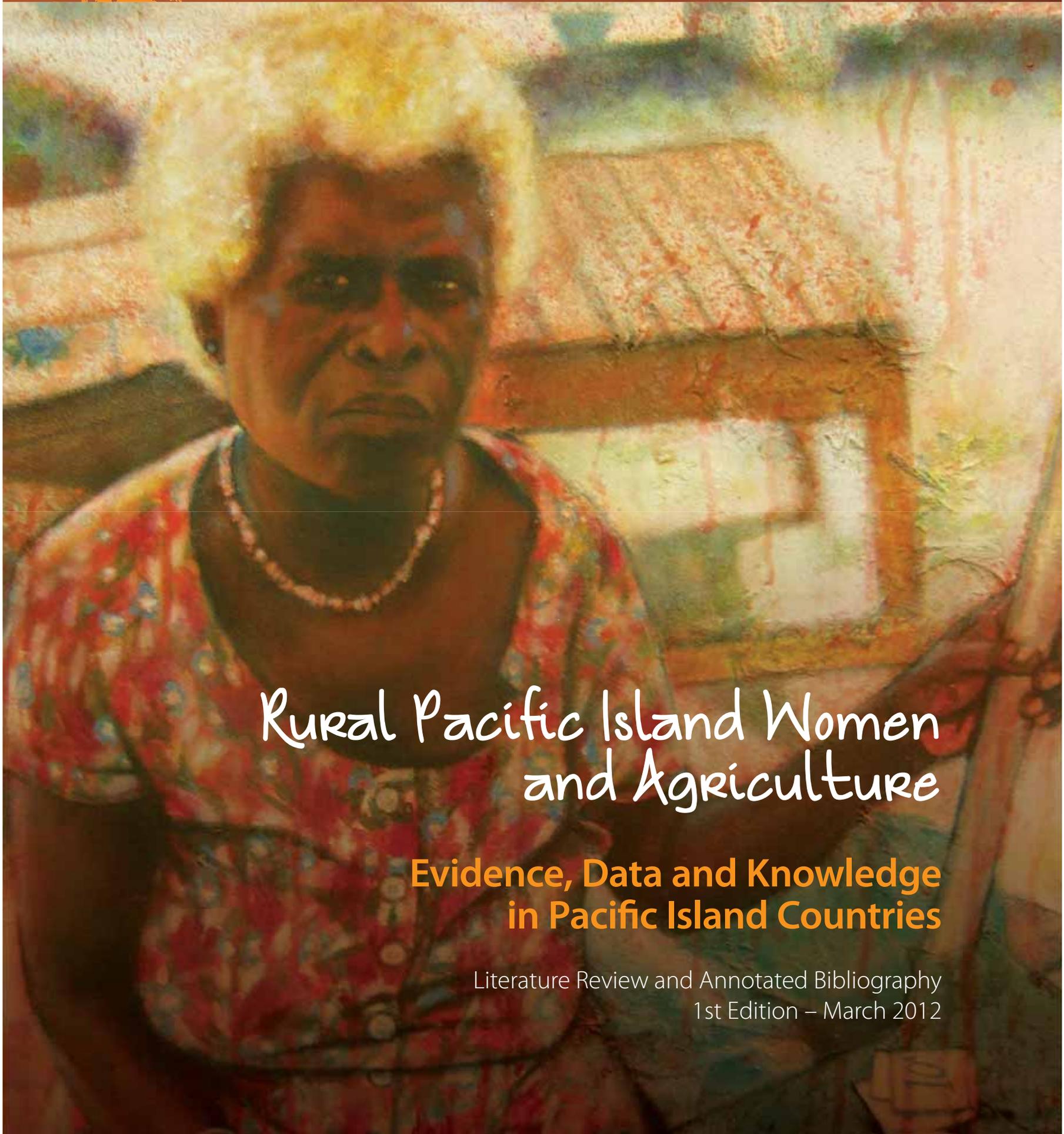




United Nations Entity for Gender Equality
and the Empowerment of Women

A painting of a woman with a large, white, feathered headdress, wearing a colorful, patterned top and a necklace. She is looking directly at the viewer with a serious expression. The background shows a rustic building with a thatched roof and some greenery.

Rural Pacific Island Women and Agriculture

**Evidence, Data and Knowledge
in Pacific Island Countries**

Literature Review and Annotated Bibliography
1st Edition – March 2012

United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
Pacific Sub-Regional Office
Level 5, Vanua House
Victoria Parade
Suva, Fiji
Tel: +679 330 1178
Fax: +679 330 1654

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Foreword

Women play a prominent role in agricultural production throughout the Pacific Island region. Whether engaged in subsistence farming to feed their immediate families or growing cash crops to sell in the market, women's agricultural labor is an indispensable part of food production and consumption practices. The ways in which Pacific Island women participate in agriculture vary by island and local cultural norms, yet women's critical contributions in planting, tending, and harvesting crops and edible marine life sustain the majority of families throughout the region.

The increasing global concerns about food security are even more urgent in the Pacific due to the impact of climate change, which most experts agree is clearly evident in the rising ocean levels that already threaten some island populations. As the governments of island nations seek to reduce imports and become self-sufficient with respect to food production, and to be resilient in times of natural disaster, climate change and conflict and instability, it is important for those in positions of authority to consider the gendered aspects of agriculture and rural life. The key role and responsibilities of women, their priorities, needs and concerns that should be heard and reflected in planning, budgeting and decision-making in this sector, which is the lifeline of most people. Now, more than ever, policymakers need to work closely with women agricultural producers in order to ensure resilient communities able to withstand and recover from many shocks and a sustainable future for Pacific Island agriculture and the livelihood of the majority of Pacific Island citizens. .

The literature on Pacific Island women and agriculture is scattered across many academic disciplines and development project reports. This review and annotated bibliography is a first step in uniting these diverse sources to reveal a number of commonalities shared by women who engage in agriculture. From these sources, we know that agriculture is the mainstay of most Pacific Island economies and also that women actively participate in most forms of agricultural production. Yet the lack of sex-disaggregated data from official sources, such as government surveys and censuses, makes it difficult to ascertain what many studies have shown to be significant differences between men's and women's variant roles in and unequal access to agricultural resources.

Research has also shown that dependency upon imported food is an enduring reality in the Pacific region, and that in spite of its many negative impacts on health and local economies, many islanders will always require at least some imports due to low soil fertility and limited land. Local preferences for high fat or otherwise unhealthy processed foods also play a role in this high percentage of imports and have contributed to a prevalence of non communicable diseases that is extremely high by global standards. Agricultural exports present their own set of difficulties for women, as research presented here indicates that while women and girls work hard on family and commercial plantations, men tend to predominate in more lucrative aspects of cash crop production and control the incomes derived from roadside and central buyers. Research also reveals that the unpaid and often invisible labor of women and children plays a critical and often unacknowledged role, in larger scale agricultural export production.

Many of the contemporary research findings presented here ironically mirror and replicate those derived from studies and knowledge available to planners and policy-makers in the Pacific region nearly forty years ago, when scholars and development practitioners first focused their energies on Pacific Island women and agriculture. Recommendations resulting from these early studies, most of which were based upon research carried out in the 1970s and early 1980s, are very similar to those offered in this literature review. The unfortunate fact remains that despite the considerable volume of literature that clearly demonstrates the manifold ways in which rural women have been marginalized and by-passed in the rural development process, little has been achieved in the way of effective, institutionalized gender mainstreaming with respect to agriculture.

As early as 1970, researchers recommended that policymakers and development practitioners actively include women in planning agriculture-related programmes, projects, interventions and initiatives; it is unfortunate, yet critical that we must make the same recommendations today. Now 40 years later, in a context of climate change, large scale resource extraction industries, increasing natural disasters, conflict and community upheaval, a collapse of many rural outreach and extension programmes, infrastructure and services, the need to acknowledge, support and strengthen women's pivotal role in rural agricultural production, is more critical than ever.

All of the available sources indicate that women continue to be constrained by persistent and near-universal gender discrimination. This manifests itself most clearly in women's unequal access to land, which is frequently held communally in ways that do not always provide women with adequate decision-making powers even when they perform the vast majority of agricultural work. Women also suffer from more limited access to training, credit, and job opportunities than their male counterparts, as well as an unequal time burden in which women are expected to engage in agriculture as part of their normal household responsibilities. The impacts of climate change is already exacerbating these existing difficulties, and they will grow worse in years to come.

With such challenges in mind, policymakers and development practitioners should insist upon the implementation of evidence-based public policy, which draws from contemporary research into women's actual roles in agriculture, rather than base planning and actions on long-entrenched stereotypes that may not actually be real or relevant in current everyday life. Women should also be provided with improved access to credit, training and other services that they believe would help to improve their lives and working conditions. Above all, women agricultural producers must be actively included in all processes related to the development of agricultural policies.

Women involved in agriculture should be actively consulted with as stakeholders who have an important role to play in both the present and future of agriculture. Such consultation should also involve seeking women's opinions about appropriate technology, which, according to many researchers' findings, often disproportionately benefits men. Most importantly, policymakers and development practitioners need to think very carefully about ways to effectively provide women with agriculture-related opportunities that do not increase their already heavy workloads.

This summary of scholarly and development-related literature on Pacific Island women and agriculture has been compiled with the intention of providing practitioners and policymakers with a concise yet holistic overview of current knowledge and frameworks for understanding markets in the region. The evidence presented here offers a powerful case for increased investment in agricultural training for women and girls who desire it and the need for governments and other stakeholders to recognize the critically important role women play in sustaining Pacific Island agriculture. Their access to and control over key inputs, resources and services will determine the health and social and economic wellbeing of rural families and communities all over the region.

What follows is intended as a "living" document, and will be updated regularly. It is a companion to the UN Women Literature Review and Annotated Bibliography on Pacific Markets and Market Vendors

Comments, feedback, and additions are welcome.

UN Women Pacific Region

Introduction

This literature review synthesizes material from the books, academic articles, and reports listed in the attached annotated bibliography on Pacific Island women and agriculture. Information has been grouped into the following topics:

- (a) Pacific Island women and agriculture
- (b) Agriculture in Pacific Island social contexts
- (c) Challenges faced by women in Pacific Island agriculture
- (d) Pacific Island women in agriculture: Some recommendations

This paper provides information on the following countries:

-  Cook Islands
-  Federated States of Micronesia
-  Fiji
-  Kiribati
-  Marshall Islands
-  Nauru
-  Niue
-  Papua New Guinea
-  Samoa
-  Solomon Islands
-  Territory of the Wallis and Futuna Islands
-  Tonga
-  Tuvalu
-  Vanuatu

The literature review contains some general comments about agriculture across the Pacific, followed by specific information for each Pacific Island country, where available. The amount of information available on each Pacific Island country varies. The most comprehensive information comes from countries with larger population sizes and associated greater likelihood of study by academic researchers and development agencies. Papua New Guinea, Fiji, and Solomon Islands are thus overrepresented in studies of women in agriculture. Little information is available on Micronesia, and islands in this area would be productive sites for future research on women and agriculture.

The attached annotated bibliography provides concise summaries of the books, academic articles, and reports referred to in the literature review. When available online, hyperlinks have been included in the annotated bibliographic citations.



A. Rural Pacific Island Women and Agriculture

TYPES OF AGRICULTURE IN THE PACIFIC

1. *Subsistence farming* refers to food crops cultivated solely for family or community consumption rather than for economic gain. Subsistence agriculture is a mainstay of most Pacific Islands economies (Australia, Government of, 2006), and women frequently spend greater amounts of time than men engaged in subsistence production (Curry & Koczberski, 2007; Shrestha, 1997; Sillitoe, 2006).
2. *Subsistence aquaculture* as performed by Pacific Island women frequently includes the harvesting of shellfish from intertidal zones and shallow waters for household consumption (Fay-Sauni & Sauni, 2005). Women do engage in subsistence fishing as well, although they more frequently do so closer to the village than their male counterparts (Hviding, 1991) due to their greater household and childcare responsibilities (Kronen & Vunisea, 2007).
3. *Commercial agricultural production* includes growing produce for sale in markets (Kolopen, Fahey, Bafui & Saese, 2006) and engagement in paid agricultural labor cultivating cash crops (Koczberski, 2002; Koczberski, 2007).
4. Commercial aquacultural harvesting and production includes women's work in harvesting shellfish and other marine life for sale (Vunisea, 2007) as well as their work in fish canneries (Emberson-Bain, 1994).
5. *Export-oriented agricultural production* refers to cash crop farming designated specifically for international markets, such as sugar (Carswell, 2003; Overton, ed., 1988).
6. *Textile production* from cultivated or naturally occurring plants is common throughout the Pacific, and is almost always delegated specifically to women (Young-Leslie, 2007).

RURAL WOMEN AND AGRICULTURE IN THE PACIFIC: A BASIC OVERVIEW

7. Agriculture is the mainstay of most Pacific Islands economies. Although women frequently produce the majority of food for subsistence, they have far less access to further agricultural training and infrastructural support than their male counterparts, who frequently control more lucrative cash crop production (Bourke, McGregor, Allen, Evans, Mullen, Pollard, Wairiu & Zotalis, 2006; Bourke & Harwood, 2009).
8. While agricultural practices vary amongst communities and across islands, men tend to predominate in claiming credit for and the benefits of the production of the plantation export crops that they assume will be more lucrative. Men have greater access to agricultural land, training, credit and services than women, and the agricultural production that women and girls perform tends to be considered part of women's household responsibilities (Ironmonger & Hill, 1999).

9. A significant body of literature emerged in the late 1970s and 1980s that strongly recommended greater inclusion of women in the development process (Boserup, 1970; Cox, 1986; Heyzer, 1985; Rogers, 1990). These recommendations continue to be made in development reports and scholarly texts, and the conditions of life and work for many rural women have changed very little despite decades of literature that documents problems shared by rural women across the Pacific Island region.
10. Women frequently work longer hours in gathering and producing food for family consumption, and this is likely to only increase as climate change makes food resources scarcer (FAO, 1996).
11. Women's more restricted access to the agricultural training and resources that would enable engage in cash cropping and agriculture for export may result from some combination of cultural attitudes toward feminized labor and the prominent role colonial administrations played in devaluing women's work (Gailey, 1987) or discouraging Pacific Island women from engaging in paid work (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1994) while simultaneously encouraging commodity consumption (Fairbairn-Dunlop & Momsen, 1993).
12. Where implemented, agricultural technology and time-saving devices have tended to benefit men rather than women (Bolabola, 1988).
13. Gender norms may be more static and slower to change in rural areas, where communities are more isolated and perhaps less culturally open to change with respect to gendered divisions of labor in agricultural work. This is a significant issue because most rural women engage in both domestic work and agricultural production (Balakrishnan & Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2005).
14. Agricultural production is not limited to women in rural areas, as women in towns and cities may also use available land to cultivate food crops to offset the high costs of purchasing healthy foods (Barber, 2010; Thaman, 2000; Thaman, Elevitch, & Kennedy, 2006).
15. Most Pacific Island countries have a Ministry of Agriculture or other relevant government authority responsible for overseeing agricultural production (Bachmann, 2001), but government authorities do not always value or even account for women's substantial contributions to agriculture (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1993).
16. Pacific Islands vary significantly in the amount of administrative and bureaucratic oversight given to agriculture. Those islands with larger populations have complex administrative systems that deal exclusively with agriculture and aquaculture, such as Fiji (Bachmann, 2001) and Papua New Guinea (Fresh Produce Development Agency, 2008a).
17. Many Pacific Island countries do not disaggregate agricultural data by sex, making it difficult for policymakers to recognize significant differences between men's and women's roles in agriculture and their variant access to resources (Booth, 1999).

18. Climate change poses serious risks to food security in the Pacific Islands due to rising sea levels, reduced soil fertility, and the high costs of imports (Barnett, 2001). Although women are often responsible for food preparation and distribution, food shortages leave women and children particularly vulnerable due to their lower status in both households and communities (McGregor, 2009).
19. Women may incur dramatically increased socioeconomic benefits from using their own land for agricultural purposes as opposed to participating in the formal sector economy, which typically requires longer hours, less flexibility and offers lower pay (Anderson, 2010).
20. Fish provides the majority of animal protein in many Pacific Islanders' diets, and aquaculture is a critical element of agricultural production, making protection of marine resources all the more critical a priority due to climate change. It is essential that women be involved in these decision-making processes due to the strong role that they play in their capacity of food procurers and providers (Bell, Vunisea, Nash, Keeble, Demmke, Pontifex & Andrefouet, 2009).
21. Commercial aquaculture has left many marine areas depleted, which dramatically impacts women's abilities to gather marine foods for subsistence use (Aalbersberg, Tawake & Parras, 2005).
22. Women contribute significantly to marine food yields throughout the Pacific Islands, and do so in ways that guarantee a more regular supply of protein for their families than men's fishing activities (Chapman, 1987) while also conserving marine resources because they fit marine harvesting activities into their domestic and childcare schedules and stop when they have collected sufficient amounts for the household (Jones, 2009; Kronen & Vunisea, 2007).
23. Images of Pacific Islands as zones of agricultural bounty (often referred to as "subsistence affluence") do not reflect reality, and a number of the small islands are dependent upon imported food, donor aid, and remittances to meet their food needs. Due to population growth, some of the smaller Pacific nations will never be able to attain complete food security due to low soil fertility and limited land (Fleming & Hardaker, 1995).
24. Dependency upon imported food is such that some island populations spend as much as 50% of their income purchasing food (Jegasothy & Duval, 2003).
25. Agricultural exports are a significant source of income for Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tonga, and Vanuatu. Smaller islands also depend upon agriculture to some extent for subsistence, but the limited availability of fertile land reduces this dependency somewhat (Australia, Government of, 2006).
26. Government policies have actively encouraged women's participation in agricultural processing for export, although not always on terms that fairly remunerate them (Bolabola, 1994; Emberson-Bain, 1994).

27. There is precedent for successful partnerships between foreign capital and local small-scale agricultural producers, provided that local agricultural industries are supported in ways that acknowledge the role of women and communities (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2001).
28. Export crops such as sugar cane create particular difficulties due to fluctuating global commodity prices and households over-dependency on cash crop production. Women and children make significant contributions to sugar production through their unpaid labor (Carswell, 2003) in ways quite similar to other export crops.
29. Evidence suggests that men become more intensively involved in agricultural activities that involve cash crops for export or when there is a demand in local markets for a particular crops (Asian Development Bank, 2006; Bourke, McGregor, Allen, Evans, Mullen, Pollard, Wairiu, and Zotalis, 2006).
30. Microfinance initiatives have proven successful with women farmers as a means to boost production on terms that directly benefit the women themselves (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, 2002).
31. Land tenure policies, whether customary or otherwise, continue to privilege men through father-son inheritance practices and limited legal rights provided to women (Bolabola, 1986).
32. Women's lower status in agriculture mirrors their lower status in other socioeconomic areas, from education to political representation (Bowman, Cutura, Ellis & Manuel, 2009).
33. Decreased agricultural production by women increases dependency upon imported foods, and is thus a significant source of obesity and other non-communicable diseases (Corsi, Engelberger, Flores, Lorens & Fitzgerald, 2008).
34. Food preferences, including a desire to consume processed and imported foods, impacts local agriculture in addition to having serious health consequences. These preferences have changed dramatically in past decades (Haden, 2009).
35. Colonialism played a critical role in the establishment of cash crops such as sugar, copra, coconut, cocoa, and oil palm throughout Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu (Brookfield, 1972).

RURAL WOMEN AND AGRICULTURE IN PACIFIC ISLAND COUNTRIES

Women and Agriculture in Cook Islands

36. Partnerships between the Cook Islands government and communities have successfully merged local knowledge about marine life with biologists' research findings to develop sustainable fishing practices that promote greater food security for women and their families (Adams, 1998).

Women and Agriculture in Federated States of Micronesia

37. Severely declined participation in agriculture and a preference for high calorie imported food over fiber-rich healthier local food has led to a high prevalence of obesity and other health problems (Corsi, Engelberger, Flores, Lorens & Fitzgerald, 2008).

Women and Agriculture in Fiji

38. 78% of all informal sector activity in Fiji involves agriculture, forestry and fishing, and one-third of those involved in such activities are women. In Fiji, women perform the majority of daily subsistence fishing and reef gleaning, thereby providing the majority of the household's protein intake (Asian Development Bank, 2006).
39. Women actively participate in almost all aspects of agricultural production in Fiji, including farming, marketing, food processing and distribution, and export processing (Baxter, 1980).
40. Women's unpaid labor helps to support the sugar industry, which is still predominantly reliant upon the work of entire families (Carswell, 2003).
41. Rural Indo-Fijian women have long engaged in all forms of agriculture that did not involve plowing with animals, which, according to research carried out in the late 1960s and early 1970s, was delegated to men (Mayer, 1973).
42. Fiji has a complex system of agricultural production and distribution that has been well-documented in terms of its extent and connections between rural and urban areas (Bachmann, 2001; Robertson, 1991).
43. Research carried out in the early 1980s documented the need for Fiji to diversify the crops and farming practices employed by farmers in order to achieve sustainable food security (Brookfield, Ellis and Ward, 1985).

Women and Agriculture in Kiribati

44. Kiribati is small with low levels of soil fertility, and the high cost of food has led donor agencies to encourage the growth of home gardens (East & Dawes, 2009).

45. Women provide the major household source of protein through their collection of clams from intertidal zones and shallow waters (Fay-Sauni & Sauni, 2005).
46. Women play an active role in Kiribati's agricultural production, distribution and marketing systems and thus form a critical element of the island's food security (Sharp, 2005).

Women and Agriculture in Nauru

47. The accumulation of phosphate wealth on the island seriously undermined local agricultural production, creating a situation of imported food dependency that is no longer sustainable now that phosphate reserves have been depleted (Stephen, 2009).

Women and Agriculture in Niue

48. Niue's small size and dependency upon donor aid and remittances makes it unlikely that the island could attain self-reliance with respect to food production (Fleming & Hardaker, 1995).

Women and Agriculture in Papua New Guinea

49. Five million rural residents, or approximately 80% of Papua New Guinea's population, rely upon subsistence agriculture for their daily food needs. Women play an active role in agriculture (Allen, 2009).
50. Agricultural production remains a critical part of daily life even for urban migrants in Papua New Guinea, who rely upon their rural relatives and small gardens for at least some of their household food needs (Barber, 2010).
51. One study found that urban women spent as much time on subsistence agricultural activities as their rural counterparts, although urban men spent more time on such activities than their rural counterparts (Umekazi, Yamauchi & Ohtsuka, 2002).
52. 97% of land in Papua New Guinea is owned by families. Evidence suggests that women benefit far more from use of their family land through agriculture and related small business ventures than they do from formal sector employment, which is often lower paid, requires longer working hours, and is less flexible (Anderson, 2010).
53. One study found that women spend four times as long as men engaged in agricultural production, for an average total of 28 hours per week, in addition to an average of just over nine hours spent walking to and from gardens, and 11.5 hours cooking (Sillitoe, 2006)
54. 16% of households (over 150,000 families) in Papua New Guinea participate in cocoa production, which provides a valuable source of cash to communities that are otherwise dependent upon subsistence agriculture (Curry & Koczberski, 2007).

55. Results of a survey indicated that half of the farmers served by the Fresh Produce Development Agency (FPDA) are female, and that these women have almost sole responsibility for marketing their produce, although most shared responsibilities for cultivation with their husbands (Fresh Produce Development Agency, 2008a).
56. One study found that the Mama Lus Frut Scheme, in the commercial oilpalm industry in West New Britain, in PNG, paid women separately for their work collecting oil palm fruit that falls from the trees as men harvest this cash crop, has proven extremely successful by equally valuing women's work without dramatically upsetting the gendered social order (Koczberski, 2007).
57. Women participate in decision-making processes regarding the cultivation of subsistence crops, childcare, and family planning, as well as less prestigious aspects of cash crop production (Kolopen, Fahey, Bafui & Saese, 2006).

Women and Agriculture in Samoa

58. Women have historically been actively involved in agriculture in Samoa, and evidence suggests that the devaluation of women's agricultural labor as unimportant or altogether invisible stems from the efforts of missionaries and colonial administrators to focus women solely on childcare and cooking (Fairbairn-Dunlop & Momsen, 1993).
59. Two-thirds of Samoan households engage in some form of agriculture, and the Government of Samoa has identified women's groups as key partners in increasing agricultural production (Samoa, Government of, 2005).
60. Subtle changes to the land tenure system in the early 1980s in ways designed to maximize production may have encouraged more women to engage in agricultural activity (O'Meara, 1990).
61. Women contribute significantly to family agricultural production, engaging in both subsistence and cash crop work in ways that require them to balance their numerous household and community responsibilities (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1994).
62. Most agricultural production in Samoa takes place on small, family-owned plots. Evidence suggests that women and their families stand to substantially benefit from foreign investment that makes use of this system while also providing cash income (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2001).
63. By introducing organic agriculture to women farmers, a Samoan NGO was able to create substantial local and export markets for women's agricultural products (Hiller-Garvey, 2010).
64. Bee-keeping has proven to be one successful strategy for increasing rural women's opportunities for income generation without adding unduly to their already heavy workloads (UNDP Special Unit for South-South Cooperation, 2001).

Women and Agriculture in Solomon Islands

65. Women produce the majority of subsistence food in the Solomon Islands, and also dominate market trade (Bourke, McGregor, Allen, Evans, Mullen, Pollard, Wairiu & Zotalis, 2006).
66. Solomon Islands women are critical actors in marine conservation efforts, and are often the first to notice depletions of marine food resources due to their active participation in fishing, harvesting, and food production activities (Aswani & Weiant, 2003).
67. Women and men both engage in agriculture and fishing, although women typically engage in these activities closer to home to accommodate childcare and related household responsibilities (Hviding, 1991).

Women and Agriculture in Tonga

68. Efforts by missionaries and colonial officials to implement an English-style gendered division of labor led considerably to the devaluation of women's labor through a system that placed men's and women's agricultural products into two separate categories of exchange (Gailey, 1987).

Women and Agriculture in Tuvalu

69. Women's participation in agriculture in Tuvalu varies by their location, as the vast majority of formal sector employment activities are concentrated on Funafuti Atoll, where only 3% of the population engages in agriculture as compared to one-third of Outer Islands residents. (Asian Development Bank and AusAID, 2006).

Women and Agriculture in Vanuatu

70. Women form the basis of agricultural production in Vanuatu, and sometimes engage in fishing as well. Women increasingly engage in fishing due to population growth and the need to generate income through market sales (FAO, 1996).
71. Agricultural activities that generate an income tend to be dominated by men, with the exception of fish processing. Women are able to engage in various aspects of fish processing in order to generate income because these activities are compatible with their other household responsibilities (David, 1990).
72. Vanuatu has a dual land tenure system that includes both customary land and a formal system for administering land registered with the government. This complex system has the potential to be exclusionary (Haccius, 2011).



B. Agriculture in Rural Pacific Island Social Contexts

GENDER ROLES AND THE GENDERED DIVISION OF LABOR

73. Women play a prominent role in household agricultural and other food production. It has been suggested that while women's entry into the paid agricultural or fish processing market may improve women's short-term economic position, it may do so at the greater risk of losing their self-reliant food production strategies and the traditional knowledge related to these and lead to reliance upon purchased, more expensive, often imported and nutritionally less valuable foods (Ram-Bidesi, 2008).
74. Certain agricultural products and crops are themselves gendered as belonging to either men or women, with the opposite sex forbidden from contact with or customarily banned from handling them in certain ways (Allen, 2009; Young Leslie, 2007).
75. The devaluation of women's labor renders their agricultural work even in formal export-processing arrangements lower paid, lower status, temporary and insecure (Bolabola, 1994; Emberson-Bain, 1994). Some authors have argued that colonial administrations played a critical role in the devaluation of women's labor by discouraging their active economic participation (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1994).
76. In the tuna industry, women are more involved in domestic processing and marketing, whereas men engage in more lucrative export-oriented tuna capture and commercial marketing. Evidence suggests that in addition to the unevenly distributed benefits of tuna production, women are also made more vulnerable through increased domestic responsibilities and poor working conditions (Demmke, 2006).
77. The lack of gender-disaggregated data on agricultural labor ignores women's contributions and reinforces belief systems that hold men's labor in higher esteem as more valuable, important, and challenging than women's labor (Booth, 1999).
78. Men frequently dominate and control cash crop agriculture with women's role in it limited to labor-intensive and time-consuming activities that receive limited payment (Bourke, McGregor, Allen, Evans, Mullen, Pollard, Wairiu & Zotalis, 2006).
79. Women may be more likely than men to make active use of family-based systems in their agricultural activities, particularly with respect to the potential for income generation. It remains to be seen how this might change as kin-based networks show signs of support are weakening throughout the Pacific and the number of female-headed households are growing (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2005).
80. In some cases, the involvement of women in the fisheries sector is undermined and under-reported because their activities are viewed as an extension of their traditional role of food foraging for home consumption. Traditional institutions, protocols and beliefs are slowly

changing, with modifications to the structures, leadership and dynamics that influence decision-making at the community level. However, women in Pacific Island countries continue to live within traditionally defined settings while at the same time being expected to deal with the modern market economy through their marketing activities (Vunisea, 2007).

81. Some evidence suggests that the best forms of development assistance might be those that value women's roles as care-givers, and support the stewardship of cultural and ecological resources, measuring success not only by profitability but also in terms of sustainability and appropriate scale (Novaczek & Stuart, 2006).

LAND TENURE PRACTICES

82. Land rights are based upon both customary and statutory law in Pacific Island countries. More than 90% of the land in 22 Pacific Island countries is held under customary tenure, a percentage that far surpasses any other region in the world (Crocombe, 1995). It has been argued that postcolonial land tenure policies have deeply disadvantaged women by formalizing father-to-son inheritance practices (Bolabola, 1986).
83. According to an introduction in an edited volume dealing with land tenure throughout the Pacific Island region, a general pan-Pacific trend of increasing privatization of customary land through exclusive management by individuals or nuclear families is creating a number of dilemmas in a region where the majority of land is held by community groups (Ward & Kingdon, 1995).
84. Women's social and legal rights to access land have changed dramatically over time throughout the Pacific Island region, and in some cases pre-colonial land tenure systems provided greater rights to women. These rights are also subject to change due to political changes and population growth (Aruntangai & Crocombe, 2000).
85. In Papua New Guinea and elsewhere in the Pacific, gardens are frequently regarded as the responsibility of men in addition to their inheritance through patrilineal descent, although women play a significant role in clearing and cultivation (Dwyer & Minnegal, 1993).

PHYSICAL LOCATION

86. Women living in single cash crop regions may be expected to provide unpaid labor to their husbands or fathers in order to ensure production (Carswell, 2003).
87. Women living in remote rural areas with severe environmental constraints have less access to agricultural technology, markets, and other services. Migration has formed part of the solution to this problem for some remote rural residents of Papua New Guinea (Bryant, Bourke & Gibson, 2003)
88. Rural women, particularly those in remote areas, are all-too-frequently the last to benefit from gender mainstreaming in agricultural and rural development, valuation of unpaid work, reduction in household work, technologies and training, and systematic studies of gender relations.

Causes for this pervasive phenomenon include entrenched gender norms regarding appropriate roles for women and physical isolation from urban centers or towns where development organizations are based (FAO, 2005).

89. The national food security situation varies from island to island in the Pacific , but is often dependent upon the ability of islanders to engage in subsistence agriculture and fishing while engaging in some export production to finance imported food supplements to a local diet. This situation creates a precarious balance that renders many remote islanders vulnerable (Sharma, 2006).

SOCIAL CONTEXT IN PACIFIC ISLAND COUNTRIES

Social Context in Fiji

90. Archaeological data indicates that subsistence shellfish collection and agriculture may have mirrored contemporary practices in rural Fiji (Jones, 2009).
91. Rural women typically farm land that belongs to their male relatives, as father-to-son inheritance practices make it difficult, if not impossible, for women to own land (Bolabola, 1986). However, at least one anthropologist, based upon research carried out in Fiji, has argued that land tenure practices are actually more flexible than many critics believe (Tanner, 2007).
92. One study revealed that rural women in Fiji demonstrated greater competency than men at managing household finances and savings, and noted that further access to mobile banking services could benefit such women (Pacific Financial Inclusion Programme, 2009).
93. Women actively participate in all export processing activities, including growth, sorting, and packaging, related to ginger, one of Fiji's largest cash crop (Bolabola, 1994) and sugar, a major export (Carswell, 2003).
94. Growing export markets for cash crops such as yaqona have been shown to alter local economies in ways that replace a former subsistence-centered way of life with one that is dependent upon cash (Sofer, 2007).

Social Context in Kiribati

95. Kiribati's dependency upon imported food has created a situation in which people have become disinclined to participate in agriculture, a situation that NGOs and development partners are attempting to change by promoting agricultural production and the consumption of local foods (Sharp, 2005).
96. Although home gardens are being actively encouraged by donor agencies in order to promote greater food security, there is a general lack of knowledge and experience with intensive agricultural techniques that will require a steep learning curve on the part of residents (East & Dawes, 2009).

Social Context in Niue

97. While Niue is unlikely to attain agricultural self-reliance, women could focus upon harvesting marine products for export or on handicraft production as income generation strategies (Fleming & Hardaker, 1995).

Social Context in Papua New Guinea

98. The amount of work performed by men and women varies according to the level of intensity required by particular crops. Evidence suggests that men and women work the same number of hours in agricultural systems that do not require constant maintenance, but that women work much harder in cash cropping systems (Bourke & Harwood, 2009).
99. Agricultural roles played by women and men in Papua New Guinea sometimes find justification in religious practices that long predate Christianity (Rappaport, 1986). The embedded nature of such cultural traditions has serious implications for those engaged in efforts to fully incorporate rural women into agriculture.
100. Women and their families living in remote or otherwise isolated areas that do not present opportunities for ready access to markets may consider migration as a strategy for upward mobility. Dramatic wealth inequalities exist throughout Papua New Guinea, and these can largely be traced to environmental constraints, including isolation, that preclude cash crop production (Bryant, Bourke & Gibson, 2005).
101. Gender roles can severely limit the ability of women to take part in rural livelihoods training initiatives due to a lack of support for women's independent activities by family members (Cahn & Liu, 2008).
102. In the interior lowlands of Papua New Guinea, agricultural production is regarded as the responsibility of men, although women play a significant role in all agricultural activities. Women frequently process sago, a staple food that grows wild, but is also partly cultivated, and fish for subsistence in addition to clearing undergrowth for agricultural production (Dwyer & Minnegal, 1993).
103. Agricultural and fishing work done by women pays poorly or not at all, which reflects cultural attitudes toward women's work that, in turn, influence public policy and donor attitudes toward female-dominated fields (Kinch & Bagita, 2003).
104. Evidence suggests that women who earn independent incomes from agriculture are more likely to be able to envision themselves as able to impact positive changes in their families and communities (Koczberski, 2002).

Social Context in Samoa

105. Samoan cultural norms give precedence to the family over individuals and hold that men are responsible for agricultural production, thus denying the important role played by women (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1993).
106. Samoa's reliance upon imported food, widespread unhealthy eating practices, and low soil fertility has a dramatic impact upon health, thus negatively affecting Samoa's ability to repay its debts (Jegasothy & Duval, 2003).
107. Women frequently make use of their extended kin networks in designing self-improvement and upward mobility strategies for themselves and their families (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2005).
108. Hereditary elites have a strong influence on decisions related to agricultural production, particularly with respect to the distribution of land (Fleming & Hardaker, 1995).

Social Context in Solomon Islands

109. Sharp gender role distinctions characterize Solomon Islands agriculture, where women produce the vast majority of food and are much more involved in marketing activities than men, but men almost completely dominate the production and sale of more lucrative cash crops (Bourke, Allen, Evans, Mullen, Pollard, Wairiu & Zotalis, 2006).
110. Women are often the first to notice and object to reef and mangrove pollution caused by logging and mining activities (Hviding, 1991).
111. Women make time for cash crop production in various ways, including by adding to their existing workload and by reorganizing their schedules to accommodate cash crop agriculture (Shrestha, 1997).

Social Context in Territory of the Wallis and Futuna Islands

112. Agricultural production remains a key part of life for most families on Wallis and Futuna, although attempts to establish a market to sell surplus produce have repeatedly failed due to local cultural notions of shame with respect to desires to sell the best produce, or shame at not being able to grow sufficient produce to feed one's family (van der Grijp, 2002).

Social Context in Tonga

113. Over 70% of Tonga's population engaged in subsistence cultivation in the 1950s and this although number has dramatically reduced, many Tongans still combine subsistence agriculture with wage-earning activities (Tonga, Government of, 2006).

114. As in Samoa, hereditary elites have a strong influence on decisions related to agricultural production, particularly with respect to the distribution of land (Fleming & Hardaker, 1995).
115. Women cannot own land in Tonga, which is reserved for men alone, which prohibits unmarried, separated, divorced, or widowed women from fully participating in many aspects of agricultural production or entrepreneurial activity, and from achieving economic autonomy (Nagarajan, 2009).
116. Women and their families engage in complex decision-making strategies regarding the production of cash crops such as squash pumpkin, vanilla, and bananas (van der Grijp, 2004).

Social Context in Vanuatu

117. Women's extensive obligations to kin can be very time-consuming and leave limited energy and resources for work beyond subsistence agriculture and household responsibilities (Bowman, Cutura, Ellis & Manuel, 2009).
118. Women work much longer hours in agricultural production than men, and use the majority of their produce to support family members. When markets are nearby, women sell surplus produce in order to generate income (FAO, 1996).



C. Challenges faced by Rural Women in Pacific Islands Agriculture

UNEQUAL ACCESS TO LAND

119. Although women play an active role in agriculture throughout the Pacific, many women are excluded from inheritance rights to customary land and have no rights to land other than those permitted them by their fathers or husbands (Asian Development Bank, 2006).
120. In Tonga, women are explicitly forbidden from owning land, which denies them access to a resource essential for all forms of private sector and agricultural activity (Nagaranjan, 2009).
121. Although existing land legislation is gender-neutral in many Pacific Island countries, its implementation has adopted a male bias, with women being increasingly marginalized. The strong pressures for alienating and registering customary land so that it can be used for private sector development or leased for resource extraction threaten to exacerbate women's existing disadvantage (Stege, Maetala, Naupa & Simo, 2008).

UNEQUAL ACCESS TO TRAINING, CREDIT, AND JOB OPPORTUNITIES

122. The stereotyped notion that agriculture is a male activity continues to marginalize rural women farmers, and in some cases renders them invisible or underserved in agricultural training and outreach efforts (Balakrishnan, 2000).
123. As women become more involved in the cash economy, they encounter additional problems when they realize that they need money to make money and are often frustrated by their lack of access to credit (UNDP, 2001).
124. Studies based in Fiji and Papua New Guinea demonstrate that rural women are more competent than rural men at managing household finances and savings, and that greater investment in training and services that are accessible to women give the greatest return to rural households (Fresh Produce Development Agency, 2008a; Pacific Financial Inclusion Program, 2009).
125. The emphasis by governments and donors on propagating commercial fisheries and offshore fishing, in which women have little direct involvement, results in a situation in which women's work in fisheries is unrecognized and ignored (Kinch & Bagita, 2003).
126. One study found that when women are completely marginalized from cash crop production, overall household returns from agriculture actually drop because the household becomes fragmented in ways that do not allow for the kind of cooperation across genders that a great deal of both subsistence and cash crop agricultural cultivation requires (Overfield, 1998).

UNEQUAL TIME BURDEN

127. Women work much harder than men in Papua New Guinea's more intensive agricultural systems, where women continuously till, plan, weed and harvest while men engage in more lucrative cash cropping (Allen, 2009).
128. Research based in Papua New Guinea indicates that men retain far greater control income earned from cash crop production than women, and women tended to predominate in less lucrative and more time-consuming aspects of cash crop production (Curry, Koczberski, Omuru & Nailina, 2007; Fresh Produce Development Agency 2008a).

CLIMATE CHANGE

129. Women's activities, such as collecting food, firewood, and drinking water will likely become more difficult as climate change continues to alter the natural environment in many Pacific Island states (FAO, 2010).
130. Grassroots economic development initiatives that directly involve women farmers will likely become more important in the future as climate change prompts more extreme weather and predicted sea-level rises, threatening the main Pacific Island industries of fishing, tourism and agriculture (Hiller-Garvey, 2010).
131. In the Pacific, the global economic crisis is compounded by the increasing effects of climate change and a deepening food and energy crisis, creating daily difficulties for women in feeding their families as rising sea levels make root crop staples uncultivable, gardens are drowned and drinking water is contaminated (Sumeo, 2010).

PERSISTENT GENDER DISCRIMINATION

132. Persistent gender discrimination continues to disenfranchise women in fisheries due to prevailing cultural beliefs about gender which have, over time, become institutionalized in public policy, leaving women largely responsible for the subsistence sector while failing to support their achievement of the political power necessary to influence or protect the source of their livelihood (Novaczek, Mitchell & Veitayaki, 2005).
133. Women continue to be negatively impacted by gender discrimination even in areas of agriculture that have been professionalized, such as the tuna industry, throughout the region. In such professionalized fields, women rarely obtain high level positions or the qualifications necessary to fill them (Barclay & Cartwright, 2007).
134. Even in areas characterized by high female literacy rates and matrilineal descent systems, development projects have faced difficulties in incorporating women into rural livelihoods training programs due to a lack of gender awareness and sensitivity among local elites who manage such projects through their professional jobs (Cahn & Liu, 2008).

CHALLENGES IN PACIFIC ISLAND COUNTRIES

Challenges in Federated States of Micronesia

135. Dependency upon and cultural preferences for high calorie, non-nutritious imported foods creates serious health problems in the population that requires intervention by both community and state organizations in order to change these unhealthy preferences (Corsi, Engelberger, Flores, Lorens & Fitzgerald, 2008).

Challenges in Fiji

136. Climate change and overfishing have led to a depletion of reef and fish stocks in Fiji, making women's reef gleaning activities less productive. This is problematic given that such activities provide the major protein source for families (Aalbersberg, Tawake & Parras, 2005).
137. Many women throughout the Pacific Island region are excluded from inheritance rights to customary land, generally only have land rights permitted to them by their fathers and husbands, and do not receive land rents (Asian Development Bank, 2006).
138. Rural women in Fiji lack appropriate technology that would reduce the heavy workload related to agriculture, cooking, fishing, and firewood collection (Bolabola, 1988).
139. In Fiji, women on family-owned sugar cane farms are often expected to provide unpaid labor in order to ensure the harvest, although they rarely control the income generated through their efforts (Carswell, 2003).

Challenges in Kiribati

140. Agriculture in general faces serious challenges in Kiribati due to low soil fertility, dependency upon imported food, sewage contamination of surrounding ocean, drought, lack of tools, and high rates of unemployment (East & Dawes, 2009).
141. Rapidly increasing urbanization and high population density limits the potential for agricultural production, even when individuals may wish to engage in it (Sharp, 2005).
142. Overexploitation of marine resources has depleted the amount of clams women are able to collect on the reef, thus reducing or altogether eliminating households' major source of protein (Fay-Sauni & Sauni, 2005).

Challenges in Nauru

143. Nauru residents have lost their agricultural knowledge due to years of dependency upon unhealthy imported foods, particularly rice, sugar, and canned items bought with incomes from phosphate mining. Nauru's government is now actively promoting agriculture and animal farming as a solution to the island's food insecurity (Stephen, 2009).

Challenges in Niue

144. Challenges to agricultural production by either women or men, in Niue include small size, low soil fertility, donor aid and remittance dependency, all of which discourage engagement in agriculture (Fleming & Hardaker, 1995).

Challenges in Papua New Guinea

145. Even after participating in successful rural livelihoods training programs, women face significant challenges in pursuing new income generation options due to limited access to credit or savings facilities, road systems in poor condition, market or other prohibitive conditions, and the current high risk of sexual and other forms of violence against women and girls who travel long distances from home, especially in the dark. (Cahn & Liu, 2008).
146. One assessment of an all-female village extension worker program that assisted women farmers found that the number of female workers had fallen from a complete majority to just over one-third due to the frequency of sexual assaults committed against women engaged in travel and outreach to conduct extension activities (Fresh Produce Development Agency, 2008b).
147. Cultural norms throughout Papua New Guinea expect rural women to perform household labor while raising pigs and other subsistence crops. A number of traditional beliefs and taboos prohibit women from growing or even approaching particular crops, and prohibit men from having sexual contact with women during the growing cycle (Bourke & Harwood, 2009).
148. Although women assist in cash crop production, men retain far greater control over income generated from it than women, and women frequently only have access to less lucrative aspects of cash crop production (Curry & Koczberski, 2007).
149. Despite their active involvement in all aspects of fish harvesting, processing, and marketing, women remain under-represented in national fisheries agencies, training courses, and meetings. This is further complicated by the fact that donors place a stronger emphasis on offshore fishing, which traditionally only involves men (Kinch & Bagita, 2003).
150. Women cite their major constraints to participation in cash crop production and marketing as limited literacy, low levels of knowledge about agricultural techniques involved in cash crop production, and the need for training regarding savings, disease control, and soil fertility (Kolopen, Fahey, Bafui & Saese, 2006).



Challenges in Samoa

151. One study found that urban village households spend half of their income on food, much of which is imported and that food will likely always need to be imported due to Samoa's low soil fertility and limited land (Jegasothy & Duval, 2003).
152. Culturally embedded gender norms downplay women's role in agricultural production in ways that are further reinforced and legitimated through government's failure to collect gender-disaggregated statistics that document women's work (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1994).
153. Evidence, including the growing number of female-headed households (due to both male labor migration and rising divorce rates) suggests that family structures may be weakening in ways that could make it more difficult for women to engage in subsistence agricultural and other activities that generate income (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2005).
154. Women's contributions to agriculture are not acknowledged or budgeted for considered in national agricultural planning, and women lack access to training and education, as well as formal support systems, that could help them in their agricultural work (Fairbairn-Dunlop & Momsen, 1993).



Challenges in Solomon Islands

155. Men dominate cash crop activities and control most of the income received from the sale of cash crops. Women may be expected to provide unpaid labor performing time-consuming and tedious activities related to men's cash crop production. Women who do engage in cash cropping, which may be more lucrative than other forms of agriculture, may face conflicts due to their household responsibilities and role as major subsistence producers ((Bourke, Allen, Evans, Mullen, Pollard, Wairiu & Zotalis, 2006).



Challenges in Tonga

156. The legal and social prohibitions on women's land ownership significantly reduces women's ability to equally participate in society (Nagarajan, 2009).
157. At least one previous development project in Tonga ignored the realities of household economies by focusing solely upon income generation and bypassing entirely the critical role of subsistence agriculture in providing families with food (James, 2005).



Challenges in Vanuatu

158. Vanuatu women have less access than their male counterparts to education, credit, and formal employment, and yet the lack of sex-disaggregated data means that it is impossible to know the actual extent of these obstacles (Booth, Cutura, Ellis & Manuel, 2009).

159. The Government of Vanuatu does not provide sufficient support to women in agriculture or fishing, and could improve its performance by offering training, access to credit, improves markets, strengthening cooperatives, and consulting with women on initiatives related to agriculture and fishing (FAO, 1996).



D. Rural Pacific Island Women And Agriculture: Some Recommendations

INTRODUCTION OF GENDER INCLUSIVE MECHANISMS

160. In countries where cash crop production is dominated by men, governments could encourage women to engage in fish processing and marketing, which is compatible with many other household responsibilities (David, 1990).
161. Employing women agricultural extension workers to visit women farmers and impart agricultural knowledge training has been successful, but the security and safety of women extension workers must be guaranteed through such programs (Fresh Produce Development Agency, 2008b).

IMPLEMENTATION OF EVIDENCE-BASED PUBLIC POLICY

162. Planners must consider the actual gender roles associated with agriculture and fishing when developing policies rather than reverting to stereotypes regarding the activities engaged in by women and men (UNIFEM, 1998).
163. Community and government statistics on agriculture must be disaggregated by sex in order to account for women's participation and ensure gender mainstreaming (Booth, 1999; Bowman, Cutura, Ellis & Manuel, 2009). Likewise, development projects must consider multiple indicators that measures non-monetary quality of life as well as purely economic factors (Cameron, 1987).

IMPROVING WOMEN'S ACCESS TO CREDIT, TRAINING AND OTHER SERVICES

164. Governments and development practitioners must focus their energies on the specific training, infrastructure, and business support needs of women, who provide the vast majority of food in many Pacific Island countries (Bourke, McGregor, Allen, Evans, Mullen, Pollard, Wairiu, Zotalis, 2006).
165. Rural women could benefit from greater access to financial services, particularly in the form of mobile banking (Pacific Financial Inclusion Programme, 2009).

INTRODUCTION OF APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY

166. Agricultural technology must be made available to rural women farmers on terms that suit their needs and life realities (Bolabola, 1988; Balakrishnan, 2000).
167. Home gardening provides one potential solution to high imported food costs, rising unemployment, and increasing food insecurity, and might be encouraged by local authorities and governments as a healthy local alternative (East & Dawes, 2009; Thaman, 2000; Thaman, Elevitch, & Kennedy, 2006; Stephen, 2009).
168. Potential options for regenerating agriculture in Polynesia might include focusing upon small-scale cultivation, focusing upon a limited range of cash crops, developing markets for sale to the Polynesian diaspora, privatization, and foreign investment (Fleming & Hardaker, 1995).

ACTIVE CONSULTATION WITH WOMEN AS STAKEHOLDERS

169. Women must be included in planning initiatives surrounding fisheries in order to ensure community cooperation and open dialogue regarding conservation initiatives (Adams, 1998; Aalbersberg, Tawake & Parras, 2005; Aswani & Weiant, 2003).

PROVISION OF OPPORTUNITIES WITHOUT INCREASING HEAVY WORKLOADS

170. Agricultural income generation options for women need to be implemented in ways that provide women with opportunities without adding to their already heavy workloads (UNDP Special Unit for South-South Cooperation, 2001).



Annotated Bibliography: Rural Pacific Island Women and Agriculture

 Adams, T. (1998). *The Interface between Traditional and Modern Methods of Fishery Management in the Pacific Islands*. *Ocean & Coastal Management* 40(2/3): 127-42

This article presents an overview of relationships between Pacific Island governments and communities with respect to reef and lagoon fishery management, and offers recommendations for improving future such interactions. The author presents examples of successful government-community partnerships from the Cook Islands and Fiji and strongly argues for the inclusion of local fishing communities, including women, alongside biologically trained fishery researchers whenever possible. Findings suggest that balancing communities' needs and desires with those of governments can be achieved through open dialogue.

 Aalbersberg, B., Tawake, A. and Parras, T. (2005). *Village by Village: Recovering Fiji's Coastal Fisheries*. Pages 144-152 in *World Resources 2005: The Wealth of the Poor: Managing Ecosystems to Fight Poverty*. World Resources Institute, Washington D.C.
http://pdf.wri.org/wrr05_lores.pdf

Based upon research in Fiji, this report describes how deeply rooted community conservation methods can be successfully combined with contemporary monitoring technologies to replenish marine life resources. Women in the eastern Fijian village of the study began to notice serious deterioration in the number of clams collected, a pattern which unfortunately mirrors many other coastal villages due to increased commercial fishing and larger local subsistence harvests. The authors argue that this depletion of marine stocks is part of the reason that nearly one-third of Fiji's rural population lives below the poverty line. While previously rural Fijian women could rely upon marine resources for their daily subsistence needs and some cash income, this is no longer the case. Evidence presented suggests that communities can be connected in order to monitor harvesting practices and restoring marine life to sustainable levels.

 Allen, B. (2009). *Agriculture and Gender*. Pages 426-488 in Part Six, *Agricultural Development, Policies and Governance* Bourke, R. and Harwood, T., eds. *Food and Agriculture in Papua New Guinea*. ANU E Press, Canberra: The Australian National University.
http://epress.anu.edu.au/food_agriculture_citation.html

This section of a much larger study on the prominent role of agriculture in Papua New Guinea discusses the critical role women's labor plays in agricultural production, and provides a breakdown of agricultural activities by sex. The author notes that men and women grow crops together and contribute approximately the same amount of time and energy, with men performing heavier tasks. However, the author also notes that women work much harder than men in more intensive agricultural systems, where women continuously till, plan, weed and harvest while men engage in more lucrative cash cropping. Cultural norms require that women also engage in childcare, food preparation, carrying food and firewood, and caring for pigs. Women also face restrictions and prohibitions with respect to what produce they may cultivate, and in some parts of Papua New Guinea, cultural taboos prevent menstruating or postpartum women from entering particular food gardens. Gender is also integrated as a category of analysis throughout the remainder of the book, which notes that over five million Papua New Guineans (80% of the population) support themselves through subsistence agriculture.



Anderson, T. (2010). *Land Registration, Land Markets and Livelihoods in Papua New Guinea. Chapter 3 in, In Defence of Melanesian Customary Land.* AID/WATCH
<http://www.aidwatch.org.au/sites/aidwatch.org.au/files/Tim%20Anderson.pdf>

Written by a political economist, this book chapter contends that women in Papua New Guinea benefit more from use of their own land and self-controlled small businesses, including agricultural cultivation, than in formal employment, which is lower paid and offers greater time constraints. 97% of land in Papua New Guinea is owned by families, resulting in a situation whereby international financial institutions, aid agencies, large corporations and other groups attempt to appropriate this land from families for commercial or other private use. Given that most land owners have little access to cash despite their land assets, this chapter explores several primary reasons why some of them agree to low rents of between 20 and 100 kina per hectare: [1] pressure to pay for school or health service fees increase vulnerability among the cash-poor; [2] the lessees offering cash for land are often a single company backed by the regional or national government; [3] false promises of roads or health centers offered by the lessees. The author makes five additional observations of relevance to market trading: [1] all families surveyed relied on cash income from market trading of agricultural products; [2] median cash income from marketing (including export crop marketing) activities ranged from 3,000 to 4,200 kina annually for families surveyed in Oro and Madang; [3] families earning the highest annual incomes (up to 16,000 kina) cultivated two or three crops for the domestic markets (peanut, betel nuts, and fruits) and a few export crops that could be planted with the domestic crops (cocoa, coconut and vanilla).



Aruntangai, S. and Crocombe, R., eds. (2000). *Land Tenure in the Pacific.* Suva: University of the South Pacific.

This collection of sixteen chapters covers land tenure practices in Hawaii, Society Islands, Cook Islands, Samoa, Tonga, New Zealand, Kiribati, Marshall, Caroline, and Line Islands, Guam, Fiji, New Caledonia, Vanuatu, Solomon Islands, and Papua New Guinea. First published in 1971, the book has been substantially revised by authors with decades of experience with the islands about which they write. Each chapter features at least some analysis of women's rights with respect to land, as well as discussions of each island's pre-colonial land tenure system, the emergence of exchange value attached to land, and changes to these systems resulting from the emergence of shifting political influences, growing populations, and centralized administration.



Asian Development Bank and AusAID. (2006). *Tuvalu 2006 Economic Report: From Plan to Action.* Asian Development Bank and the Government of Australia.

Tuvalu's large public sector is concentrated on Funafuti atoll, where there are over twice as many formally employed persons than amongst the Outer Islands population. Agriculture, fishing, and handicraft manufacture are concentrated on the Outer Islands, as are the number of men who work on foreign marine vessels as seafarers. Most Outer Islands agriculture and fishing is at the subsistence level due to the lack of access to markets in Funafuti. Approximately one-third of the Outer Islands population is involved in agriculture as its main source of food and income, but this number dwindles to a meager 3% in Funafuti. Although these statistics are not disaggregated by gender, the significant number of women engaged in "home duties" (nearly one-third of the female population on the Outer Islands, and one-fourth of the female population in Funafuti) suggests that at least some of these duties involve agricultural production.

 Asian Development Bank. (2006). *Country Gender Assessment: Republic of the Fiji Islands*. Manila: Asian Development Bank.

This comprehensive overview of the status of women in Fiji notes that 78% of all informal sector activity in Fiji involves agriculture, forestry and fishing, and one-third of those involved in such activities are women. Women perform most of the daily subsistence fishing in coastal and riverine areas, using hand lines, traps and other collecting and harvesting methods, but rarely use boats. Men are more likely to use boats or canoes but generally only fish when a larger catch is needed, such as for a special occasion. Fijian men are more likely to be involved in fishing when markets are nearby, although women specialize in shellfish and crab collection for sale in the markets. This report identifies women as the major agricultural producers in Fiji and notes that women of all ethnic backgrounds grow food crops for sale in the market. Fijian women in most of the islands are excluded from inheritance rights to customary land, have no rights to land other than those permitted them by their fathers or husbands, and normally do not receive land rents. Indo-Fijians also generally practice father-to-son inheritance of land.

 Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation. (2002). *Microbanking Development, Regulation and Supervision*. APEC Economic Outlook: 43-110.
http://www.microfinancegateway.org/gm/document-1.9.28839/3546_03546.pdf

The study assesses the state of microbanking in the Asia-Pacific region, the industry's size and penetration relative to the entire financial system and trends in regulation and supervision. It examines microbanking in terms of poverty reduction and social safety nets, micro-enterprise financing, rural development, gender considerations and community empowerment. Because microbanking targets low-income segments of the population and small-scale enterprises, it is widely believed to have the potential to boost household productivity and improve household quality of life. It provides numerous examples of how microcredit has successfully assisted women farmers throughout the Asia-Pacific region.

 Aswani, S. and Weiant, P. (2003). *Shellfish Monitoring and Women's Participatory Management in Roviana, Solomon Islands*. SPC Women in Fisheries Information Bulletin 12: 3-11.
<http://www.spc.int/coastfish/News/WIF/WIF12/Aswani.pdf>
http://www.spc.int/DigitalLibrary/Doc/FAME/InfoBull/WIF/12/WIF12_03_Aswani.pdf

Co-authored by an anthropologist and a biologist, this paper presents research findings from a study of a women's community-based initiative to protect marine life in the Solomon Islands. The article describes the project, which began with Roviana Lagoon women creating a temporary reserve to regenerate marine life, and how the community became highly involved due to the presentation of positive scientific results. The authors argue that this combination of women's local knowledge of marine life combined with scientific monitoring, encouraged the project and additionally prompted neighboring villages to undertake similar marine life protection strategies.

 Australia, Government of. (2006). *Chapter Nine: Productive Sectors* in Pacific 2020: Challenges and Opportunities for Growth. Canberra: AusAID.

This chapter, which addresses agriculture and fishing in detail, is part of a report that assesses the long-term economic growth prospects for Pacific Island countries and the potential for improving their likelihood of success. Most people in the Pacific still depend upon agriculture (including fishing), for their livelihoods, with agricultural exports a significant source of earnings for Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tonga and Vanuatu.

All of the smaller islands, with the exception of Nauru, also depend to some extent upon agriculture for subsistence although limited land reduces this somewhat. This chapter provides a brief but very positive overview of the palm oil industry in Papua New Guinea and its innovative harvesting arrangements involving local women.

 Bachman, L. (2001). *Review of the Agricultural Knowledge System in Fiji: Opportunities and Limitations of Participatory Methods and Platforms to Promote Innovation Development*. Weikersheim, Germany: Margraf Verlag.

Although not specifically focused on gender, this book provides an outstanding comprehensive overview of Fiji's agricultural system that would prove useful for those interested in understanding the framework into which gender mainstreaming initiatives should be inserted. It presents an overview of the structure of the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forest, the Division of Economic Planning and Statistics, the Research and Extension Divisions, and the farmers themselves. By examining the interplay between individual actors and these institutional forces, this book presents an extremely detailed account of how agricultural knowledge is produced and disseminated in contemporary Fiji.

 Balakrishnan, R. and Fairbairn-Dunlop, P. (2005). *Rural Women and Food Security in Asia and the Pacific: Prospects and Paradoxes*. Bangkok, Thailand, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific.
<ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/008/af348e/af348e00.pdf>

This report describes how distinct gender roles contribute to rural women's marginalization despite gender equality initiatives in education, health and employment. Drawing on evidence from throughout the Pacific Islands, it identifies several common themes facing rural women: [1] most are smallholders producing goods for use in the home, for exchange, and for sale in domestic and export markets; [2] females generally assume primary responsibility for food production and family food security by growing crops, rearing small livestock, producing handicrafts and engaging in other activities designed to maximize family well-being; [3] task-sharing by gender is the norm in family systems. The report also highlights the reality that the extensive and diverse responsibilities taken up by rural women in local agricultural and non-farm production systems are established in the community and household nexus in which they function, and are influenced by national and global factors beyond their control.

 Balakrishnan, R. (2000). *Widening Gaps in Technology Development and Technology Transfer to Support Rural Women*. Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO).
<http://www.fao.org/docrep/003/x7925m/X7925M09.htm>

Although not specifically focused on the Pacific, this article is worth including because it focuses upon the consistency with which promoters of agricultural technology and technology transfer overlook the complex needs and livelihood conditions of rural women throughout the world. The author attributes women's limited access to technology to [1] perceptions that women's work is insignificant or otherwise of low value; [2] cultural norms that encourage women not to articulate their needs; [3] women's inadequate access to and participation in training. Given women's significant contributions to agriculture, improved access to agricultural technology could dramatically improve household food security prospects.



Barber, K. (2010). *Urban Households, Means of Livelihood, and Village Identity in Moresby*. Pages 93-109 in Goddard, M., ed. *Villagers and the City: Melanesian Experiences of Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea*. Wantage, England: Sean Kingston.

This chapter, taken from an interdisciplinary edited volume on Papua New Guinean experiences of Port Moresby, the most populous Pacific Island city, explores the rural connections that Port Moresby residents maintain despite living in the capital city. The author argues that despite migrating from the city, agricultural production remains a critical aspect of their lives and identities. This argument is even more significant when contextualized with other chapters in the collection, which also examine the experiences of the hereditary owners of the land upon which Papua New Guinea's capital was constructed.



Barclay, K. and Cartwright, I. (2007). *Capturing Wealth from Tuna: Case Studies from the Pacific*. Canberra: Asia Pacific Press.
http://epress.anu.edu.au/capturing_tuna/pdf_instructions.html

Nearly half of the world's tuna supply is in the western and central Pacific Ocean, making it a valuable nutritional and economic resource for neighboring islands. This book draws upon research on the tuna industries of the Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, the Marshall Islands, Papua New Guinea, and Solomon Islands. In doing so, it book describes the challenges and opportunities for these countries, and proposes strategies for improved tuna-related income generation in a sustainable and socially equitable manner. Gender is a major component of the numerous social issues surrounding Pacific Island tuna industries, particularly with respect to gender inequities in pay, job allocation on boats, markets, and in factories, and the growth of sex work in areas with visiting fishing vessels.



Barnett, Jon. (2001). *Dangerous Climate Change in the Pacific Islands: Food Production and Food Security*. *Regional Environmental Change* 11: 229-237.

This article describes risks to food security posed by climate change in the Pacific Islands, noting that its adverse effects are likely to manifest themselves in food systems. More specifically, the author argues that climate change may reduce supplies of food from agriculture and fisheries, and could restrict the ability of countries to import food due to high costs. Such changes would inevitably create negative repercussions for the ability of households to buy food for family consumption. Arguing that climate change poses serious risks to food supplies in the Pacific Islands, the author contends that households' abilities to access safe, adequate, and nutritious food may be further restricted in the future due to climate change.



Baxter, M. (1980). *Food in Fiji: The Produce and Processed Foods Distribution Systems*. Canberra: Australian National University.

This monograph, though dated, is one of a series of three studies jointly produced by the University of the South Pacific and Australian National University as part of an International Development Research Center grant. It contains chapters on agriculture-related legislation, produce marketing, the processed foods distribution system, and storekeeping. Although the analysis does not focus specifically on gender, it is impossible to miss the volume's strong focus upon women's labor as it pertains to agriculture, from the production to distribution to consumption of food commodities.

 Bell J., Kronen M., Vunisea A., Nash W., Keeble G., Demmke A., Pontifex S., and Andrefouet, S. (2009) *Planning the Use of Fish for Food Security in the Pacific*. *Marine Policy* 33(1):64–76.

Fish provides the majority of dietary protein for most Pacific Islanders, according to household income and expenditure surveys. Given this high level of dependency upon fish as a food source, this article presents the disturbing finding that only six of twenty-two Pacific Island countries will be able to provide sufficient fish to their residents by 2030. The authors recommend including women, who are major suppliers of many forms of marine life, in all decision-making and planning efforts to ensure sufficient future fish resources. Efforts might include the development of small-scale aquaculture in rural areas and increasing local access to tuna as a food source. Increasing fish supplies will make rural households in the Pacific more resilient to natural disasters, sociopolitical instability, and the uncertainty of climate change.

 Bolabola, C. (1986). *Fiji: Customary Constraints and Legal Progress*. Pages 1-66 in Bolabola, C., Kenneth, D., Silas, H., Moengangongo, M., Fana'afi, A., and James, M., eds. *Land Rights of Pacific Women*. Institute of Pacific Studies of the University of the South Pacific.

This chapter, from an edited volume on the land rights of women in Cook Islands, Fiji, Samoa and Vanuatu, describes women's land rights in Fiji. Land tenure policies in most Pacific Island countries derive from a combination of customary and statutory laws, and Fiji is no exception. Women's land rights in Fiji are generally usufruct, with the majority of land transmitted between men through descent and marriage in Fiji's patrilineal society. Although land rights are transferred to women's children (as are chiefly titles, which women rarely, if ever, hold), this is usually from father-to-son. Land in Fiji is presently divided in the categories of freehold, native and crown land, and the land rights of women differ within the three categories. This system, when first implemented, denied some women access to land and limited the usufruct rights of others.

 Bolabola, C. (1994). *From Farm to Factory: Fiji Women in the Ginger Industry*. Pages 51–72 in Maybin, J., ed. *Women and Work*. Suva: Fiji Association of Women Graduates.

This book chapter, taken from a volume on women and work in Fiji, describes women's active participation in ginger production. At the time of writing, ginger was the third largest cash crop in Fiji and was actively promoted by the Ministry of Primary Industry due to its high export value and status as the second largest agricultural income earner after sugarcane. The chapter describes women's labor in all stages of ginger production in Fiji, where ginger is grown on small agricultural plots, sorted in sheds, and then processed for export.

 Bolabola, C. (1988). *Appropriate Technology for Women: Has it Worked?* Pages 13-18 in *Environment and Pacific Women: From the Globe to the Village*. Suva, Fiji: Fiji Association of Women Graduates.

This chapter, taken from a volume on the changing roles of Pacific Island women, assesses the impact of technology upon rural women's lives. The author argues that rural women's time burden has increased while technology introduced under some government development programs has alleviated the physical work of men. Rural women fish, grow crops, cook, and collect firewood in extremely labor-intensive conditions in an almost total absence of labor or time-saving devices. Evidence presented suggests that rural women should be placed in control of technology right from the initial decision making process of project and fund allocations.



Booth, H. (1999). *Gender Database for Agriculture and Resource Management Policies in Pacific Island Countries*

<http://www.fao.org/DOCREP/003/X6092E/X6092E00.HTM>

This report analyzes existing policies pertaining to rural women in the areas of agriculture, natural resource management, fisheries, forestry and rural enterprises in Fiji, Vanuatu and Samoa. The author argues that sex-disaggregated data must be collected and made available at the community and national levels in order to ensure accurate data collection and, more broadly, to develop initiatives that promote women's equal access to resources in agriculture-related fields. Four strategies for capacity-building in the development of gender-disaggregated databases are recommended: [1] increasing gender awareness amongst database producers; [2] statistical training for database users; [3] encouraging data collection by community members rather than outsiders; [4] skills enhancement in computer-based data compilation.



Boserup, E. (1970). *Women's Role in Economic Development*. New York and London: Earthscan.

This pioneering text, written by an anthropologist, was the first scholarly report on the marginalization of women through the development process. The author employs numerous examples to demonstrate the potential deleterious impacts women experience through increased mechanization of agriculture, urbanization, and the growth of the cash economy in areas previously characterized by subsistence agriculture. Findings presented, sadly, indicate that little has changed since the book's original publication, a fact which is further highlighted in an updated version of this text, published in 2007. The updated version includes the original text with added sections on HIV/AIDS, international migration, and the Millennium Development Goals.



Bourke, R., McGregor, A., Allen, M., Evans, B., Mullen, B., Pollard, A., Wairiu, M. and Zotalis, S. (2006). *Solomon Islands Smallholder Agriculture Study*. Canberra: AusAID.

http://www.ausaid.gov.au/research/pubout.cfm?ID=4088_5412_1071_6193_2813&FromSection=Publications&Type=All

This study is a series of five volumes which document the development of recommendations for a set of agricultural interventions supporting both subsistence agriculture and income-generating activities for rural communities in Solomon Islands. Although gender is integrated throughout analysis presented in all five volumes, the second volume provides an overview of the issues relating to gender and examines the roles women and men play in food production and cash economies. Findings presented indicate that men frequently dominate and control cash crop agriculture, with women's role in it limited to labor-intensive and time-consuming activities that receive limited payment. Although Solomon Islands women are the major food producer, they have less access to agricultural training, information, planting materials, extension support services, and proper infrastructure. The study recommends an increased focus on the specific training, infrastructure and business support needs of women.



Bourke, R. and Harwood, T., eds. (2009). *Food and Agriculture in Papua New Guinea*. ANU E Press, Canberra: The Australian National University.
http://epress.anu.edu.au/food_agriculture_citation.html

This comprehensive book covers the full range of agricultural activities, from production to distribution, in Papua New Guinea. Gender is fully integrated into analysis presented throughout the book. Part one covers demographic and physical characteristics, including land use, population density, climate change, and soil quality. Part two includes discussions of food production, consumption, and imports, part three describes rural food production, part four documents the broader national economy, part five describes cash income from agriculture, and part six documents agricultural development, policies and governance.



Bowman, C., Cutura, J., Ellis, A. and Manuel, C. (2009). *Women in Vanuatu: Analyzing Challenges to Economic Participation*. New York: World Bank.
http://www.usaid.gov/publications/pubout.cfm?ID=6831_4849_3357_2660_9133

This report analyzes institutional, legal and regulatory barriers to Vanuatu women's equal economic participation. It describes women's disadvantage in education and political representation, as well as the constraints of cultural gender role expectations and of obligations to the extended family and clan. Some of the most significant barriers to women's full economic participation include the nonexistence of sex-disaggregated data, Vanuatu's legal framework, business start-up and licensing, access to land, access to markets, business and financial management skills training, access to finance, contract enforcement and discriminatory employment laws. Although the primary focus of the book is on women as entrepreneurs in both the formal and informal sectors, their situation in formal employment is also discussed.



Brookfield, H. (1972). *Colonialism, Development and Independence: The Case of the Melanesian Islands in the South Pacific*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

This book does not specifically deal with gender, but will be of interest to those interested in an overview of colonialism's impacts throughout the southwestern Pacific Islands region. Published at a time when many islands were just beginning to attain independence, the book includes discussions of the post-World War II establishment of cash cropping systems throughout the region, with a particular focus upon copra, cocoa, oil palm and tea. The vast majority of analysis presented deals specifically with men's labor with respect to these cash crop commodities, which corresponds with contemporary labor patterns.



Brookfield, H., Ellis, F. and Ward, R. (1985). *Land, Cane and Coconuts: Papers on the Rural Economy of Fiji*. Department of Human Geography Publication HG/17, Research School of Pacific Studies. Canberra: The Australian National University.

The three chapters comprising this volume address land, land use, and land availability in Fiji, employment and incomes in the sugar industry, and the structure of the coconut industry. As the product of a research study on agriculture in Fiji undertaken in 1982, findings presented in this collection paint a compelling picture of the commercial agricultural economy not long after independence. The authors argue that new land for cultivation was increasingly scarce at the time of writing, and that uncertainty regarding sugar and coconut production presented an urgent need to find new crops and farming systems to empower farmers in Fiji.



Bryant, A., Bourke, R. and Gibson, J. (2005). *Poor Rural Places in Papua New Guinea*. Asia Pacific Viewpoint 46 (2): 201-217.

This paper describes how dramatic inequalities in wealth from cash cropping throughout Papua New Guinea stem from severe environmental constraints rather than broader economic factors. Noting that findings presenting are quite similar to an earlier study conducted in the 1960s, the authors document the contemporary forms that such wealth inequality takes, and examines its historical roots. It concludes with the same dilemma posed in the earlier study regarding whether development funds should be invested in areas of high returns or dramatic need.



Cahn, M. and Liu, M. (2008). *Women and Rural Livelihood Training: A Case Study from Papua New Guinea*. Gender and Development 16(1): 33-146.

This article describes the challenges faced by a rural livelihoods training project in Papua New Guinea's East New Britain Province. Findings presented are significant because the region's people, the Tolai, have the highest levels of female literacy in the country, a long history of women involved in agriculture and marketing, and a matrilineal descent system. Although the project aimed to provide culturally appropriate agricultural training to both men and women, their ability to do so was severely constrained by a lack of gender sensitivity amongst the rural officers responsible for selecting the participants. The selection process excluded those with lower levels of formal education, and those women who did participate could do little unless supported by other family members. Women themselves were also reluctant to participate in changes without the support or approval of their male kin, thus undermining any potential gains.



Cameron, J. (1987). *Assessing the Quality of Life for Women and Men in Fiji Using Active Life Profile Analysis*. Journal of Pacific Studies 13: 24-32.

This article challenges the utility of solely employing monetary indicators to assess levels of development, and notes that higher per capita incomes have often been mistakenly equated with improvements to quality of life. While other attempts at assessing quality of life indicators have failed due to arbitrary categories of assessment, active life profile analysis provides an alternative measure that reveals patterns of economic activity in individual lives at particular points in time. By identifying these patterns, including education, forms of economic activity, and a broader definition of economic inactivity, life profile analysis presents a more complete picture of economic activity that includes self-consumed harvested crops and casual wage income, both of which are often left out of purely monetary levels of analysis.



Carswell, S. (2003). *A Family Business: Women, Children and Smallholder Sugar Cane Farming in Fiji*. Asia-Pacific-Viewpoint 44(2): 131-148.

This paper explores the ways in which the unpaid labor of women and children support Fiji's sugar industry. Based upon research with twenty sugar-producing families in Vanua Levu, findings indicate that the sugar industry is still largely reliant family labor and that poorer families are even more likely to include family members in unremunerated harvest activities.

The author describes how families make sense of inequalities in the household, both in terms of household resource allocation and unpaid labor. As trade liberalization and falling global sugar prices continue to impact these families in evermore dramatic ways, this article discusses their planning for future survival.



Chapman, M. (1987). *Women's Fishing in Oceania*. *Human Ecology* 15 (3): 267-288.

This article finds that women's fishing in Oceania has been overlooked in most subsistence studies in the region and, as a consequence, there are few quantitative data available upon which to base an assessment of its importance. This article examines available data on women's fishing in Oceania, and notes that women contribute significantly to marine food yields in the region. Also, it is suggested that the highly regular nature of women's fishing makes women more reliable, and therefore more effective than men as suppliers of protein for subsistence, which has serious implications for future development policies in the region.



Corsi, A., Englberger, L., Flores, R., Lorens, A., and Fitzgerald, M. (2008). *A Participatory Assessment of Dietary Patterns and Food Behavior in Pohnpei, Federated States of Micronesia*. *Asia Pacific Journal of Clinical Nutrition* 17(2): 309-316.

This article describes the findings of study focused upon women's diets in Pohnpei, Federated States of Micronesia, where high fiber, healthy local foods, and an active lifestyle have been replaced by imported foods of low nutritional value and increasingly sedentary lifestyles. Obesity and non-communicable diseases are rapidly escalating due to these changed dietary and cultural practices, creating a serious health crisis. The authors report that an overwhelming majority of women surveyed ate imported rice frequently, while less than 75% ate locally grown carbohydrates. Women surveyed indicated that they made food choices based upon the availability, affordability, convenience, and status of food items. The authors recommend encouraging local production of food in order to change unhealthy dietary habits.



Cox, E. (1986). *Women in Rural Settlement Schemes- Institutionalized Gender Bias and Informal Gender Abuses*. Pages 28-49 in Stratigos, S. & Hughes, P., eds. *The Ethics of Development: Women as Unequal Partners in Development*. Proceedings of the 17th Waigani Seminar, University of Port Moresby. Port Moresby: Papua New Guinea.

And

Cox, E and Ilave H.S (1988) *Planned Rural Development or Institutionalised Gender Bias*, in Getubi, IP and Ledesma A.J., *Voices from the culture of Silence: The most disadvantaged Groups in Asian Agriculture*, Asian and Pacific Development Centre, Kuala Lumpur

These 2 chapters documents women's marginalization in agricultural development schemes organized by the Papua New Guinean government. Based on data collected made during to her decades of immersed in a remote rural settlement community, she analyses in depth aspects of the planning, financing, governance and day to day operations of a planned settlement scheme intended to boost cash crop production through a regime of re-settlement of marginalised river communities. The author details how that women experienced significant and systematic gender discrimination that was very different to worse than in their traditional and remote home villages. The settlement scheme limited women's participation by privileging men in land allocation, involving only men as heads of households in decision-making processes, and employing a strict gendered division of labor whereby men reaped profits from cash crops while women were expected to tend to food crops. The author argues that the responsibility of carrying out both agricultural work and domestic duties in settlements unfairly burdened women while denying the the social safety nets that existed in their home villages. She also details the critical role or organised rural farming women, who were gradually empowered to speak out on their priorities, needs and concerns. In conclusion, the author recommends that women have more flexible working hours and that rural women's work be accorded equal status with that of rural men's work in future development initiatives.



Crocombe, R. (1995). *Overview* in Crocombe, R., ed. Customary Land tenure and Sustainable Development: Complementarity or Conflict? Suva, Fiji: University of South Pacific.

This edited volume describes land tenure practices in Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Niue, Papua New Guinea, and Vanuatu. More than 90% of the land in 22 Pacific Island countries and territories is held under customary tenures. This percentage is higher than any other region of the world, and chapters address whether such practices are sustainable due to rapid population growth. Given that contemporary customary land tenure practices originally suited small-scale socioeconomic and political systems, considerable flexibility has had to be implemented into interpretations of these systems. The general overviews of land tenure in each country under study describes possible solutions for adapting customary land tenure practices to the changing needs of Pacific populations.



Curry, G. and Koczberski, G., Omuru, E., and Nailina, R. (2007). *Farming or Foraging? Household Labour and Livelihood Strategies amongst Smallholder Cocoa Growers in Papua New Guinea*. Perth: Black Swan Press.

This book draws upon research in the Gazelle Peninsula of Papua New Guinea amongst small-scale cocoa producers. 16% of all Papua New Guinea households (over 150,000 families) engage in cocoa production, which is a major industry in the country. Most of these households are otherwise dependent upon subsistence agriculture, and the introduction of cash has altered their material aspirations. Yet findings presented throughout the book suggest that men retain far greater control income earned from cocoa production than women, and women tended to predominate in less lucrative aspects of cocoa production.



David, G. (1990). *The Role of Women in Post-Harvest Fisheries Activities in Vanuatu*. South Pacific Commission Fisheries Newsletter 50: 23–8.
<http://www.spc.int/DigitalLibrary/Doc/FAME/InfoBull/FishNews/50/FishNews50.pdf>

This article discusses how women might further benefit from activities related to fishing in Vanuatu. The author argues that Vanuatu public authorities should encourage women to smoke, dry, salt, and market fish to earn an income. Doing so, the author feels, could incorporate women into income-generating activities which are otherwise dominated by men, particularly copra, coffee, and cocoa production. Fish processing is compatible with household responsibilities and government promotion of it might encourage women who fish for household purposes to process and market some of their catch. The author suggests that government support of such women-centered initiatives could help female participants overcome any opposition to their role as income earners.



Demmke, P. (2006). *Gender Issues in the Pacific Islands Tuna Industry*. Suva, Fiji: Forum Fisheries Agency/ Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat/ Secretariat of the Pacific Community.
<http://www.ffa.int/system/files/Report+Gender+Issues+in+Pacific+Is+Tuna+Industries.pdf>

This report documents the serious gender inequities in South Pacific tuna industries. Women's tuna-related work is concentrated in less lucrative domestic processing and marketing, whereas men earn far more in the commercial capture and marketing of tuna for export. While both men and women benefit from tuna-related income, women disproportionately suffer the burden of increased workload and domestic responsibilities, poor working conditions in processing factories, incidences of sexual harassment in the workplace, and pressure to engage in sex work. The author cites gender roles as the main source of these problems for women, including their family obligations, lack of skills and experience, lack of direct access to credit and finance, transport restrictions, and poor market facilities restrict women from participating equally (or at all) in the industry.



Dwyer, P. and Minnegal, M. (1993). *Banana Production by Kubo People of the Interior Lowlands of Papua New Guinea*. Papua New Guinea Journal of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries 36(1): 1-21.

This article describes banana production in a region north of the lower Fly River estuary as a part of cash cropping strategies. In the region discussed, gardens are regarded as the responsibility of men, although women play a significant role in all agricultural activities. Women are responsible for the processing of sago, the region's most important food, as well as for fishing. Women also clear and cut undergrowth in order to facilitate the growth of banana trees, often also engaging in the labor-intensive activities of cutting down trees and burning agricultural waste products.



East, Andrew J. and Dawes, L. 2009. *Home gardening as a Panacea: A Case Study of Tarawa*. Asia Pacific Viewpoint 50(3): 338-352

Based upon research on the highly infertile islands of Kiribati, this article argues that small-scale home gardens might help to alleviate some of the pressures caused by high food costs, malnutrition, and unemployment. Home gardening is uncommon on Kiribati, but has increased significantly in the recent years due to its promotion by development agencies. Challenges to home gardening include land scarcity, soil infertility, drought, lack of tools, pests, unfamiliarity with intensive agriculture, and the threat of crop theft. The author identifies the most significant challenge to home gardening as the continued attitude of dependency fostered by dependence upon remittances, donor aid, and local bureaucracy.



Emberson-Bain, A. (1994). *Backbone of Growth: Export Manufacturing and Fiji's Tuna Fish Wives*. Pages 149-171 in Sustainable Development or Malignant Growth? Perspectives of Pacific Island Women. Suva, Fiji: Marama Publications.

This book chapter discusses the impact of tuna fish export processing in Fiji. Offering a critical assessment of the labor practices associated with women workers in tuna canneries on the island of Ovalau, the author argues that such women face an increased burden as they struggle to balance childcare and work responsibilities. Findings presented suggest that women's increased participation in the paid workforce had done little to change gender norms that require women to spend far more time on cooking, cleaning, and childcare than their male counterparts. Working on temporary contracts and with low wages, these predominantly rural women face great difficulties in conditions that devalue their labor in exactly the same way their work is devalued in the household.



Fairbairn-Dunlop, P. (1993). *Women and Agriculture in Western Samoa*. Pages 211-26 in Momsen, J. and Kinnaird, V. eds. Different Places, Different Voices: Gender and Development in Africa, Asia and Latin America. London: Routledge.

This book chapter, taken from a collection on gender and development, holds that women's economic contributions through agriculture are ignored. This is due, in part, to cultural norms that give precedence to the family over the individual and emphasize the responsibilities of brothers toward their sisters. Agricultural planning in Samoa is based upon the assumption that the extended family is still the main unit of production in the villages and more specifically that it is the males in the family unit who have major responsibility for agricultural production. Hence statistics collected by the Government of Samoa count many women agricultural producers as "economically inactive" despite the work that they do in support of their families.



Fairbairn-Dunlop, P. (1994). *Mother, Farmer, Trader, Weaver: Juggling Roles in Pacific Agriculture*. In Emberson-Bain, A., ed. *Sustainable Development or Malignant Growth? Perspectives of Pacific Island Women*. Suva, Fiji: Marama Publications.

This chapter, taken from a book on Pacific Island women's experiences of the development process, describes the difficulties Samoan women face in handling the numerous roles expected of them. The author argues that while women contribute significantly to family food production and informal trading, their limited access to agricultural training and resources inhibits them from participation in cash crop and export-oriented agriculture. Women's marginalization stems from both cultural attitudes toward feminized labor and the enduring impact of the colonial administration's downgrading of women's participation in economic production. A further problem lies in the reality that national statistics do not account for the full range of economic activities that support households, including customary exchange systems that cement social bonds through the trading of goods.



Fairbairn-Dunlop, P. (2005) *Gender, Culture and Sustainable Development- The Pacific Way*. Pages 62-75 in Hooper, A. *Culture and Sustainable Development in the Pacific*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.
http://epress.anu.edu.au/culture_sustainable/all.pdf

This chapter explores the central question of whether preserving what the author defines as "customary ways", particularly through the maintenance of kin-based networks of support, ensures women's physical, socioeconomic and spiritual well-being. Employing case studies from Samoa and Fiji, the author demonstrates that women frequently choose income generation strategies that rely upon the strength of family systems and preserve what they believe to be cultural traditions. However, the author argues that kin-based networks of support are weakening throughout the Pacific and the number of female-headed households is growing, necessitating increased attention to women's decision-making processes. This chapter illustrates the various trajectories that women's businesses can take in the Pacific Islands, and highlights two examples of Samoan and Fijian women using their family systems to encourage and enhance economic development options.



Fairbairn-Dunlop, P. (2001). *Women and the Privatisation of Samoa's Coconut Oil Mill*. *Pacific Economic Bulletin* 16(1): 64-75, 2001
http://intranet/C18/Other%20Journals/PacificEconomicForum19862004/docs/161_05.pdf

This case study of the privatization of Samoa's coconut oil mill argues that foreign investment has the potential to positively benefit local women and their communities. In this Samoan example, foreign capital was successfully implemented into existing small-scale units of agricultural production, which did not entail disruption to social systems. The study highlights the significance of smallholder contributions to national economic security and in turn, the vital need for this micro-level contribution to be factored into national economic planning. Samoa's semi-subsistence systems are still the key economic and social safety nets for many rural families and prove extremely resilient to market forces. When backed by appropriate supports, this smallholder contribution has the potential to grow from micro enterprise through to formal business venture. While Samoa is the focus, this study has wider implications because the coconut is central to every Pacific island economy.



Fairbairn-Dunlop, P. and Momsen, J. (1993). *Women and Agriculture in Western Samoa*. Pages 221-223 in Dunlop, P. and Momsen, J, eds. *Different Places, Different Voices: Gender and Development in Africa, Asia and Latin America*. New York: Routledge.

As colonial authorities were teaching that women should not be doing agricultural tasks, the social and economic changes taking place, such as the introduction of modern and consumer goods, schools and cash cropping, created new aspirations and needs, making it almost inevitable that women's contribution to the household production unit would both increase and diversify in order to achieve and sustain the desired lifestyles. A study, in a village in Western Samoa, focused on women's contribution to the household agricultural production unit and women's perceptions of their contribution, and determined that women's increased contribution to smallholder production has not been acknowledged, therefore this contribution is not considered in agricultural policy, nor are women given automatic access to information support systems which will enable them to increase their efficiency.



Fay-Sauni, L. and Sauni, S. (2005). *Women and the Anadara Fishery: a Case study in South Tarawa, Kiribati*. Pages 64-79 in *Pacific Voices: Equity and Sustainability in Pacific Islands Fisheries*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific.

The clam *Anadara holoserica* plays an important role in the lives of many women and their families in Kiribati. Women harvest it from inter-tidal zones and shallow waters for household consumption or small-scale commercial purposes, and some families rely solely on the clams for protein, so reports of a decrease in density and size has caused concern in recent years. This article is based upon a study that determined that clams were indeed in short supply near urban Tarawa due to overfishing. The authors recommend the introduction of measures to introduce protected areas and minimum size limits for clam harvesting in order to ensure the sustainability of this vital protein source for women and their families.



Fleming, E. and Hardaker, J. (1995). *Strategies for Polynesian Agricultural Development*. Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National University.

This book describes the present state of and possible future scenarios for agriculture in Kiribati, Niue, Samoa, Tonga, and Tuvalu. Each of the states discussed have economies that rely significantly upon donor aid and remittances, and are strongly influenced by church and hereditary elites. The authors argue that while there is potential for Tonga and Samoa to achieve agricultural self-reliance, smaller states like Kiribati and Tuvalu may need to focus upon generating marine products and handicrafts. The best strategy for moving forward, according to this book, may lie in focusing upon small-scale agricultural production, which will inevitably involve women, and in developing markets for produce in countries where there are large island diaspora populations.



Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO). 2005. *Rural Women and Food Security in Asia and the Pacific: Prospects and Paradoxes*. Bangkok: FAO.
<http://www.fao.org/docrep/008/af348e/af348e00.htm>

This report provides a general overview of rural women's contributions to economies across the Asia Pacific Region and identifies the obstacles they face to accessing services and resources. While providing an overview of commonalities shared by rural women in Asia and the Pacific Islands, it discusses food security, women's participation in agriculture, access to education, and women's contributions to households. The report identifies inequalities in resource access, paid work, social capital, technology, credit, and special issues faced by female-headed households. Data is also disaggregated by region, with discussions of global economic integration, the impact of rural prosperity upon rural development, demographic and population shifts in rural areas, HIV/AIDS, political and civil conflicts, environmental degradation, agricultural technologies, and the impact of information and communication technologies.



FAO. (2010). *Pacific Food Security Toolkit: Building Resilience to Climate Change: Root Crop and Fishery Production*. Rome: FAO.
<http://www.fao.org/docrep/013/am014e/am014e00.htm>

This document was designed to improve Pacific Islanders' ability to produce and access safe and nutritious foods that meet their dietary and cultural needs. Targeting food security in the Pacific region is a critical action in the face of climate change, which will continue to place added pressure on existing food and water resources. The goal of recommendations described in this document is to ensure that Pacific Islanders have access to a wide array of healthy foods. It suggests that planners and development practitioners consider the impacts of climate change upon gender roles, particularly in terms of how women's activities such as collecting food, firewood, and drinking water will likely become more difficult.



FAO. (1996). Vanuatu-Technical Report: *An Assessment of the Role of Fisheries in Vanuatu*. Bangkok: FAO.

Most women in Vanuatu actively engage in agricultural production and sometimes in fishing activities as well, and in doing so work many more hours than their male counterparts. The vast majority of women's income is used to support family members, with the remainder sold in markets where available. Women form the basis of agricultural production in Vanuatu. Fishing is increasing in popularity in Vanuatu as the population grows and families search for readily available products to sell in the market. The report recommends that the Government of Vanuatu support women's increased involvement in fishing through relevant training, access to credit, improving marketing systems, and supporting the establishment of cooperatives. It further recommends consulting with women in the course of any plans for the development of inshore fisheries.



Fresh Produce Development Agency. (2008a). *Report on the Papua New Guinea 2008 Socioeconomic Survey*. NZAID and Fresh Produce Development Agency.

http://www.developmentgateway.com.au/jahia/webdav/site/adg/shared/SocioEcon_Survey.pdf

The report describes the results of a survey carried out amongst farmers in six Papua New Guinea provinces to ascertain demographic characteristics of the population served by the Fresh Produce Development Agency. Of the 335 farmers surveyed, approximately half were female. Just fewer than 60% of those surveyed indicated that they shared responsibility for producing their crop with a spouse, with roughly 20% noting that the responsibility fell to either the husband or the wife. Over half of respondents believed that women have greater responsibilities for selling crops, with just 12% describing marketing as a male task. Findings indicate that women should be targeted with respect to marketing activities, but both genders should be included in activities related to agricultural production. The majority of households surveyed had both a radio and mobile phone, spent an average of 254 kina per week (9,149 kina per year), and listed school fees as their biggest annual expense.



Fresh Produce Development Agency. (2008b). *Papua New Guinea Village Extension Worker Review Report*. NZAID and Fresh Produce Development Agency.

<http://www.nari.org.pg/>

This report describes the Fresh Produce Development Agency's Village Extension Worker program, which was founded in 1999 as a way to assist women farmers, who grow most of Papua New Guinea's vegetables. The program was a success because of its low administrative costs and resultant increased agricultural production and greater diversity of food consumed. However, the number of female extension workers has fallen from 100% to a mere 38% due to the frequency of sexual assaults against extension workers. The report recommends that the program be reconfigured in ways that could allow female extension workers to work exclusively in their own communities, or include husband and wife teams, thus reducing female extension workers' risk of sexual assault while still including women in extension work.



Gailey, C. (1987). *State, Class, and Conversion in Commodity Production: Gender and Changing Value in the Tongan Islands*. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 96(1): 67-80.

This article provides an historical overview of how the introduction of agricultural commodity production in colonial Tonga necessitated a change to the customary gendered division of labor. Efforts by missionaries and colonial officials to implement an English-style gendered division of labor led considerably to the devaluation of women's labor. This new system placed men's and women's agricultural products into two separate categories of exchange, whereby men's products were classified as work, whereas women's work was significantly devalued following the introduction of cotton cloth, which largely replaced bark cloth (tapa) for everyday use.



Haccius, Justin. 2011. *The Interaction of Modern and Custom Land Tenure Systems in Vanuatu*. Discussion Paper, State, Society, and Governance in Melanesia. School of International, Political and Strategic Studies, Australian National University.
http://ips.cap.anu.edu.au/ssgm/papers/discussion_papers/2011_01_haccius.pdf

This article discusses inequities deriving from the interaction of the formal system of land administration with customary land tenure. In Vanuatu, the process of converting customary land to leasehold title is deeply conflicted due to the wide-ranging powers held by the Department of Lands. Vanuatu has two different systems of land tenure: a formal system inherited from the colonial period and an uncodified customary system. The customary system is characterized by its elaborate nature, opacity to outsiders, and variety with notable differences over how land is exchanged, inherited or otherwise accessed both within and between islands. These challenges have serious implications for women's access to land, although this article does not specifically address these issues.



Haden, R. (2009). *Food Culture in the Pacific Islands*. Boston: Greenwood.

This book comprises seven chapters that present a comprehensive overview of food production and consumption practices throughout the Pacific Islands. Chapter one presents the history of food production in a region that was, until relatively recently, quite isolated from external culinary influences. Chapter two discusses typical ingredients used in various types of Pacific Islands cuisine, followed by a chapter on unique cooking styles. Chapter four examines the impact of the widespread popularity of imported processed foods, followed by a chapter on regional varieties of foods. Chapters six and seven discuss the emergence of recreational eating away from the community, including in restaurants, and foods consumed on special occasions. The final chapter, on diet and health, describes food security issues and the impact of processed foods. Discussions of agriculture are interspersed throughout, and the remainder of the book provides valuable cultural context for understanding issues related to agriculture.



Heyzer, N., ed. (1985). *Missing Women: Development Planning in Asia and the Pacific*. Kuala Lumpur: Asian and Pacific Development Center.

This report is the product of a UNIFEM-funded five country study that examined the impact of development planning on women's lives throughout the Asia-Pacific region. Findings presented also draw upon workshops and training courses carried out as part of the five country project. The authors argue that women have been marginalized in development planning processes throughout Asia and the Pacific Island region due to a number of socioeconomic and cultural constraints as well as the failure of development practitioners to specifically consider the needs of and roles played by women in the development process.



Hiller-Garvey, L. (2010). *On the Climate Change Front Line*. International Trade Forum 1: 19-21.

The article describes the work of the Samoan organization Women in Business Development Incorporated (WIBDI), which created marketing opportunities for women subsistence farmers. By meeting a demand for niche organic agricultural products in New Zealand and elsewhere, WIBDI was able to create sustainable opportunities for hundreds of women agricultural producers and their families. Such grassroots economic development will likely become even more critical in the future, as many experts believe that low-lying island countries like Samoa will be the first to feel the most dramatic impacts of climate change because they have fewer barriers against the more extreme weather and predicted sea-level rises that are expected to threaten the main industries of fishing, tourism and agriculture.



Hviding, Edvard. 1991. *Traditional Institutions and Their Role in Contemporary Coastal Resource Management in the Pacific Islands*. NAGA: The ICLARM Quarterly.
http://worldfish.catalog.cgiar.org/naga/na_2107.pdf

This article challenges the notion that fishing is solely a male activity, with fisheries management directed solely by chiefs and elderly men. Drawing upon his research in the Solomon Islands, the author argues that both genders engage in fishing and agricultural activities. Women's fishing tends to take place closer to the village, and women's collection of reef shellfish supplies the major source of protein for most households. The intimate connection women share with the reef due to their collection activities and with the sea due to their role as gutters and cleaners of the fish men catch in deeper waters means that they often voice the strongest concerns over pollution of reefs and mangroves by land-based logging and mining. Women play a vital role in daily local discourses that lead to marine resource management decision-making and initiatives.



Ironmonger, D. and Hill, H. (1999). *Women's Economic Participation in Five Pacific Island Countries*. International Development Issues 50. Canberra: AusAID.
<http://www.economics.unimelb.edu.au/household/Papers/1999/EPWIP-final.pdf>

This report notes that several major trends can be observed with respect to women and agriculture in Fiji, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, and Vanuatu. Men tend to predominate in the production of more lucrative export crops and have greater access to agricultural training programs, and agriculture tends to be considered part of women's household labor. The authors note that women's labor is frequently unpaid and therefore uncounted in national statistics on economic production. New methods for accurately measuring and documenting both women's and men's economic contributions must be developed.



James, K. (2005) *Local Hierarchies of Authority and Development*. Pages 131-141 in Hooper, A. *Culture and Sustainable Development in the Pacific*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.
http://epress.anu.edu.au/culture_sustainable/all.pdf

This article discusses the failure of a donor-aid funded fisheries scheme that provided a boat (on condition of repayment) to men for fishing without accounting for the social organization of their families. While a few families prospered in this scheme, the majority had their boats repossessed when they could not meet the payments. Prior to their participation in the donor scheme, men spent four days engaged in subsistence agricultural production while women manufactured handicrafts for sale and household use. Men typically only went fishing on Saturday in order to obtain sufficient fish to sell in exchange for cash to purchase supplemental foods to consume on Sunday. After acquiring the boat, many men went fishing five days per week in order to obtain sufficient funds to meet the boat payment and needed to purchase food due to the limited time spent cultivating food for household production. The author contends that gender roles in households must be taken into account for a successful project to take place.

 Jegasothy, K. and Duval, Y. (2003). *Food Demand in Urban and Rural Samoa*. Pacific Economic Bulletin 18(2): 50-64.

This article describes the deteriorating nutritional status in many Samoan households in the broader economic context of Samoa's balance of payments crisis. Samoa has a poor agricultural resource base and so food will likely always need to be imported, but the authors argue that more could be done to encourage healthy eating habits and local agriculture to achieve a healthier workforce and reduce dependency upon imported foods. Findings indicate that urban village households spend 50% of their income on food, with the authors' survey of household consumption practices indicate that improvements in agriculture, nutritional awareness and marketing may be useful both economically and nutritionally.

 Jones, S. (2009). *Food and Gender in Fiji: Ethnoarchaeological Explorations*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Written by an archaeologist who carried out research on women and food production on the island of Nayau in Fiji, this book describes women's food procurement and processing activities on the reef and in the home. She argues that the gendered social relationships surrounding food in the island's subsistence economy are a critical element of local conceptions of nutrition and ecology. The author's archaeological data from the Lau Group, to which Nayau belongs, indicates that some forms of contemporary food procurement and production activities have deep historical roots.

 Kinch, J. and Bagita, J. (2003). *Women in Fisheries in Milne Bay Province, Papua New Guinea: Past Initiatives, Present Situation and Future Possibilities*. Women in Fisheries Information Bulletin 12. Suva: Secretariat of the Pacific Community.
<http://www.spc.int/coastfish/News/WIF/WIF12/Kinch.pdf>

Based upon work in Papua New Guinea, this article argues that although women's involvement in harvesting, processing and marketing are increasingly acknowledged and studied, women are still poorly represented in national fisheries agencies, fisheries training courses and fisheries meetings. Women are often excluded completely from fisheries development and management planning processes. The authors argue that the low value accorded to feminized labor results in a failure to view women as stakeholders in fisheries development. Findings suggest that the emphasis by governments and donors on propagating commercial fisheries and offshore fishing, in which women have little direct involvement, results in a situation in which women's work in fisheries is unrecognized and ignored.

 Koczberski, G. (2007). *Loose Fruit Mamas: Creating Incentives for Smallholder Women in Oil Palm Production in Papua New Guinea*. World Development 35 (7): 1172-1185.

This article describes Papua New Guinea's Mama Lus Frut Scheme, which paid women separately from their husbands for their work on family oil palm plots, thereby increasing the economic incentives for them to commit labor to oil palm production by collecting the loose fruit which falls from the bunches harvested and sold by men. The author presents three key findings: [1] an understanding of unequal intrahousehold relationships that allowed for the identification of more cooperative and equitable income generation strategies for women; [2] institutional arrangements can improve household relations and the participation rates of women in commodity production; [3] commodity firms can play a role in reducing some of the economic pressures within families that are the source of intra-household conflict.



Koczberski, G. (2002). *Pots, Plates and Tinpis: New Income Flows and the Strengthening of Women's Gendered Identities in Papua New Guinea*. *Development* 45(1): 88-92.

This article documents the ways in which participation in the Mama Lus Fruit Scheme, which paid women separately for their work on family-owned oil palm plots, helped to strengthen women's gendered identities. Whereas previously women had no incentive to participate in oil palm growing and marketing because their husbands received the income from sales and often did not share it equitably, separate payment allowed women to envision themselves as equal participants. The author argues that the Mama Lus Fruit Scheme provides an example of the way in which women respond to new economic incentives to redefine and strengthen their identities and relationships within the home and the wider community.



Kolopen, J., Fahey, G., Bafui, J. and Saese, H. (2006). *The Role of Women in Production and Marketing of Peanut in the Markham Valley of Papua New Guinea*. Pages 96-102 in *Improving Yield and Economic Viability of Peanut Production in Papua New Guinea and Australia*. Canberra, Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research.
<http://www.aciar.gov.au/web.nsf/doc/ACIA-6VD8Y2>

This report describes the results of an Australian Centre for Agricultural Research (ACIAR) study on to determine women's roles in decision-making and production in Papua New Guinea's peanut industry. Findings demonstrated the women played key roles in decision-making with respect to cultivating crops for household consumption, childcare, and family planning. Women also actively participate in peanut production-related activities such as locating and storing seeds, weeding peanut plants, and marketing the final product.

Women identified their key training needs as additional education on bookkeeping and savings, disease control, and soil fertility. The same women felt constrained with respect to peanut production and marketing by illiteracy, lack of agricultural knowledge, and lack of extension visits to their farms.



Kronen, M. and Vunisea, A. (2007). *Women Never Hunt – but Fish: Highlighting Equality for Women in Policy Formulation and Strategic Planning in the Fisheries Sector in Pacific Island Countries*. *Women in Fisheries Information Bulletin* 17: 3-15.
<http://www.spc.int/DigitalLibrary/Doc/FAME/InfoBull/WIF/17/WIF17.pdf>

This article analyzes data based upon research on gender roles in the coastal fisheries of the Cook Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, French Polynesia, Nauru, New Caledonia, Niue, PNG, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, and Wallis and Futuna. Findings indicate that, as compared to men, women spend the more of their income on the household, are less exploitative of marine resources, and earn lower incomes. However, this may be changing as more rural men leave home in search of paid employment. Women's fishing activities are increasingly targeted toward earning cash for school fees, church donations, as well as family and household obligations.



Mayer, A. (1973). *Peasants in the Pacific: A Study of Fiji Rural Society*. New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Although dated, this ethnography provides an in-depth overview of the lives and cultural practices of Indo-Fijian farmers. Chapter Three "Economic Activities" describes the emergence of towns around sugar cane mills, as well as a detailed description of how sugar cane was produced at the time of writing. It also details rice, maize, vegetable and spice production. At the time of writing, women were actively engaged in all forms of agriculture that did not involve driving animals. Women's economic activities, including the production of coconut oil and vegetable gardening for markets, are also described in some detail.



McGregor, A. (2009). *Pacific Island Food Security: Situation, Challenges and Opportunities*. Pacific Economic Bulletin 24(2): 24-42.

<http://peb.anu.edu.au/pdf/PEB24-2-MCGREGOR%20ET%20AL.pdf>

This article describes the impact of the rapid and overarching increases in the global prices of staple foods upon the Pacific Islands region. The author argues that there are substantial differences in the impacts within and between Pacific island countries and that in order to be effective and not counterproductive, policy and donor responses need to be tailored accordingly. This article recommends a combination of measures directed at mitigating the threats and empowering rural people to take advantage of the opportunities. Acknowledges that food of adequate nutritional value depends not only on food availability, but on adequate household incomes to access available food, the author notes that allocation of food within the household can also leave particular individuals, such as women and children, vulnerable to food insecurity.



Nagarajan, V. (2009). *Obstacles to Growth: Gender, Discrimination and Development in Tonga*.

Pacific Economic Bulletin 24 (3): 132-39.

http://peb.anu.edu.au/pdf/PEB24_3_Nagarajan.pdf

Based upon research in Tonga, this article explores the sociopolitical and legal barriers faced by women with respect to economic security and independence. Women in Tonga are forbidden from owning land, which denies them access to a resource essential for all forms of private sector activity. The article also examines the legal barriers that directly or indirectly disadvantage women with respect to land. Widows, for instance, cannot engage in relationships with men unless they forfeit their dead husband's land. Women also must forfeit land to their husbands in the event of a divorce, and the limited numbers of women in Tonga's Parliament seem disinclined to change this system.



Novaczek, I. and Stuart, E. (2006). *The Contribution of Women Entrepreneurs to the Local Economy in Small Islands: Seaplant-Based Micro-enterprise in Fiji and Vanuatu*. Journal of Small Business and Entrepreneurship 19(4): 367-79.

This article explores two case studies, one from Fiji and one from Vanuatu, of small woman-owned businesses dealing in seaplant products, which the authors believe to occupy ecological and cultural niches that make them available, marketable and suited for women's enterprise. Analysis presented debates the incentives and a disincentive for expansion of these small businesses, as doing so might disrupt the women's other responsibilities. The authors use these case studies to envision an alternative form of development assistance which values women's roles as care-givers, and supports the stewardship of cultural and ecological resources, and in which success is measured not only by profitability but also in terms of sustainability and appropriate scale, which are particularly important elements for small island enterprises.



Novaczek, I., Mitchell, J. and J. Veitayaki, J., eds. (2005). *Pacific Voices: Equity and Sustainability in Pacific Island Fisheries*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific.

This collection of papers addresses a range of issues related to the gender dimensions of the development of commercial and subsistence fisheries. Pacific Islands women exploit inshore waters to provide food for family consumption, while men are employed in deep-sea fisheries to produce commodities for domestic sale and export. Although subsistence fisheries provide food security for many thousands of Pacific Islanders, the labor of women is not reflected in national accounts. Subsistence options are a viable alternative for large numbers of people in resource-owning groups, yet this sector and the inshore fishery are under threat in the Pacific region from market imperatives. The authors point out that prevailing gender systems in the Pacific work to exclude women, leaving them responsible for the subsistence sector while withholding the political power to protect this important source of livelihoods.



O'Meara, J. (1990). *Samoa Planters: Tradition and Economic Development in Polynesia*. Fort Worth, Texas: Holt Rinehart & Winston.

This ethnographic study of agriculture in Samoa makes numerous observations about gender and gender roles with respect to food and cash crop production. The author carried out his research in the early 1980s, when the system of land tenure was undergoing changes from a system of communal ownership by extended kin groups to one that subdivided extended families into smaller groups with their own plots of land. The newer system of subdivision closely resembled a form of individual ownership but precluded the sale of land. The author believes that this change in the system of land tenure came about in response to economic pressures to capitalize and to increase productivity. Simultaneously, women began to assist men with cultivating food crops for sale and household production.



Overfield, D. (1998). *An Investigation of the Household Economy: Coffee Production and Gender Relations in Papua New Guinea*. *Journal of Development Studies* 34(5): 52-70.

Drawing upon intrahousehold data from the Papua New Guinea Highlands, the author argues that poor relative returns for women and unequal distribution of tasks within the household affected the level of household success in cultivating coffee. The author argues that women's marginalization from household coffee production due to men's monopolization of all activities related to coffee cultivation resulted in lower rates of return. Women's returns from food production were higher and more reliable despite the fact that prices for their crops were only one-third that of coffee prices. The author concludes that meaningful analysis of household economies requires a detailed investigation of intra-household processes in their historical and cultural context.



Overton, J., ed. (1988). *Rural Fiji*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific.

This edited collection of chapters on rural Fiji that relate specifically to agriculture, the mainstay of economic and nutritional support for most rural Islanders. Charles Eaton's chapter discusses Fiji's system of land tenure, concentrating in particular on the experiences of a smallholder farming operation to discuss the advantages and constraints conferred by this system of land tenure. It recommends guaranteeing greater security of land tenure to more people in order to ensure long-term food security. Randy Thaman's chapter examines the cultural meanings of trees in Fiji as symbols of stability and cultural well-being, and is unique on its focus on forestry. Jiten Mangal discusses the complex system of yaqona marketing in the absence of official government assistance. Setareki Delana analyses small-scale commercial fishing and Imam Ali discusses the deleterious impacts of focusing on sugar cane production. All of these chapters provide valuable background on Fiji's agricultural system that would be useful for future, more gender-sensitive analyses.



Pacific Financial Inclusion Programme. (2009). *Financial Capability, Financial Competence and Wellbeing in Rural Fijian Households*. Suva: UNDP Pacific Centre.
<http://www.undppc.org.fj/pages.cfm/publications/pfip-reports/>

This study reports on the outcomes of a financial services program for rural households, which provided a financial literacy program and mobile banking services. Findings suggest that the combination of training and access to banking can benefit rural residents. The training program covered a range of money-related activities, such as planning and prioritizing short and longer term spending, savings, investment, the management of credit and cash flows, budgeting, and the enhancement of income generation. Most notably, the study found that women are demonstrably more competent than men at managing household finances and savings, and that greater investment in training and services that are accessible to women give the greatest return to rural households.



Ram-Bidesi, V. (2008). *Development of Marine Resources, Fisheries Policies and Women's Rights in the Pacific Islands*. Women in Fisheries Information Bulletin 18. Suva: Secretariat to the Pacific Community.
https://www.spc.int/coastfish/news/WIF/WIF18/WIF18_03_Ram.pdf

This article describes how work in fish processing and marketing may improve women's short-term economic position, it may do so at the greater risk of losing their self-reliant food production strategies and the traditional knowledge related to these. Women's entry into the paid workforce reduces the time available for subsistence activities and leads to a reliance on purchased, more expensive, often imported and nutritionally less valuable foods. These risks are compounded by the reality that women workers in fish processing have heavy workloads, domestic responsibilities, temporary positions, limited benefits, and are rarely consulted for their advice by male elites who make decisions about fisheries.



Rappaport, R. (1986). *Pigs for the Ancestors: Ritual in the Ecology of a New Guinea People*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

This ethnographic study of connections between religion and the environment amongst the Tsembaga, a group of shifting horticulturalists in the Bismarck Mountains of Papua New Guinea. Although it does not specifically address gender issues, its detailed discussion of agricultural practices, particularly related to regulating mechanisms with respect to harvesting and hunting, does describe the roles of men and women with respect to planting and harvesting. At the time of the author's research, men and women cooperated in agricultural production, although harvesting was usually the responsibility of women. The author also notes that women had more garden plots than men, and frequently cultivated gardens with both their husbands and other male family members. The author argues that religious practices both constitute and are constituted by the Tsembaga's relationship with the environment, which has serious implications for those interested in examining gender roles in agricultural production.



Robertson, A., ed. (1991). *Food and Nutrition in Fiji: A Historical Review, Volumes I and II*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific.

This edited collection in two volumes provides a comprehensive historical and contemporary overview of Fiji's agricultural system, including food production, distribution and consumption. Volume I focuses specifically on food production, consumption, and intake. It features chapters on the evolution of the Fiji food system, food composition, preservation, preparation and intake, feeding of infant and children, aquaculture, fish consumption, and food technology. Volume II deals with nutrition-related diseases and their prevention, with chapters on morbidity and mortality, nutritional deficiencies, parasitic diseases, and other health-related concerns. This authoritative text would be very useful for anyone designing gender mainstreaming initiatives related to agriculture.



Rogers, B. (1990). *The Domestication of Women: Discrimination in Developing Societies*. New York: Taylor & Francis.

This text describes the marginalization of women in the development process as a consequence of development planners' imposition of stereotypes regarding appropriate work for women. The title refers to the imposition of cultural models that associate women with domestic production, which may be imposed by development practitioners in ways that conflict with local cultural norms. The author describes how entrenched gender ideologies influences the development process by encouraging projects for women that often replicate the very circumstances that marginalize them in the first place. Most significantly, the author finds that although most women subsistence agriculturalists are critical providers for their families, development planners have failed to consider this fact. As a consequence, staple food production has declined in many countries.



Samoa, Government of. (2005). *Strategy for the Development of Samoa, 2005-2007*. Apia: Ministry of Finance Economic Policy and Planning Division, Government of Samoa.

This government plan for development in Samoa notes that agriculture forms the backbone of the Samoan economy, with two-thirds of all households engaged in some form of agriculture, including a mixture of subsistence and commercial agriculture. Many wage-earning households also engage in supplementary subsistence production. This document identifies food security for local consumption as a priority area in conjunction with achieving the MDGs, and notes that attaining food security in Samoa will involve cooperative efforts between the Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Women, Community, and Social Development, and village councils. The plan also identifies women's groups as critical in increasing agricultural production, highlighting the insight women could provide to extension officers in sharing ideas, experiences and farming techniques that could lead to finding solutions to common problems that may hinder production.



Sharma, K. (2006). *Food Security in the South Pacific Island Countries with Special Reference to the Fiji Islands*. WIDER Research Paper 2006/68. World Institute for Development Economics Research, Helsinki: United Nations University.
http://www.rrojasdatabank.info/unurp06/rp2006-68_1.pdf

This article analyses the food security of Cook Islands, Fiji Islands, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, and Vanuatu at the national and household levels from 1991-2002. It provides a detailed breakdown of statistics by country. National food security is dependent on the continuation of subsistence farming and tapping ocean resources in conjunction with the ongoing commercial farming of those crops in which Pacific Islands have a comparative advantage. Due to narrow resource base and production conditions, Pacific Islands concentrate on a few primary commodities for production and exports. During recent years import dependency for food items has increased mainly due to a decline in per capita food production and a rapid rate of rural-urban migration. Currently, export earnings can finance food imports but earnings could fall short of the requirements needed after the expiry of some commodity preferential price agreements with importing countries. Increased productivity is crucial for improving agricultural performance through government investment in rural infrastructure, agricultural research and extension, irrigation and appropriate price incentives.



Sharp, T. (2005). *Sustainable Urbanisation and the Market: Food Security and the Fresh Food Markets of South Tarawa, Kiribati*. B.A. Thesis (Environmental Planning), Griffith University.

Based upon undergraduate research on Kiribati, this thesis describes the food insecurity issues arising from the island's relatively rapid transformation from self-sufficiency to dependency upon imported foods. This problem has been compounded by urbanization and increasingly dense population concentrations that leave little room for agriculture even when the individual inclination may exist. The author explores the food marketing and distribution system in South Tarawa, describing the ways in which individuals, non-governmental organizations, government, and international organizations in Kiribati have responded to the need to develop long-term plans for food security on the island. Kiribati poses unique challenges in terms of its physical and human geography, and this thesis argues that it is only through responding to local desires and voices that the island's food security needs can be met. The thesis also describes women's prominent role in food production and redistribution.



Shrestha, S. (1997). *Women's Time Allocation in Rural Areas in Solomon Islands*. Development Issues 5 (Strategic issues in the economic development of Melanesian agriculture): 75-99. National Centre for Development Studies. Canberra: Australian National University.

This study evaluates the effect of the transition from food gardening to cash crop production on Solomon Islands women's time allocation, and considers both economic and non-economic factors affecting household behavior. The author discusses whether the adoption of cash crop production has affected women's welfare in terms of their workload. Analysis follows on the source of the labor for cash cropping, including whether it constitutes an additional workload or is enabled by changes in labor allocation to food gardening, work at home and leisure.



Sillitoe, P. (2006). *What Labour Engenders: Women and Men, Time and Work in the New Guinea Highlands*. The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology 7(2): 119-151.

Based upon a detailed time-budget survey conducted to document and assess differences between women's and men's agricultural activities, this article notes that women devote a considerable part of their week to agricultural tasks, particularly in harvesting food. Women spend on average about 28 hours a week engaged in such activities (16.8 per cent of their time), which is four times longer than men. Women also spend 11.2 hours weekly walking to places, 9.1 of which consists of time spent walking to and from gardens. Cooking and eating occupy a similar period of time each week at about 11.5 hours (6.8 per cent of their time). Other significant activities include manufacturing objects (5.5 hours a week), the collection of raw materials (42 minutes), and attending to pigs (3.2 hours per week).



Sofer, M. (2007). *Yaqona and the Fijian Periphery Revisited*. Asia Pacific Viewpoint 48(2): 234-49.

This article describes economic issues surrounding the production and sale in Fiji of yaqona, which is known elsewhere in the Pacific and in the world as kava. The roots of yaqona plant are used to produce a beverage with a depressant affect that makes it a popular social drink in addition to its important ceremonial and social role. Based upon two decades of research on the outlying Fiji island of Kadavu, findings presented suggest that yaqona has increasingly become a very important cash crop for Kadavu residents, with some households becoming dependent upon cash rather than the subsistence livelihoods that previously sustained them. The author finds that while agricultural conditions in Kadavu are widely recognized as producing superior yaqona, the island's distance from centers of trade creates a situation in which producers are rendered marginal and vulnerable.



Stege, K., Maetala, R., Naupa, A. and Simo, J. (2008). *Land and Women: The Matrilineal Factor - The cases of the Republic of the Marshall Islands, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu*. Papers presented at the 10th Triennial Pacific Conference of Women, New Caledonia, May 2007, Suva: Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat.
<http://www.forumsec.org.fj/pages.cfm/strategic-partnerships-coordination/gender/gender-research-publications/>

This collection of articles examine the connections between matrilineal patterns of customary land inheritance, post-marital residence patterns, and women's ability to hold positions of power and participate in public decision making. The purpose is to counteract the prevailing assumptions, based on patrilineal systems of customary landholding, that male control of land is both natural and proper. The authors argue that although existing land legislation is gender-neutral, its implementation has adopted a male bias, with women being increasingly marginalized. The strong pressures for alienating and registering customary land so that it can be used for private sector development or leased for resource extraction threaten to exacerbate women's existing disadvantage.



Stephen, G. (2009). *Household Food Garden Development Project: Extension Phase Project, Terminal Report*. Nauru: Division of Agriculture, Department of Commerce, Industry, and Environment.

http://www.faopacific.ws/Portals/167/programmes/trust%20funds/country_TF/FAOITANAU01%20Terminal%20Report.pdf

This short terminal report was prepared by the project officer of the Division of Agriculture in the Department of Commerce, Industry and Environment in Nauru. Prior to the accumulation of phosphate-related wealth on Nauru, agriculture, fishing, and pig and poultry farming provided the foundations of subsistence livelihoods. The influx of cash resulting from the phosphate boom on Nauru led to the replacement of these much healthier and locally available foods by imported foods, particularly rice, sugar, and processed or canned foods, which resulted in serious health complications for many Islanders. The report documents how the weakened economy and rising food prices encouraged Nauru's government to encourage residents to engage in agriculture and animal farming for their own consumption as well as to sell to others. The most significant challenge to encouraging market and household gardening include the population's unfamiliarity with this form of production.



Sumeo, Karanina (2010). *The Impact of the Global Economic Crisis on Pacific Women: A Snapshot*. Paper presented at the UNDP Pacific Conference on the Human Face of the Global Economic Crisis, 10-12 February 2010, Port Vila. Suva: UNDP.

<http://vanuatu2010.un.org.fj/resources/uploads/embeds/file/GEC%20Impact%20of%20the%20crisis%20on%20women-Sumeo-AWID.pdf>

This article argues that in the Pacific, the global economic crisis is compounded by the increasing effects of climate change and a deepening food and energy crisis. For some low-lying islands, such as Kiribati, Tokelau, Marshall Islands and Tuvalu, the impact of climate change creates daily difficulties for women in feeding their families as rising sea levels make root crop staples uncultivable, gardens are drowned and drinking water is contaminated. Many Pacific islanders are dependent on remittances from family members working overseas, which are now decreasing. This fosters people's dependence on imported foods, which are affected by recent huge rises in oil prices and becoming ever more expensive, with impacts on nutritional and health levels.



Tanner, A. (2007). *On Understanding Much Too Quickly: Colonial and Postcolonial Misrepresentation of Indigenous Fijian Land Tenure*. *Human Organization* 66(1): 69-77.

This article, by an anthropologist, discusses how understanding of Fijian land tenure on the part of British colonial officials led to formulate flawed policies that endure today. Such policies were oversimplified and misrepresented it as simple communal ownership. Indigenous land ownership was officially recognized and standardized over most of Fiji, as communal rights in the collective hands of a mid-level descent group within the sedentary lineage system, the mataqali. Actual land tenure is, however, more complex, and in many areas continues to be followed today. This paper notes that while men who most often inherit garden plots, some are inherited and owned by women, such as by a widow or an adult daughter who has inherited her husband's or father's plot located in the vicinity of his village, and some women acquire individual rights to land through marriage.



Thaman, R. 2000. *Urban Food Gardening in the Pacific Islands: A Basis for Food Security in Rapidly Urbanising Small-Island States*. Habitat International 19(2): 209-224

Urban food gardening is seen as an important means of overcoming problems caused by unemployment, inequality, poverty, falling real wages, malnutrition and nutrition-related degenerative diseases in the small-island states of the Pacific Ocean, such as Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Tonga, Kiribati and Nauru. This paper argues that the formal promotion, expansion and improvement of small-scale urban food gardening is a direct and economically, socially, technologically and nutritionally appropriate means of bringing about sustainable national development and promoting food security. Despite the fact that the potential urban foods production is not clearly understood by planners and policy makers, it should be viewed as a component of agricultural development strategies given the benefits it confers. Policies which would lead to its growth are discussed.



Thaman, R., Elevitch, C. and Kennedy, J. (2006). *Urban and Home-garden Agroforestry in the Pacific Islands: Current Status and Future Prospects*. Pages 25-41 in Kumar, B. and Nair, P. eds. *Tropical Homegardens: A Time-Tested Example of Sustainable Agroforestry*. The Netherlands: Springer.

This chapter describes the nature and future potential of urban food production and home-gardening in rapidly urbanizing islands, and suggests that intensification and enrichment of these systems could serve as an important foundation for sustainable development. The breakdown of agricultural systems previously prevalent in the Pacific Islands through increased urbanization and deforestation have created a number of problems related to nutrition, health, food security, poverty, and trade deficits through excessive imports. This chapter reviews the different types of produce grown in home-gardens throughout the Pacific Islands, varieties of urban agroforestry, the limitations of home-gardening, and future prospects for marketing home-garden produce.



Tonga, Government of. (2006). *Tonga: A Situation Analysis of Children, Women, and Youth*. Suva: UNICEF Pacific.

This report updates information related to the status of women and children in Tonga featured in a 1996 report. In the section on economic activity, the authors describe Tonga's economy as comprised of subsistence activity, agriculture and fishing for sale, and wage sector activity. While in the 1950s over 70% of Tonga's population was engaged in smallholder subsistence farming, a substantial portion of Tongans now combine wage employment with cultivation or fishing for subsistence and/or sale. Some informal sector activity undertaken by women, including agriculture, has not been classified by previous censuses in Tonga as economic activity, resulting in flawed statistics regarding the number of women earning incomes. Women remain much more likely than men to be counted as economically inactive, and women's contributions to the informal sector tend to be undervalued and unrecognized.



Umekazi, M., Yamauchi, T. and Ohtsuka, R. (2002). *Time Allocation to Subsistence Activities Among the Huli in Rural and Urban Papua New Guinea*. Journal of Biosocial Science 34(1): 133-37.

This article reviews the amount of time dedicated to subsistence agricultural activities amongst Huli rural residents and urban migrants in Papua New Guinea. Findings suggest that urban migrant men spend more time on subsistence activities than their rural male counterparts, but both rural and urban women spend equal amounts of time on these activities. Hence gender inequality with respect to labor hours is reduced among urban migrants. In rural areas, Huli women spend significant amounts of time farming, collecting wild plants, raising children and pigs, whereas men are only responsible for growing their own sweet potatoes. In urban areas, Huli migrants are equally responsible for feeding their children and any visitors; as a consequence, urban women's nutritional status is better than their rural counterparts, whereas the opposite is true of men.



UNDP Special Unit for South-South Cooperation. (2001). *Sharing Innovative Experiences: Examples of Successful Initiatives in Agriculture and Rural Development in the South*. UNDP/ FAO. <http://tcdc1.undp.org/SIE/experiences/vol5/Bee.pdf>

This report describes the many challenges faced by rural women agricultural producers, including lack of access to credit, and significant household and childcare responsibilities. Findings suggest that small-scale entrepreneurial activities can impose further pressures on their already busy lives, suggesting that rural women's income generation strategies must operate in ways that will not impose an additional workload. Chapter five of this report provides an example of a success beekeeping enterprise in Samoa, where the Women in Business Foundation found that beekeeping could generate income for rural women without requiring tremendous efforts on their part.



UNIFEM. (1998). *Gender Considerations in Sectoral Planning for Pacific Island Planners in Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry*. Suva: United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), Pacific Office.

This volume, one of a series of publications that deal with gender mainstreaming, offers recommendations for gender mainstreaming in the agriculture, fisheries and forestry sectors. It argues that women have been ignored as economic producers in the past, and that women's access to land is critical to the food security of families due to women's prominent roles as food producers and suppliers. The report confirms that while a greater percentage of men focus their agricultural activities upon cash crops, fishing is actually performed by women as well. This volume also includes detailed guidelines for gender-responsive planning and project work as it relates to agriculture, fishing, and forestry, while also emphasizing the importance of considering the actual gender roles associated with agriculture and fishing when developing policies rather than relying upon stereotypes.



van der Grijp, P. (2004). *Identity and Development: Tongan Culture, Agriculture, and the Perenniality of the Gift*. Leiden: KITLV Press.

By an anthropologist, this book describes the results of decades of cash crop production in Tonga, particularly with respect to squash pumpkin, vanilla, and bananas. The book also addresses migration, aid, and remittances as critical aspects of the Tongan economy, and emphasizes that Tonga is as impacted by processes of social change as any other contemporary nation. The author describes how individuals have devised strategies to produce cash crops, and how they balance the pressures of producing and marketing while simultaneously meeting their kin obligations.



van der Grijp, P. (2002). *Selling is Poverty, Buying a Shame: Representations of Work, Effective Leadership and Market Failures on Wallis*. *Oceania* 73: 17-34.

This article examines why there is no central market on the Polynesian island of Wallis, attributing the dual central causes to cultural constraints on leadership and indigenous beliefs about work and pride. There have been three efforts to create a central market in Wallis. The first, in 1976, failed due to locals' fears of ridicule if their produce was not the best for sale and, worse still, potential consumers worried traders would taunt their failure to grow their own produce. The second attempt, in 1980, was administered by a group of nuns who had little business experience and bought unsalable quality goods in order to provide poor families with cash, resulting in low sales. In 1987, a third market experienced some success, whereupon local producers began to open their own markets closer to their home villages and the roof of the market was destroyed during a 1990 cyclone. Although Wallis still has no central market, the article provides numerous examples of kautahi (cooperatives and semi-cooperatives) that operate small markets of their own.



Vunisea, A. (2007). *Women's Changing Participation in the Fisheries Sector in Pacific Island Countries*. *Women in Fisheries Information Bulletin* 16: 24-26. Suva: Secretariat of the Pacific Community.

<http://www.spc.int/coastfish/News/WIF/WIF16/WIF16.pdf>

This article argues that while many aspects of women's participation in Pacific Island fishing have changed, their traditional and social roles have largely remained the same. Women's increased participation in the market economy, paid employment and other such activities frequently take place in addition to their existing and already demanding traditional and social roles. This time poverty renders the credit facilities available, development ventures and training provided available to them rather meaningless. The author contends that cultural beliefs about gender have been one of the biggest hindrances to women's full participation in fisheries development are starting to break down, but linking women to available development resources and information is still a challenge.



Ward, R. and Kingdon, E. (1995). *Land, Custom and Practice in the South Pacific*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Land tenure arrangements are intimately linked with the organization of society, the economy, political structures and geography. In the South Pacific Islands the majority of land is held by community groups under 'customary' or 'traditional' forms of tenure. This book argues that land formerly held in common is now often controlled and used exclusively by individuals or nuclear families is increasingly being privatized. Detailed case studies demonstrate these trends in Western Samoa, Tonga, Vanuatu and Fiji. The denial of these trends by policy makers in the region reflects an interest in maintaining the image of traditionalism and its associated status and power. The divergence between rhetoric and reality creates dilemmas for many Pacific Islanders and their leaders.



Young Leslie, H. (2007). ...*Like a Mat Being Woven*. Pacific Arts 3-5: 115-117.
<http://heatheryoungleslie.files.wordpress.com/2010/05/likeamat07parts3pg115-127.pdf>

By an anthropologist, this article describes the cultural knowledge and practices involved in women's production of pandanus textiles in Tonga. Although men grow pandanus in their gardens, it is the only crop in Tonga that is identified as belonging specifically and solely to women. Women harvest, process and braid pandanus, which is often thorny and very long, in order to make culturally valuable mats and other textiles. Women control pandanus harvesting, but may sometimes be assisted by close male relatives or neighbors. The production of pandanus into mats and other textiles is exclusively handled by women.





United Nations Entity for Gender Equality
and the Empowerment of Women

UN Women
Pacific Sub-Regional Office

Level 5, Vanua House
Victoria Parade
Private Mail Bag
Suva, FIJI

Tel: (679) 330-1178
Fax: (679) 330-1654