmes also provided important insights into the organising process.

The importance accorded to education in the union, is reflected in their 1991 Annual Report, which indicates that several courses were organised, and that these included training in trade union organising. Retaining the lawyers suggested a recognition of the need to act, not just talk to resolve the problems. The legal aid programme therefore tried to resolve labour problems but also helped to register new unions in each factory. The report indicates that fifteen education workshops and seminars were organised for leaders and members, around specific themes, always based on concrete experiences and these were reinforced by talks and

training booklets on the specific themes. The legal cases taken to arbitration were also seen as part of the education process, as they were based on common problems and discussed in general meetings. The union kept records of cases registered and their outcome, to track progress (1991 Annual Report of the San Pedro Union to Christian Aid). The union's two lawyers had also given the workers a short course on workers' rights and responsibilities. A booklet was also published in collaboration with the CTI, which explained the growth of FTZs, in the Third World, as well as specific details on working conditions and the violation of workers rights in the FTZs. It concluded with a challenge to the workers to organise (Las Zonas Francas y Los Trabajadores en Rep. Dom., a CTI pamphlet) (Free Zones and Workers in the Dominican Republic). Mayra expressed the view that when workers knew the ninety-odd articles of the Labour Code, it would help the union, as they would be better able to fight their own battles and defend their rights.

This education and advocacy work was aimed at changing the Labour Code, particularly Article 78 which gives factory owners the right to contract and dismiss workers according to production needs, without offering compensation. According to José Blanche, an elected Deputy for the San Pedro region, the unions were eventually successful in getting a law passed which prohibited factories from firing labour leaders. Collective action by several trade unions in a national campaign, had led to the establishment of a Presidential Committee comprised of three leading labour judges. The issues were publicly debated, recommendations made and were passed by Congress in June 1991 (José Blanche. Personal interview. February 8, 1992).

These successes we argue, made workers aware of the importance of collective action, especially in a context where there were legal provisions guaranteeing them the right to organise, but where the attitude and actions of both the government and some factory owners were very anti-union (Mr Angel Castillo. Personal interview. February 22, 1991). In keeping with the culture of transnational practices previously explained by Sklair, these combined powers (government and private sector) used several strategies to discourage unionisation.

The wider environment presents several challenges to organising. The level of poverty, discussed earlier, with high unemployment, high inflation, large families, low wages, intimidation and the threat of dismissal were very powerful weapons encountered in the process of organising. Many of the workers interviewed, expressed their fear of being laid off on suspicion of union activity. This fear was well grounded as there were several concrete examples to support this view. Efforts to organise in the free zone of Hainamosa led to the formation of a union representing sixty workers in nine of the forty factories in that zone. In two months, factory owners had laid off all the union leaders. Many workers however joined the union after they have been dismissed. This was similar to the experience of the current General Secretary Mayra Jiminez. Her story highlights the experience of thousands of young workers.

Mayra's Story

Like the CIPAF publication "La Otra Cara de la Zona Franca" (The Other Side of the Free Zone), Mayra's experience exposed the free zone story from the workers' perspectives and suggested some of the factors motivating them to organise. Her first job, at age 14 years, was as a machine operator in a garment factory where many of her colleagues were younger. They all earned less than the

minimum wage and as minors, worked in the day and attended school at night, hence the popularity of the phrase among them, "leave in the dark - return in the dark." The strict work discipline of assembly production and poor transportation, required workers in communities like Consuelo, half an hour's distance from the San Pedro Free Zone and further afield, to start their day as early as 4:00 am to get to work by 7:00 am. The estimated 1,000 workers from this community paid \$12-15 pesos daily for transport alone. This was about a third of their daily wage, or the equivalent of US\$4. Others living further away in places like Santa Fé, often had to wait three hours to get a lift because there was no regular transportation. Workers who live in surrounding "bateyes", also reported travelling long distances, partly on foot because transportation was very poor.¹ Workers living in the "barrios" (depressed urban communities) in a five mile radius of the zone paid high transportation costs and minibuses are overcrowded and irregular. The unreliable, inadequate, irregular, costly, and uncomfortable service adversely affected their attendance at meetings and their ability to organise.

Mayra reported that she had worked in a number of factories in the zone and was dismissed from her job at Camisas Dominicanas in 1989 when she and other colleagues demanded that production quotas be adjusted. She joined the union and was subsequently elected General Secretary, leading delegations, campaigns and petitions to the Ministry of Labour to get the Union legally registered. Details of the union's registration were previously noted. Mayra's experience is similar to that of union leaders in Asia, described in various journals and worker magazines from that region. Their common experience is the denial of employment in the zones and they therefore dedicate themselves to union activities.

Mayra and several free zone workers interviewed indicate that their names and those of other trade union activists or those suspected of being activists were on a data base at the Computer Centre of the Association of Industrialists in the San Pedro Free Zone. This information is circulated to all the companies within the zone and these workers are denied access to employment. Hundreds of complaints were reportedly lodged with the Labour office by workers alleging that this was the motivation for their dismissal. The allegations of anti-union sentiments of the free zone administration were confirmed in an interview with Mr. Angel Castillo, President of the Association of Free Zone Manufacturers, who was mentioned previously. Vianco Martinez also reports Mr Castillo as saying that " the political trade unionism that we have here, wants to blow the free zone problems out of proportion, when in reality these problems are insignificant" (El Nacional, p. 15, August 7, 1990).

Mr Castillo was asked for his response to the government's decision to allow trade unions to organize in the Free Zone. He admitted that labour laws had always existed, but companies in the Free Zone had always managed to ignore them. Reports in the Dominican Republic are that this decision was made after considerable pressure from local unions, the AFL-CIO and the International Labour Organisation. The country stood the chance of losing their Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) status if they did not respect labour laws and improve their treatment of Haitian migrant workers. Most of them work in the agricultural and construction sectors and some women from the Haitian-Dominican community work in free zones. Mr Castillo said that he was not opposed to unions per se, but those linked to political parties as these were, could disrupt production if for example there is a dispute with the government. In his view, this was detrimental

to business in the free zone, because failing to meet deadlines meant lost orders for goods. (Mr Castillo. Personal interview. February 22, 1991).

Impact of Organising on Women

Despite the problems, the evidence suggests that these experiences have strengthened and enhanced the development of women leaders of the San Pedro Union. Other women in the union indicated that although the wages are low and working conditions poor, the jobs have helped them to meet some of their basic needs. Both leaders and members reported that the union has helped them to change their self concept and deepen their understanding of their power and potential (Interviews with free zone women attached to the San Pedro Union, February 22, 1991 and February 8, 1992).

International travel and media exposure of General Secretary Mayra Jimenez has also boosted her self confidence. As noted earlier, her participation in a meeting of Latin America and the Caribbean women trade unionists held in Cuba in November 1991, exposed her to organising strategies of FTZs workers in Costa Rica, Panama and Mexico. She indicated that her involvement in preparing legal cases had motivated her to study for a law degree. The exposure had also helped her to deal with people at different levels of society including factory owners. As General Secretary of the Union, she now had access to major decision-makers. Her skill at handling the media and successfully negotiating on behalf of union members, has earned her respect, despite her youthful twenty years. Though this is an individual case, it demonstrates the potential of women to develop their organisational and leadership skills if given the chance.

Chapter Summary

The data presented in the two case studies show that a multifaceted strategy was used to develop and expand both the St Peter Claver Women's Housing Cooperative and the San Pedro de Macoris Free Zone Workers Union. Gender emerged as an important factor influencing the leadership style of both organisations. Cherry spoke of horizontal leadership and collective decision-making. Evidence from the union also suggests that although Mayra is General Secretary, the other members of the executive also play an important role in the union's life. Although there is obviously scope in both organisations for members to become more active, the data suggest that the process has contributed to the empowerment of many of the women. Collective action around gender issues, has made many of them realise their potential to change things if they work together. Education and training have also emerged as important in the process. Gender has influenced the content of programmes as well as the strategies and forms of struggle used. In both cases, negotiation has been used more consistently than confrontation in struggling for improvements, although the union, by its nature, tends to be more confrontational than the Coop.

A similar gender process has also been observed in setting up the two groups. Both started on the basis of friendships and mutual support, then moved on to economic and other forms of collaboration. In the case of the housing cooperative, this meant living together. Though different, the two organisational structures aim to make women feel more able to participate, which contrasts with the traditional style in which trade unions organise workers. In the next chapter,

these experiences are analyzed against background of the theoretical discussions of the previous chapters. From these we hope to advance our understanding of the concept and process of development.

¹ Bateyes are communities of Haitian migrant workers and Haitian-Dominicans who have traditionally worked on sugar plantations. With diversification of the industry, many now work on plantations producing export crops, in construction and in the free zones. Living conditions in the bateyes are very poor, and in the more isolated bateyes, they are treated like slaves, with their freedom severely restricted. Sanitation is very poor, with 500 residents sharing a bathroom, and this influences how they use the bathrooms at the free zone. Overcrowding, high unemployment and a very low standard of living creates an abundance of social problems in the bateyes. Workers reported problems of prostitution, rape and incest. Many women feared for their daughters who they had to leave unprotected to go to work, and the very long work day increased the risk.

PART THREE

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER 9

GENDER, EMPOWERMENT AND PARTICIPATION

Discussion of Findings

This concluding chapter examines and interprets the main findings of the study against the background of the hypotheses and the theoretical framework outlined in the introductory chapters. It also extracts the conclusions and analyses the main implications for development. The experience of women working in the context of industrialisation in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic, has confirmed that development is in crisis at a conceptual and practical level. This has justified the need to search for alternatives. The findings also confirmed the hypothesis that gender sensitivity, the need for empowerment and for participation are important in organising women. These variables are integral to the alternative concept of development which is bottom-up rather than top down, people-centred and qualitative rather than focused on economic growth. Benefits from the traditional models have not "trickled down" to any significant degree as was anticipated. For the majority of people in the region, and especially for young women workers, the impact has been either negative or very limited. This is not to deny that the FTZs have helped to generate foreign exchange and have provided women with jobs. But, they have also failed to create a model of development which is environmentally sustainable and which supports the strategic advancement of women. Conversely, the FTZ strategy's heavy dependence on cheap female labour, has helped to perpetuate inequalities on the basis of sex, gender, power, resources and status and could therefore not be regarded as developmental in the holistic sense of the word.

The study has also confirmed that the development crisis in the Caribbean is related to both external and internal factors and that the combination of these factors

has provided free zone workers with ample reasons for organising. The changing global political and economic relations and ideas are shaping events at the micro level. Macro external factors such as globalisation and the debt crisis, have influenced the social, economic, political and cultural reality of women at a micro level (community and personal). Policies related to structural adjustment, the New International Division of Labour and global Transnational Practices, have helped to worsen the crisis. Low paid jobs and high inflation have denied women working in the FTZs access to a decent standard of living, however hard they work. And yet, the production regimes within which these women are employed, are the most current answer to the problem of development. It is therefore argued that this model of development is unacceptable as a real long-term solution, but one for which no coherent global alternatives have yet been operationalised.

The findings suggest that however well organised, women workers in Jamaica and the DR are unlikely to be able to influence the external factors affecting development at a macro level. For example, export-oriented industrialisation, has inserted them within the "New International Division of Labour" and has segmented production on the global assembly line. Similarly, there are limits to the extent to which they can manage the economic hardships imposed by structural adjustment policies. Traditional family patterns and occupational segregation, are also part of a global structure of patriarchy, which organising at the local level will have a limited capacity for changing. Women workers, are also unable to change the conditions of job instability associated with free zone employment, the trends towards globalisation and the changing trade relations between the Caribbean and the rest of the world. They are also unlikely to be able to influence the kinds of jobs which the FTZs offer or ensure that jobs with a higher quality of skills will be available. Neither are they likely to be able to make the export-oriented industrialisation strategy more successful in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic, or create another "miracle", because both

countries are linked to the global economy through industries at the bottom end of the market. The findings in Chapter 4 suggest that few developmental effects are likely to occur except some job creation and the earning of foreign exchange. And then, there are several other factors which reduce the amount actually retained in the country.

If organised, women could however have some influence on changing the negative environmental impact of some industries operating in their FTZs. Through international networks of women workers, they may be able to access and disseminate information to policy makers and the public to control the disposal of waste and emissions from factories. They are unlikely however, to be able to change the terms of sourcing raw material inputs for export industries or create more linkages between foreign and local industries. The structure of TNC relations described, provides very limited scope for local industries to be effectively and productively linked into global production processes in any way except by providing cheap labour. For example, although Jamaica and the Dominican Republic are predominantly agricultural economies, the main FTZ industries are not. But even if they were, TNCs are likely to suggest that the limited agricultural productive capacity of both countries would be unable to supply raw materials for agro-processing in any sustained way. Then, very limited transfer of skills is likely to take place because TNCs use low-level technology in the Caribbean and seem unlikely to change because their production costs depend on using cheap low-skilled, easily dispensable labour to be competitive. This effectively locks workers into a future with limited scope for advancement.

The rationale for organising *we* argue, is associated with women's economic needs, their social roles and their low position of power and influence. Our analysis of the impact of development strategies on advancing the status of women workers in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic, confirmed the central role women play in the family, and their increasing responsibility for both the economic and social

development of their children. This supports the views of Ellis (1986), Powell (1984) and others. Structural adjustment policies have increased the burden of these responsibilities on women as Antrobus (1988) and French (1989) have noted. The findings also confirmed that although some women have used education as a vehicle for advancement and to improve their status as Anderson and Gordon (1989) suggest, this has not given them equal access to resources or equal wages with men, even where equal pay legislation exists as it does in Jamaica. Similarly, the analysis showed that women had limited access to leadership, power and decision-making structures in the society and in mass organisations. It also emerged that gender appears to influence women's choice of organisations and they seem to invest more time and resources in those groups which can provide emotional support and friendship rather than only economic benefits. This suggests that development is not mainly about economic gains, as Caribbean writers such as Girvan (1988) and Antrobus (1988) have suggested, but is also about human relations and the quality of life and relationships with other people.

The research findings also suggest that increasing education opportunities and underutilised human resource capacity create conflicting situations for some of the women and this is an issue which may motivate them to organise. The profiles of free zone workers in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic show some common characteristics with their counterparts in FTZs in other parts of the world. The major differences however, were that most of the Caribbean young women were single parents with one or two children as well as other family members to support. In most cases, they were the main source of income. Rather than being a supplementary wage earner therefore, these free zone workers were the mainstay of their family. Their level of education was also higher, which should have afforded them access and training to jobs with higher levels of skill. In the absence of these opportunities however, many accepted work in the FTZ. Underemployment could help to explain

the considerable job dissatisfaction among workers from both countries. This emerged in the interviews conducted as well as newspaper articles of periodic waves of protest which have become characteristic of this industrial sector. Although all the women indicated that they had benefitted and that the jobs had given them a greater degree of independence, they were dissatisfied. Most of them expressed a preference for wanting to run their own businesses and some in the DR even stated a willingness to return to domestic work. An interesting question emerging from this is whether organising will help women to get out of FTZ work and into what they consider more acceptable areas of employment.

In using the framework of Lindblom's analysis to understand the process of development, we suggest that although these jobs are helping women to survive, the associated problems provide a motivation for them to organise. There are however constraints because their time is shared between their productive and reproductive work. Unstable employment, health hazards and stress related to working on an assembly line are also part of the problem.

The two case studies of women organising in response to the challenges of working conditions in the FTZs, do represent alternative methods of organising. These developments are consistent with the process of rethinking development as the data show that in any event, women do not have a high level of confidence in trade unions. Earlier we noted that as an incentive to foreign investors, many governments of underdeveloped countries prohibit the activities of trade unions, even in cases where these rights are legally entrenched. In pursuit of a particular kind of development, the governments of Jamaica and the Dominican Republic have for the most part, sacrificed workers' right to freedom of association and representation, for investment dollars. The alternative strategies for organising are therefore of interest as they help to clarify the concept and process of gender-sensitive development.

Gender-Sensitivity and Organising

The findings of the study confirm the hypothesis that gender sensitivity is an important variable which influences women's methods of organising. The data support earlier studies on Caribbean women's roles outlined by Powell (1984), Ellis (1986), for example, which indicate that women, are central to the survival of the Caribbean family. Molyneux's classification of practical and strategic gender interests provided an interesting framework to analyze and interpret these findings. Women's priorities were practical interests related to basic survival. They organised "partner" and "san" saving schemes to make their money go further, cooperative housing to provide shelter and negotiated and demonstrated to improve their wages. What emerged which is of interest to our understanding of development, is that they were able to begin addressing more strategic interests and challenge power structures which had traditionally kept them in various forms of subordination.

The study also confirmed that participatory research can lead to action which ultimately involves organisational development. Education, awareness-building and non-formal education, gained through the experience of struggle and problem solving, has in my view contributed to the process of empowerment of women in the two organisations. Understandably, their level of contribution and commitment, are influenced by other factors such as level of education and leadership ability. Age is not necessarily a factor as Mayra, though young, was a capable leader. Education may be a factor, but not necessarily. Cherry had completed high school with a number of examination subjects passed, but Mayra had not yet completed high school when she started to work in the Free Zone. In my view, education alone did not account for the emergence of a Cherry and Millie in Jamaica or a Mayra and Elida in the DR. Aptitude and ability also need to be considered in leadership. Based on the findings however, I argue that if given a basic education, training, opportunities for learning

and discovering their own potential, women workers are likely to change their self perception and develop greater self-confidence. If their organisations can provide this environment, women can acquire leadership and organisational skills to support their development.

The findings also show that gender influences several aspects of the organising process, which, if properly managed, can support development. Gender-sensitive programmes which are designed to meet the practical needs of women, can provide the impetus for organising. If such an approach is used to contact and mobilise women, they are also more likely to participate in groups. The findings show that gender influenced how initial contacts were made with women and how each group was formed. By sharing their problems through weekly meetings within their communities, women workers in both groups found things that they shared in common with their work colleagues. These relationships evolved on the basis of friendship and trust. The findings also suggest that their style of leadership was gender-sensitive. For example, Cherry spoke about the collective nature of problem solving while observations of Mayra's style of chairing meetings was to allow maximum participation from members and ensure that women got a chance to speak. She also listened attentively, rather than always imposing her views and opinions on the group.

The structure of the two organisations was also influenced by gender-sensitivity and this involved participation and contributed to empowerment. For example, decision-making and general strategies in the Coop tried to be collective and it focused on providing affordable housing for women. The San Pedro Union on the other hand, created an environment in which women workers had at least one union in which their views could be heard and their needs addressed as a priority. The two experiences support arguments for both single sex and mixed organisations for

women workers. Ward's (1986) suggestion is that women should establish their own organisations while Webb et al. (1966) suggest that they should establish their own programmes within existing unions. The analysis shows that development strategies can be pursued by either single sex or heterosexual groups. The most important factor is ensuring that there is gender sensitivity, and that the process facilitates empowerment and participation.

The level of commitment to gender struggles was evident even within the mixed sex union in San Pedro. Strong leadership and determination ensured that the problem of sexual harassment was addressed effectively. When women in the San Pedro Union publicly exposed male supervisors and managers who persistently used their positions of power to sexually harass female employees, they were simultaneously able to address women's practical and strategic interests. From this and other experiences women learned about the power of collective as opposed to individual action. This is another lesson emerging from the experiences outlined in the study. In the case of the Housing Coop, women learnt that whereas they were unable to resolve their housing problems individually, collectively they could do so and at a higher standard than would otherwise be possible. Women facing sexual harassment in the San Pedro FTZ drew strength from other colleagues to face this problem.

Participation and Collective Action

In addition to the importance of gender sensitivity, the findings in many ways also confirm the benefits of collective action as opposed to an individual approach to problem solving. This is evident at two levels: the first is the establishment of women workers' organisations and the second is the development of networks with women's groups to support them in meeting their needs. There is evidence of a division of labour between these organisations that appears to be influenced by class and gender.

CIPAF (DR) and WAC (Jamaica), both played an important advocacy and training role for the respective worker organisations. It also appears that within the broad framework of meeting gender needs, the focus will vary depending on the priorities of the respective groups. The St Peter Claver Women's Group established the Coop to address the problem of poor housing, while the Free Zone group focused more on advocacy work, education and training in collaboration with WAC. In the San Pedro Union, both Fenazucar and CIPAF played an advocacy role, assisting in campaigns to change wages and working conditions.

It therefore emerges that to be effective in supporting the development of women, collective action requires participation across a broad cross-section of interest groups. The findings also confirmed our hypothesis that participation is also an important variable which supports the organising process and ultimately, development. The examples cited above, as well as others throughout the thesis, show that participation in an organisation like the Union or the Coop, has the possibility of strategically advancing the position of women. Having established a link between women's roles, women's needs and their methods of organising, the study has demonstrated that participating in their organisation, enabled women to meet a number of domestic and work-related needs. Their combined role of main breadwinner and central family figure, which is characteristically Caribbean, presents challenges for free zone workers who encounter conflicts between their productive and reproductive gender roles and these appear to be one of the factors motivating them to organise.

Organising ^{I would} also argue, has emerged as a survival strategy for a number of women. It supports them in fulfilling their multiple identities as women, mothers and workers. For example, in the Coop, gender needs are met through cooperation between households living close together. Caring for children, cooking, sharing

friendship, providing emotional support and economic cooperation are but a few of the various gender needs identified as emerging from the Coop experience. In addition to the problem of sexual harassment mentioned previously, the San Pedro Union has also supported women's struggle against poor security at the free zone, low wages and non payment of social security to the government. The latter particularly affects women because sickness and maternity benefits are curtailed if companies neglect to pay the government and they have major responsibility in caring for the sick. An important aspect of support for both groups is related to friendship, emotional support and economic collaboration through "partner" or "san" savings schemes.

Despite the positive experience with Fenazucar, trade unions in their traditional forms have not emerged as a likely option for women workers. Their lack of gender-sensitive programmes and their leadership structure virtually excludes women. Their confrontational style of struggle also appears to alienate women who prefer to negotiate for what they want. Fenazucar's attempts to establish income-generating projects in the community are not typical of traditional unions. Most are unable and unwilling to provide alternative employment in the wake of dismissals. This makes women understandably cautious about using the strike weapon as a regular option, rather than as a last resort.

Empowerment and Development

The findings strongly suggest that organising in a gender-sensitive manner, has the potential to change the individual's self-image. This concurs with Batliwala's (1993:34) indicators of empowerment, which in turn contribute to development and change at the individual level. The interviews show that the self-image of many women has changed: many admitted that they had greater self-confidence and self-esteem. Organising had also increased their general level of awareness as the group interacted with other groups and the public in general. For example, many women

participated in demonstrations and both groups have extended invitations to resource persons and women's groups to work with them. The Union has worked with CIPAF for assistance while the Coop worked with Sistren and the Coop Department. Both groups were able to draw on and learn from resource persons who also gave advice on parenting and other issues.

The formation of these two cohesive groups, each led by strong women is indicative of Batliwala's concept of women's empowerment. As a collective each group has been able to access resources which they need to support their goals. Learning how to manage their organisations with enough efficiency to achieve tangible goals, is further evidence of empowerment and development. For example, the Coop has purchased, renovated and allocated houses, while the Union has harnessed resources to move from a basic level of operation, to consolidating and expanding their work to include employees in other FTZs. Special funding has been acquired for a priority area of work: legal aid to establish new principles in the industrial labour sector. Then, to varying degrees, the two groups of women have also managed to move beyond meeting their immediate needs to engaging in other struggles for development. For example, the Coop became involved in a national campaign to increase the minimum wage. Their membership in WAC, their contribution to the Commission of Enquiry about conditions in the FTZs as well as membership in the Association of Women's Organisations of Jamaica (AWOJA), can be regarded as organised efforts to address women's exploitation and their strategic gender interests. In so doing, according to Batliwala, actions such as these, can also be considered indicators of empowerment. So too is the Union's campaign against sexual harassment or the Coop's condemnation of the company's attempt to control their fertility. It involved women speaking out and taking action on oppressive practices in the workplace.

Women's empowerment and their strategic development has also in our view been promoted through their greater self confidence and the acquisition of a wide range of skills such as programme planning, negotiating, problem solving and leadership. Evidence of tangible benefits which can be observed from the process, includes women using experiences to tackle other problems, which then helps to change perceptions, uncover inner and collective strengths and also promotes more positive feelings about themselves. We therefore argue that these newly acquired skills and knowledge are also indicative of a qualitative and more holistic concept of development, which is gender-sensitive, empowering and participatory.

Organising: Many Methods - One Goal

The findings also gave the assurance that different strategies and methods can be used to support women's development. Whereas the emphasis of the union and the housing cooperative were different, both were pursuing common goals. In addressing the need for increased wages, the Coop made submissions to the Minimum Wage Commission, while the Union negotiated directly with factory owners. What was particularly interesting was women's consensus across both groups that negotiation was a more effective strategy in the free zone context than confrontation, unless it is absolutely necessary. When women realise that they have collective power, negotiation is one way of using it. These are important insights which increase our understanding of how gender affects organising. At the same time, there are limitations, which must be recognised.

The data shows that despite some success in wage negotiations, the increases were not at the level originally anticipated by either group. Similarly, while the women were able to change some things in their immediate environment, the structures which oppress and subordinate them have remained virtually unchanged in the short-term. This is understandable in the context of Sklair's discussion of

Transnational Practices, which demonstrates that the combined influence of TNCs and governments limits the benefits which women can derive from employment in the FTZs. Their power and influence are also moderated by the continued existence of patriarchy in the wider society and indeed in the factories. This manifested itself in the power and control exerted by the priest over fund-raising for the Coop and in Fenazucar's influence over the San Pedro Union. In time women should be able to more effectively control their affairs. But in the interim, they may have to compromise and negotiate with the church, trade union or any of the many social groups with whom they interact but have an unequal power relationship.

Networking was another common feature of the organising process. Both organisations contacted other groups of women in a similar situation, suggesting that both are building membership on the basis of gender. The San Pedro Union employed an animator to organise workers in other FTZs with the long-term objective of building a national union of Free Zone Workers. When the St Peter Claver Coop established contact with a smaller women's housing coop, this increased their collective resources as the number of housing units under their umbrella increased and provided housing for more women. This approach has a multiplier effect as other women in the respective communities have become involved. The Coop for example, expanded membership to include non-free zone workers and has provided a few housing units to women like Erna. They also organised an outreach programme to non-members in the community, and have tried to improve their status and skills through courses in sewing, English and Mathematics. Similarly, Fenazucar and the San Pedro Union started community programmes such as income-generating projects and day care centres to assist dismissed free-zone workers. Then a separate but related issue which has emerged is that an association of women workers has the potential to influence traditional trade unions to become more gender-sensitive in their focus.

It would appear that organising around concrete gender issues, holds the potential of moving beyond the micro-level, to becoming a broad movement of women workers. Theoretically, initial collaboration between groups, has the potential to develop into day care centre cooperatives, sewing cooperatives or service agencies. There also appears to be a correlation between empowerment and participation such that the women who are most active, display more initiative and self confidence than those who are less active in their organisations. Leaders appear to benefit more from the process because they have opportunities to learn skills which are acquired through direct involvement in problem solving and providing direction to the group. By implication therefore, if more women are given, or use these opportunities, they could benefit accordingly. The experiences of leaders in the Coop and Union could undoubtedly account for their positive self-perception as demonstrated in their future goals. For example, the leader of the Coop wanted to do management training and social work at a tertiary institution while the Union leader planned to study law as a result of her involvement in preparing workers' cases for trial. This suggests an area for further research, across a larger number of workers and range of groups to be conclusive about these indicators.

Another important finding is the possibility that the choice of method used to organise is partially related to the level of support available from mass organisations. The San Pedro Women's Union emerged as a result of a supportive women's organisation and a trade union. The St Peter Claver Coop also developed with help from the nuns and priests in the church as well as the Women's Action Committee and other women's groups. This again further strengthens our view that gender sensitivity does influence the success of women's methods of organising. Without this sensitivity it is unlikely that either organisation would have emerged in the way it has. This has made the critical difference between the Coop and the Union and the thousands of

women workers who try to survive on their own without the support of an organisation. Then, what is also interesting is that both group processes started with research on the problems women in this sector were facing.

Rethinking Development: Theoretical and Methodological Implications

While many feminists have underscored the importance of gender, the study has provided valuable insight into its influence at the micro level of analysis and how it influences the process of development. Several experiences cited in the study, have shown that gender does influence women's methods of organising. They are likely to form organisations which enable them to meet their combined productive and reproductive needs, while also providing an environment in which their need for friendship and emotional support can be met. This is especially understandable in a context where there are young single mothers, with major responsibilities, limited financial resources and skills for the job market. As more women are taking advantage of education and skill training opportunities, it is understandable that these changes, as well as their improved independence gained by earning their own money, may stimulate their need for empowerment and greater participation. The act of organising then assumes greater importance although it had not originally been considered as an indicator of development.

It represents the consolidation of the need for empowerment and for participation. Collective action and organisational development should therefore be seen as points along a continuum which starts with getting women workers together around common issues. However, this in itself is not sufficient. To support the strategic development of women, the structure and process of an organisation, must be sensitive to the context as well as the factors which contribute to women's subordination and make the necessary changes.

The structure, content and process must enable women to participate and meet their various needs. The results of our study show that women's understanding of and effective use of power is learnt in interaction with other groups and through practical experience. Creating an organisational form which gives expression to the collective gender interests of women, would support this process.

Therefore, whereas gender and development theories provide a macro level framework for examining the concept of development, the study demonstrates how the process works at the level of the group and the individual to bring positive change in support of women's gender needs. Involvement contributes to the acquisition of human resource skills such as self-esteem and self confidence. The findings of this study therefore, strongly support Batliwala's views that empowerment develops through collective action and the acquisition of knowledge and skills. They also echo Freire's concept of "critical consciousness" which is a part of the process of empowerment and development. Women's awareness that their problems are not individual but are typical of other women workers brings a collective understanding of their problems. As a result, their former sense of powerlessness, is replaced by the knowledge that there is power in organised collective action. The paradigm of development is further clarified with evidence that women's self perception and self-esteem can be changed as they acquire technical and organisational skills to support their development. The findings further suggest that participatory research, strategic programme planning, management and evaluation are important skills, which must be affirmed and encouraged in programmes to enhance the development of women.

FTZs: Subordination, Survival or Empowerment?

Whereas dependency theorists and several other academics have questioned the benefits of the FTZs, the findings of this study suggest that even in very adverse situations such as those described in various chapters which provide details on the

FTZs, modest incremental advances are possible for women working in export processing industries. They can successfully organise to address some of the problems which subordinate them such as low wages, occupational stereotyping, sexual harassment, or lack of adequate health and child care. Learning that advances are not likely to be gained except by organising, knowledge and struggle in various forms, is in our view, an important part of the process of empowerment, as they are mobilised into action for change. These are unlikely to ever become part of any deliberate policies or strategies of TNCs, but will rather be achieved through on-going struggle and advocacy on the part of women workers.

Against this background, Elson and Pearson's (1981) concern that the EOI strategy in both the developed and developing world perpetuates the gender subordination of women appears well-founded. But, Lim's (1990) rejection of this position based on her observation that jobs in global assembly industries enable women to meet their various needs and give them more independence in the home, also appears to have some validity. In advancing gender and development theories, the findings therefore open the possibility that both these positions could be true. FTZs do provide women with jobs to support their families and afford them a greater degree of independence. The structure of patriarchy in FTZs has however meant that the jobs offer little scope for improving worker's present levels of skill or utilising an increased level of technical skill. It is also understandable that women with a higher level of education may want to advance more rapidly than the employment situation allows.

Macro economic, social, political and cultural factors do subordinate low-income women in the two countries. There is evidence however that by organising around common gender issues, women are learning skills that contribute to their empowerment and development. The two experiences therefore support Ward's (1986) observation that women workers must find alternative ways of organising.

Evidence from Asia however suggests that there are a wide range of methods women workers can use to organise, which still need to be explored in the Caribbean. There is need for more women's trade unions, housing cooperatives and other groups that help women to meet their needs. By linking the experiences of similar groups of workers in Asia, the study has expanded the concept of organising workers and widened the range of options which have traditionally been used in the Caribbean.

These include:

Day care centres for young children, study circles, community organisations, churches and women workers' houses which provide a variety of services such as laundry and education programmes are options that must now be explored in the Caribbean as alternatives to trade unions (see for example, Asian Women Workers Newsletter, Vol.12 No.1, January 1993:1-3).

The study also strongly supports the view of feminists and other researchers that interdisciplinary research is valuable (Webb et al:1966). Simon (1945) and Lindblom's (1959) analyses of the process of decision-making in policy analysis have also enhanced our understanding of how development takes place at a micro level. In effect these findings contribute to the study of gender research by suggesting new dimensions for exploring the development process with support from different disciplines. There is also the possibility of using the methodology to organise working women in several sectors.

Development Effects of the Free Trade Zones

The study has also provided an opportunity to assess the relevance of the six criteria outlined by Sklair for assessing the development effects of EOI and FTZs. An important conclusion emerging is that gender sensitivity should be included as a seventh criteria. This can be as effective as the addition of the environmental dimension which Sklair introduced in his revised list of criteria in 1993. Assessing these six criteria from a gender analysis perspective and applying them in a variety of

countries in which FTZs operate, would further refine Sklair's framework and in so doing, suggests several areas for further research. In the areas of skill training and technology transfer for example, further analysis along these lines is likely to show that there is little scope for women working in FTZs to learn new industrial skills. There are however, possibilities for learning other skills in the process of organising to address work-related problems and meet their domestic needs. These include personal and organisational skills which enhance an individual's development in a way which the transfer of manufacturing skills has not. In essence therefore, organising around gender needs can create unintended development effects which counter some of the negative impact of the FTZs.

The study also confirmed the invalidity of using development as a concept which focuses primarily on macro economic growth. It strongly endorsed the more current, qualitative idea of development as a people-centred concept, which holds the possibility of empowering people as indicated by DAWN (1987), Girvan (1988), Stone (1991) and others. The study has however served to deepen our theoretical understanding of the issues and suggests alternative routes to be taken to achieve development goals. Qualitative development implies that there must be sensitivity to gender issues in planning and process, while facilitating participation, empowerment and organising. Together, these provide a much more accurate assessment of progress and change. Whereas the importance of economic growth cannot be negated (Girvan, 1988), the study confirms that macro economic policies like EOI, ISI and others, have in general perpetuated an economistic pattern of uneven development which works against poorer groups of people, including low-income women.

Macro economic factors place considerable restrictions on the organising process as EOI policies in combination with those of structural adjustment, are shifting the locus of responsibility for employment generation, health, education and

other services, from the state to communities, the private sector, non-governmental organisations and individuals. With fewer resources, the possibilities of achieving tangible success in state-sponsored human development terms appears limited. There is also the additional factor that the logic of the global capitalist system works in favour of TNCs as Elson and Pearson (1989), Sklair (1989) and others have noted. Governments of developing countries, even if they were positively disposed to adopting policies which would support the empowerment of their own nationals as a priority, would in any event have limited power and influence to determine appropriate policies. Priority, it would appear, is always in favour of the interests of TNCs.

Whereas these external factors do exercise considerable control over the actions of governments, it must be noted that the culture of patriarchy inherent in the state as well as in what Sklair (1990) refers to transnational practices, places severe restrictions on the scope for structural change. The study therefore concludes that gender-sensitive women (and men) must gain access to positions of power and influence to ensure that fundamental changes can be made to support women's development.

The FTZ policy and its related components such as economic liberalisation and structural adjustment, present fundamental challenges, even to the concept of development as economic growth. The negative social impact has been devastating in many sectors and has fuelled Sach's lament of lost development decades. The expansion of the informal sector in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic, has further reduced the power of organised labour and increased the workload of women. Given the desperate need to find alternatives, the results of the study are timely.

While global economic factors also impact on women and influence their methods of organising, the combined effects of the debt, structural adjustment policies and historical features of underdevelopment have had a major impact on women because of their socially prescribed gender roles. There is a ray of hope however, against what may otherwise appear to be a rather gloomy landscape. Although women workers seem powerless to make structural changes that will reverse these global trends, organising has the potential to give them more control over their work environment.

The findings also present the interesting possibility of shifting the focus of mass organising. Whereas men working in the industrial sector have traditionally organised on the basis of class, the study opens the possibility that women workers may be more inclined to organise on the basis of gender interests. This presents several challenges to trade unions, political parties, churches and other mass organisations. For trade unions, it is a direct challenge to the egalitarian rhetoric which Nicola Charles (1983) laments. Then, it^{is} important to note that although gender-based organising is an important and necessary component to the labour scene, it is not by itself a sufficient guarantee to ensure that organising for either women's practical or strategic gender interests will create changes which could be considered developmental.

While gender sensitivity emerges as a key variable in considering development, there are two important ways in which it is particularly important. The first is as a variable by itself and secondly, in combination with class as a sub-category. For example, the findings have opened up the possibility that within the labour market, more women workers may organise on the basis of meeting their gender interests. This could be an important development, as the current level of unionisation in both countries is relatively low and has been falling. In the DR where only an estimated 15

percent of the workforce is unionised, very few women participate in trade unions. Even in Jamaica which has a higher rate of unionisation, only an estimated 30 percent of the workforce is unionised. Then, although the level of unionisation among Jamaican women is reportedly higher than in the DR, this has not given them more access to positions of decision-making as they are virtually absent at the leadership level.

Another strong issue emerging is that organising on the basis of gender at the community level, could be a possible solution to addressing the lack of protection for the large numbers of women working in the expanding, informal economy and the unorganised service sector. Women's concentration in low-wage industries as domestic helpers, shop assistants, secretarial personnel and traders, could potentially develop into an effective women workers' movement. Such a movement could then take a more active role in helping women meet their practical, productive and reproductive needs in a more collective way, at the community level. Over time, their numerical strength, sensitivity to gender issues and use of participatory methodologies in the manner outlined in this study, could also ensure that women workers are organised to influence both policy and decision-making processes. In this way they could more effectively ensure that their strategic interests are addressed at a national level. Gender-sensitive organisations could introduce programmes that build women's personal and organisational capacity and help them to acquire and use power effectively. In so doing, they could go a long way in creating the alternative model of people-centred development described in earlier chapters.

In examining the role of CIPAF and WAC, we noted that women from various class backgrounds, were able to address concrete problems affecting a special group of women workers, by combining their skills and expertise. The case study of the St Peter Claver Women's Housing Cooperative and their association with WAC holds

many lessons to help us understand the relationship between class and gender. Collaboration between these two women's organisations has demonstrated that a class alliance among women, can be powerful and effective in supporting the strategic development of women. WAC, as a multi-class group has been effective in supporting the struggle of lower-class free zone workers through research, education and advocacy. In the Dominican Republic, gender combines with class to work in a different way. Women in the San Pedro Union are in fact organising within a class and a gender framework. Both experiences therefore help us to understand how class and gender can be configured in different ways to support the development of women.

By comparison, the experiences of women workers in Asia, suggest that a variety of approaches can be used in organising. Some of these will be economic strategies aimed at increasing women's income, while others will be support networks which enable them to meet their productive needs such as child care or housing. Together, this suggests that while an intervention strategy such as income generation or housing is important, the critical factor which makes the difference between meeting an on-going need and empowering women strategically, is the process used within the particular organisations.

The group structure and process used in an organisation to promote gender-sensitive development, would have to ensure that women have the space and opportunities to learn about factors affecting them, build their confidence, show them how to acquire power and use it effectively. The environment would have to promote participation and strengthen women's ability to cooperate rather than compete with each other. This is difficult as the dominant models of management are male-oriented and emphasise competition rather than cooperation. The non-hierarchical leadership styles and structures which evolve and which are part of an alternative people-centred model of development, could provide opportunities to learn new skills and develop

the expertise which women's groups require to operate efficiently and effectively. These suggest other areas for research and analysis to inform emerging trends. Again, these findings confirm Ward's recommendation that women must seek alternative forms of organising. They further suggest how an alternative development model can be operationalised at the micro level and impact directly on the lives of women. There is scope to learn from the process as it evolves and further refine it, adapting it to fit a wide variety of contexts in which women are marginalised.

The study has enabled, our understanding of the process of development to become somewhat clearer. The findings support Girvan's (1988) view which suggests that development is a continuous process. Lindblom, has however clarified that it is not linear and the two experiences show that it involves various policy choices along the way which sometimes advance the process and at other times cause setbacks. In the end however, women are likely to be better off organised, than they would be unorganised. An unresolved issue for further research and analysis relates to the question of sustainability. These emerging ideas around women organising need to be further tested and refined, to identify those factors which inhibit and support the sustainability of women's organisations. One particular component which comes to mind is the matter of funding for training and operational costs. At present, both the Coop and the Union depend on external funding to supplement income from their members to meet operating costs. To make them self-sufficient, some component would have to be built in to ensure economic sustainability^(eg. consultancy services). Even so, the economic state of both countries which is characterised by high inflation, implies a constant uphill struggle to keep pace with rising costs, particularly in the area of housing and utilities.

At a personal level, organisational participation and the sustainability of the Coop or the Union are related to the unstable character of employment in the FTZs.

How will women find alternative sources of income to pay their housing charge to the Coop for example, or support the Union and themselves, if they are dismissed? This would be difficult, but could help to build awareness and commitment among the women who face the complex and integrated choices associated with their domestic responsibilities and economic survival. Therefore, it would appear that whereas the study provides research-based insights into the theoretical and practical dimensions of development at a micro level, further research is needed over a longer period and a larger group, to properly assess the sustainability of the emerging "models" and factor these issues into planning.

Methodological Implications

The fundamental question which remains is - has the research methodology facilitated women's empowerment and participation? The first concerns the participatory and interdisciplinary research methodology used in the study to determine if they have been effective, in light of earlier theoretical discussions on the role of research in women's development. The second relates to the role of participatory research in organising and empowering women.

Overall, the findings have in our view supported the importance of an interdisciplinary approach for the study of gender and development issues. The views of Mies (1983), Harding (1991) and other writers in the feminist tradition, who underscore this approach, have been vindicated. Writers from the disciplines of sociology, economics, social psychology, policy analysis, political economy and gender and development, have provided valuable complementary insights. In particular, attempts to apply models of decision-making to the study of development is in our view a creative way of using tools and concepts across disciplines. Then, despite the use of ideas from different disciplines, there has been a convergence of views in rethinking development and confirmation that there is a general concern

about the traditional model of development. DAWN (1986), TOES - The Other Economic Summit (1989), former dependency economist Norman Girvan (1988), Stone (1991), Sachs (1993) and others point to the importance of people's participation, empowerment and gender-sensitivity, in presenting an alternative development paradigm.

While the interdisciplinary approach did influence the use of a multifaceted research strategy, it also proved effective by providing complementary information at a macro and micro level. The quality and variety of data collected from group interviews, participant observation, field visits and workshops is unlikely to have been available from solely using a quantitative survey. Content analysis of previous studies of free zone workers, annual reports and minutes of meetings of the two organisations, were also effective documentary sources. Without a deliberate strategy of sharing information, it is also likely that neither of the two groups would not have benefitted from the research findings in the way they have. The women have been empowered through knowledge of their collective experience and efforts are on-going to find opportunities for them to meet.

The concern of feminists that research should empower women has been vindicated, as the current study has developed along these lines. At different periods, the findings have been shared with the main organisations. They have also received financial support for their programmes through international development agencies and the intervention of the researcher, who has also benefited from their individual and collective insights. Gender networking has also been facilitated by this relationship and both groups of women were given support to contact women workers in other countries, to share ideas, experiences and solidarity around common issues.

The study also served as a case study of how Participatory Research as a qualitative research tool, can be used to empower and organise women workers. It facilitated collective investigation and analysis of data, helped to create women's awareness and commitment to action, it provided women with information on which to act as well as fora which they could use to take action. This research approach, in contrast to questionnaire surveys, therefore has the potential to build the "movement" of women workers discussed above, while creating critical awareness among the people affected.

In this area, many other issues remain unexplored and suggest the need for further research and systematising of experiences in different countries. For example, in 1981, when CIPAF did early pioneering research on women in the FTZs, this established the first real database on wages and working conditions on women in this sector, within the Dominican Republic. This research experience was shared widely to build public awareness about the issues and was further developed through collaboration with sympathetic trade union personnel. Then in 1985, an identical though independent process developed in Jamaica through CUSO, which led to the formation of the WAC in 1988. The findings show that both WAC and CIPAF have fulfilled a similar role and function in support of women working in the FTZs, in their respective countries. Research, human resource development training, popular education for workers and public education have been common strategies used by both groups. While we have tried to summarise the two experiences and extract the main lessons, the study suggests the need for more systematic research on how organisations of middle class and working class women can support each other in working towards the strategic development of women in a Caribbean context.

Another interesting parallel in the two experiences which reinforces the need for further research and analysis is that both WAC and CIPAF independently

published popular booklets for free zone workers in 1990. Analysis of the WAC/CUSO Caribbean publication "Rights as Well As Jobs for Women in the Garment Industry" (Wedderburn, 1990), which tells the story of Gloria, a free zone worker, shows the effective use of simple texts and cartoons to communicate ideas. CIPAF's publication "La vida mía no es fácil" (Pineda, 1990) which focuses on a free zone worker, Teodora Espinosa, uses photographs, and text to expose conditions, suggest legal changes and mobilise women to become unionised. The language and format are also simple, attractive and culturally specific to reach the target audience, which has varying levels of literacy and education. The balance of text and pictures in both publications, makes the information more accessible to women, than a text which is unbroken by pictures or graphics, or the text of a speech presented by a trade union leader for example. The use of video technology by the St Peter Claver Housing Cooperative's education programme, introduces yet another approach. Through the production of the video documentary "We Run Things", the Coop members have demonstrated the use of culture as a medium for education and organising. They have also written their own theme song and used drama to analyze issues. Together, these suggest participatory ways of empowering women. Use of the media, we previously noted, has also been an important part of the process. Both the Coop and the Union have used the print and electronic media extensively, and this has helped to give the groups legitimacy and a public profile. In conclusion therefore, more systematic research is needed to identify and extract these lessons in a Caribbean context so they can serve women's organisations.

Recognising Ward's (1986) challenge that women workers need alternative ways of organising, the study has helped to clarify a number of components which are important to the process of development. Extracting these from the experience of free

zone workers in the Caribbean as well as their counterparts in Asia, has helped to pinpoint the advantages and disadvantages of using different approaches for long term development.

Despite these encouraging insights, the need for further research and analysis must be underscored, to determine whether the process which started at a personal level with women sharing common concerns, taking action, then forming gender-sensitive organisations to take issues forward, could be developed into a methodology for organising women. The findings suggest that women tend to build their organisations with other women because they share common experiences, such as balancing their domestic and work roles. This creates a special bond which they are able to share more easily among themselves than with men, who have a different experience because of their gender position in society. Those women who have the main responsibility for raising and supporting children, and most of the FTZ workers are included, are even more likely to be able to empathize with each other.

In pursuing Ward's proposal, the results indicate that it does not appear to matter how the groups get started. In Jamaica, the relationships started in the community whereas in the DR they started in the free zone, then moved to the community. Once women are able to find common issues which they can discuss and support each other, there is a basis for further collaboration. In the DR, leaders established contact with women in the factories, developed friendships on the basis of trust, shared confidences and problems, and provided mutual support in mundane but important things. Social activities and house visits strengthened and reinforced these relationships and eventually the house visits began to also serve the function of discussing work problems and exploring solutions. Similar strategies have been

reported by women workers in Asia, thereby suggesting that personal relationships and friendships are a common feature of women's methods of organising. These are factors which therefore need to be considered in developing programmes for women.

At another level, the findings strongly suggest that there is a strong relationship between participatory research and organisational development used in a gender-sensitive context. An analysis of WAC's programme methodology and work since 1988, indicates that organisational development and change are possible through programmes which include action research, education, advocacy and strategic networking among women (Dunn, 1993). The organisational structure which the group adopted, served as a gender-sensitive model for administration and programme development. However, WAC's informal ad hoc structure with volunteers rather than a formal organisation with paid staff could create problems for women working full-time. WAC's gender-sensitive methodology of working through member organisations and in a collective rather than individual way, appears to be an effective method of strengthening the organisation. This promotes collective ownership and responsibility for programmes. Practical adaptation of this approach could help the Housing Coop and the San Pedro Union to involve members more in the daily operations of their organisation. In so doing, it could help to develop the leadership and organisational skills of a larger number of women in each organisation, while increasing their participation in activities. As Batliwala (1993) suggests, this in essence is part of the process of their empowerment.

The internal structures and programmes of organisations also help to determine how they contribute to development goals. Each of the organisations examined have organised programmes to address specific problems, rather than seeing them as projects, with a specific time to start and complete an activity. Alternatively, programmes suggest continuity and a process committed to change. As such in

addition to organising, programming emerges as an important component of the development process.

Organising in Caribbean Free Trade Zones: Scope and Limitations

The main conclusions to be drawn from this angle are that external macro-economic and political pressures associated with structural adjustment, export-oriented industrialisation, globalisation and trade, are important factors which influence women's organising strategies. Developing countries like Jamaica and the Dominican Republic currently appear to have little option but to pursue the EOI strategy to tackle their social, political and economic problems. Women's efforts to organise therefore continue to ^{be} constrained by these limitations.

To consolidate the organising process initiated by both the Coop and the Union, both groups have forged alliances in the factory and community. This suggests that strengthening collaboration with powerful individuals and institutions also enhances women workers' organisations. The use of Advisory committees could provide access to influential decision-making bodies and individuals, as well as financial and technical resources for programme development. WAC's membership for example, includes the Bureau of Women's Affairs, several trade unions and an umbrella network of NGOs. From another angle, organisations in solidarity with women workers such as funders and resource groups, also need to establish a balance between support to build these alternative groups and suppress their initiative by being over-generous or negatively interventionist. Women workers must have the space to participate in and manage their own organisations. Creating economic or other forms of dependency will not enhance the process of their empowerment and participation. Training in gender-sensitive styles of management is also urgently needed in both the Union and the Coop. This is another area that needs further research to identify the key issues, extract the main elements across a number of

women worker organisations in order to systematize a methodology appropriate to women workers' organisations. A developmental approach would be to ensure that leadership styles and processes help to develop latent leadership potential among group members.

In this regard, WAC is one organisation which offers a model of gender-sensitive leadership which could be considered. Even while acknowledging that CUSO has helped to anchor the group, there is evidence of collective leadership. Cooperation, mutual support and a division of labour for various programme areas, stands in sharp contrast to an hierarchical patriarchal structure, which is commonly found in groups. The Coop model which also facilitates a participatory leadership style and collective decision-making, also hold important lessons. In practice however, a disproportionate amount of responsibility and power resides in the Coordinator, thereby limiting the growth potential of other members. Again Lindblom and Braybrooke's concept of disjointed incrementalism could help us to interpret this situation. While there is the tendency in both groups to shift between traditional male patterns of leadership and more participatory alternatives, over time a more strategic approach will hopefully evolve. Whatever the model, the results suggest that the organisational leadership style which appears to support the process of empowerment and facilitates participation is one which fosters and develops team leadership. This gives many more members the opportunities to learn management, organisational and programming skills.

Sustainability

An important limitation that emerges as an area for further study relates to the sustainability of the two organisations, as internal and external factors continue to create new challenges, new choices and alternatives emerge for decision-making. The real test of assessing and measuring the long term impact of the two experiences

would only be evident in a longitudinal study. Such a project would need to consider both the wider impact of these models, the degree to which they can be replicated and the level of internal growth and cohesion of the membership as measures of development. Sustainability also relates to the ability of women's groups to support themselves financially as was previously noted. Whereas WAC as an ad hoc advocacy group has managed on its own internal resources for programming, both the SPC Coop and the SPM Trade union have had to depend on overseas funding for support, given the size of their respective operations. Without this the pace of work would have been much slower as Jiminez observed. There is however the inherent danger of relying primarily on overseas funding which may not be available in the long term. This gives rise to the need to identify and develop fund-raising alternatives that will guarantee the availability of funds as long as the group decides it is necessary to exist. Honor Ford-Smith's (1990) caution echoes loudly from the experience of Sistren Theatre Collective in Jamaica in "Ring Ding in a Tight Corner". It addresses among other things, the "novelty" of women's projects wearing off as funding agencies find new priorities and interests. This shift is already evident with an increasing focus on the environment though there are attempts to integrate women on to this agenda.

Organising for sustainable development also has to do with the pace and rate of growth and expansion of group initiatives such as the Coop and the Union. While there is the undeniable need for women to join such groups to advance their needs, unbridled growth without adequate planning and administrative support could also contribute to chaos and the demise of their organisations. In the Coop for example, the demand for housing greatly exceeds the supply. The group recognises the danger of opening membership to an unlimited number of women who will inevitably become frustrated as time passes and they are unable to get a house. Sustainability also implies knowing what capacity the group can effectively absorb and containing their expansion within those limits. Sustainability further implies recognising the

importance of educating and training members not only to acquire houses but to care and maintain them. The same concerns apply to the Union. They must be able to support the development of their members as women, but also make their male members gender-sensitive and also fulfil their needs.

Training for Development

Women's methods of organising to support their development must therefore include an on-going training programme to equip members to pursue their search for development in the home and workplace. Recognition must be given to women's central role in the family and their primary importance to the process of socialisation. Teaching them gender-sensitivity skills will eventually be felt in the rest of society, if even in the very long term. Training must also increase women's ability to access and use power effectively in support of their own development. This would include training to strengthen administrative and organising skills, programme planning and evaluation, group dynamics, action-research and education. A practical demonstration of this need is seen in campaigns on wages and salaries. Most workers would not have information on production costs, company profits, and cost of living indices. Negotiating skills, training in decision-making, consensus-building, conflict management, strategic planning and gender awareness are also needed.

The impact of training is likely to be moderated by the level of education of group members (Arregui and Baez 1989). Anderson and Gordon's (1989) finding that women in the Caribbean are taking advantage of educational opportunities suggests that in future, women working in the FTZs may have an even higher level of education, unless other avenues for employment are expanded. This we expect, may be accompanied by increased social and economic expectations as well as a wish to exercise more control over decision-making and assume leadership positions. These

factors could enhance the potential for organising as the calibre of leadership is likely to be improved by secondary education in most cases. We recall that there were reports of teachers and women with university degrees applying for jobs in the Dominican zones because jobs are scarce and local salary levels are very low. Higher levels of education would understandably add to women's frustration, as most free zone jobs can be learnt in three months. This leads to a deskilling process that Duarte (1986) refers to as "educational proletarianization", which is counter to the concept of development being advocated.

In addition to the influence of education as a factor in training, age and fertility are also important in organising. Free zone workers in Jamaica and the DR are younger than their peers in national industries with over 70% of them between 20 and 35 years. Early fertility in the case of Jamaica and the Dominican tradition of marrying young and starting a family, implies a free zone work force with dependent children, which has to balance its productive, reproductive and community managing roles. Training programmes therefore have to be integrated in a model that takes these factors into consideration.

Further Research

Whereas the findings confirm that gender sensitivity, the need for empowerment, for participation as well as organising all have important implications for the development of women workers, there is the danger of overstating the impact of these experiences, despite the notion of incremental development. Five years is really too short a time to do more than assess a trend and examine the possibilities for organising. Research over a longer period covering a broader number of areas is needed to determine whether women's responses are reflective of an initial period of euphoria or really represent attitude and behaviour changes as well as empowerment. The achievement of strategic gender interests through organising would also need a

longer period of data collection and analysis to be properly assessed. The findings also underscore the importance of combining quantitative and qualitative research methods. The study has provided valuable insights into the lives of women workers, which could not be gleaned from using purely quantitative methods. There is however need to explore these findings across a wider cross section of people to explore trends.

At a micro level, a number of findings remain unexplained. Whereas a more supportive trade union environment seems to account for the development of a women's trade union in the DR as opposed to a Coop, the findings are inconclusive. The Coop may have developed through a combination of factors: the actions of the women's housing group; a supportive church, generous funders and bankers; a sympathetic government and a hurricane that exacerbated already poor housing conditions in one of Kingston's largest inner-city areas.

While it was not one of the original objectives of the study, it would have been interesting to explore which of the two organisations is more gender-sensitive or facilitates greater participation and empowerment. Further research is also required to determine precisely why women in both groups aspire to own their own business. The interviews suggest that they resent having little or no control over their time at work and their jobs give them little power and status. It could also be that they are following the model of the companies in which they work and associate power with owning and controlling their own business. It would have been interesting to identify the reasons behind these seemingly individualistic choices, in the face of a new collective experience. This is an important issue to explore as small business group initiatives are often not economically successful. In rethinking development strategies with community groups, a number of NGOs are examining if and how seemingly individualistic initiatives such as these can also support development (ADA Revisiting

Development Workshop Documents, 1993). Stated alternatively, many collective experiences have not been successful and therefore need to be evaluated to determine why.

Further research is also required to determine why after several years of working in the free zone and a higher level of education, the aspirations of women are still similar to those of their mothers. The study suggests, but does not enable us to prove that inter-generational mobility and attitudes may change at a different pace despite these innovative organising experiences. With women continuing to aspire for careers in the service sector, there is a strong possibility that without strategic intervention to broaden their self-perception, they may remain in traditional service occupations for several generations. New skills acquired within a women's housing cooperative or a trade union could however change this pattern.

Even if occupational preferences remain the same, the study suggests that collaboration on joint interests could lead to sewing cooperatives and other collective projects. Business skills learned in the process could be further developed and used in larger businesses. These in turn could provide alternative sources of income for more women. This would be an important progression as the FTZs appear unlikely to provide more scope for women to develop other skills, and employment in the factories is not stable. There is a basis for supposing that this kind of cooperation could work as some women already provide in-kind support to each other as hairdressers and child-minders to reduce costs. Others bake, decorate cakes and crochet items to beautify homes at more economical costs than regular shops.

Chapter Summary

In conclusion, therefore, the study shows that while the EOI strategy and the FTZs are not viable for long term development, there are unintended development effects as the zones offer scope for women working in the various factories to use the opportunities for their own advancement. The findings also show that various methods and strategies can be used to organise women. But, to support development and women's need for empowerment and for participation, the methods, the programme content and the process should be gender-sensitive. The FTZ environment, gender roles and structural adjustment policies provide several reasons for women to organise. Some of these are role conflicts created by the competing demands of work and family. Organising around practical gender interests also helps women to meet strategic gender interests such as the need for empowerment and for participation to change structures which oppress them. The challenge is whether these methods are sustainable. Can they be used by a wide cross-section of groups or to organise women in the expanding informal economy? Can they encourage organisations with large groups of women, to begin to take a more active role and change structures which inhibit their development? The two case studies show some of the possibilities and the limitations. Further research is now needed to determine how they can be deepened and expanded to make them sustainable. Conceptually however, they have helped to confirm the importance of a qualitative concept of development which is gender-sensitive, empowering and participatory.

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APPENDICES

INTERVIEW GUIDE - JAMAICA

Dear friend,

This is a study about Free Trade Zones and the people who work in them. Please help by answering the following questions. Your name and place of work are not being recorded, so please feel free to express yourself.

First, Could you answer some background questions about yourself and members of your household?

Background

1. How old are you?

Under 20 years (); 20-24 (); 25-29 (); over 30 ().

2. How long have you lived in this community?

Most of you life (); 5-10 years (); 2-4 years (); less than one year ().

3. What work did your father do for a living?

4. What work did your mother do for a living.

5. How far did you go in school?

6. What is your marital status?

Single () Common-law () Married ()

Visiting () Other ().

7. How many people live at home with you? ()

8. Do any of the others work for wages outside the the home apart from you? Yes (); No ()

9. If yes, how much do they contribute to the household weekly?

10-50 (); 151-100 (); 101-200 (); over 200 ();

10. Do you have children? Yes (); No ().

11. If yes how many do you have?

12. Who looks after them when you are at work?

Friend (); Family (); Nursery (); Other ().

13. How much is your weekly takehome pay?

14. Is this enough to meet your regular expenses like food, rent and transportation? Yes (); No ():

15. If No, how do you manage?

Tell me about your normal workday.

16. What time do you get up?

17. What do you do in the morning before you go to work?

18. What you do when you return from work at night?

19. What time do you go to bed at night?

Could you tell me about your job and what it's like working in the Zone.

20. What job do you do in the Free Zone.?

(Low- skill/ medium skill/ high skill)

21. What time do you have to be at work?

22. Are they strict about time?

23. Do you often work overtime?(Y/N); weekends?(Y/N)

24. How long have you worked with this company.? () yrs

25. Are you permanent (); Temporary ()?

26. Have you received any training since you started the job?

27. Have you had any promotions? Yes (); No ().

28. If I wanted to get a job in the Zone, would it be difficult?
How would I go about it?

29. Were you working before you got this job? Yes (); No().

30. What kind of job was it?

31. Do you think the Free Zone job is better() or worse ()?

32. Do you receive any benefits from the company?

- health benefits?
- Vacation and sick leave benefits
- maternity leave
- pension ?

33. Approximately how much do you earn each week?

34. Is that straight salary or does it include bonuses?

35. Are you a production worker? Do you have daily quotas?
36. If yes, how often are you able to reach them?
often (); sometimes (); seldom ().
37. Do you work on shift? Yes (); No ().
38. Do you work overtime ? Yes (); No ().
39. Is this voluntary ? Yes(); No ().
40. If yes, about how many hours did you work overtime in the last month?
less than 10 (); 10- 29 (); 30- 50().
41. Is there anything you particularly like about your job?
42. Is there anything you dislike about your job?
43. How would you describe your relationship with your supervisor?
44. Do you get along with your work colleagues?
45. Have you developed any health problems since you started working in the factory that you think might be related to your job or the work environment? Y/N/ d/k
46. If yes, what do you think these are?
47. How would you describe the atmosphere at work? What word would you use to describe it and why?
48. Do you think this job has allowed you to have a better standard of living and more independence than you did before? Yes(); No()
49. Do you think there is a bright future for you if you continue working in the Free Zone ?
50. If you were not working here, what else would you be doing?.

Thank you very much for your assistance and good luck.

Leith Dunn.

FEDERACION NACIONAL DE TRABAJADORES AZUCAREROS
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MUESTRA DE CUESTIONARIO

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Querido Amigo, este es un estudio sobre las libertades de los trabajadores de Zona Franca y las personas que trabajan con ellos. Por favor ayudarnos contestando las preguntas con sus nombres y lugar de trabajo, estas respuestas deben hacerse libremente. Estas preguntas deben contestarse fundamentalmente por tí mismo o alguien con autoridad.

1.- Cuantos años Tiene ?

Menos de 20 (), 20-24 (), 25-29 (), Sobre los 30 ().

2.- Cuantos Años tienen viviendo en esa comunidad ?

La mayor parte de la vida (), 5-10 años (), 2-4 años ()

3.- Que Trabajó (a) tu Padre ?

4.- Que Trabajo (a) tu Madre ?

5.- Cuantos años fuiste a la Escuela ?

6.- Cual es tu Status Social ?

Solo (a) (), Visitante (), Concubinato (), Casado () otros ()

7.- Cuantas personas viven con usted ()

8.- Alguna persona trabaja fuera de casa, a parte de usted?

Sí ()

No ()

9.- Si es a si Cuanto es la contribución semanal?

10-50 ()

51-100 (),

101-200 ()

sobre 200 ()

10.- Tienes Hijos Si ()

No ()

11.- Cuantos hijos tienes? ()

12.- A quién visitas después del trabajo?

Amigos ()

Familiares ()

Niños ()

otros ()

13.- Cuanto es tu salario semanal?

14.- Es tu salario bastante para hacerle frente a tus gastos de Alimentación, Renta y Transporte.

Sí ()

No ()

15.- Cual es el salario diario de tu Jefe, Habla brevemente sobre su trabajo normal.

.... /2

16.- En que tiempo logra hacerlo?

17.- Que haces en la mañana antes de ir a trabajar?

18.- Que haces cuando regresas de trabajar ?

19.- A que hora te acuesta en las noches? ¿ Puedes hablar acerca del trabajo que realiza en la Zona.

20.- Que trabajo realizas en Zona Franca?

Práctico Bajo () Medio Práctico () Práctico Alto ()

21.- Que tiempo tienes trabajando en ese trabajo

22.- Son ellos estrictos con el tiempo ?

23.- Con que frecuencia trabajas horas extras

Si () No () Fines de semana Si () No ()

24.- Que tiempo tiene trabajando en esa compañía? Años ()

25.- Eres Fijo () ó Temporero () ?

26.- Recibes entrenamiento antes de empezar a trabajar?

27.- Obtuviste algun ascenso? Si () ó NO ()

28.-Fue una necesidad para tí conseguir trabajo en la Zona? Cuantas dificultades tuviste para conseguirlo.

29.- Trabajaba antes de este trabajo ? Si () No ()

30.- Que clase de trabajo realizabas ?

31.- Piensas que el trabajo de Zona franca es mejor ? Si () No () Peor ()

32.- Que beneficios recibes de tu compañía?

Beneficios de salud

Licencia de salud en caso de enfermedad

Permiso por Maternidad

Pensión.

33.- Aproximadamente cuanto ganas cada semana?

34.- Es justo tu salario y recibes bonificaciones?

35.- Estas rindiendo en tu trabajo? tienen una cuota diaria?

36.- Con que frecuencia faltas a tu trabajo?

A veces () de vez en cuando () Rara vez ()

37.- Desearía cambiar de trabajo? Si () No ()

38.- Trabajas tu horas extras ? Si () No ()

39.- Esto es voluntario ? Si () No ()

.... /3

- 40.- Alrededor de cuantas horas extras trabajas al mes ?
Menos de 10 () 10-29 () 30-50 ()
- 41.- Te gustaría alguna cosa en particular de tu trabajo que cambiara?
- 42.- Te disgusta alguna cosa en particular de tu trabajo?
- 43.- Describe como son tus relaciones con tu supervisor
- 44.- Realiza tu trabajo con alguna colega?
- 45.- Has desarrollado alguna enfermedad trabajando en factorías causada por el medio ambiente, o has presentado alguna anomalía en la salud?
Sí () No ()
- 46.- Cual es ?
- 47.- Puedes describir la atmósfera o el ambiente donde trabajas?
- 48.- Que palabras utilizaría para describirlo ?
- 49.- Piensas que debes hacer algo para mejorar los niveles de vida, subsistencia y más independencia que antes?
Sí () No ()
- 50.- ¿Qué piensas que se puede hacer para un futuro brillante? y que tu puedas seguir trabajando en la Zona.
- 51.- Si no trabajas aquí, que otro trabajo puedes hacer?

Lugar de Trabajo: Zona Franca de: _____

Nombre del Trabajador: _____

Ocupación _____

Departamento _____

Interview schedule for managers of Free Zone companies, local garment manufacturers, representatives of institutions that have an impact on or interest in the zones.

August, 1990.

Managers of FZ companies

- 1) General assessment of how things are going since they have been operating in Jamaica.
- 2) Does the company operate in any other country? which? and if so how does Jamaica compare with other countries as an investment location?
- 3) What are the major problems they encounter in operating in Jamaica. (government bureaucracy? shipping? employees/attitudes? productivity? other?) How could these be overcome.
- 4) What have been the positive sides of investing in Jamaica?
- 5) What trade agreement do they operate under. CBI? GATT? 807? 807A? CMT? other? Why?
- 6) Are they subcontractors for another company?
- 7) Where do they export to mainly and at what volume? (Type of goods/quantity per week/number of workers required to maintain this level of production and how many person hours of manual labour required?)
- 8) Do they operate under quotas and what percentage of this is already being filled? what scope is there to expand and what are the major factors which would allow /inhibit this?
- 9) Does their industry have peaks and slumps within a year or some other longer cycle and what is happening in the industry now in relation to this? Essentially, how stable is the market and for what kinds of goods?
- 10) What scope is there for transferring technological skills to Jamaican companies? Is this being done and if so how? Are there any plans to improve this in the short medium or long term?
- 11) Is there any scope for research and development in Jamaica in relation to operations of FZ companies? Is there scope for doing this within the structure of their company?
- 12) Does your present agreement with the government of Jamaica, require you to do some of your research and development here? If not would this be feasible? What would be required?
- 13) What is your parent company? Nationality? Location? Does it cover several activities for assembly operations and if so which or does it sub-contract?
- 14) With the advent of the Single European Common Market in 1992 and changes in Eastern Europe, are there plans to relocate sections of your production to Europe? In general, will this have an impact on your present policy? What is the general trend in the industry and specifically among foreign investors in Jamaica?
- 15) Are there plans to relocate to any other destination within or outside the Caribbean?
- 16) Does your company have any links with local garment manufacturers? Local manufacturers
- 17) Is there scope for transferring aspects of the production process that require more skill here?

Interviews with Local manufacturers

- 1) What is the state of the local industry? ie major success/constraints/trends?
- 2) Has the trend been for more or less sub-contracting; CMT; or local designing, manufacturing etc.
- 3) Is the USA still the major destination of exports or are there others. Could you comment on exports to the Caribbean. What has the trend been in recent years?
- 4) Has there been scope to learn technical innovations from foreign manufacturers in the Free Zone? and if so have you been able to introduce these in your own production process?
- 5) How many workers do most subcontractors employ and how many machines do they have?
- 6) What is the arrangement between contractor and subcontractor in respect of raw material supply, financing, cost of overheads, production, marketing and exporting? For whom is it more lucrative?
- 7) Has financing to local manufacturers improved in the last two years and what changes if any has the new government implemented to facilitate local manufacturers.?
- 8) What is your production capacity and what percentage of this are you now operating at? If it is less than what you desire, what factors need to be introduced to increase this?
- 9) Could you rate the level of productivity of your employees?
- 10) Having worked with a number of them over several years, how do you think employment in the local manufacturing sector has affected them and their families in terms of quality of life?
- 11) Would you comment on management/worker relations in your factory, indicating the most positive and the most negative areas.
- 12) Are there any inputs in your production process that are currently imported that have the potential to be produced locally? If so, what are they?
- 13) In addition to garment manufacturing, what other goods or services do you think Jamaica could profitably export?
- 14) What do you see as the most urgent training needs for the local garment industry?
- 15) Based on your knowledge of the international market, would this additional training, financing etc make local manufacturers like yourself better able to increase your export potential and corner a larger share of the market?
- 16) Does the opening up of the Single European Common Market in 1992 and changes in Eastern Europe create any export opportunities for local manufacturers? Are there any problems that you anticipate with regard to a shift in the subcontracting policy by large manufacturers from Jamaica to say, Eastern Europe?

The national labor legislation applies to all export-oriented firms. There is no special labor legislation or regulations governing their operations. The Labor Relations and Industrial Disputes Act (LRIDA) codifies regulations of workers rights.

LABOR STANDARD	IN-COUNTRY LAW AND PRACTICE
Right of Association and Right to Strike	Article 23 of the Constitution specifically provides for the right to form or join a trade union, and other, more general articles obligate the Government to protect the person and property of trade unionists. Labor unions function freely within the country. Unions draft their own constitutions and rules, elect officers, determine objectives, affiliate with national or international groups, and select delegates to conferences. Jamaican law neither prohibits strikes nor provides a right to strike, but in practice unions and workers use the strike as a tool. Striking workers can interrupt work without criminal liability but cannot be assured of keeping their jobs. The LRIDA and other laws provide that certain categories of essential service workers (usually government-employed) do not have the right to strike. Unions have played a major role in Jamaican economic and political life since the 1930s. About 25 percent of the workforce belongs to unions, and union influence is felt in all important economic sectors.
Right to Organize and Bargain Collectively	The Constitution provides for the right to organize and belong to labor unions, and LRIDA provisions include guidelines for labor, management, and government on issues such as organizing work sites, negotiating agreements, and conflict resolution. Employees may not be fired solely because they are union officers. On the other hand, union affiliation may not be a prerequisite to employment. The Government rarely interferes with union organization efforts, and judicial and police authorities effectively enforce the LRIDA and other labor regulations. Labor, management, and government remain committed by law and in practice to collective bargaining in contract negotiations and conflict resolution. Collective bargaining is widely used, even in some nonunionized firms. When labor and management fail to reach an agreement, cases may be referred to the Ministry of Labor for arbitration or mediation. An Independent Industrial Disputes Tribunal (IDI) forms the first appeal level above the Ministry. Any cases not resolved by the IDI pass to the civil courts. This system has proven effective, although unions and some employers continue to protest a 1986 LRIDA amendment, which permits the Ministry of Labor unilaterally to refer cases involving the national interest to the IDI, because they fear it will undermine collective bargaining as a process. Ministry of Labor officers cite a need for more compliance verification of domestic labor laws, especially in the free zones, but believe that most employers obey legal requirements. While domestic manufacturing companies are predominately unionized, only 2 of the 18 factories in the Kingston Free Zone have union representation. During 1988, nonunionized workers in some of these free zone plants conducted short work stoppages to protest working conditions. Free zone employers, all foreign, have historically opposed unionization, and the Government, concerned about possible loss of jobs and export earnings, has treated the problem cautiously.
Prohibition on Use of Forced or Compulsory Labor	The Constitution does not specifically address the matter of forced or compulsory labor. However, Jamaica is a party to the ILO Convention which prohibits compulsory labor, and there have been no allegations of this practice in Jamaica.
Minimum Age for Employment of Children	The Juvenile Act provides that children under the age of 12 shall not be employed except by parents or guardians. Such employment may be only in domestic, agricultural, or horticultural work. Children under 12 years of age may not be employed at night or at industrial sites. The Education Act stipulates that all children aged 6 to 11 must attend elementary school. Industrial safety, police, and truant officers are charged with enforcing the law. However, enforcement is difficult, and children under 12 are sometimes seen peddling goods or services on city streets. There is no evidence of widespread illegal employment of children in other sectors of the economy.

Chart 5. Labor Standards in Jamaica--continued

LABOR STANDARD

IN-COUNTRY LAW AND PRACTICE

Acceptable Conditions of Work

Wages	Although based on freely negotiated settlements, Government wage policy aims to keep maximum annual wage and fringe benefit increases to 10 percent or less to help contain inflation. Most wage settlements have followed this guideline, but exceptions have been made for workers with a history of inadequate pay. The Government increased minimum wage levels in a two-step process that began in June 1988 to \$18.18 per week effective January 1, 1989; later in 1989, this amount was increased further to \$20.00 per week (Higher minimum wages applied to skilled workers depending on their specialty.). This amount is adequate for minimum food and shelter needs. Higher minimum wages apply to skilled workers, depending on their specialty.
Hours of Work	The minimum wage law provides for a 42-hour standard workweek and overtime pay (time and a half on normal work days, double time on Sundays and holidays). A 40 hour workweek with 8 hour day of rest is standard for most U.S. firms with operations in Jamaica.
Vacations/Holidays	9 official paid holidays. All employees are entitled to paid vacation after 110 working days each year (2 weeks, after one-year service).
Occupational Safety and Health	The Factory Act stipulates that all factories be registered and approved by the Ministry of Labor before they begin operating. The Ministry's industrial safety division is required to make annual inspections of all factories, but budget constraints reduce the number of inspections actually made. The Ministry maintains records on industrial accident victims. If a private sector work site does not meet the definition of a "factory" the Ministry does not have the authority to inspect it.
Other	Social security; worker's compensation; severance pay.

Source: See text.

Chart 2. Labor Standards in The Dominican Republic

The national Labor Code (1951) applies to all export-oriented firms operating in the industrial free trade zones. There is no special labor legislation or regulations governing their operations. Access to and from the zones is controlled by both physical barriers and security personnel. Other security measures (e.g., searches of workers and departing vehicles) vary by zone and/or firm.

LABOR STANDARD**IN-COUNTRY LAW AND PRACTICE****Right of Association
and Right to Strike**

The Constitution provides for the freedom to organize labor unions, and also rights to strike and to lockout. However, unions operate under a dated labor code that gives unions few rights vis-a-vis management and gives no effective protection for organizers or union officials. The labor code specifies in detail the steps required to constitute a legal union, but labor officials have objected that the Government can use failure to comply with every detail to withhold official recognition. In 1988, the ILO Committee of Experts noted several deficiencies in the Dominican labor code, especially with regard to the right to strike. General strikes were held during 1987/88, usually in neighborhoods rather than in the workplace, that sought increases in the minimum wage, lower prices, and better services. The strikes were mediated by the Catholic Church and a tripartite council.

In the free zones, union officials have frequently complained that their legal protections are ignored and that they are often discriminated against by management. There are widespread allegations of collusion between the Ministry of Labor and free zone employers to ensure union-free environment in the zones, resulting in nearly all efforts to organize and register free zone unions being stifled. Overall, about 10-12% of the workforce is unionized, while the free zone workforce is virtually union free. There is only one free zone (out of 18) where workers are represented by a recognized union and bargain collectively with management; however, some labor leaders have charged that this union is a "company union" and does not adequately represent the interests of its worker.

**Right to Organize and
Bargain Collectively**

The labor code clearly states that workers cannot be dismissed because of trade union membership or activities. Still, there are complaints that these protections are ignored. In particular, criticism is often directed toward article 69 of the code that essentially permits employers to dismiss a worker without cause. For example, in 1988, labor representatives charged that workers identified in applications for union recognition were dismissed from free zone companies shortly after the presentation of documents to the Secretary of Labor. Access by organized labor to firms located inside industrial free zones for the purpose of organizing, distributing literature, or meeting with workers is not permitted.

**Prohibition on Use of
Forced or Compulsory
Labor**

Forced or compulsory labor is prohibited by law. While Dominican treatment of Haitian sugar cane cutters has been under review by the ILO for a number of years, forced or compulsory labor does not appear to be a problem in the free zones. There have been isolated reports of workers in the free zones being prevented from leaving the premises in order to work overtime; however, free zone workers generally are able to go home at the end of a normal work day and are free to terminate their employment provided reasonable notice has been given.

**Minimum Age for
Employment of Children**

The labor code prohibits employment of youths under 14 years of age, and restricts the nighttime employment of youths aged 14 to 18. The code also provides that employees under the age of 18 work no more than 8 hours a day and not be employed in dangerous or unhealthy jobs. While in practice many of these provisions are ignored, age is usually verified by free zone employers and is subject to review by labor inspectors. In some cases, free zone employers require workers under 18 years of age to obtain parental permission to be employed.

Chart 2. Labor Standards in the Dominican Republic--continued.

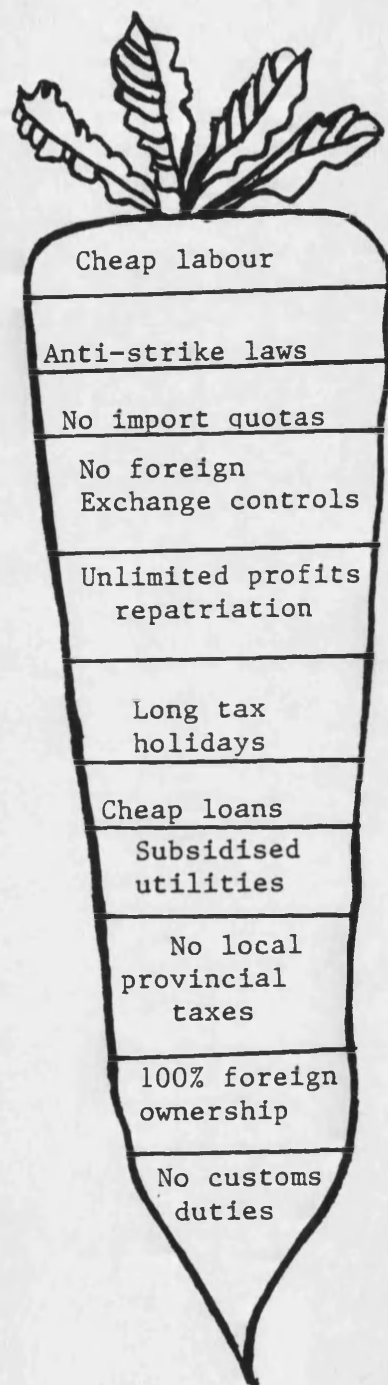
<u>LABOR STANDARD</u>	<u>IN-COUNTRY LAW AND PRACTICE</u>
<u>Acceptable Conditions of Work</u>	
Wages	The minimum wage is set by law and upgraded periodically. At mid-year 1989, the minimum wage for production workers was 500 pesos a month (about \$80). Late in 1989, the free trade zones unilaterally granted a 25% increase to all workers. During the first 3-months of employment, workers may be terminated without being paid termination benefits; during this probationary period, workers may be paid 40% of the minimum wage. There have been reports of free zone firms keeping workers as apprentices who should be regular workers.
Hours of Work	The labor code establishes that all workers are entitled to 24 hours of rest after 6 days of work; in practice, a typical workweek is 44 hours: 8 hours Monday through Friday plus half a day on Saturday. In the free zones, many employers have made special arrangements with their employees to work 9 hours Monday through Thursday and 8 hours on Friday. The overtime (up to 24 hours per week, Mon.-Fri.) premium is paid at 30-percent of salary; the premium for Saturdays and holidays is 50 percent. There have been reports that some free zone firms fail to pay overtime and also force worker to work overtime.
Vacations/Holidays	11 legal paid holidays each year; 2 weeks of vacation each year after workers have completed one year of employment.
Occupational Safety and Health	While safety and health condition at the workplace do not always meet legal standards, those in the free zones appear to meet international standards.
Other	Social Security, but program is under funded. Some permanent employees entitled to 10% of firm's annual pre-tax profits. Some free zone firms provide subsidized cafeteria, recreational facilities, and transportation. Termination of work contracts is allowed for many reasons; however, in cases of termination for reasons other than cause, workers are entitled to severance payments (15 days' salary for each year of service, up to a maximum of one year's salary).

Source: See text.

Source: Schoepfle 1989

Figure 1A

The Free Trade Zone Carrot For Foreign Companies



Source: Women Working World-wide: The International Division of Labour
in the Electronics, Clothing and Textiles Industries. War on Want 1988

LISTS OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED APPENDIX 7

Jamaica

Members of the St Peter Claver Women's Housing Cooperative

- * Margaline August 12, 1990
- * Angella August 13, 1990
- * Euphemia August 13, 1990
- * Elaine August 14, 1990
- * Sylvia August 14, 1990
- * Janet August 15, 1990
- * Marcia August 15, 1990
- * Millie August 16, 1990
- * Cherry August 16, 1990; May 26, 1992; April 20, 1993.

Kingston Free Zone (KFZ)

- * Mr Loxley Blake, General Manager, Fineline Manufacturing Co Ltd
KFZ, August 14, 1990.
- * Mr Kenrick MacFarlane, KFZ Research Officer, August 16, 1990.
- * Mrs Beverley Dunkley, Chairperson, Client Services Committee, KFZ
August 14 & 20, 1990.

Local Garment Manufacturers

- * Mr Guy Martin, Sun-Island, Chairman of the Jamaica Manufacturers Association Garment Committee, August 15, 1990.
- * Mrs Paulette Rhoden, Crimson Dawn, Member, Jamaica Manufacturers Association Garment Committee, August 12, 1990.

Government

- * Hon. Carlisle Dunkley (then) Minister of Education; Trade Unionist. August 27, 1990.
- * Dr Wesley Hughes, Planning Institute of Jamaica, August 16, 1990.
- * Mr Tony Blake, Planning Institute of Jamaica

JAMPRO - August 1990.

NGOs and others

- * Women's Action Committee August 30, 1990.
- * Ms Selena Tapper - CUSO Regional Field Officer, August 15, 1990; September 4, 1992; December 16, 1992.
- * Ms Jenny Jones - WAC/Sistren Theatre Collective. August 15, 1990.
- * Professor Norman Girvan, Consortium Graduate School, UWI. Kingston. January 25 and August 21, 1990.
- * Dr Derek Gordon, Lecturer, Department of Sociology, UWI Mona. June, 12, 1990.
- * Ms Allison Stone - Researcher on the Free Zones. August 22, 1990.

- * Ms Marva Phillips, Trade Union Education Institute, UWI, November 22, 1992.
- * Mr Noel Cowell, former Research Officer, Joint Trades Union Research and Development Center & Lecturer, Department of Economics, UWI, March 22, 1990.
- * "Ms Enid" January 11, 1993. Household helper.

Dominican Republic

Dates of Field Visits.

1990 February 8 - 24.

1991 February 13 - 28.

1992 February 1 - 12.

Interviews with Free Zone Workers

Individual and Group interviews February 10 & 16, 1991.

San Pedro Union meetings February 17, 1990. February 23, 1991.

San Pedro Union Executive February 22, 1991.

Barrio Lindo Group interview February 22, 1991.

Government

- * San Pedro de Macoris Free Zone Authority Personnel.
- * Sr Angel Castillo, FZ garment manufacturer, February 22, 1991
(also a local manufacturer).

NGOs and others.

- * Luz Marie Abreu, Coordinator, Ce Mujer. NGO. February 22, 1990.
- * Isis Duarte, Profamilia - Researcher on women's issues. February 22, 1990.
- * Instituto de Estudios Dominicanos/APROFED. Luis Vargas. Free Zone Researcher. February 22, 1990.
- * CEPAE, Rafael Santos. Free Zone Researcher. February 19, 1990.
- * Claudia Vasquez. Identidad de La Mujer Negra. NGO. February 5, 1992.
- * Clara Baez - Free Zone Researcher. February 21, 1990.
- * Jean Marie Bugard - Free Zone Researcher. February 21, 1990.
- * Magaly Pineda - Director. CIPAF. February 21, 1990.
- * David Martinez. Director. CEDEE. February 19, 1990.
- * Sonia Vasquez. OXFAM UK. NGO Development Funding. February 14, 1990.
- * Mercedes. San Pedro FZ Union's lawyer. February 22, 1991.
- * PROMUS Women's group - Barahona. February 12, 1990.

* FENAZUCAR - February 22, 1990; February 10, 1990.

* INSTRAW - February 21, 1990. UN Research Institute of Women.

General:

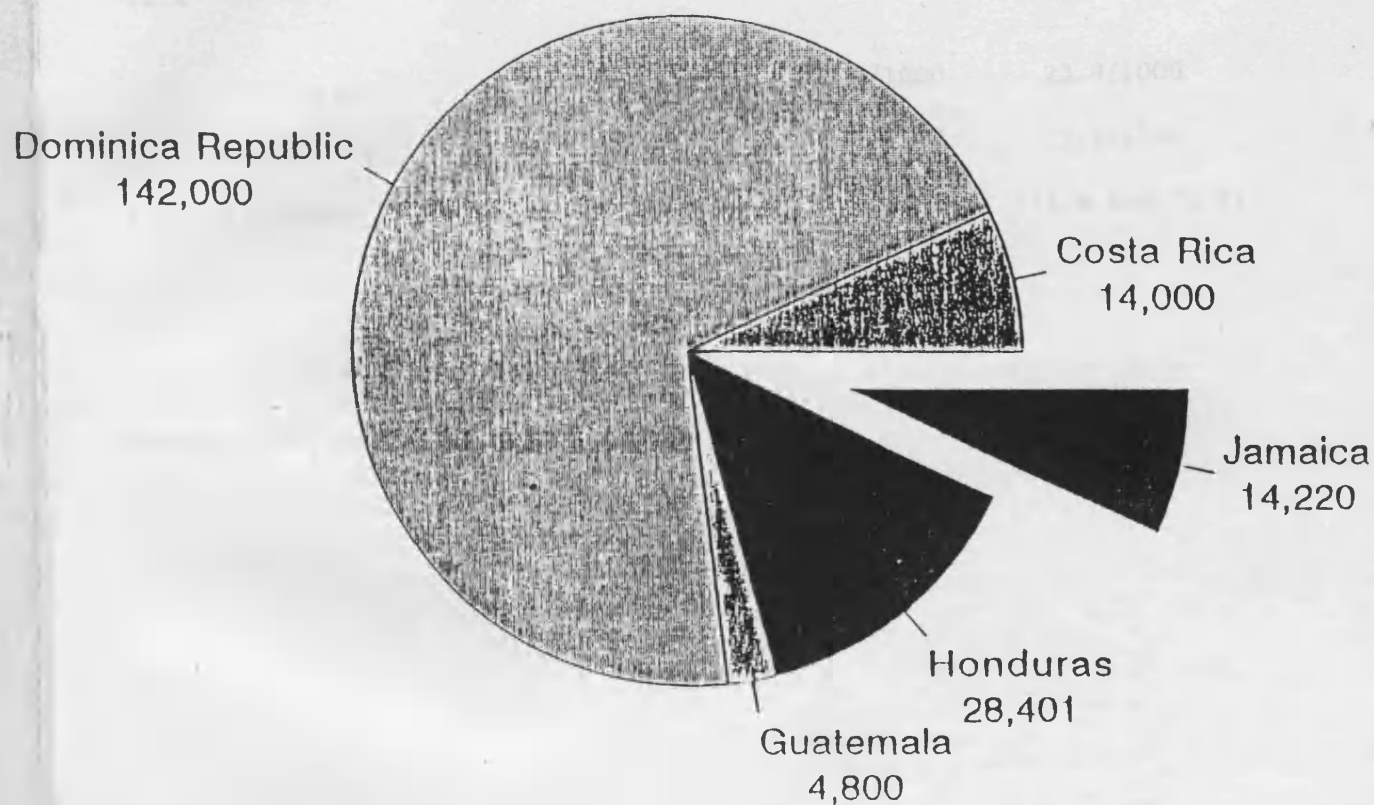
* Mr Peter Steele - Consultant/Author. The Economist Intelligence Unit.

Publication on the Garment sector in the Caribbean. London. 1989.

* Dr. Christopher Stevens. Overseas Development Institute. London. 1989.

INTERNATIONAL FREE ZONE

Selected Countries



Free Zone Employment

Source: Study by Desna Williams, UWI, Institute of Business, 1993

Table 9 Selective Statistical Data 1960-1992 - Jamaica

	1960	1991	1992
Population			
Population	1.6	2.4	2.46
Dependency ratio	-	754/1000	741/1000
Fertility	42.1/1000	24.8/1000	-
Total fertility rate	5.7	2.4	2.4
Crude birth rate	-	23.9/1000	23.9/1000
Crude death rate	-	5.5/1000	5.4/1000
Life expectancy	57.2 (1950-1955)	74 years	(71 m and 75 f)

Source: ESSJ selective years.

Table 10 Main Labour Force Indicators by Sex for 1980, 1985, 1990 and 1992 ('000)

Main Indicators	1980	1985	1990	1992
BOTH SEXES				
Labour Force	991.2	1049.8	1058.5	1074.9
Employed Labour Force	720.4	781.0	896.3	905.7
Unemployed Labour Force	270.8	268.8	162.3	1689.2
Unemployment Rate %	27.8	25.6	15.3	15.7
Job-Seeking Rate %	N/A	N/A	6.9	6.1
MALE				
Labour Force	533.5	564.1	564.6	570.1
Employed Labour Force	N/A	473.3	513.1	516.0
Unemployed Labour Force	N/A	90.8	51.5	54.1
Unemployment Rate %	16.0	16.1	9.1	9.5
Job-Seeking Rate %	N/A	N/A	4.8	5.0
FEMALE				
Labour Force	459.7	485.7	494.0	504.8
Employed Labour Force	N/A	307.7	383.2	389.7
Unemployed Labour Force	N/A	178.0	110.8	115.2
Unemployment Rate %	26.9	36.6	22.5	22.8
Job-Seeking Rate %	N/A	N/A	9.7	8.3

Source: ESS

Table 11. Levels of Unemployment for Major Demographic Groups. 1985, 1990, 1992 ('000)

Groups	1985	1990	1992
Total	268.8	162.3	169.2
Men under 25 Years	38.7	N/A	28.7
Men 25 Years and Over	52.1	N/A	25.4
Women under 25 Years	79.1	N/A	55.1
Women 25 Years and Over	98.9	60.1	60.1

No data were available for 1980

Source: ESST

Table 12. Rates of Unemployment for Major Demographic Groups. 1985, 1990, 1992

Groups	1985	1990	1992
Total	25.6	15.7	15.7
Men under 25 Years	30.4	19.1	17.8
Men 25 Years and Over	9.7	5.1	6.2
Women under 25 Years	65.7	46.9	40.5
Women 25 Years and Over	23.6	13.4	16.3

Source: ESST

Table 13. Employed Labour Force by Household Status and Sex. 1980, 1985, 1990 and 1992 ('000).

Relationship to Head of Household	1980	1985	1990	1992
MALE (TOTAL)	N/A	473.3	513.1	516.0
Head	58.2	275.9	270.2	265.0
Spouse	N/A	27.2	41.6	43.7
Child	N/A	112.0	130.0	135.9
Other Relative	N/A	49.3	59.1	61.1
Other	N/A	8.9	12.2	10.3
FEMALE (TOTAL)	N/A	307.7	383.2	389.7
Head	37.9	116.9	141.9	146.6
Spouse	N/A	106.7	114.5	109.9
Child	N/A	49.1	75.0	81.9
Other Relative	N/A	29.6	36.2	38.1
Other	N/A	5.4	15.6	13.2

Source: ESST

	N/A	63.0	78.6	79.3
45 Years and Over	N/A	114.0	122.7	121.3
GRAND TOTAL	788.2	781.0	896.3	905.7

Source: ESST

Table 15. Employment by Occupational Groupings by Sex 1980 and 1992

Table 14. Employment by Age and Sex. 1980, 1985, 1990, 1992 ('000)

SEX AND AGE	1980	1985	1990	1992
MALE (TOTAL)	479.1	473.3	513.1	516.0
Youth (14-24 Years)	N/A	121.3	133.9	131.6
Adults (25 Years and Over)	N/A	352.0	379.2	384.4
25-34 Years	N/A	116.8	127.6	130.2
35-44 Years	N/A	77.9	90.4	90.5
45 Years and Over	N/A	157.3	161.2	163.6
FEMALE (TOTAL)	289.1	307.7	383.3	389.7
Youth (14-24 Years)	N/A	51.5	78.3	81.0
Adults (25 Years and Over)	N/A	256.2	305.0	308.7
25-34 Years	N/A	80.2	103.7	107.4
35-44 Years	N/A	62.0	78.6	79.8
45 Years and Over	N/A	114.0	122.7	121.5
GRAND TOTAL	768.2	781.0	896.3	905.7

Source: ESSJ

Table 15 : Employment by Occupational Groupings by Sex 1985 and 1992

Occupational Groupings	1985		1992	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Professional, Technical & Managerial	25,100	32,300	28,300	38,200
Clerical and Sales	29,000	52,100	35,400	71,300
Self-Employed	226,900	112,500	223,200	135,800
Service Occupations	33,100	69,400	44,200	90,400
Craftsmen/Production Operating Occupations	90,900	12,500	123,800	31,700
The Unskilled Manual	66,500	28,600	55,300	16,900
Occupation not specified	1,800	300	7,300	5,600
TOTAL EMPLOYED LABOUR FORCE	473,300	307,700	517,500	389,900

Source: ESST

Appendix XII

Interviews with SPM Union leaders and free zone women workers in the Dominican Republic

Note: Names of the workers have been changed to protect their identity.

Interviews with Female Union leaders in the San Pedro Union:

Elida Segura - 16/2/90; 22/2/91.

Mayra Jiminez - 16/2/90; 22/2/91; 8/2/92.

Ana Hernandez - 22/2/91; 8/2/92.

Interviews with free zone women workers:

Delores Vasquez - 16/2/90; 22/2/91.

Carmen Medina - 22/2/91; 8/2/92.

Sonia Quinonez - 22/2/91; 8/2/92

Mercedes Sosa - 22/2/91; 8/2/92

Beatrice Ventura - 22/2/91.

Margarita de los Santos - 22/2/91.

Sofia Hernandez - 10/2/90; 22/2/91.

Milagros Martinez - 22/2/91; 9/2/92.

Maria Rivas - 10/2/90; 22/2/91.

Julia Valdez - 17/2/91; 22/2/91.

Carmen Juan - 10/2/90; 22/2/91.

Jacinta Sanchez - 10/2/90; 22/2/91.

Josefina Luciano - 10/2/90; 22/2/91.

Clara Mejia - 16/2/90; 22/2/91.

Jacinta Soriano - 16/2/91; 22/2/91.

Antonia Guerro - 16/2/91; 22/2/91.

Rafaela Perez - 10/2/90.

Juana Garcia - 10/2/90.

Nora Botello - 10/2/90.

Interviews with Trade Unionists in the Dominican Republic

Maria Roques - 10/2/90; 21/2/90; 15/2/91; 8/2/92.

Jose Luis Fernandez - 10/2/90; 16/2/91.

Sucre Reyes - 10/2/90; 22/2/90, 17/2/91.

Antonio Florian - 10/2/90; 16/2/91; 8/2/92

Jose Blanche - 10/2/90; 16/2/91.

Carlos Sanchez - 16/2/91.

Carlos Rivas - 16/2/91.

Miguel Puello - 8/2/92.

Victor Rufino Alvarez - 10/2/90; 16/2/91; 8/2/92

Rafael Santos - 16/2/91.

Eulogia Familia - 16/2/91.