

Gender, Power and Household in Revolutionary Grenada

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ABSTRACT

Although broadly supported by Grenada's population, the 1979 revolution exhibited gender variations within certain social categories. This paper examines the dynamics of revolutionary Grenada and the reasons for differential support among men and women. In particular, we examine certain characteristics specific to Grenada and its form of household organization, which we believe is essential to an understanding of gender relations.

RÉSUMÉ

Bien qu'elle ait reçu l'appui de la population, la révolution de Grenade en 1979 comportait des différences liées au statut sexuel au sein des classes sociales. Cet article analyse cette révolution, en tenant compte des raisons pour lesquelles les hommes et les femmes ne lui ont pas accordé le même soutien. Ce travail met l'accent sur le caractère unique de la Grenade. Plus particulièrement, les auteur-e-s se penchent sur l'organisation familiale afin d'acquiescer une meilleure compréhension des rapports entre les sexes.

Women is real, real out now, you know. Before, they had no kind of say, no privilege, no stand in Grenada. Women was the lowest. But now we pushing on, pushing on. We feeling more confident, we heart is open now.

72 year old woman, Birchgrove, Grenada¹

Introduction

In October 1988, the Grenada revolution was cut short by a series of events faced by a small island in the midst of enormous hostility by neighbours and the United States. The ultimate causes of the failure of Grenada's revolution cannot be attributed to external causes alone. Internally, it is easy to point to excessive Leninism and policy disputes, economic problems, and the difficulties posed by populist leadership,² but structural analysis of class and gender relations has not been undertaken. In part, this is due to a lack of information on what was really happening and what was revolutionary rhetoric. In this paper, we examine some of the problems faced by women in Grenada in the context of Third World societies. In particular, we ask what revolutionary societies in the Third World have been doing to overcome gender inequality and we examine

certain problems specific to Grenada and its form of household organization.

Gender and Class in the Third World: Some Issues

When approaching gender issues in Third World societies, there are two basic Marxist approaches to studying the impact of development on women. One focussed on the nature of the production-reproduction question in order to show how the oppression of women in the family is linked to the emergence of private property.³ The other is based on the premise that women's oppression is an integral part of capitalism because capitalism always requires the cheapest possible source of labour, and because Third World societies are the basis on which metropolitan capital is presently founded.⁴ If we look carefully at the household, we can see that relations of production under advanced capitalism and the daily maintenance and reproduction of the labour force is assured by the domestic tasks of the household. However, we cannot say that it is the same as in North America where women's work, being unpaid, supports the male-based wage. Natalie Sokoloff, for example, suggests that "It is the housewife's daily consumption of the individual male breadwinner's wage that allows for the reproduction

of the working class as a whole.”⁵ However, in the Third World, the male quite often does not have a wage and there is considerable insecurity. Both men and women rely on any sources of income they can secure. Nevertheless, women are responsible for activities associated with human reproduction, which affect and are affected by women’s economic activities. Their reproductive and mothering roles and family obligations affect the division of labour between the sexes, which varies according to the household’s stock of labour and its role in the economy. Modes of production, then, tend to build upon women’s subordinated position in the reproductive sphere.⁶

Many Third World women writers link the question of development with gender and class. They point to the “historical legacy of colonial domination” but also suggest that “post-colonial development processes and strategies have often exacerbated these inequalities, and in some instances even worsened the level of absolute poverty.” Further, the oppression of women is linked to systems of “male domination that ... deny or limit [women’s] access to economic resources and political participation, and ... imposes sexual divisions of labour that allocate to them the most onerous, labour-intensive, poorly rewarded tasks inside and outside the home, as well as the longest hours of work.”⁷

It is important to realize that, when we are dealing with the question of production and reproduction, there are considerable variations in Third World societies. More particularly, when dealing with female’s reproductive roles, it is important to consider the processes and patterns of parental substitution. It is also necessary to look at whose time is available and who is selected for child care and household activities. In short, while we accept the general conclusions noted above, we should re-examine the question of gender and class relations in the Grenada revolution in light of Grenadian household/family structure.

Household Structure in Grenada

The Grenadian household, both rural and urban, is primarily matrifocal in its organization. Many reasons have been put forward for matrifocality and the literature is truly enormous.⁸ Most researchers emphasize two related questions: the uncertainties and instability in economic opportunities, and the wage labour migration characteristic of the region. For at least 150 years, migration has affected the region and its magnitude has reflected the extent of the plantation/peasant conflict.⁹

Consanguineal Households

In Grenada, one type of household is organized around a core of consanguineal kin, consisting of a grandmother, her children and grandchildren. This household is supported by occasional wage labour, trafficking in cash crops and irregular remittances from migrant members of the household. Affinal males are casual visitors or, more rarely, long-term members of such a household. Consanguineal males are members of such a household until they reach their twenties.

The economic position of female-based households is dependent on collective assistance, and matrifocal dominance. Generally, child care is the responsibility of grandmothers and sisters while mothers and other young adult siblings secure work. However, there are times when mothers must take small children with them to work due to the absence of this type of household and daycare.¹⁰

Affinal Households

On reaching their twenties, males assert their independence “as a man” by seeking regular sources of income to set up an independent household with a woman. There are a variety of relationships, ranging from “friending” through “stable relationship” to “permanent union.” Normally a household is necessary only if children have been produced. Men who wish to buy land for cash crops or on which to build a house may migrate to Trinidad for a short period where they can earn at least four times the Grenadian wage.

Others may seek a patron and borrow cash. The patron, almost always a returned migrant, a teacher or other professional person, may have land in cash crops and, therefore, relies on young men for labour. Other patrons purchase boats and/or engines for those who want to fish. In each case, there is a sharing of income but sometimes the rights and obligations are unclear. Occasionally, the patron will cede a portion of land; however, the permanence of this arrangement depends on the closeness of the patron and client and whether they are kin. Once a man is settled in a separate household, he will likely obtain the relatively low income from wages, plants and market cash crops and/or engage in craft production. This second type of household, therefore, is based on a male economic base, and depends on some rather limited sources of income. Without an education, capital from migration, or a patron, males remain members of their natal household into their thirties and eventually inherit family property.

Both types of households are matrifocal, although there is a tendency for males to declare themselves heads of household when they are married. In rural areas, women may sometimes separate their economic activities within the household, having their own family property to look after and securing their own incomes from the sale of commodities. Roughly one third of the farmers are women.¹¹ It is only in male wage-based households that women's roles are exclusively domestic; therefore, the important actions that women sought in the revolution were jobs and adequate wages. Survey results showed, however, that women were especially concerned with roads and services (e.g., health care, water, electricity) if they were household heads, whereas men were more concerned with jobs if they were household heads (see Table 1).¹²

Gender inequality in Grenada is therefore based primarily on unequal access to the means of production and/or to unequal access to wage labour. There are also large differences in wages. Women's unskilled work, such as cracking nutmeg, pays \$42.50 per week, while similar work for men, such as loading nutmeg, pays \$51.50 per week. Intradomestic male dominance occurs mainly in those male-centred households, which are more secure economically and have higher incomes (\$393 for male-headed households and \$260 for female-headed households).¹³ We can see that gender inequality in Grenada must be understood in terms of household structure and, particularly, on the ability of men to exert control over the household and its property.

Gender and Power

Other researchers have examined the issue of power in Third World agrarian societies. Alice Schlegel,¹⁴ for example, considered the work of Boserup, Deere, and Leon de Leal on Africa and Peru, and concluded that when there is a change from a male-based farming system to one controlled by females, there is also a change in the head of the household. When women are in control of the agricultural sphere, they are in a dominant position in the family vis-à-vis reproductive and productive spheres. However, Boserup, Deere and Leon de Leal did not consider that, even though a woman may be the household head and the main breadwinner, it does not necessarily mean her exploitation outside the household is eliminated. Schlegel points out that they overlooked the fact that women's positions outside the household are peripheral to the arena where major political decisions are made. Thus, if the household is in a central position and women are in important positions in the economic, polit-

Table 1
Community Improvements Wanted

Household Head	Male		Roads Female		Total
	N	Expected	N	Expected	
	Yes	102	90.4	84	
No	19	30.6	44	32.4	63
Totals	121		128		249

$\chi^2 = 11.45$ Significant < .05

Household Head	Male		Jobs Female		Total
	N	Expected	N	Expected	
	Yes	69	58.4	74	
No	20	30.6	55	44.4	75
Totals	89		129		218

$\chi^2 = 9.45$ Significant < .05

Household Head	Male		Services/Facilities Female		Total
	N	Expected	N	Expected	
	Yes	65	58.1	46	
No	13	19.9	25	18.1	38
Totals	78		71		149

$\chi^2 = 6.74$ Significant < .05

Household Head	Male		Education Female		Total
	N	Expected	N	Expected	
	Yes	24	23.7	30	
No	8	8.3	11	10.9	19
Totals	32		42		73

$\chi^2 = .05$ Not significant.

Source: Grenada Migration Survey, 1983.

ical and religious spheres, they will have a greater impact on major societal decisions.¹⁵

Two important questions are: How do areas of female power compare with areas of male control? Do women control institutions central to social organization? These questions lead one to consider control over marital and sex

life, sexual solidarity, and the value of male and female labour. Men and women alike derive their power from their ability to control themselves and the activities of others. If men control women and their activities *more* than women control men, then men are dominant. Men generally have such power through restrictions, prohibitions, control of sexuality and physical force. When women's power comes only from men, then women have low status and their productive activities cannot be translated into power. They do not have the power to determine their own lives or make choices because they do not have productive activities separate from those determined by men in the household.

Gender, Politics and Social Class in Grenada

Having said this, we should examine two critical areas in revolutionary Grenada: (1) political control, and (2) social class relations. At the level of recognition of the problem posed by gender inequality in Grenada, we stand on some good ground. Maurice Bishop spoke in characteristic Grenadian fashion about women's oppression not long after the revolution in his "Women Step Forward" speech. He said:

We know that historically there have been many reasons for the exploitation of the woman. The domination by the male started from fairly early times and was a product of the fact that the man at a very early period of history looked around him and said: "This is my cow, this is my goat, this is my pig." In other words, he began to identify his property for himself and in no time at all he also turned around and said: "This is my woman." And of course, the reason for that was to ensure that an heir to whom he could pass his property was produced. In other words, the woman was essentially meant to serve the interests of the generation that he was fathering and the main significance during that early period of the woman was as an instrument, if I may use such a crude term, of child-bearing for the purpose of ensuring that property was passed on.¹⁶

Bishop went on to observe several areas where women were subordinate in Grenada: in law, education, language and the household. He also noted that women lacked daycare, which affected job opportunities, and that a lack of services such as piped water increased the drudgery of women's labour. Within the first month of the revolution, the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) proclaimed the principle of equal pay for equal work, and within the first year a maternity leave law was put into effect.¹⁷ Although women held only three significant political positions in the leadership, the PRG undertook significant structural changes which would have led to

fuller participation by women in political decisions (see Table 2).

The Women's Desk

The Women's Desk was charged with the responsibility of improving women's equality under the law checking on sex discrimination, seeking representation on planning bodies, monitoring the effectiveness of PRG policy respecting women, creating organizations to give advice and channel the energy of women into productive work, ensuring women's participation in decision making, seeing that basic social services and amenities were provided to women, and organizing community development activities.

The National Women's Organization

The National Women's Organization (NWO) was established in 1977, and while the estimate of 6,500 members in 1982 may have been exaggerated by a couple of thousand, there was widespread support for the NWO in Grenada. Not only did women assist in many revolutionary struggles, they also established some of the political groundwork for participatory democracy by devising a three-year plan for women. A draft plan was circulated and analysed in meetings across Grenada. As Bishop said:

Coming out of that analysis, the sisters were able to go back and do a lot more concrete research, work out the figures on the likely availability of jobs over the next three years, examine what kinds of skills would be required in the workforce ... analyse whether or not those women presently out of jobs were likely to fill the jobs coming on stream, and if not look for the type of training necessary for those tasks: jobs for our women, yes, but because of the increasing complexity of the economy and the new skills needed, the second priority linked to the first priority must be training and education for the women of our country.¹⁸

According to Bishop, most unemployed women were undereducated and lacked skills, but even if training were provided, daycare facilities were inadequate. Bishop's estimate of the number of unemployed women was about 4,000 or 71.4 percent of total unemployment. A survey of unemployment in 1982 showed his percentage to be a bit high and his total number of unemployed women to be low; over 7,000 women were unemployed, or 57.7 percent.¹⁹ Thus, the 5,000 new jobs expected in agriculture, construction, and tourism would not have met even the women's needs, especially in light of the mainly male skilled labour required.²⁰

Table 2
Women in Grenada's Revolutionary Leadership

Dessima Williams, Ambassador to the
Organization of American States

Government Ministers

Jacqueline Creft, *Minister of Education, Youth and Social Affairs*
Phyllis Coard, *Vice Minister for Women's Affairs and President, National Women's Organization*
Claudette Pitt, *Vice Minister for Community Development*

Permanent Secretaries
(equivalent to deputy minister)

Marcella David, *Cabinet Secretary (Coordinated work of the PRG Cabinet)*
Dorcas Braveboy, *Permanent Secretary in Ministry of Health*
Lew Bourne, *Permanent Secretary in Ministry of Housing*
Gloria Payne-Banfield, *Permanent Secretary in Ministry of Planning*
Faye Rapiet, *Permanent Secretary in Minister of Legal Affairs*

Program Heads

Valerie Cornwall, *National Coordinator of Centre for Popular Education*
Jane Belfon, *Director of Tourism*
Merle Hodge, *Coordinator of Curriculum Development Program*
Yvonne James, *Health Planner in Ministry of Health*
Candia Alleyne, *Coordinator of Food and Nutrition Council*
Joan Ross, *Program Director for Television Free Grenada*
Regina Taylor, *General Secretary of Agency for Rural Transformation*
Angela Cape, *Deputy Manager of National Marketing and Importing Board*
Bridget Horsford, *Manager of Agro-Industrial Plant*

Source: EPICA Task Force, *Grenada*, p. 99.

The NWO saw effective leadership as the main problem,²¹ and instituted regular discussions, political education and leadership training courses. The NWO was not composed of educated elites either. A survey of delegates to the First Congress of the NWO showed two-thirds had jobs, half of which were working class and only a quarter were intellectual workers.

Women and Education

However, many rural women could not read or do basic mathematics. This put them at a disadvantage in waged work and labour union negotiations. Thus, the PRG saw popular education to be an important goal, but not only for women. Women represented, however, a majority of the class which one of the authors taught,²² in part because men felt embarrassed about their inability to read and did not want to show their ignorance in public. Unfortunately, even in its first year of operation (1982), the Centre

for Popular Education (CPE) was not well funded.²³ As a result, our CPE classes did not have lanterns or candles and, while the books were excellent, classes did not resume after the first three months. Another centre did produce about 30 school-leaving graduates (grade 6 equivalent).²⁴ The next phase of the CPE was to be aimed at skill training, but it is likely that the tools and material for technical education would have been in short supply in rural areas. This would have perpetuated an urban bias in the Grenada revolution.

Women in the New Jewel Movement

The problem of leadership has often been cited as a difficulty, since women in the party or decision-making bodies often face a triple work-day: productive work, domestic work and political work. Even when "productive and political structures coincide or overlap and when women have been incorporated into productive structures,

men continue to dominate the leadership committees and positions of authority.”²⁵ As a result, women’s organizations have sought to influence policies but “have not always intervened to protect or further their own interests ... or to equalize the relations of exchange within the productive structures.”²⁶ Conflict between production and reproduction is bound to be very severe at the political level, especially if the party has chosen democratic centralism, as in Grenada.²⁷ By September 1983, women in the New Jewel Movement (NJM) made several proposals regarding the heavy burden they had to bear as mothers and their position vis-à-vis men. Stating that “women are responsible for domestic work within their homes, nurturing of children, and in most cases working full time outside the home” they proposed to have “Party men involved in the rearing of our children and in stable relationship[s] to assist with housework to lessen the burden on women.”²⁸

They also proposed a lessening of party work and more convenient hours for their party duties, such as avoiding Sunday meetings. Both ideas were seen as short-term measures, the long-term solution being facilities to assist in baby-sitting and housework. They asked for three evenings per week to do domestic work, to spend time with their children and to rest. Eight areas were examined to see where cuts could be made “without setting back the revolution”:

- (1) Individual study
- (2) Militia patrol
- (3) Unscheduled meetings
- (4) Zone committee meetings
- (5) Militia
- (6) Mass organizations
- (7) House to house [political work]
- (8) Community work

Of these, the last two put extra burdens on women with children since every Saturday morning and Sunday was taken up with these activities. They recommended every other week should be spent on such work.²⁹

On increasing men’s participation in domestic activities, there were several proposals which would increase the “woman’s development as a conscious member of society participating in social and political life.” The suggestions were:

- (1) Party men should consistently assist with the housework and other domestic tasks.

(2) Party men (fathers) must schedule their children on a weekly basis — “Time spent with children should be seen as party work” as parents have that responsibility to show and speak to children about what we are trying to build.

(3) Scheduled time with child/children must be ensured by each work Committee.

(4) Male party comrades should assist single women with children in any way possible, e.g. take out on evening, help with homework.

(5) Party members should seek to provide reasonable, mutually agreed on financial support for their children in keeping with their income.

(6) Party comrades must be given 4 weeks leave per year, in the case of a stable relationship, comrades should schedule this leave together — where there are children involved, out of the four weeks, two weeks *must* be spent with the children. (Parents must bear in mind children’s holiday period June-August and take it then).

(7) Comrades must also remember the June-August holidays and must plan for reduced resources at this time.

(8) Committees should, where possible, avoid scheduling meetings on weekends but especially on Sundays.³⁰

Most of this proposal was oriented to members of the NJM who were married (or in stable relationships), with children, and where both parents were members. What is most striking is the plea for time off to relax from a rigid and completely full day of revolutionary activity. The strains were tremendous and may have contributed to the paranoia which wracked the leadership in the last days of the revolution. This document is also oriented to the petit bourgeois elements in the NJM who were unable to cope with such heavy doses of political medicine.

Women, Class and the Revolution

When considering the question of gender and social class, it is important to recognize the ways in which women of all classes were brought forward. The following quote is in Grenadian patois, used by working people of Grenada:

Some people is still not conscious, and there are still some opportunists around who can bramble [manipulate by fine talk] or bribe them. Gairy give a handful to some of them but he take it straight back in another way. And yet still some say, "uncle love me!" This is why education is so important for we... For twenty-nine years of Gairy we was living like we was dead. Now we living free and full, we involved in C.P.E., we involved in N.W.O., we involved in Party Support Group. We happy at last! I have rest of mind, I can go anywhere... And for the women, they all proud and they all boast up of Maternity Leave. The kind of bad treatment the men give the women before, they done with that. The Revolution bring we love, and is that love that teach the men different, bring them work and cause them to respect we.³¹

Many such examples can be found, but such an exercise might only allow us to conclude that some women of each social class saw clearly how the revolution would benefit them. What is more important, we can see, is that there was hope for a new society where women were encouraged to step forward. Christine David, a headmistress at a school in Carriacou, put it this way:

[W]omen are more organized in our country, they're looking at themselves more clearly, they're more aware now. Some of the things that used to happen to them, I think they just accepted it, but now they're asking themselves all kinds of questions. They have their N.W.O. groups and they're meeting in a way they never did before. They're doing things on their own, and things are coming *directly* from them.³²

Women in education were, in fact, more likely to have good feelings about the revolution than their male counterparts, and women in the civil service also felt things had improved.³³ Women in agriculture were, in general, likely to think things had turned worse. Although this may seem surprising in view of the emphasis that was being placed on agriculture by the PRG, there was an emphasis on the role of machines in the transformation of Grenada out of the "cutlass technology." Women may have felt threatened by agro-industrial changes and also by the organized marketing structure that was being put in place. Market women also had a lot to lose if the Marketing and National Importing Board (MNIB) was put into effect, since the PRG wanted to increase domestic crop production mainly on state farms, which would then be distributed by the MNIB.³⁴ Many women of Grenada saw significant gains, but these were mainly ideological and, to a lesser degree, fundamental changes. The many positive remarks were more dramatic because the memory of the old society was still fresh.³⁵ In short, although there may be a slowing down of female power in long-established socialist govern-

ments, in Grenada the structures were being established for women to organize, unite and build. Women were very visible in the leadership and upper levels of the bureaucracy. It was only four and one half years, and women did not change their position, but they did at least change their minds and those of some men.

NOTES

1. EPICA Task Force, *Grenada: The Peaceful Revolution*, Washington: EPICA Task Force, 1982, p. 99.
2. Selwyn Ryan, "The Grenada Question: A Revolutionary Balance Sheet," *Caribbean Review*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (1984), pp. 8-9. Colin Henfrey, "Between Populism and Leninism," *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (1984), pp. 15-36. Jay R. Mandle, *Big Revolution Small Country: The Rise and Fall of the Grenada Revolution*, Lanham, Maryland: North-South Publishing Co., 1985. Barry B. Levine, "The Alienation of Leninist Group Therapy: Extraordinary General Meeting of Full Members of the NJM," *Caribbean Review*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (1983): pp. 14-15, 48-58. Tony Thorndike, *Grenada Politics, Economics and Society*, Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1985.
3. Karen Sacks, *Sisters and Wives: The Past and Future of Sexual Equality*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982. Karen Sacks, "Engels Revisited: Women, the Organization of Production and Private Property," in *Woman, Culture and Society*, M. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere (eds.), Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975, pp. 207-22. For a different approach to gender inequality, see Peggy Reeves Sanday *Female Power and Male Dominance: On the origins of sexual inequality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
4. Claude Meillassoux, *Maidens, Meat and Money*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
5. *Between Money and Love: The Dialectics of Women's Home and Market Work*, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1980, p. 116.
6. Carmen Diana Deere and Magdalena Leon de Leal, "Peasant Production, Proletarianization, and the Sexual Division of Labour in the Andes," in *Women and Development: The Sexual Division of Labour in Rural Societies*, Lourdes Beneria (ed.), New York: Praeger Publishers, 1982, p. 66. Elizabeth Jelin, "Women and the Urban Labor Market," in *Women's Roles and Population Trends in the Third World*, Richard Anker, Mayra Buvinic and Nadia H. Youseff (eds.), London: Croom Helm, 1983, p. 243. T. Scarlett Epstein, "A Social Anthropological Approach to Women's Roles and Status in Developing Countries: The Domestic Cycle," in *Women's Roles and Population Trends in the Third World*, Richard Anker, Mayra Buvinic and Nadia H. Youseff (eds.), London: Croom Helm, 1983, p. 156.
7. Gita Sen and Caren Grown, *Development, Crisis, and Alternative Visions: Third World Perspectives*, New Delhi: DAWN Secretariat, 1985, pp. 18-19.
8. See N.L. Gonzalez, "Household and Family in the Caribbean," *Social and Economic Studies*, Vol. 9 (1960), pp. 101-06. N.L. Gonzalez, "Rethinking the Consanguineal Household and Matrilocality," *Ethnology* Vol. 23, No. 1 (1984), pp. 1-12. N.L. Gonzalez, "Toward a Definition of Matrilocality," in *Afro-American Anthropology: Contemporary Perspectives*, N.E. Whitten and J. Szwed (eds.), New York: The Free Press, 1970, pp. 231-43. See also M.G. Smith, "Introduction" to Edith Clarke's *My Mother Who Fathered Me* (New edition), London: George Allen and Unwin, 1966. R. Dirks and V. Kerns, "Mating Patterns and Adaptive Change in Rum Bay, 1823-1970," *Social and Economic Studies* Vol. 25, No. 1 (1976), pp. 34-54. H. Rubenstein, "Conjugal Behaviour and Parental Role Flexibility in an Afro-Caribbean Village," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* Vol. 17, No. 4, (1980), pp. 330-37.

9. Gail R. Pool, "Migration and Modes of Production: A Comparison of Jamaica and Trinidad," *LABOUR, Capital and Society*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (1981), pp. 54-73.
10. This occurred several times during fieldwork (1982-83, 1984) at the nursing station and often at the nutmeg pool where children helped their mothers crack even though it was not allowed by the pool.
11. *Census of Agriculture*, St. George's, 1982, p. 17.
12. Grenada Migration Survey carried out in April-May 1983 by Gail Pool (see Appendix 1). The question posed was, "What would you do to better this community?" Respondents could only give two responses; yet, a wide variety of responses were encountered, including having a community centre, better water or electricity, public telephone, bus stands, etc. These were divided into four basic categories: schools, roads, jobs and services. As most respondents identified up to two suggestions for improvements, the number of suggestions is well above the 501 people surveyed. Some responses were dropped since they did not fit into any category (help each other to love more, improve people's behaviour, etc.)
13. Trevor Farrell *Unemployment Survey of Grenada*, St. George's: Government of Grenada, 1982, p. 28.
14. Alice Schlegel, *Sexual Stratification: A Cross-Cultural View*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1977. See also Lourdes Berneria and Gita Sen, "Accumulation, Reproduction and Women's Role in Economic Development: Boserup Revisited." *Signs* Vol. 7, No. 2 (1981), pp. 279-98.
15. Schlegel, op. cit., p. 9.
16. Maurice Bishop, "Women Step Forward," in *Maurice Bishop Speaks: The Grenada Revolution, 1979-1983*, Bruce Marcus and Michael Taber (eds.), New York: Pathfinder Books, 1983, p. 33.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 38. *People's Law No 53 of 1980 (Maternity Leave Law)*, 10th October, 1980; under this law, women were entitled to three months leave with pay: two months pay for monthly paid workers, eight weeks for weekly paid workers, and one fifth of the last 12 months' pay for hourly paid workers. The National Insurance Scheme was instituted April 4, 1983 and provided for disability and sickness benefits, pensions, and funeral benefits. *The National Insurance Scheme: How it Works*, St. George's, n.d.
18. *In Nobody's Backyard: Maurice Bishop's Speeches, 1979-1983: A Memorial Volume*, London: Zed Books, 1984, p. 210.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 211; Trevor Farrell, *Unemployment Survey of Grenada*, p. 17. Farrell's survey showed a total of 13,300 unemployed of which 7,675 (57.7 percent) were women.
20. These included tractor drivers, soil scientists, farm managers, extension officers, plumbers, electricians, masons, carpenters, painters, architects, mechanics, surveyors, and soil testers. Maurice Bishop, *In Nobody's Backyard*, p. 211.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 213.
22. *I.e.*, Gail Pool.
23. The 1983 budget plan called for an additional \$183,300 to be spent on the CPE. The education budget was increased from \$15.2 million in 1982 to \$18.1 million in 1983, or 22.3 percent of Grenada's recurrent budget. *Report on the National Economy for 1982 and the Budget Plan for 1983 and Beyond*, St. George's: Government Printing Office, 1983, pp. 163, 131.
24. This was in a village of about 1,500 people.
25. Elisabeth J. Croll, "Women in Rural Production and Reproduction in the Soviet Union, China, Cuba and Tanzania: Socialist Development Experiences," *Signs*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (1981), p. 371. See also Susan G. Rogers, "Efforts Toward Women's Development in Tanzania: Gender Rhetoric vs. Gender Realities," *Women and Politics*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (1982): pp. 23-41.
26. Croll, op. cit., p. 372.
27. See the letter of W. Richard Jacobs, Grenadian ambassador to Moscow, indicating Soviet approval of democratic centralism and popular democracy. The continuation of democratic centralism was also a concern raised at a Political Bureau meeting on October 12, 1983. Paul Seabury and Walter A. McDougall (eds.), *The Grenada Papers*, San Francisco: ICS Press, (1984), pp. 201, 317.
28. *Proposals from Women with Children within the N.J.M.*, manuscript, September 1983, p. 1.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 6.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.
31. Agatha Francis, an agricultural worker for 50 years and a mother of 16 children, as quoted in Chris Searle, *Words Unchained: Language and Revolution in Grenada*, London: Zed, 1984, p. 99.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 177.
33. Grenada Migration Survey, 1983.
34. News reports since the invasion often show market women saying they "want Gairy back" or that they "love Reagan." Since these women depend on petty trading, any state or capitalist transformation of agriculture is threatening. It is surprising how much hold Gairy had on women despite his "sexploitation" of them. Gairy's ability to bramble and fool people was still evident in 1984 when one of us (Pool) returned for a three-month stay.
35. See Gordon White, "Revolutionary Socialist Development in the Third World: An Overview," in *Revolutionary Socialist Development in the Third World*, Gordon White, Robin Murray and Christine White (eds.), Brighton: Harvester Press, 1983, p. 26.

APPENDIX 1 NOTES ON METHODS

Gail Pool and Frances Stewart carried out fieldwork in Victoria, Grenada in 1982-83 (11 months) and 1984 (3 months). Standard techniques of participant observation and informal and formal interviewing were undertaken. Since 1983, we maintained close contact with our friends and events in Grenada with weekly letters, copies of local newspapers and a subscription to the government gazette.

To examine Grenada wide patterns, a survey of some 501 households in Grenada and Carriacou was carried out. The survey was conducted between May and June in nine separate communities in Grenada and four in Carriacou. A 33-page questionnaire was administered to at least fifty respondents in each parish. Communities were selected according to key social and economic characteristics. Included were three areas of St. George's, two small towns, and rural areas of various types, including coastal and interior locations. Interviewers were told to go to each fifth house in most instances and, if there was nobody at home, they were to go to the next fifth house to avoid call-backs. Interviews normally took about half an hour and respondents were, in nearly all cases, helpful and courteous. A good response was enhanced by the fact that the interviewers usually came from the community and often were schoolteachers and headmasters/headmistresses. Altogether, 501 people were interviewed after the questionnaire was tested. The sample is representative of sex, age and parish. Aspects of social and economic life were covered under the following: (1) community attitudes, (2) land, (3) employment and education, (4) mobility and migration, and (5) household information.

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