

Technical Report

Gender Analysis - Tongatapu, Kingdom of Tonga



Baskets for sale at Langafonua Handicraft Centre



Papaya ready for harvest, Tongatapu



Handicrafts for sale at Langafonua Handicraft Centre



Papaya plantation with sweet potato growing in between rows, Tongatapu

Technical Report

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Table of Contents

Map of Tonga Featuring Tongatapu	ii
Abbreviations	iii
Acknowledgement	v
Executive Summary	vi
Summary of Recommendations	viii
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Scan of Donor/NGO Activity	3
1.2 Scan of Government Activity	3
1.3 Scan of Tongan Sectoral Networks and Non-Government Agencies	4
1.4 Structure of the Report	4
2.0 Gender in Tonga	5
2.1 Progress towards Equality	6
2.2 No Progress for Equality	7
2.3 Differences within Female Populations	8
3.0 Women, Agriculture and Horticulture	9
3.1 Cropping	9
3.2 Handicraft Exports	11
3.3 Quarantine Treatment Types	13
3.4 Brief Opportunity Analysis	14
4.0 Methodology	17
5.0 Activity Profile	18
6.0 Access and Control Profile	19
7.0 Analysis of Factors and Trends	22
7.1 Demographic factors, including household composition and household headship	22
7.2 General economic conditions such as vulnerability levels, inflation rates, income distribution, internal terms of trade and infrastructure	23
7.2.1 Income Distribution	25
7.3 Cultural and religious factors	26
7.4 Education levels and gender participation rates	28
7.5 Political, institutional and legal factors, including the regulatory environment	29
8.0 Program Cycle Analysis	31
9.0 Buy Tonga Made Campaign	36
10.0 Seasonal Workers Schemes	37
11.0 References	38
Appendix A	
List of People Consulted	A
Appendix B	
Scan of Relevant Regional and Bilateral Agencies	B
Appendix C	
Scan of Relevant Government Agencies	C
Appendix D	
Scan of Relevant Sectoral Networks and Non-Government Agencies	D
Appendix E	
Exporters	E

List of Tables

Table 1: WEE Opportunity Analysis	14
Table 2: Estimated Exports and Imports in 2013 and Main Partners (2012)	24
Table 3: 2011 Census Employment Data	25
Table 4: Monthly Household Income Sources	25
Table 5: Total Subsistence Income by Type, Urban/Rural ('000s), Percentage of Total Income Type	26
Table 6: Sex Disaggregated Education Statistics	28
Table 7: Ease of Starting a Business in Tonga	30

Map of Tonga Featuring Tongatapu



Source: <http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/oceania/to.htm>

The gender analysis was confined to Tongatapu Island. Over several days the team made short excursions to farms and facilities at Sopa, Nuku'alofa District, 'Utulau, Central District, Puke in the West and Lapaha in the east, covering most of the island.

Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Description
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AQC	Aid Quality Check
AU\$	Australian Dollar
CEDAW	Convention for the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FHH	Female headed household
GDI	Gender Development Index
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GII	Gender Inequality Index
GNI	Gross National Income
GoT	Government of Tonga
GroFed	Tonga Growers Federation
HDI	Human Development Index
HIES	Household Income and Expenditure Survey
HTFA	High Temperature Forced Air
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISDF	Interim Skills Development Facility
IWG	Industry Working Group
JPRG	Joint Policy Reform Group
MAFFF	Ministry of Agriculture, Food, Forestry and Fisheries
MAWG	Market Access Working Group
MCTL	Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Labour
MDF	Market Development Facility
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MFNP	Ministry of Finance and National Planning
MIA	Ministry of Internal Affairs
MHH	Male Headed Household
MORDI	Mainstreaming of Rural Development Innovation

Abbreviation	Description
MPI	Multidimensional Poverty Index
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NZAP	New Zealand Aid Program
Pacific Women	Pacific Women Shaping Pacific Development Program
PHAMA	Pacific Agricultural and Horticultural Market Access Program
PPSDI	Pacific Private Sector Development Initiative
PIPSO	Pacific Islands Private Sector Organisation
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SOE	State Owned Enterprise
SPC	Secretariat of the Pacific Community
TASP	Tonga Agricultural Sector Plan
TBEC	Tonga Business Enterprise Centre
TCCI	Tonga Chamber of Commerce and Industry
TDB	Tonga Development Bank
THCSP	Tonga Horticultural and Cultural Support Program
TOP	Tongan Pa'anga
TSDF	Tonga Strategic Development Framework
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
VCO	Virgin Coconut Oil
WCCC	Women and Children Crisis Centre
WHO	World Health Organisation
WISE	Women in Sustainable Enterprises
UPR	Universal Periodic Review
UN	United Nations
US\$	United States \$

A focus on gender issues produces benefits that go beyond good project performance. Direct involvement of women through active participation in project planning, design, implementation, and evaluation empowers women and gives them a stronger sense of ownership and a more pronounced stake in project success. Better access to resources also allows women to devote more time to income-producing activities and to caring for their own needs as well as those of their families. The economy and the society as a whole benefit (ADB, 2006:3-4).

Acknowledgement

The gender analysis was prepared by Carol Nelson and Salote Fukofuka. The opinions in this report are theirs alone. The widest possible range of stakeholders were consulted during the field visit in November 2015. The team has attempted to fairly represent those consultations in the report. If there is any misrepresentation, the team assures participants that it was unintended and more than likely a result of lack of clarity on some issues and a general inability to obtain additional written information, either because it didn't exist or wasn't available.

The team would like to thank Paula Mosa'ati, the PHAMA Coordinator in Tonga, for his constructive guidance and feedback. All those consulted are also thanked for making time available, often at short notice, and for the valuable information they provided.

Lastly, the team would like to acknowledge the difficulties in taking a gender equality approach to agriculture and horticulture, especially when the barriers to market access are already challenging to business survival. Suggestions made in the gender analysis are aimed at strengthening the sector for all.

Declaration: The external consultant is also a consultant to the Pacific Women Shaping Pacific Development program in Tonga and, in particular, is involved in the MIA-Division of Women's Affairs gender mainstreaming across government program. This work is also DFAT-funded and is not considered to be a conflict of interest but may lead to the perception of conflict of interest. The potential for perception of conflict of interest will be managed transparently.

Executive Summary

Agriculture constitutes over 65% of the country's TOP \$26 million exports (approximately AU\$16 million) and accounts for 14% of Tonga's GDP. Two-thirds of Tonga's households are involved in agricultural production, with approximately 2.4% of households operating as commercial producers in the formal economy. Another 39% of households produce some crops to sell through markets and roadside stalls in the informal economy.

Agricultural exports rely heavily on horticultural crops, and the PHAMA program is focussed on supporting these, but there has been minimal investigation of the gender aspects of the value chains. It was recognised that a basic gender analysis was required to better inform future support by the PHAMA program and other relevant donor or Government of Tonga led programs. In developing the scope of the analysis, it was also identified that handicraft (e.g. woven mats) production and sales was anecdotally a significant source of income for women throughout Tonga but due to being largely informal the trade was not reflected in official statistics such as export volumes or earnings. Hence it was agreed as useful to also consider the production and sale of handicrafts within this analysis.

With a focus on these value chains, the analysis was to identify the respective roles, responsibilities, expectations and challenges of women (and men) and recommend specific aspects or approaches for the PHAMA or other programs to better address gender issues and in particular women's economic empowerment. It was also to include a summary of the gender context in Tonga and relevant community, donor or Government of Tonga led programs or activities aimed at addressing gender issues.

The most recent Household Income and Expenditure Survey (2009) estimated the total household subsistence income was TOP66,834,000 (approximately AU\$40,600,000). The largest contributor was handicrafts making up 40% at TOP26,527,000 (approximately AU\$16,130,000), which is the equivalent of current export income. The work is primarily performed by women. Subsistence agriculture came next, making up 27% at TOP18,711,000 (approximately AU\$11,300,000) of household subsistence income. Taking into account that some women farm for local markets, the contribution to subsistence income is likely to be fairly evenly split between females and males. The female contribution is generally unacknowledged.

Tonga has struggled to maintain agricultural competitiveness and meet more stringent biosecurity requirements imposed by trading partners. Tonga's agricultural potential is considered to lie in the export of root crops and higher-value horticultural crops to New Zealand, particularly in the New Zealand winter. Crops include: taro, cassava, yams, squash, watermelons, breadfruit, zucchinis, eggplant, vanilla, chilies and beans. There is also potential to increase the volume of crops exported to other parts of the Pacific and to Japan, China and Korea.

Like much of the Pacific, Tonga is experiencing a clash of culture and democracy. Amongst the many factors that provoke these clashes are wider access to education, emigration, immigration and travel generally, wider access to global information and global comparisons, generations expecting more freedom than the previous generation and, of course, the cash economy.

Tonga has made good progress on some gender indicators, including education equality and improved maternal and child mortality. Women in senior positions in the public service and the private sector are increasing, though the average income of the female population lags behind the male population in both the formal and informal economy. There is still work to do on economic and political equality, especially the inclusion of women in influential decision-making roles. The lack of equality is undermining Tonga's economy.

Entrenched gender stereotypes exist but these are increasingly being challenged, especially by women in the workplace. Society is slow to adapt to change and there is a strong desire to keep the culture in tact as much as possible. Associated with changes and shifting values is an observable increase in contemporary social issues, such as domestic violence, child abuse, alcohol and drug abuse. What may happen over time is that the positive aspects of culture are strengthened and the negative impacts are gradually discarded, but the process is usually painful.

Tongan society is traditionally structured into three main groups: monarchy, nobility and commoners but there has been a gradual increase in the formation of socioeconomic classes such as elite commoners who draw power from their educational qualifications, status in government or ownership of private business. Those with limited access to land, livelihoods, support networks or formal employment experience more hardship. Female headed household are 22% of all households and are amongst the vulnerable.

Many in Tonga, both females and males, argue that there is equality between women and men, that women are revered in the culture or that it is men who require a boost to catch up with women. Yet there is discrimination against women in law and in practice.

Four out of five Tongan women and girls have experienced some form of physical or sexual violence. These could be women in public service positions, business women, and women working in packing sheds or selling goods at the market. The finding does not support what some commentators would have the field team believe. Instead, it gives the impression that many participants are overly attached to an ideal from the past that still holds place in everyone's rhetoric, and on ceremonial occasions, but no longer in every-day reality.

Handicrafts are sold informally through a number of private pathways and the income does not appear in the National Accounts. The volume that passes through quarantine annually could be as much as TOP10 million (approximately AU\$6 million). Given the estimated value of subsistence handicrafts being produced, there is potential to increase women's role in the economy in this area as well as crop production for export. But there are risks and challenges. The major constraints are both social and systemic. Socially, women's and men's roles are demarcated by acceptable types of work tasks. Unexpended income is not saved, it is distributed to meet social and church expectations so there is no buffer when emergencies or unexpected events occur. Systemically, women are constrained by land ownership laws and access to credit. Progress is being made by government on the latter issue.

The PHAMA Program is in some ways undermined by a design document written prior to an important shift in gender equality programming at DFAT. While the Program is not necessarily entrenching gender and social inequality and vulnerability, nor has it (until now) taken deliberate steps to factor gender into strategic planning. Gender should be a core consideration in the design of any future program. In the meantime, a gender focus could be introduced into PHAMA's final annual strategic plan for FY16/17, with associated budget allocations. PHAMA should also continue to seek sex-disaggregated data as part of its monitoring and evaluation efforts.

Summary of Recommendations

A large number and range of recommendations and suggestions were developed to guide both the immediate planning by the PHAMA program and the future implementation and design of other Aid for Trade/Women's Economic Empowerment focussed programs in Tonga. The following are therefore split between recommendations that can be realistically achieved within the remaining time available to the Program (to June 2017) and suggestions relating to other donor or government funded programs operating in Tonga, or future programs that have yet to be designed. Both are cross referenced to the text.

In combination with the contextual information and analysis it is anticipated that they will provide valuable guidance to future efforts and investments by donors, government and intended beneficiaries.

Recommendations for PHAMA

Horticulture and Root Crops

1. PHAMA seeks out opportunities for engaging women farmers and exporters in the Program either through working proactively with existing groups of women farmers and exporters, involving them in the MAWG or establishing, and possibly resourcing, a Women in Agriculture association. This is with the express purpose of mobilising and supporting women, aiming towards farming for export.

Objectives of the association could be to support women to pursue commercial cropping, particularly for export; provide mutual reinforcement; source training through MAFFF, IFAD, TBEC, ISDF and other opportunities; and engage with government on women's economic empowerment through agriculture, including on land and finance issues.

2. PHAMA engages with the ISDF program and the Nishi farmer schools with a view to involve more women farmers in farming horticulture and root crops for export. This could also provide opportunities for professional development for MAFFF extension officers.
3. PHAMA considers directing Export Development Grants (EDGs) to farming initiatives by women farmer groups and/or women exporters.
4. An equivalent gender analysis to be done in the outer islands, considering crops that could be viably/commercially exported (e.g. kava, vanilla, bananas) .

Populations in the outer islands are amongst the most vulnerable due to remoteness. If PHAMA is planning to strengthen pathways from those islands then gender analyses should be done in each location because different impacts are likely to exist due to population size, climatic risks and other factors.

Gender Integration into the Program

5. Introduce a gender equality budget line—or individual sub-budget lines—into the annual strategic plan budget for FY16/17 to fund specific gender equality and women's rights activities (see 1-4 above). Additionally, the budget should include gender training for all PHAMA staff and partners.
6. Consider ways female representation on the MAWG can be strengthened.
7. Reaffirm with staff the need to collect sex-disaggregated data as part of completing commodity, activity updates and continue to provide resources/budget for annual qualitative M&E activities such as participant surveys and the collection of case studies.
8. Consider establishing a budgetary allocation for gender advisory expertise to provide all Country Coordinators with resources for support with achieving gender equality targets.
9. Expand the Program's risk management to include risks to gender equality and women's rights and put appropriate risk management in place through the Program.

Examples of managing risks are provided in the text, such as, gender training for PHAMA staff, MAWG members and IWG members.

Suggestions for Government, Donors & Other Programs

Part of the brief was to identify guidance for Aid for Trade investments more generally. Following are suggestions for progressing existing or new investments, including PHAMA if it goes to a new phase. Government, donors and other programs may find it useful to consider these in support of gender equality and women's economic empowerment in horticulture and agriculture.

Handicrafts

- Undertake an analysis of available data on the annual volumes and value of handicrafts passing through quarantine services.
- Seek out opportunities for the establishment, and possibly resourcing, of a handicraft industry working group through discussions with MCTL and the former National Coordinator of the Tonga Handicraft and Cultural Tourism Support Program.
- Commission research on demand for handicrafts from the diaspora, with a view to identifying new pathways.
- Undertake an analysis of the tax regime relative to increasing women's economic opportunities in agriculture and horticulture.
- Assistance is provided to support better coordination of the handicraft sector through, in the first instance, a handicraft industry working group (IWG), which could become a sub-committee of a mechanism like the MAWG.

The purpose of the handicraft IWG would be to strategise on a combined registry of handicraft producers, attendance at overseas events, training, saving schemes, production of raw materials and issues of profile and political recognition, amongst other areas.

Access to Finance

- MCTL and development partners establish a loan or grant scheme specifically for women in agriculture, where the problems associated with collateral are overcome.

Details of the scheme could be arrived at in consultation with a Women in Agriculture association but could include a savings scheme alongside funds for access to ploughs, seeds, fencing and seasonal labour.

Gender Expertise and Training

- MAFFF staff, in particular extension officers, would benefit from gender training. Involvement in PHAMA training targeted at women farmers might be a practical approach to this.

Further Research

- Undertake a case study to investigate gender similarities and differences in the exporter population.
- Investigate the list of items approved for export to New Zealand, to identify commercially viable opportunities for women growers.

Monitoring and Evaluation

- For future programs, create a set of baseline indicators for gender equality in the PHAMA program from all available data, update the baseline annually and analyse the baseline annually for gaps and opportunities, which can then be worked into the annual strategic plan.
Key sources are census documents, HIES reports, agricultural surveys, demographic health surveys and other government, non-government and UN sources.
- Ensure that M&E frameworks include data disaggregation and gender equality outcomes. Support partners to collect sex-disaggregated data and gender equality outcomes that can feed into M&E frameworks.
- Monitor reports from relevant government departments and partners to identify gender equality priorities and progress. Where reports are not available, annually survey partners through a mechanism like the MAWG, ensuring that the program office has additional capacity to conduct an annual assessment.

Support for Country-led Initiatives

- Subject to final approval of the Agriculture Sector Plan, invest in initiatives that contribute to the achievement of gender equality through the plan. Support the MIA-Division of Women's Affairs to achieve Outcome 2 of the Revised National Plan on Gender and Development 2014—2018.
- Investigate opportunities to support expansion of the Buy Tonga Made campaign.

Possibilities could include funding increased production of the Buy Tonga Made campaign label and circulation to registered parties or making information on the Made in Tonga website available through women's networks such as WISE so that more women can have their handicrafts advertised for sale.

Program Design and Risk Management

- Ensure that future design documents include strategies to promote gender equality and women's empowerment and include relevant indicators to measure change in areas such as equality of opportunity, equality of incomes, equality in decision-making and other areas.

1.0 Introduction

The Kingdom of Tonga is a Small Island Developing State situated in the Eastern Pacific region, commonly known as Polynesia. Imports vastly exceed exports and there is minimal manufacturing or similar export opportunities. Tourism, fish and crops are the main sources of export income. In recent times there has been increasing momentum towards strengthening the export sector through increased agriculture and horticulture, using the private sector as the main driver.

The Pacific Horticultural and Agricultural Market Access Program

The Pacific Horticultural and Agricultural Market Access (PHAMA) program is funded by the Australian aid program with additional support from the New Zealand aid program. Established in 2011, PHAMA is funded through to June 2017. Core countries assisted through PHAMA include Fiji, PNG, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga and Vanuatu.

PHAMA's strategy in Tonga is to support government and industry to utilise and improve existing horticultural export opportunities, address infrastructure needs to improve market requirements compliance and export efficiency, and identify and progress viable new market access opportunities. Current focus areas include resuming access to New Zealand for papaya, supporting the preparation of a feasibility analysis and business plan for a new, purpose-built processing facility for the preparation of fresh and processed fruit and vegetables for export and assistance to government and exporters to follow the required biosecurity and export standards and procedures related to the high temperature forced air (HTFA) facility, which is essential for the export of some crops.¹

Tongan Agriculture and Geography

Agriculture represents around 14% of Tonga's GDP, and constitutes over 65% of the country's TOP²\$26 million exports (approximately AU\$16 million). The majority of Tonga's households (64% of 15,738) are involved in agricultural production, with approximately 2.4% of households operating as commercial producers. In addition, around 39% produce some crops to sell through markets and roadside stalls. Tonga has struggled to maintain agricultural competitiveness and meet more stringent biosecurity requirements imposed by trading partners. Tonga's agricultural potential is considered to lie in the export of root crops and higher-value horticultural crops to New Zealand, particularly in the New Zealand winter. Crops include: taro, cassava, yams, squash, watermelons, breadfruit, zucchinis, eggplant, vanilla, chilies and beans.³ There is also potential to increase the volume of crops exported to other parts of the Pacific and to Japan, China and Korea.

Tonga is made up of approximately 170 islands mainly based on coral and distributed across a large sea area. The 36 inhabited islands support a population of just over 100,000, with 70% living on the main island of Tongatapu. The rest of the population is spread across the four island groups of Vava'u, Ha'apai, 'Eua and the Niua.⁴

Scope and Approach of Analysis

While agricultural exports rely heavily on horticultural crops, and the PHAMA program is focussed on supporting these, there has been minimal investigation of the gender aspects of the value chains. It was recognised that a basic gender analysis was required to better inform future support by the PHAMA program and other relevant donor or Government of Tonga led programs.⁵ In developing the scope of the analysis, it was also identified that handicraft (e.g. woven mats) production and sales was anecdotally a significant source of income for women throughout Tonga but due to being largely informal the trade was not reflected in official statistics such as export volumes or earnings. Hence it was agreed as useful to also consider the production and sale of handicrafts within this analysis.

With a focus on these value chains, the analysis was to identify the respective roles, responsibilities, expectations and challenges of women (and men) and recommend specific aspects or approaches for the PHAMA or other programs to take to better address gender issues and in particular women's economic empowerment. It was also to include a summary of the gender context in Tonga and relevant community, donor or Government of Tonga led programs or activities aimed at addressing gender issues.

¹ PHAMA Tonga Fact Sheet, April 2015.

² The Tongan currency is the pa'anga and the abbreviation is TOP.

³ PHAMA Tonga Fact Sheet, April 2015.

⁴ <http://www.aid.govt.nz/where-we-work/pacific/tonga>

⁵ PHAMA Tasking Note, October 2015

This report does not aim to provide technical information on agriculture and horticulture in Tonga, except where these are relevant to the gender analysis.

Cultural Context

Like much of the Pacific, Tonga is experiencing a clash of culture and democracy. Amongst the many factors that provoke these clashes are wider access to education, emigration, immigration and travel generally, wider access to global information and global comparisons, generations expecting more freedom than the previous generation and, of course, the cash economy.

There are entrenched gender stereotypes in Tonga but these are increasingly being challenged, especially by women in the workplace. Society is slow to adapt to change and there is a strong desire to keep the culture in tact as much as possible. What may happen over time is that the positive aspects of culture are strengthened and the negative impacts are gradually discarded, but the process is usually painful.

As described by anthropologist Heather Young-Leslie, a mix of traditional and modern values typifies Tongan social and cultural life, including the maintenance of strong social cohesion and a deep respect for traditional practices. Young-Leslie suggests this is demonstrated through “an overt emphasis on smooth social relations, encouragement of fulfilment of kinship obligation, maintenance of a status ranking hierarchy, gifting, and status rivalry”. Involvement with religious institutions also contributes to social cohesion.⁶ This is evident for both males and females.

Although Tonga was never colonised, since the 17th century it has been heavily influenced by expatriates who worked in government advisory roles and as missionaries. The country became increasingly patriarchal, both in law and in practice, and the traditional equality between females and males was eroded. Traces of matrilineality remain in parts of the culture such as the brother-sister relationship.

Gendered Approach – Principles and Benefits

A gendered approach starts from the premise that females and males each make up approximately 50% of any population, and assumes that everything has differential impacts on females and males including (a) export market potential and (b) where expansion of trade would have large-scale impacts on vulnerable people. That is, PHAMA’s key criteria are important to the whole population and not just half of it. Further, “vulnerable people” are often those living in rural or remote areas and people with disabilities. Recent Tonga MDG and Census reports indicate that females are generally more vulnerable than males. Increasingly, female headed households fall into the category of vulnerable also. So even though gender is not explicit in PHAMA’s previous planning and decision-making, maximum success for the Tonga program lies in taking a gendered approach to achieve the best outcomes.

There is a dividend. According to the World Bank, empowering women and girls is not only the right and fair thing to do, it also makes economic sense. Expanding opportunities for women accelerates economic growth, helping to mitigate the effects of current and future financial crises.⁷

Gender analysis recognizes that within women as a group and men as a group there are differences that may be determined by a range of influences such as social position, religious affiliation, age, employment status, income status, marital status, how many dependents they look after, disability and location. These will be discussed further in the report.

The typical productive, reproductive and community role of women is referred to by scholars as the triple role of women. Men have productive roles in the formal and informal economy. Men also undertake community activities but in markedly different ways. Men tend to have community leadership roles where they organise at the political level. But generally men do not have a clearly defined reproductive role. This gender division of labour has been found to perpetuate female subordination because men’s work outside the home is valued more highly than women’s work within the home. Indeed, women’s household labour is not valued at all in most economies. It is only when women produce an income that their power to negotiate over household assets and welfare increases (Moser, 1993:26-29).

By taking into account that men and women play different roles in society and have different levels of control over resources, different needs can be identified. Needs are generally separated into practical and strategic gender needs. Practical gender needs tend to relate to survival, such as food security and access to clean water. Strategic gender needs relate to power and control issues, such as legal rights and equal wages (Moser, 1993:38-39). The state exercises considerable control over women’s strategic needs through policies relating to domestic

⁶ http://www.academia.edu/1651187/Tongan_Constructions_of_Happiness_and_Satisfaction

⁷ <http://www.worldbank.org/mdgs/gender.html>

violence, reproductive rights, legal status and welfare policy (Moser, 1993:37). Meeting strategic needs helps women to achieve greater equality (Moser, 1993:39). PHAMA's contribution to improving women's economic empowerment in Tonga will have more impact if it addresses both practical and strategic needs.

1.1 Scan of Donor/NGO Activity

The Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) contributes funding to a number of regional programs that focus on women's economic empowerment. Often these contributions are through other regional agencies such as the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC), Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the World Bank. DFAT also partners with other bilateral donors, such as the New Zealand Aid Program's (NZAP) contribution to PHAMA.

Extended partnerships include the Pacific Private Sector Development Initiative (PPSDI), the Pacific Islands Private Sector Organisation (PIPSO) and the Pacific Women Shaping Pacific Development program (known as *Pacific Women*). The latter is not specific to agriculture and horticulture, instead supporting government to mainstream gender throughout all ministries, including those involved in the sector. SPC also has a role in the gender mainstreaming program, in particular assisting government to collect and store disaggregated data, which will eventually support PHAMA to report more comprehensively to DFAT.

There is also a Joint Policy Reform Group (JPRG), made up of the Government and Development Partners, which is driving comprehensive public sector reform, including in areas of gender equality and social inclusion.

The New Zealand Aid Program (NZAP) is the main funder of the Tonga Business Enterprise Centre (TBEC), which is playing a strong role in providing women with business skills, startup support, and grants.

The IFAD-funded Mainstreaming of Rural Development Innovation (MORDI) is strong on the inclusion of women at every level of its work, and the Oxfam/NZAP funded Virgin Coconut Oil (VCO) program boast a 2:1 female/male ratio.

The NZAP-funded Tonga Handicraft and Cultural Support Program (THCSP) made great progress building women's handicraft small businesses during its short life span. It has spawned a new dedicated NGO that may be able to take this work forward in 2016.

A fuller list of donor and NGO activities—which in Tonga are primarily donor funded—appears as Annex B.

1.2 Scan of Government Activity

The main government agencies consulted for this report were the Ministry of Agriculture, Food, Forestry and Fisheries (MAFFF), the Ministry of Commerce, Tourism and Labour (MCTL) and the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA), which is responsible for local level government and the Division of Women's Affairs. All are able to influence gender equality in agriculture and horticulture. There may be other agencies but these three seemed the most apparent to this study. In June 2015, responsibility for Tourism was transferred to the Ministry of Infrastructure but for the purpose of this report, the abbreviation MCTL will be used. Also, the field team understands that consideration is underway to separate the responsibility for Fisheries away from MAFFF but the report will use the abbreviation MAFFF.

MAFFF's budget for 2014-15 was TOP6.653 million (approximately AU\$4 million), excluding Fisheries Division and one-off funding of the Agriculture Development Fund. Almost three quarters (72%) of the budget was allocated for salaries, with the remainder (28%) allocated for development-related activities (GoT, 2015:77). The non-salary component for export expansions, food security, extension and women's development was TOP522,000 (approximately AU\$319,000) and for quarantine activities TOP261,000 (approximately AU\$160,000).

MAFFF has recently undergone an institutional review in an attempt to resolve long-standing problems in management, strategy and operations. Extension services have a patchy reputation and the Women's Section lacks focus and the ability to innovate. Anecdotally, some in quarantine services lack dedication and attention to procedures.

MCTL appears to be making good progress on changing the difficult financial environment for women farmers seeking loans and has recently developed a strategy for supporting small and medium enterprises. The Ministry has, in the past, assisted handicraft producers to improve, and to attend trade fairs in the diaspora.

MIA's Local Government and Community Development Division is attempting to play more of a coordinating role in activities aimed at towns and districts, which is an appropriate role. A level of confusion abounds right now but this may be resolved over time and with clearer communication. The Division of Women's Affairs has a register of women handicraft groups and supports the groups in various ways. The main impact it can have is in supporting

ministries to mainstream gender. Work has commenced on what will be a long process and considerable donor support will be required.

Further information can be found in Annex C.

1.3 Scan of Tongan Sectoral Networks and Non-Government Agencies

Networks that could be advancing women's economic empowerment appear to take an overly passive approach to support for women. Some have received considerable donor and technical support over time but for some reason the impacts have not been sustained, let alone built on. Membership fees are usually low and are not enough to fund a small coordinating hub. As a result, they are generally poorly resourced unless a short-term donor project is being implemented.

The Langafonua Handicraft Centre has historically been one of the main venues for handicraft sales in Nuku'alofa. The venue is large and centrally located and has received a range of donor support over time. The field team heard that Langafonua does not seek handicrafts, instead craft makers bring their goods to the Centre for sale. If the item sells, the craft maker receives payment, less a 15% administrative fee. Langafonua has a register of craftspeople and is one of the many organisations that facilitates attendances at regional cultural events, where women have an opportunity to sell their handicrafts. Langafonua does not have a website to encourage sales and its Facebook page does not overtly promote products or sales either, though the field team heard that on occasion overseas orders are initiated through the Facebook page.

The Women in Sustainable Enterprise (WISE) network no longer has an office and does not seem to be as active as in the recent past. The field team heard that WISE has been too busy to meet since before the Coronation in 2014, though members keep in touch by email. Many of the 200 members are involved in handicraft activities. WISE is another organization that arranges group selling trips to regional events. WISE does not have a website for promotion or sales and its Facebook page has not been updated since 2013.

The field team heard that the Tonga Chamber of Commerce and Industry (TCCI) does not appear to be interested in handicraft businesses and the structure of meetings can be off-putting for women; however, the TBEC program discussed above, which sits under TCCI, has been instrumental in support for business women.

The Tonga Growers Federation is considered to be the main coordinating body for small growers of agricultural products. Of the 1,200 members roughly 10 are female, as is the current Chief Executive. The Federation acknowledges that it has not actively engaged women and has plans to gradually increase female membership.

Internal networks will be discussed in more detail in Annex D.

1.4 Structure of the Report

The report's structure is directed by the formal gender analysis approach that follows the Methodology section. This results in social, cultural and statistical information that would normally appear at the beginning of a report, appearing within the analysis section. Information was required to broaden the picture and to meet the brief, so additional topics are covered under separate headings at the beginning and end of the report. Annexes provide detailed additional information gathered during the field trip. The contents table commencing on page two is extensive and has been hyperlinked so that the reader can find topics easily.

2.0 Gender in Tonga

Gender refers to roles, responsibilities, rights, relationships and identities of men and women that are assigned to them within their own society and context. Men and women influence each other's behaviour through these assigned roles. In the Tongan context, the expected duties of brothers and sisters differ. Brothers are responsible for work that requires physical labour such as farming, mostly growing root crops and fishing. Sisters are expected to do lighter work like cooking, household cleaning, washing and weaving. Any of this work that requires heavy lifting is done by the brother, in keeping with the cultural view that women's work is light, easy, clean, and requires little to no mobility. These childhood gender stereotypes impact on what work women do in the economy. In relation to agriculture and horticulture, the field team heard that men do the dirty work of planting and harvesting while women clean and grade crops ready for crating.

Gendered roles are changeable over time, between places and within places. Gender equality is achieved by pursuing equal rights, voice, responsibilities and opportunities for men and women in societies, at work and in the home. Choice is key, being able to make an informed decision based on the full range of options rather than having those options limited by stereotypical roles. For instance, squash growing is very lucrative but working in the packing shed only earns an hourly wage. Women are generally directed to packing shed work when, as squash growers, they could earn considerably more. Restrictions on choice due to gendered stereotypes impacts both political (decision-making) and economic empowerment.

*Fakaleiti*⁸ is encompassed within the definition of gender. The consultants did not become aware of *leiti* working in the agriculture or horticulture sector during the course of the field study so this report does not comment on this aspect; however, historically *leiti* are known to have played a role developing the handicraft industry. There may be *leiti* interested in pursuing businesses in farming or handicrafts that may benefit from the PHAMA program. To date, not enough information is available to make an informed comment.

The government has signed or ratified a slate of international and regional conventions and declarations including the 2012 Pacific Leaders Gender Equality Declaration, which Pacific Islands Forum leaders are required to report progress against annually. While Tonga is unique in many ways, the constraints on equality between women and men are similar to the rest of the Pacific.

The field team heard that the term 'gender' has no translation in Tongan and is not understood by the majority of society so it has no real meaning. Sometimes this argument was proposed in an attempt to trivialise this gender analysis. Many in Tonga, both females and males, argue that there is equality between women and men, that women are revered in the culture or that it is men who require a boost to catch up with women. Yet there is discrimination against women in the law and in practice to the point where the Government's Tonga Strategic Development Framework (TSDF) 2011-2014⁹ identifies "improving gender equality by implementing the Government's gender development policy" as a key strategy for achieving the objective of strong and inclusive communities in Tonga. The TSDF acknowledges that there are shortcomings in women's empowerment, and focuses specifically on the need to engage women in productive employment and other economic activities, and in political participation (MFNP, 2011:5,10,37).

According to statistics on the website of the Tonga Women and Children Crisis Centre (WCCC), reporting of family violence against women and children is on the increase.¹⁰ A 2012 study on violence against women in Tonga states that family violence is commonly linked to a web of attitudinal, structural and systemic inequalities that are gender-based because they are associated with women's subordinate position in relation to men's in society (Ma'a Fafine Moe Famili, 2012:2).

In the forward to the report, the then Prime Minister, Lord Tu'ivakano wrote:

Within the Tongan traditional culture, women are held in high esteem with the most eminent social position in society afforded to women. This is what we regard as the fahu system. The special status accorded to women...extends beyond mere respect and privileges... The fahu can be described as having 'unlimited authority' over others within her kin group. This traditional fahu system in its pure form (as sisters are also daughters, mothers and wives) represents a check against a male dominant social order and ensures that harmony and respect in the family unit and broader social setting is maintained.

⁸ As described at <http://www.apcom.org/2013/08/29/spotlight-tongan-leitis-association-tonga/> "Leiti is a local cultural term which is a modern derivation of the English word 'lady' and is used as an inclusive term for the broad range of men who have sex with men (MSM), transgender people, gay and bisexual men and non-identifying MSM."

⁹ The TSDF has been redrafted during 2015 but has not been released in final form yet. Statements on improving gender equality appear in the new draft.

¹⁰ <http://tongawccc.org/about-violence/statistics/>

The National Study on Domestic Violence against Women...has brought to light the inequalities within our society. We see how women have been the focus of rejection and suppression. The key findings of the report tell us that:

- *79% of Tongan women and girls have experienced physical or sexual violence in their lifetime*
- *68% of Tongan women and girls are affected by physical violence perpetrated by mainly their fathers or teachers*
- *33% of married or ever partnered women are victims of physical violence*
- *17% of married or ever partnered women are victims of sexual violence*
- *24% of married or ever partnered women are subject to emotional violence*
- *Perpetrators of violence are just as likely to be well respected and educated Tongan men*

Tragically, the statistics highlight that the marriages and family environment of some women are not harmonious and their family home are places of fear and pain, rather than a safe and happy haven (Ma'a Fafine Moe Famili, 2012:xv).

Four out of five Tongan women and girls have experienced some form of physical or sexual violence¹¹ according to the findings of the report. These could be women in public service positions, business women, and women working in packing sheds or selling goods at the market. The finding does not support what some commentators would have the field team believe. Instead, it gives the impression that many of the participants were overly attached to an ideal from the past that still holds place in everyone's rhetoric, and on ceremonial occasions, but no longer in everyday reality.

A Family Protection Act came into effect in July 2014. Work has commenced on training and awareness raising with the public, but also with the police and judiciary. It seems there is still systemic discrimination against women and children who experience violence and come forward to press charges.

There is another reason why this example of inequality merits reporting in the PHAMA gender analysis. A 2007 report, cited in the National Study on Domestic Violence, stated that "the WHO has calculated an annual cost of violence against women to Tonga's economy is TOP\$18.3 million" (Ma'a Fafine Moe Famili, 2012:12), which is not far below the revenue raised from exports in recent years.

A Tongan women's NGO¹² is currently exploring the development of a women's economic empowerment program for those who were victims of family violence. The program will support women to develop financial independence and security so they can thrive outside the violent relationship, regain self-respect and have a sustainable future for themselves and their children. It could be worthwhile for PHAMA to maintain awareness of this initiative in relation to its key criteria b) vulnerable people.

PHAMA's contribution to improving women's economic empowerment in Tonga will have more impact if it addresses both practical and strategic needs. As an example, training women to increase their economic contribution by farming for export relies on access to land and, in large-scale cases, access to credit. The field team heard that the banking sector is somewhat hostile lending to women due to women not owning land as collateral. Women do not own land because of systemic discrimination, in this case by the country's Constitution. Changing the Constitution will be a long-term process so if lending institutions want to encourage women's increased contribution to the economy they should work hard to identify a way around the collateral issue. The field team heard differing stories of how difficult or easy it is for women to obtain loans from the Tonga Development Bank (TDB). The Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Labour (MCTL) is in discussions with some banks on addressing this issue. PHAMA may be able to play an advocacy role to ensure progress is positive and swift.

2.1 Progress towards Equality

In terms of formal education and employment in the public, private and community sector, Tongan women have made great gains. Females and males were reported in the 2011 Census as being equally represented in primary education (99% enrolments for both) and secondary education (75% enrolments for both). The data favours males for tertiary and vocational educational but progress has been made on equalising access since 2011 and the next census is likely to show a more equitable result. There is adequate health care and maternal mortality is very low. The main threat to health is obesity for women and diabetes for men, although obesity is a threat to men too. The importation of some food types is a contributing factor.

¹¹ The UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women defines violence against women as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life".

¹² Personal knowledge of the external consultant. The NGO cannot be named in this report because of confidentiality.

At the time of the field study, there were equal numbers of female and male CEOs in the public service. Deputy Directors (the next level down) were said to be over-represented by females. Women were over-represented in some ministries, such as health and education, and under-represented in others, such as infrastructure. Sex-disaggregated data does not appear to be available from one single source. While women are being appointed to senior roles in equal numbers, the field team heard that women managers sometimes go about leadership covertly so as not to provoke opposition from male colleagues. Equality in numbers does not appear to have led to non-discrimination yet.

Women are heading a number of private enterprises and running their own businesses in non-stereotypical occupations such as scrap metal export. A majority of civil society organisations are headed by women, excluding churches.

The Government has recommitted to gender equality through Cabinet approval of the Revised National Policy on Gender and Development 2014 – 2018. A Family Protection Act came into force in 2014 aimed at ending violence against women and children.

Overall though, the 2011 Census reported that women are under-represented in the formal and the informal economy. This suggests that women's work is primarily in the subsistence economy, which does not have a recognised economic value in Tonga or most parts of the world. More detail is provided later in the report.

2.2 No Progress for Equality

There are no women in the Tongan Parliament which is the highest decision-making body in the country. Since Tongan women won the right to vote and stand as candidates in 1951, there have been only seven women parliamentarians — four women elected as people's representatives, and three appointed to parliament by the king or the prime minister (Baker, 2015:1). There are provisions in the constitution for the prime minister to nominate up to four cabinet ministers to be appointed from outside parliament but the current prime minister declined to make any appointments, citing his past opposition to the practice (Op cit). Discussions on temporary special measures¹³ to increase the number of women in parliament usually result in statements, by both women and men, about the importance of being elected only on merit; however, special measures are already in place for some males. Nine seats are reserved for representatives of the nobles but this precedent never enters the debates. Many women who stand at elections have just as much merit as any other candidate but they fail to win seats. Perhaps what is underlying this failure is that voters do not consider women to be the equal of men, regardless of merit. If so, women do not have equality of opportunity in practice, even though it exists in the electoral law, and will continue to struggle to have a voice in political decision-making unless there is considerable non-emotive public debate on issues of discrimination.

There are no women district officers and since 2004 only three women town officers (local level government) have ever been elected out of 166 positions. There are no women judges or magistrates. Senior positions in churches are all held by men. Women are under-represented on boards, commissions and other decision-making bodies.

Inheritance laws discriminate against women, especially those concerned with land. Women do not have complete control over their bodies. For instance, women cannot undergo tubal ligation without the husband's consent. There is no law to prevent sexual harassment in the workplace.

Tonga is one of the few countries in the world that has not ratified the UN CEDAW Convention, which is aimed at eliminating gender discrimination. At the UN Commission on the Status of Women in March 2015, the government announced its intention to ratify, and a furore erupted in Tonga. Protest marches, often led by women, and petitions followed. As a result, ratification has been postponed, pending a public awareness exercise. Objections to CEDAW tended to focus on abortion and marriage equality, which protestors believed were sanctioned under CEDAW.¹⁴ A good deal of demystification will be required.

Men and women may perceive that there is no gender discrimination in Tonga but a brief snapshot of progress indicates that gender discrimination is in law and in practice. Many women and men may believe that it has no impact on their lives because it has been normalised. In reality, gender discrimination undermines people's ability to exercise choice and make the maximum contribution to society.

¹³ Temporary special measures are positive or proactive affirmative action measures to narrow gender disparities. In relation to elections, one mechanism is the Bougainville approach of reserved seats for women. Another mechanism is the Samoan approach of establishing a 'safety net', a mandatory minimum number of women members of parliament.

¹⁴ <http://www.radionz.co.nz/international/pacific-news/278104/tonga-pm-says-cedaw-issue-will-be-put-to-public-vote>

2.3 Differences within Female Populations

Differences within female populations result from status, number of years and quality of education, access to formal employment, family sizes and other socioeconomic factors. This analysis is confined to Tongatapu so will not comment on particular differences for women in outer islands but location impacts on women's economic empowerment as well and can have compound impacts, such as access to educational opportunities for females in remote locations. The 2011 Census identified that 22% of households nationwide are female headed (SPC, 2014:56). These households are generally more vulnerable than male headed households due to lower expendable income and other factors.

Husbands have higher authority than wives. When a couple marry, the bride's and groom's families exchange gifts (*koloa*), usually mats, baskets and tapa, which can amount to considerable economic value. While this practice is not considered by society as a financial transaction, it can result in the woman feeling obliged to serve her husband. None-the-less, women are free to divorce if the marriage does not work out.

The interweaving of women's ranks in families is complex and results in married women being subservient to their husbands and children while at the same time some women having considerable authority over their brothers' wives and children, just as the husbands' oldest sisters have considerable authority over wives and families. These relationships between women of 'superiority over' and 'subservient to', permeate all walks of life and can be acquired through marriage (being the wife of a leader), age and other factors. It can result in strong bonds and in jealousies. For instance, the field team heard that women do not always support other women to succeed in town elections as they would rather see a man win the role than another woman. Perhaps this is viewed from the perspective of being subservient to a female town officer rather than from the perspective of women having better representation in local decision-making. Whatever the reason, these attitudes retard progress for women.

3.0 Women, Agriculture and Horticulture

Women traditionally tend small vegetable gardens on household land, mostly for family consumption. Any surpluses are sold at local markets. Many women are actively engaged in handicraft production for ceremonial purposes and for private sale. Women are targeted for training and support by different agencies for different reasons. The field team heard that some NGOs and churches are delivering programs aimed at improving nutrition and food security in the household and the local market, while others aim to provide women with the skills to build up to sales for export in niche markets.

Then there are NGOs like MORDI and VCO, which actively engage women in developing export commodities through sustainable farming. More information on this is included in Annex E.

The Ministry of Agriculture, Food, Forests and Fisheries (MAFFF) provides agricultural extension services in every district. The field team heard that extension officers are mostly male and focus on supporting men for commercial cropping. Women are supported for subsistence cropping. The field team also heard that sometimes bad advice is given, resulting in crop failures. MAFFF has a long-established Women's Section that works with a register of women's groups on food security, health and nutrition and women's economic empowerment. The focus is on the local market but there may be potential for eventual export of value-added products, such as taro chips, which some groups are experimenting with. It appears that the Women's Section does not take a strategic approach, rather it provides seeds and training on a set range of crops. The field team heard that women rely on MAFFF to provide seeds, equipment and technical support for each planting rather than saving earnings from crop sales to be self-sustainable. Women are not trained on financial management as part of the program.

There are opportunities for women's economic empowerment in cropping and in handicrafts but there are risks also. The major constraints are both social and systemic. Socially, women's and men's roles are demarcated by acceptable types of work tasks. These are explored elsewhere in the report. Also, unexpended income is not saved it is shared to meet social and church expectations. Systemically, women are constrained by land ownership laws and access to credit. Progress is being made by government on the latter issue. Land ownership issues will take much longer to resolve, especially as more males turn 16 years of age and claim their Constitutional right to town and tax land. Eventually, there could be no unclaimed land even without making the law non-discriminatory.

The social constraints are multi-layered and will take much longer to work through, if the will can be rallied. A lack of saving of unexpended income results in growers being in debt to the exporter at the start of each growing season, instead of being able to even out annual income over time or use savings to lease additional land for growing. The demarcation of roles of women and men could be resolved more easily but for now they seem to be supported by women and men. Unless women take a stand on having choice in cropping work or the range of other roles in value chains, stereotypes are unlikely to change.

3.1 Cropping

There are not many large exporters in Tonga, roughly 10, and of these four are women. The field team was unable to establish exact numbers but apparently a register exists. Of the female exporters that the field team became aware of, one entered crop exporting after a successful career as a vehicle importer, one entered after a successful career in the pharmaceutical industry, which involved importing, one is a New Zealand Tongan who returned to Tonga after purchasing an established coffee growing business and one currently exports scrap metal but is shifting focus to exporting manioc and possibly other crops to Hawaii. At least one male exporter is also a New Zealand Tongan who returned to Tonga to establish a crop exporting business. Others are the second generation of families that commenced large-scale cropping many years ago. The field team did not investigate gender similarities or differences due to time limitations but this could make an interesting case study for the future. The main gendered differences observed that may be inhibiting more women from becoming exporters were land ownership, access to finance and gendered labour roles. These are discussed in more detail later.

It would be useful for government or donor partners to undertake a case study to investigate gender similarities and differences in the exporter population (*see Further Research recommendation*).

Exporting has potential for greater earnings but involves greater financial risks. Access to large amounts of land for growing is required and most exporters establish a network of contracted grower families to supplement shipments. A solid financial base is required for the many outgoings such as seeds, fertilisers, chemicals, equipment (tractors, spraying, tools), and cash to pay harvest labourers, quarantine charges and shipping fees. The field team heard that obtaining a commercial loan was problematic for one woman exporter due to lack of land ownership or other accepted collateral. Another woman exporter had difficulties because she exports through

her own networks and not through the government-recommended pathway, which is for exports of certain crops to be through New Zealand to an agent who on-ships some crops, such as squash, to Japan and Korea.

Once a shipment is accepted at its destination, payment to the exporter can take up to two months to arrive. Due to this delay, it would be difficult for many women, even more so than men, to amass the amount of money required to establish their own export business. Managing the business requires a lot of hours ensuring correct procedures are followed, dealing with grower families, hiring seasonal labour, packaging and labelling and paperwork. Due to the reality of their other responsibilities, women will need good household support to direct enough time to managing an export business.

Other opportunities exist for women as part of grower family units contracted by exporters to grow a particular crop. Women's and men's work in these units follows typical divisions of labour. The total number of family units has not been established but one exporter reported working with 150 families to grow papaya. The family makes part or all of their eight-acre bush land¹⁵ available and the exporter arranges field ploughing and provides all other inputs such as seeds or seedlings, fertilizer, chemicals and bins at harvest time. The family tends the crop right up to harvesting and sells the produce back to the exporter for an agreed price. The exporter deducts production costs, and payment is generally made once the crop is paid for by the overseas recipient—though one exporter advised that they pay half the value up front and the rest when the international payment arrives. Family units can make ±TOP50,000 (approximately AU\$30,000) per harvest. Poor yields of export quality crops result in a lower income. Drought and other factors can undermine crop quality. Crops not fit for export are sold on the local market at a lower price. The field team heard that family units do not save a portion of these earnings to pay setup costs for the next planting. Instead, they rely on the exporter to pay for seeds and other inputs and for those costs to be deducted from the next harvest. There is no buffer for a poor yield and the lack of savings could disadvantage families during droughts or other impacts.

In a new initiative through the Ministry of Education and Training's TVET section, the DFAT-funded Interim Skills Development Facility (ISDF) piloted a project in 2015 where 55 women were trained and supported to grow small-scale crops for export, and to budget income and expenditure. The women were formed into groups for training and mutual support but in most cases used household land (town allotment) for the growing. In one village the whole group farmed one piece of land and in one village only one woman remained involved. Chili and eggplant were selected as the first crops to pilot as they have an identified market that is under-supplied. Also the crops could be grown in the village rather than on bush land. The pilot was reasonably successful but was undermined by the closure of the HTFA, which prevented the crops from being exported. This underlines the risk for farmers involved in exporting HTFA crops (compared to root crops for example). Some of the women involved are keen to try again and on a larger scale on bush land. It is too early to say whether this initiative will evolve into a women's exporting collective but the project provides earning potential for women who are otherwise only engaged in subsistence growing. A Farmer Field School is also being run by Nishi Trading and will be ramping up from 2016 with donor support. Enrolling women, young people, and people with disabilities will be a focus. Both of these initiatives could provide professional development for MAFF extension officers as well.

PHAMA should engage with the ISDF program and the Nishi farmer schools with a view to involving women farmers in growing for export through awareness raising (about export opportunities and risks) and training. The involvement of MAFF extension officers in this training would provide them with professional development and exposure to working with women farmers (*Horticulture and Root Crops - recommendation 2*).

Some women work for wages as seasonal labourers in exporter packing sheds, while others engage in contracting as part of family units, for example, the extended family is contracted to harvest a field. Contracting can result in a higher income than working for wages.

Stereotypical labouring roles are largely adhered to when it comes to seasonal labour. Pay rates are consistent with labour laws and do not appear to differentiate between women and men. Men are hired to work in the field and sometimes in the packing shed whereas women generally only work in the packing shed. Exporters expressed a preference for women for this work citing their attention to detail and reliability, amongst other reasons. Field work is paid at an hourly rate of TOP7-8 (approximately AU\$4-5) and is usually for four hours per day. Packing shed work is sometimes paid by the bin but is usually a day rate of TOP30 (approximately AU\$18) and is an eight-hour shift. Thus, men and women earn approximately the same per day but women work twice as long.

The field team heard that there is a list of 53 additional items approved for export to New Zealand that are not all currently being supplied. Various types of leaves and herbs are included. The list could provide opportunities for women wishing to move into export crops and may not necessarily threaten cultural stereotypes.

¹⁵ Known as tax land, males have a Constitutional right to claim an eight-acre allotment once they reach the age of 16 years plus a town allotment of just under half an acre for a house and subsistence garden.

The list of items approved for export to New Zealand should be investigated to identify commercially viable opportunities for women growers (*Further Research recommendation*).

PHAMA should seek out opportunities for engaging women farmers and exporters in the Program either through working proactively with existing groups of women farmers and exporters, involving them in the MAWG or establishing, and possibly resourcing, a Women in Agriculture association; this with the express purpose of mobilising and supporting women aiming towards farming for export (*Horticulture and Root Crops - recommendation 1*). Amongst the objectives of the association could be to support women to pursue commercial cropping, particularly for export; provide mutual reinforcement; source training through MAFFF, IFAD, TBEC, ISDF and other opportunities; and engage with government on women's economic empowerment through agriculture, including on land and finance issues.

MCTL and development partners could investigate establishing a loan or grant scheme specifically for women in agriculture where the problems associated with collateral are overcome (*Access to Finance recommendation*). Details of the scheme could be agreed upon in consultation with a Women in Agriculture association and could include a savings scheme alongside funds for access to ploughs, seeds, fencing and seasonal labour.

PHAMA should consider directing Export Development Grants (EDGs) to farming initiatives by women farmer groups and/or women exporter (*Horticulture and Root Crops - recommendation 3*).

MAFFF staff, in particular extension officers, would benefit from gender training. Involvement in PHAMA training targeted at women farmers might be a practical approach to this (*Gender Expertise and Training recommendation*).

3.2 Handicraft Exports

Almost all women and some men produce handicrafts for the informal economy. They are mostly self-employed, though in some cases women are hired to complete part of the production process. Some entrepreneurial women hire other women to prepare pandanus for weaving or tapa squares for mats, then hire other women to weave the completed product or join up the tapa squares into large tapa mats. There is a short-term income advantage in the form of hourly wages. The majority of women prefer to complete the process from start to finish and obtain the long-term benefit of the full sale price of the item.

The Draft Tonga Agriculture Sector Plan (TASP) acknowledges that there is insufficient recognition of the indirect roles of women in the agriculture sector as producers of tree crop-based handicrafts because they enter the informal market and are not recognised in the National Accounts. Due to the apparent rapid growth of handicraft manufacturing the TASP recognizes a development opportunity and identifies support at two levels: (i) sustainable production of mulberry and pandanus as a source of income for diversified farmers; and (ii) more direct support for women who elect to make weaving and tapa-making a more permanent rural profession (GoT, 2015:26).

The field team heard of a seven-week survey taken in 2013 of handicrafts passing through the quarantine facility. The total value was estimated at TOP1,400,000 (approximately AU\$850,000). If the pattern is relatively consistent over a year, the total value would be in the range of TOP5-10 million (approximately AU\$3-6 million) in addition to the unknown USA market. The information was collected by the Tonga Handicrafts and Cultural Tourism Support Program (THCTSP) and will be released in a report in early 2016. Destinations included Australia and New Zealand only; there are no quarantine requirements for the USA, which is possibly the largest destination for handicrafts. The 2009 Household Income and Expenditure Survey (HIES) reported the value of subsistence handicraft production at TOP26 million (approximately AU\$16 million) (Statistics Department, 2010:44), which is the equivalent of current export income in the formal sector.

Larger local and tourist sales outlets on Tongatapu are the Langafonua Handicraft Centre, the main market in Nuku'alofa, the wharf market and cruise ships. The bulk of handicrafts are exported through various pathways, such as family connections and *kātoanga* exchanges. Few craftspeople sell through websites including Facebook, unlike other women in the Pacific.

Tongans in the diaspora purchase mats and tapa for ceremonial occasions in their adopted countries. An order is placed with relatives in Tonga who prepare the handicrafts and arrange delivery to the relevant country. The agreed costs are then transferred to Tonga, though sometimes there are lengthy delays before payment is finally made. The field team was unable to identify volumes. Funds are classified as remittances in economic data so it is difficult to identify the annual value of these exchanges. An analysis of available data on the annual volumes and value of handicrafts passing through quarantine services would be insightful (*Handicrafts recommendation*).

Organised *kātoanga* (mat exchanges) take place several times annually. Groups of women from the USA, Australia and New Zealand make prearranged visits to any part of Tonga to participate in the *kātoanga*, which is a festive event that includes feasting and dancing. Anyone can organize a *kātoanga* and some tourist operators

arrange group package tours specifically for a *kātoanga* (FAO, 2013:23). MORDI arranges three or four *kātoanga* per year and advised the field team that ±TOP80,000 (approximately AU\$49,000) can change hands, mostly for mats. Additionally, gifts are contributed to the Tongan communities, such as lawn mowers and generators. The field team were advised that a record was set in 2009 when a group of women from the USA exchanged TOP1 million (approximately AU\$610,000) at a *kātoanga*. A 2012 FAO report recorded another *kātoanga* on Vava'u where TOP275,000 (approximately AU\$168,000) was exchanged (FAO, 2012:23). The event involved a group of 50 women from Australia who had agreed to purchase five mats each (a total of 250 mats) valued at TOP\$1,100 each (approximately AU\$670). Specific weavers were identified so that the money would be shared around the island. No data is available on the annual value of *kātoanga* events but it is likely to be several million *pa'anga*.

No *kātoanga* were taking place during the field trip for this report so the team was unable to interview women from the diaspora to identify their specific motivations or choices; however, the field team were advised of a purchase of mats in 2015 worth approximately US\$50,000 (AU\$70,000) by a Tongan family living in the USA that wanted the mats for a wedding. Demand would appear to be driven by cultural tradition more than gender or social impacts. Additional research on demand in the diaspora may uncover export opportunities.

Cultural events and trade fairs in the region are another opportunity for women to make money from handicrafts. Women groups are selected to attend from the various registries that exist at MCTL, MIA-Division of Women, Langafonua, WISE and elsewhere. Every year organized groups of between 10 and 20 women go to the Pasifika Festival in Auckland (March) and Tonga Day in Sydney (November) and occasionally to neighbouring Pacific Island countries or the USA. Expenses are usually funded through agencies like TBEC or PIPSO. The value of sales varies widely from TOP12,000 (approximately AU\$7,000) to TOP50,000 (approximately AU\$30,000), which is shared between the group. The earnings are relatively modest and if participants paid their own airfares and expenses the effort would not be commercially viable. These events are not used as opportunities to establish regular export markets. They are used only for one-off sales of the handicrafts taken as luggage, which appears to be a missed opportunity.

None of this economic activity is captured, except in infrequent HIES reports. Women who do not have registered businesses, generally do not pay tax on handicraft sales so there is no mechanism for capturing data. As a result, women's (and men's) handicraft work is not economically valued by government or society as a whole—though it is socially valued. The lack of acknowledgement of women's informal role in the economy results in women not having a voice at decision-making tables. No doubt many women prefer things as they are, rather than the industry having a higher profile and attracting potentially unwanted attention; however, the field team were advised that not enough raw materials are being planted to maintain the current handicraft volumes. A more strategic approach would be useful.

The field team does not advocate for undermining women's economic empowerment by encouraging handicraft export producers to register as businesses, unless the taxation or other burdens this would attract can be managed or offset by increased prices or sales volumes. A way to manage taxation would be to lobby for handicraft export businesses to be exempted from taxation but an exemption would privilege handicraft exports over crop exports, which may not be justifiable. Also an exemption provides a disincentive to women (and men) interested in exporting crops and related products such as taro chips.

The threshold for personal annual income tax is approximately TOP7,000 (approximately AU\$4,300) and many handicraft sellers earn below this limit. There are taxes for small businesses that start as low as 1% but increase depending on turnover to a maximum of TOP100,000 per annum, then an across-the-board rate of 25% appears to apply. An informed analysis of the tax regime is beyond the scope of this report but should be pursued as a consideration in improving women's economic empowerment.

In regard to taking a more organized approach to strengthening handicraft production for export, there is a need for all relevant organisations to coordinate. This could take place through one government agency becoming the lead agency, such as a strengthened MAFFF, or by the establishment of a handicraft industry working group (IWG) of some sort. The Market Access Working Group (MAWG) may be the right place to start discussions on coordination, even if a decision is made to pursue coordination through a different mechanism, such as a national handicraft board.¹⁶ The handicraft industry would be better served by there being one combined registry of individual women or women's groups, rather than the five or six that currently exist. Also, there should be more transparency around how new women can join a registry or attend overseas events and trade fairs. Issues of profile and political recognition could be explored through the mechanism. A strategic approach to making the best use of overseas events and trade fairs could be agreed upon. The vital issue of training in business financial

¹⁶ The draft TASP refers to a Handicraft Council but it is unclear whether it is the Langafonua Handicraft Centre or some other Council that is not very active.

management could be addressed, with emphasis on the need to reinvest profits. In summary, a better organised handicraft sector could then move on to increasing incomes for women.

The Tongan Government and/or donors could seek out opportunities for the establishment, and possibly resourcing, of a handicraft industry working group through discussions with MCTL and the former National Coordinator of the Tonga Handicraft and Cultural Tourism Support Program (*Handicrafts recommendation*).

Research could be commissioned on demand for handicrafts from the diaspora, with a view to identifying new pathways (*Handicrafts recommendation*). Also, an analysis of the tax regime could be undertaken, relative to increasing women's economic opportunities in agriculture and horticulture (*Handicrafts recommendation*).

Better coordination of the handicraft sector could be progressed through, in the first instance, a handicraft industry working group (IWG) that is a sub-committee of a mechanism like the MAWG (*Handicrafts recommendation*). The purpose of this group would be to strategise on a combined registry of handicraft producers, attendance at overseas events, training, saving schemes, production of raw materials and issues of profile and political recognition.

3.3 Quarantine Treatment Types

A brief description of the four types of quarantine treatments follows as they will be referred to in parts of the report.

High Temperature Forced Air (HTFA) Facility

The HTFA facility is used for the mandatory treatment of seven fruit fly host commodities that have market access to New Zealand. The commodities are chillies, papaya, tomato, mango, breadfruit, eggplant and avocado. Tomatoes are damaged by the process so attempts are no longer being made to export, but tomatoes are grown commercially for the local market.

Past problems have resulted from lack of compliance with the strict procedures that meet biosecurity approval and resulted in consecutive losses of certification. An incident in March 2015 led to the HTFA losing certification when a shipment of breadfruit was found to contain fruit fly larvae when it was inspected on arrival in New Zealand. An inquiry followed, which identified a number of failings in procedures and access to the facility. These are being addressed and it is hoped that the facility will be open for business again in early 2016.

Methyl Bromide Fumigation

According to the FAO, methyl bromide is not as toxic to most insect species as other commonly used fumigants but other properties make it an effective and versatile fumigant. It penetrates quickly and deeply into sorptive materials at normal atmospheric pressure and at the end of a treatment the vapours dissipate rapidly and make possible the safe handling of bulk commodities. Many living plants are tolerant to this gas in insecticidal treatments.¹⁷ Watermelon, mats and some other handicrafts are treated this way prior to export to New Zealand.

Past problems have resulted from incorrect use of the fumigation equipment. In one anecdotal report TOP40,000 (approximately AU\$24,000) of watermelons were damaged. The exporter took legal action and was fully compensated by government.

Blast Freezer

Blast freezing uses a rapidly circulating stream of cold air, sometimes combined with cold spirals, which removes heat by means of radiation.¹⁸ Freezer temperature should reach 0°C within four hours and -20°C within eight hours. The most commonly reported successful treatments have been carried out at -29°C for a period of 72 hours.¹⁹ Root crops such as cassava, yams and taro are treated in this way.

One exporter advised of an incident where quarantine staff turned the chiller off overnight when it contained a shipment of yams worth TOP14,000 (approximately AU\$8,000). MAFFF refused to accept responsibility and the exporter was never compensated.

A recent external institutional review of MAFFF is expected to recommend solutions to these ongoing problems. Women farmers moving into the export market will struggle to survive losses of this nature. No doubt, PHAMA will monitor the uptake of recommendations from the institutional review. Ongoing discussions with MAFFF may be required to ensure that recommendations are implemented early.

¹⁷ <http://www.fao.org/docrep/x5042e/x5042e08.htm>

¹⁸ <http://www.ilocis.org/documents/chpt67e.htm>

¹⁹ <https://www.nedcc.org/free-resources/preservation-leaflets/3.-emergency-management/3.10-integrated-pest-management>

3.4 Brief Opportunity Analysis

The Tasking Note for the gender analysis requests a discussion on potential for more involvement of women in production of papaya, root crops and handicrafts. The main constraints for women wanting to move into growing crops for export are access to land, access to finance and socially delineated roles for women and men in relation to farming work. Access to land and finance are systemic issues that can only be mitigated by systemic change. The stratification of society into appropriate men's work and appropriate women's work can be mitigated by making clearly-understood choices available, along with relevant training and follow-up support. There were no noticeable exceptions to the stratification but there appears to be a group of women, identified through the ISDF pilot program, who are willing to become involved on a larger scale. The leader of this group is a widow who has inherited a tax allotment and is willing to farm it for income. The exception to the rule appears to have been brought about by three factors which are: the need to maintain household income, opportunity (through training) and access to land.

Following is an assessment using a framework developed by the Market Development Facility (MDF), based on best international practice. In 2011 the MDF was established in Fiji with Australian Aid funding and has since expanded to Timor-Leste in 2012, Pakistan in 2013, and Papua New Guinea and Sri Lanka in 2015.²⁰ It aims to stimulate investment, business innovation and regulatory reform in order to create additional jobs and increase the income of poor women and men in rural and urban areas in the Indo-Pacific region (MDF, 2015:2). One of the ways it does this is by mainstreaming women's economic empowerment throughout its country programs. There are Country Teams active in each partner country. Amongst other measures, these teams conduct in-depth household analysis of poverty and gender dynamics in target communities (MDF, 2015:37). The MDF approach to gender analysis is much more thorough than the approach applied to this brief scan of gender in Tonga. None-the-less, one of the MDF tools is used in Table 1 to consider four agriculture and horticulture opportunities for this report. It is important to clarify that information in the table is based on a much more limited consultation process and may only reflect the situation for those who contributed information.

The field team considers that there is potential for increased income for women in farming and handicrafts but there are constraints that will need to be managed.

Table 1: WEE Opportunity Analysis

MDF WEE Domain	Papaya	Root Crops (taro, yams, etc)	Small Produce (eg, chilies, herbs, etc)	Handicrafts
OVERALL – ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT				
Increased Income	<p>Women could increase incomes by growing papaya for export but access to acreage is required and societal roles currently prevent women from involvement in harvesting. Also, exporting papaya is reliant on a functioning HTFA.</p> <p>As part of family farming units, women contribute to the collective income through cleaning and packing papaya ready for sale to exporters.</p> <p>The local market is already well supplied with papaya during the season and the price drops considerably.</p>	<p>Women can build up to exporting root crops but access to a large acreage is required, or contracting of other farmers. Women would also need access to male labour to prepare the land and harvest, and female labour to assist with cleaning and packing. A large investment of time and resources is required.</p>	<p>Women can increase incomes through growing small produce but greater access to land is required or cooperative growing with other women. There is less stratification of roles attached to women growing small produce. Better yields would result from additional training on quality and the introduction of varieties of different crops to diversify market opportunities. Access to equipment is also required, such as tractors and spraying equipment. As part of cooperatives, the family garden or a greenhouse could be used and proceeds shared.</p>	<p>Income from handicraft sales could be increased through training on new designs and techniques to attract tourists and overseas buyers.</p> <p>Better use could be made of trade fairs and cultural events in the diaspora to establish export connections.</p>

²⁰ <http://marketdevelopmentfacility.org/content/where-we-work/>

MDF WEE Domain	Papaya	Root Crops (taro, yams, etc)	Small Produce (eg, chilies, herbs, etc)	Handicrafts
MOR EMPOWERED/STRONGER AGENCY				
Decision-making authority and influence in different spheres, including household finances and trade relations	Women exporting would need to reinvest profits. Any additional surplus would be used for household expenditure, school fees and other family expenses. Women would have decision-making authority in their export business, which could influence household decision-making and community leadership. As part of family units, the income would be paid to a male head but would likely contribute to the household.	Women exporting would need to reinvest profits but surpluses would contribute to household expenditure. Women would have decision-making authority in their export business, which could influence household decision-making and community leadership. As casual packing shed labour women receive income directly and contribute it to household expenditure.	Women exporting would need to reinvest profits but surpluses would contribute to household expenditure. Women would have decision-making authority in their export business, which could influence household decision-making and community leadership. As cooperative growers the income would contribute to household expenditure but not necessarily influence decision making or community leadership.	Informal handicraft sales contribute to household expenditure but usually do not change household decision-making and have no effect on community leadership. The situation could change if women progressed to a formal business approach.
Manageable workload	All exporters would save time if public sector services, such as quarantine and other requirements to complete documentation and proceed to shipping, were more streamlined. Women would need extended family support to run an export company, and possibly to work in packing sheds depending on the ages of children.	All exporters would save time if public sector services, such as quarantine and shipping, were more streamlined. Women would need extended family support to run an export company, and possibly to work in packing sheds depending on the ages of children.	Access to tractors for ploughing would be a timesaver for women moving into growing volumes of small produce. Tending of crops takes place during school hours and flexibility is required when delivering training.	Women spend a part of most days producing handicrafts and have already factored time into household labour. To move to production of large quantities for export, different approaches would be required and additional family support for children.
IMPROVED ACCESS				
Access to opportunities and life chances such as skills development or job openings	Women would benefit from increased access to training on small business management, including financial management. Training on growing for export would also be required. All of these skills are transferable to paid employment.	Women would benefit from increased access to training on small business management, including financial management. Training on growing for export would also be required. Improved training on growing for the local market is also useful. All of these skills are transferable to paid employment.	Women would benefit from increased access to training on small business management, including financial management. Training on growing for export would also be required. All of these skills are transferable to paid employment.	Women would benefit from increased access to training on small business management, including financial management. Training on innovation and producing for export would also be required. All of these skills are transferable to paid employment.

MDF WEE Domain	Papaya	Root Crops (taro, yams, etc)	Small Produce (eg, chillies, herbs, etc)	Handicrafts
Access to assets, services and needed supports to advance economically	Access to land and finance are major impediments for women, along with socially defined roles for farming work. Access to seeds, fertilisers, chemicals, and labour saving devices would increase women's outputs while decreasing their workload. Women choosing to farm the family acreage also require transportation and assistance with irrigation.	Access to land and finance are major impediments for women, along with socially defined roles for farming work. Access to seeds, fertilisers, chemicals, and labour saving devices would increase women's outputs while decreasing their workload. Women choosing to farm the family acreage also require transportation and assistance with irrigation.	Women working in grower cooperatives may be able to just use the house garden but this limits volume. Access to land, seeds, fertilisers, chemicals, and labour saving devices would increase women's outputs while decreasing their workload. Women choosing to farm the family acreage also require transportation and assistance with irrigation.	Raw materials for handicrafts are grown on the family acreage and harvested by the men of the family. The women process these to create the finished product. Increased cropping of raw materials will be required to meet increased export demand.

Source: MDF, 2015:38

The MDF has produced a useful set of tools for integrating women's economic empowerment into market access programs, which may be useful for assisting PHAMA to strengthen its focus on gender and vulnerable communities. The full report is cited in the references.

4.0 Methodology

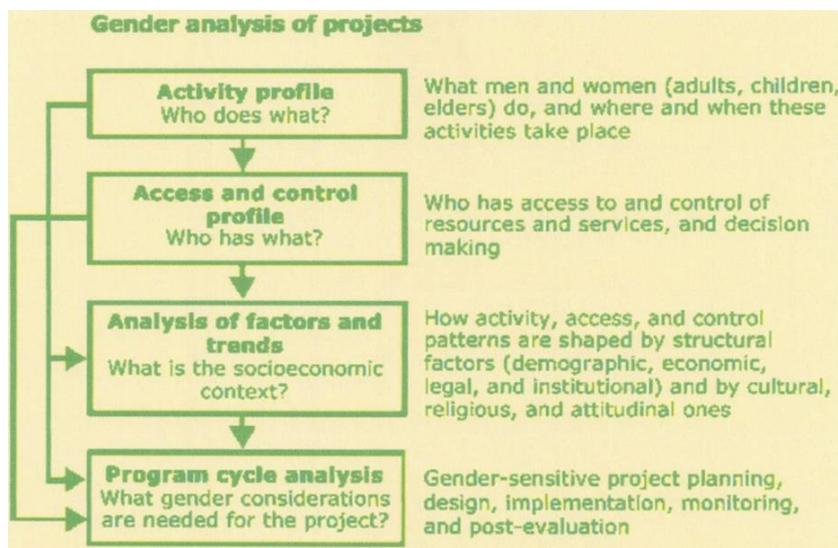
The gender analysis was conducted by a team of two comprised of a Tongan consultant with local knowledge of women’s roles in agriculture and an external consultant with additional gender experience.

The analysis was confined to the main island of Tongatapu and may not reflect the situation for growers in other parts of the country. The field work took place from 11 to 20 November 2015. Interviews were held with a range of stakeholders including government officials, exporters, growers and non-government organisations (NGOs) involved in women’s economic empowerment. A list of those consulted is annexed to this report.

Due to limitations on time and introductions, the team was not able to meet with women who are not currently active in growing crops beyond the subsistence level. There may be barriers to women’s economic empowerment that could only be identified by consulting with communities not currently engaged. Any future analysis should attempt to hear from non-participant stakeholders.

A review of background documents preceded the field visit and internet research contributed to the analysis of the socioeconomic context.

The approach taken was a commonly used four-step analysis:



Source: Adopted from ADB 2006, Gender Checklist – Agriculture

Due to constraints on time and on gaining access to groups of women growers, the consultations were not as broad as would be preferred; however, the consultants felt comfortable that they identified a snapshot of constraints and opportunities to inform the PHAMA program in Tonga.

5.0 Activity Profile

The majority of women over 20 years of age are married with children. As in most countries, women have major responsibility for household labour but the field team heard that men assist on an ad-hoc basis. Women have primary responsibility for child care, food provision and preparation, and other domestic duties. Women in the formal economy manage these tasks around work commitments, often with assistance from the immediate and extended family. Women who are not in the formal economy are economically active for two or more hours each day, either before children return from school or in the evening. Many work on handicrafts such as mats, tapa, baskets or jewellery. Some sew and others tend crops for sale at the local market. Some women are involved in agricultural projects through MAFFF or churches or NGOs such as the Family Health Association, which runs a food nutrition program.

An average day for a woman covers 16 hours from approximately 6 am until approximately 10 pm. The day begins with preparing breakfast and getting children ready for school. For those in the informal economy, that is followed by household chores such as cleaning and clothes washing. If there is time before lunch the woman will often work on her economic activity and again after lunch until mid-afternoon when preparation commences for the evening meal. This is followed by supervising children's homework and relaxing in front of television. On Saturdays women often work on their crafts and on Sundays church activities take up part of the day for the whole family.

If the man of the house is in the formal economy, his day starts with preparing for work and sometimes he assists with organising the children. After work, he often spends an hour or so in the vegetable garden and relaxes in front of television. Sometimes in the evening he entertains the children. Men in the informal economy spend the day in economic activities such as fishing, going to the bush (the acreage garden) or doing manual agricultural labour for wages, often as part of a group with other male family members.

There are exceptions. The field team is aware of a small number of families where the woman is the primary earner and the man takes responsibility for most of the household labour, with assistance from the children. This is uncommon and can be a cause of ridicule for men—by both men and women—but has usually been negotiated in partnership by the couple and works well.

Household labour is not valued but women's and men's economic activities, outside of the formal economy, are valued by the markets they sell in, whether handicrafts, fish or surplus crops, but generally do not appear in the National Accounts.

In support of women's handicraft activities, men grow the appropriate trees in the bush acreage and bring the tree bark or pandanus back to the house for preparation. This is considered to be men's work and it is often frowned upon for women to go to the bush garden alone—by both women and men. Going to the bush as part of the family unit is accepted as long as women do not do heavy men's work. Some men make wooden carvings for sale at the handicraft market or other outlets. Women do not carve wood.

Women's activities take place in the home, the workplace for those in the formal economy, in the home garden and at the market—either a village market or the main market in Nuku'alofa. Men's activities take place by the sea (fishing), in the bush garden, at a place of employment and in the home.

Most village people travel by bus, though some families have a car. Where this is the case, both women and men drive.

The field team were advised that some mature-aged women were keen to develop their bush gardens for commercial growing, despite it being frowned on for women to do what is considered men's work. For that reason, commercial farming is considered men's work. Where exceptional circumstance requires it, such as unavailability of men due to death, illness or other absence, women have been known to work in fields but this is uncommon. Constraints are not having transport to travel the distance (bush gardens are usually some distance from the home) or to cart water for tending the crops. The field team suggested that extension officers could provide transport but was advised that wives of male extensions officers would not allow that, apparently due to jealousy. Other constraints include fencing to keep out pigs and to prevent theft by people from other villages, which are constraints for everyone. Thefts are rarely reported to the police because no action is taken and it becomes an inconvenience to the person who reported. There are no apparent constraints on the work that men choose to do.

The busiest time of year for the family is mid-December until the end of January, when there are a lot of extended family and church responsibilities related to the Christmas season. Funerals and weddings are an often unpredictable strain on a woman's time and can create a busy period for roughly two weeks. Most years there is at least one wedding and one funeral in the immediate family and more in the extended family and village. These add pressure to families, both time pressure and economic pressure due to expected contributions of food and mats. For women who grow crops commercially, seasonal harvests are a busy time. These times are usually factored in to externally supported grower or handicraft programs and do not necessarily add extra pressure.

6.0 Access and Control Profile

This profile considers the productive resources such as land, equipment, labour, capital and credit, education and training. It differentiates between access to a resource and control over decisions regarding its allocation and use.

According to the 2011 Census, female and male access to formal education is approximately equal, though at the tertiary level more males than females complete qualifications. This may reflect the types of courses offered, inequality in the awarding of scholarships, or the different expectations of society on females and males. The tertiary data may be quite different in the 2016 census due to increased emphasis in recent years on ensuring equality in the awarding of scholarships. Despite universal access to basic education, inequities exist in the quality of education. This is particularly prevalent in the secondary system where there is reportedly a distinct disparity between government and non-government providers.²¹

Females are prevented by the Constitution from being allocated land from a noble. On behalf of the king, the nobility are the Constitutional estate-holders of the greater part of Tonga's landmass, which they are expected to distribute to their communities through males. Allotments are parcels of land divided into town or tax allotments, with defined land areas under the Land Act. Town areas have a minimum area of 30 perches and a maximum of 1 rood 24 perches. Tax allotments (known as bush or country land mainly for farming, and usually outside the village) have a maximum area of 8.25 acres. Allotments are granted from estates of nobles on application of a male Tongan of the age of 16 years and upwards.²² This land discrimination contributes to women's economic dependency on men.

There are a number of land issues that will not be explored in this report, such as nobles holding on to land instead of distributing it, the finite nature of the land mass meaning that the future of these allocations is finite, and land owners migrating and leaving land unproductive.

A widow may inherit both town and tax land but ownership of the estate terminates on her re-marriage or upon proof in legal proceedings of her having committed fornication or adultery. In the case of either of those events, or the death of the widow, the land passes to the oldest male heir. If there are no male heirs the land may be passed on to any unmarried daughter of the deceased holder and if there are two or more unmarried daughters they inherit jointly for their lives, unless they marry or upon proof of fornication or adultery. There are no constraints for male heirs. These conditions on land inheritance for females have the effect of entrenching women's subservience to men by undermining female ownership of assets and economic empowerment.

Lack of access to land restricts women from achieving their full economic potential and is seen by some in the commercial sector as impeding the development of the country as a whole.²³ Women may lease land to use for home gardens, or to grow trees for handicraft production or for other commercial purposes, usually to grow produce for the local market. The field team were advised of two incidences where women were leasing unproductive land owned by the royal family and using it for commercial growing. Generally, leases may involve a cash rental payment or just an obligation to provide some of the harvest to the lease owner.

Currently, it is unclear whether leased land can be used as collateral for a bank loan. Women who may be willing to take a loan for business development are often stymied by a lack of collateral. Men have ownership of land and as a result, have easier access to loans for business development.

The government's gender and development strategy calls for support schemes to facilitate women's access to land and ownership of productive assets (2.3.4) and a culturally appropriate local consultancy to study an appropriate equal land rights model for men and women for Tonga before submission for final consideration by Government (2.3.5) (GoT, 2014:7).

The Ministry of Commerce, Tourism and Labour (MCTL) is engaged in discussion with lending institutions to develop new collateral criteria for lending to women. Some microfinance-type loan schemes are targeted at women, though sometimes the interest repayment is high.

The Tonga Development Bank (TDB) has a low-interest loan scheme for women pursuing entrepreneurial activity but the field team heard that these are very difficult to access. The field team were advised that a female exporter tried to access a loan but gave up due to the many limitations on qualifying. As an exercise, the Tongan consultant rang the bank to enquire into taking a loan and found the discussion discouraging, the process complicated and the qualifying requirements restrictive. After hearing more anecdotal reports to the contrary, the Tongan consultant followed up with the Bank again and was advised that women can use leased land, on which horticultural farming is located, as collateral for loans subject to due considerations such as means of repayment

²¹ <http://www.aid.govt.nz/where-we-work/pacific/tonga>

²² http://www.paclii.org/to/Royal_Land_Commission_Report/E4-1.pdf

²³ http://www.paclii.org/to/Royal_Land_Commission_Report/E4-1.pdf

and time frames. The process is confusing for Bank staff and much more confusing for women. Despite the Bank's rhetoric, in effect some women are talked out of taking a loan by some bank staff.

Commercial farming equipment is difficult to access by small farmers, both male and female. The field team heard from several participants of a need for access to tractors to prepare the bush acreage. Families that grow crops under contract to an exporter receive equipment support from the exporter, along with fertilizers and chemical spraying equipment for pest control. Those that grow for the local market must prepare the acreage by hand.

Some growing schemes aimed at women provide access to shared spraying equipment and training on usage. MAFFF has a small commercial kitchen for training and women's groups may use equipment such as a deep fryer for upscaling production of consumables such as cassava chips. For ventures like this to become commercially viable, women's groups will need to take the next step and set up their own commercial kitchens. This will require a good deal of saving from the proceeds of sales or access to a commercial loan.

Training is primarily available to male farmers. The field team heard that generally MAFFF extension workers in districts support males with cropping for local markets and support females with home gardening only. Of course, the MAFFF Women's Section focuses only on women but the field team heard that the same crops are targeted each year and some women attend training to get free seeds but often do not return for the whole program because they have had the training before. MAFFF could take a more strategic approach to how they motivate women farmers to be productive.

The TVET Interim Skills Development Facility (ISDF), a new DFAT-funded program piloted in 2014, targets women in a ten-week schedule of training and support for cropping specific produce to meet the export market, such as chillies and eggplant. Some NGO activity targets women also, such as the Virgin Coconut Oil (VCO) not-for-profit business.

In a new development, the exporter Nishi Trading Company commenced a Farmer Field School in 2015 and has received DFAT-funding to continue the school for five years from February 2016. Women, people with disabilities and farmers from outer islands are encouraged to attend. The school takes 25 participants at a time for a 16-week course on organic farming, using an applied research approach. Participants are also taught farming business skills.

Each village has a village council and often thematic committees, such as an agricultural committee, a sports committee and others. The field team heard that the village council can have around 30 members and varies between half and two-thirds male. Formal meetings are held to elect officers and these are dominated by men. Committees are mostly made up of eight males, though sometimes between one and four women can be appointed.

Regarding decision-making on how household income is spent, the team heard that incomes are usually combined. Some families have joint bank accounts, in some families the woman makes all the decisions, and in some families the man makes all the decisions. A lot depends on how vulnerable the family is. Expendable income is usually spent on home improvements, the purchase of labour-saving devices or luxury items and meeting family members' needs. Some is donated to the church.

In summary, MAFFF through District Offices primarily targets male farmers to supply local markets whilst community sector programs primarily target female farmers for local markets and household sustainability. The new TVET-ISDF program targets women including those with disabilities to develop crops for export and Nishi's Farmer Field School aims to maintain approximately 50% female participation, is inclusive of people with disabilities, and may result in more women taking an interest in farming for export. Women appear to play a role in household decision-making, including economic decisions, but are largely excluded from village decision-making processes.

Women wishing to develop agricultural entrepreneurialism have increasing opportunities, though these are relatively small-scale, however, other barriers will need to be overcome. These include access to finance, and stereotypical attitudes, held by both men and women, on what is considered women's work and what is considered to be men's work.

Women are engaged in the PHAMA program through the Market Access Working Group (MAWG). There are eight industry representatives on the MAWG (2f; 6m), which is chaired (on a six-monthly rotating basis) currently by the female CEO of MCTL. Others attend meetings too, such as MAFFF Women's Section representatives. Women and men on the quarantine staff engage with PHAMA at the technical level, especially in relation to improvements to quarantine processes such as the HTFA facility. PHAMA liaises with the ISDF program, which targets women, as the HTFA is a necessary part of the export process for chillies and eggplant. There are very few women exporters at the moment but as they build up their businesses they may become more engaged in the MAWG. Some MAWG members do not consider gender issues as part of their brief, but gender is not explicit in

the design document. This is discussed in more detail elsewhere in the report. Perhaps the MAWG, as a working group, should continue to focus on market access for all, while individual MAWG members pursue gender issues through their own work. A way forward could be the establishment of an Industry Working Group (IWG) under MAWG that specifically focuses on the barriers for women to enter the market in the first place.

The PHAMA program does not undermine access to productive resources, rather by supporting improvements to quarantine procedures the program increases opportunities for female and male growers alike. Neither does the program appear to impact on the balance of power between men and women, which is unfortunate because while women appear to have balanced relationships in the household they are constrained from choices by stereotypes and are barely represented in village decision-making. This issue will be discussed in more detail later in the report.

7.0 Analysis of Factors and Trends

This analysis considers the structural and socio-cultural factors that influence the gender patterns of activity and access and control.

Tonga achieved five of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), with a mixed result on two goals and was not rated on MDG 8 Global Partnerships for Development, due to the unavailability of information for many of the indicators. Successes were in education (Goal 2), child mortality (Goal 4), maternal health (Goal 5), combating HIV, malaria and other diseases (Goal 6) and environmental sustainability (Goal 7). Mixed results were for poverty eradication (Goal 1) and gender equality (Goal 3). Progress was made on some indicators for both of these goals but not enough to achieve the goals. Basic needs poverty deteriorated over time and women's access to formal employment and decision-making (parliament) had not made adequate progress (PIFS, 2015:135). In relation to the rest of the Pacific, Tonga is one of three countries that achieved at least half of the MDGs, along with Fiji and Palau. Only two countries achieved all (Cook Islands and Niue) and most countries achieved less than half or none at all (PIFS, 2015:8).

The UNDP Human Development Index (HDI) assesses the long-term progress of every country on three basic dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, access to knowledge, and a decent standard of living. HDI is scored between 0 and 1, with 1 being a perfect score. Tonga's score is 0.705 and the overall ranking is 100 out of 187 countries, which is the same rank as last year and places Tonga in the High Human Development category. By comparison, Tonga is below the highest ranked South Pacific country, Fiji at 88 (0.724), and above Samoa at 106 (0.694). The lowest South Pacific ranking is shared by Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands on 157 (0.491) (UNDP, 2014a:165-166).

The Gender Inequality Index (GII) reflects gender-based inequalities on the dimensions of reproductive health, empowerment and economic activity. The GII can be interpreted as the loss in human development due to inequality between female and male achievements. The measure is also between 0 and 1 but this time 0 is the highest score, meaning no inequality. Tonga is ranked 90 out of 149 countries with a value of 0.458 (UNDP, 2014b:4). Fiji is not ranked on the GII so the closest South Pacific country is Samoa at 111 (0.517) (UNDP, 2014a:173).

The Gender Development Index (GDI) is defined as a ratio of the female to male HDI, measuring gender inequalities in the dimensions of health, education and command over economic measures. The score is between 0 and 1, with 1 being the highest score. The value for females in Tonga is 0.682 while the value for males is 0.706. Scores for life expectancy and schooling were higher for females than males but the overall result is lower for females due to a Gross National Income (GNI) per capita of US\$3,983 compared to US\$6,642 for males (in 2011 purchasing power parity terms) (UNDP, 2014b:4).

Tonga was not scored on the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) due to a lack of relevant data.

7.1 Demographic factors, including household composition and household headship

The most recent population and housing census was held in 2011. The next census will be conducted in 2016. The total population in 2011 was 103,252, of which 51,273 (49.66%) were female and 51,979 (50.34%) were male (SPC, 2014:xiv), resulting in a sex ratio of 101 males for every 100 females (SPC, 2014:6). Seventy-three percent of the population were living in the Tongatapu group (SPC, 2014:5) and 24% of the total population were living in the capital Nuku'alofa (SPC, 2014:5). The urban-rural split has remained stable since 2006 (SPC, 2014:5), indicating that Tonga is not urbanising at a fast pace—but this may be mostly due to outmigration. Population density varied widely from 290 people/km² in Tongatapu and 18 people/km² in remote Ongo Niua (SPC, 2014:5). The average household size was 5.7 people, though 22% of the population live in households of 10 or more (SPC, 2014:56). Life expectancy at birth was 71.2 (69.3m; 73.1f) (SPC, 2014:xiv), which is similar to near neighbours and will probably be much closer when the 2016 census results are final.²⁴ In Fiji life expectancy is 72.15 years (69.53m; 74.91f) (2014 est)²⁵, and in Samoa life expectancy is 73.21 years (70.32m; 76.24f) (2014 est)²⁶.

Of the 18,033 private households, 22% (4,051) had a female head and 78% (13,982) a male head (SPC, 2014:56). The high rate of female headed households probably reflects the migration of males for work, female single parent families and widows. A discussion on seasonal worker migration appears later in the report.

²⁴ Indexmundi's 2014 estimate for Tonga is 75.82 years (74.35m; 77.34f), which is above both Fiji and Samoa for the same period.

http://www.indexmundi.com/tonga/life_expectancy_at_birth.html

²⁵ http://www.indexmundi.com/fiji/life_expectancy_at_birth.html

²⁶ http://www.indexmundi.com/samoa/life_expectancy_at_birth.html

The median age was 21.3 (20.2m; 22.4f) and the percentage under 15 years was 37.2% (38.7%*m*; 35.8%*f*) (SPC, 2014:xiv). Like most Pacific countries, Tonga is experiencing what is described as a youth bulge.

In the 2011 census, net migration was estimated at 1,970 people annually (SPC, 2014:xvi). The census assumes that this is approximately equally split between females and males, though given the high rate of female headed households that may not be the case.

There are more than 126,000 Tongans living overseas, which is slightly more than the number living in Tonga in 2011 and represents 55% of the total Tongan population as a whole. New Zealand's 2013 census identified 60,333 Tongan residents of which 59.8% were New Zealand born.²⁷ Australia's 2011 census identified 9,208 Tongan residents, an increase of 21% since the 2006 census, plus a further 25,096 residents who identified as having Tongan ancestry.²⁸ The USA's 2010 census identified 57,000 Tongan residents (GoT, 2013:91). Remittances from these populations are a considerable contribution to Tonga's GDP, in 2012 estimated at US\$122 million (AU\$170 million) or 20% of GDP (ADB, 2013a:9-10). Also, it is these populations that provide a ready export market for Tongan agriculture and horticulture, including handicrafts.

There are Tongan populations in other Pacific countries, especially Fiji, and in France, Germany, Japan and further afield. The total population living outside Tonga is not on record. Cornell (2001 in FAO, 2011:5) stated that apart from migration as a result of natural disasters the major influences are economic-related, even where social changes are also significant. Cornell found that migration is mostly a response to real and perceived inequalities in services including education and socio-economic opportunities that are a result of dependant or uneven sectoral and regional development (Op cit).

The 2011 Census identified that 83% of households received remittances during the 12 months prior to the census, with a small percentage of these being internal remittances from one part of Tonga to another (SPC, 2014:58). More information on remittances is provided in the next section.

Improved drinking water is available to 99.6% of the population and consistent across urban and rural areas (urban: 99.7%; rural: 99.6%).²⁹ Improved sanitation is available to 91% of the population with urban areas benefiting more than rural (urban: 97.6%; rural: 89%).³⁰

7.2 General economic conditions such as vulnerability levels, inflation rates, income distribution, internal terms of trade and infrastructure

According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the economy is undiversified, remittance-dependent and prone to natural disasters. Rebuilding large fiscal, external, and financial buffers would help cushion adverse shocks and support sustainable growth. The key near-term policy challenge was to support economic recovery and control inflation, while moving toward fiscal consolidation and preserving financial and external stability. Potential growth could be raised and made more inclusive by implementing the Tongan development strategy to unleash natural resource endowments in agriculture, tourism and fisheries; however, social protection programs will also be needed to support vulnerable communities in an environment of declining remittances (IMF, 2012:2).

Tonga's external debt increased sharply between 2008 and 2011 as a result of two loans from the EXIM Bank of China. The loan agreements were signed in November 2007 for the reconstruction of the central business district after the 2006 riot, and in February 2010 for roads rehabilitation. The drawdown of the loans is off-budget because it is treated as 'in-kind,' although it added directly to public debt. A joint debt sustainability assessment by the IMF, the World Bank, and the Asian Development Bank in 2011 found that Tonga had breached recommended ceilings for the level of external debt. Tonga's external-debt-to-GDP ratio in June 2011 was 51.4%, compared to an IMF recommended ceiling of 40% of GDP, and to little more than 24% of GDP in 2008. Similarly, the debt-to-exports (including remittances) ratio was 147.7% of GDP in June 2011, compared to an IMF recommended ceiling of 100% (ADB, 2013a:19). In 2014 when the Tongan Government was unable to meet the loan repayment schedule, it attempted to have the loans converted to grants but China's best offer was to extend repayment of the loan principal for another five years at the annual interest rate of 2%.³¹

A number of other challenges face Tonga's economic development, including a small domestic market, skill shortages, the high cost of power, variable domestic transport services, low savings rates, high costs of doing business and high youth unemployment.³²

²⁷ <http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/quickstats-culture-identity/pacific-peoples.aspx>

²⁸ https://www.dss.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/02_2014/tonga.pdf

²⁹ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/tn.html>

³⁰ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/tn.html>

³¹ <http://pidp.eastwestcenter.org/pireport/2014/September/09-08-06.htm>

³² <http://www.aid.govt.nz/where-we-work/pacific/tonga>

Tonga has a narrow export base in agricultural goods consisting of fish and root crops. These make up two-thirds of total exports. Squash, vanilla beans, and yams are the main crops. Other agricultural exports are coconuts, copra, cocoa, coffee, ginger and black pepper.³³

Imports far exceed exports. In 2013 exports were estimated at US\$9.1 million (AU\$12.6 million) while imports were estimated at US\$122.5 million (AU\$170.6 million). Imports include foodstuffs, machinery and transport equipment, fuels and chemicals. A high proportion of food is imported mainly from New Zealand, including dairy, meat, fruit and vegetables. The country remains dependent on external aid and remittances from Tongan communities overseas to offset its trade deficit. Tourism is the second-largest source of hard currency earnings following remittances. Tonga had 39,000 visitors in 2006—more recent figures are not available. External debt was estimated in 2013 as US\$215.8 million (AU\$300 million).³⁴

Table 2: Estimated Exports and Imports in 2013 and Main Partners (2012)

Main Partners	Export: US\$9.1 million	Imports: US\$122.5 million
South Korea	18.5%	-
US	17.0%	10.5%
New Zealand	15.6%	24.4%
Fiji	10.2%	35.7%
Japan	9.5%	-
Samoa	8.6%	-
American Samoa	5.4%	-
Australia	5.1%	-
China	-	10.2%
Other	10.1%	19.2%
TOTAL	100%	100%

Source: http://www.theodora.com/wfbcurent/tonga/tonga_economy.html

The government is emphasizing development of the private sector, especially by encouraging investment (estimated at US\$61.39 million in 2013), and is committing increased funds for health and education. Tonga has a reasonably sound basic infrastructure and well developed social services. High unemployment among the young, moderate inflation, pressures for democratic reform, and rising civil service expenditures are issues facing the government.³⁵

Gross Domestic Product (GDP) purchasing power parity (PPP) was estimated in 2013 as US\$846 million (AU\$1.2 billion), ranking Tonga at 208 of 228 countries ranked.³⁶ The GDP growth rate was 1%. GDP was made up of agriculture (20.9%), industry (21.9%) and services (57.2%). Remittances are spent across these sectors in areas such as utilities, education and health. Inflation is estimated at 2%.³⁷

The estimated national budget for 2013 was US\$112.4 million (AU\$156.5 million), which was fully expended. Taxes and other revenues were estimated in 2012 to make up 23.6% of the budget. The current account balance was estimated in 2013 as negative-US\$43.3 million (-AU\$60.3 million).³⁸

The 2015 MDG Tracking Report recorded a low employment-to-population ratio (37% in 2011) and a high proportion of the population in vulnerable employment (55% in 2011). The number of public servants remained high, with higher pay, and private sector job creation was limited (PIFS, 2015:90). The report also noted slow progress on gender parity in economic participation but, on a positive note, an increase in women entering the private sector as business entrepreneurs (Op cit).

³³ http://www.theodora.com/wfbcurent/tonga/tonga_economy.html

³⁴ http://www.theodora.com/wfbcurent/tonga/tonga_economy.html

³⁵ http://www.theodora.com/wfbcurent/tonga/tonga_economy.html

³⁶ http://www.theodora.com/wfbcurent/tonga/tonga_economy.html

³⁷ http://www.theodora.com/wfbcurent/tonga/tonga_economy.html

³⁸ http://www.theodora.com/wfbcurent/tonga/tonga_economy.html

Table 3: 2011 Census Employment Data

	Total	%	Female	%	Male	%
Total Employed	33,422	100	13,727	41	19,695	59
Paid	23,698	71	9,721	41	13,977	59
Subsistence	9,549	29	3,937	41	5,612	59
Unemployed	373	1	181	49	192	51

Source: SPC, 2014:45 and xviii.

Clearly the disaggregation for 'Paid' and 'Subsistence' is estimated based on 'Total Employed', probably because real data was not collected or is not available for other reasons. The breakdown of female/male is unlikely.

'Unemployed' was categorised as those looking for work. Another 1,901 people did not look for work, sometimes because they believed no work was available. When this number is combined with the unemployed number, the unemployment rate would increase to 6% (SPC, 2014: xviii). If subsistence workers were included the rate would increase to 33% (16% urban, 38% rural) (SPC, 2014:xviii).

The 2011 Census described subsistence work as growing or gathering produce or fishing to feed the family. This was the main activity of 18% of males and 12% of females aged 15 years and over. In rural areas roughly 18% of the population were subsistence workers compared to 4% of the population in urban areas (SPC, 2014:xvii-xviii), which reflects improved access to paid employment in urban areas.

Another 32,142 people were identified as non-labour force, which included students, the retired, the disabled and those with family responsibilities. Of these 61% were female and 39% male (SPC, 2014:xv).

The employment-to-population ratio of 36.7% identified 29.6% females and 44% males (SPC, 2014:xv). In short, roughly one in three people are in paid employment and the ratio of males to females is approximately 1.5:1.

7.2.1 Income Distribution

The census found that during the 12 months prior to census day, wages or salaries were the main source (44%) of household incomes followed by selling own products such as fish, crops or handicrafts (26%). Income from remittances was the main source of income for 15%, and 6% of households relied on income from their own business. Another 7% of households reported they had no regular source of income (SPC, 2014:57). There were large differences between regions with Tongatapu reporting the most access to income and salaries (49%) and Ha'apai having the least (29%) (Op cit). There is no information on income values.

The most recent Household Income and Expenditure Survey (HIES) was conducted in 2009. Data is disaggregated by urban and rural but not by male and female. The average monthly household income was TOP1,657 (approximately AU\$1,000) but urban income is considerably more than rural income; TOP2,170 (approximately AU\$1,300) for urban households and TOP1,505 (approximately AU\$915) for rural households (SPC, 2010:v). A condensed summary appears in Table 4.

Table 4: Monthly Household Income Sources

Income Source	TOP	% Total Income
Wages & Salary – current job	672	41%
Remittances	347	21%
Subsistence Income	311	19%
Home Produce Consumed	174	10%
Other Receipts	153	9%
Total	1,657	100

Source: Statistics Department, 2010:39

Included in other receipts are monthly income from business (TOP65) and casual work (TOP24), rent, welfare and other minor categories. An additionally TOP684 (approximately AU\$415) of monthly income is identified as cash gifts, bought gifts, home produce and imputed rent (Op cit). These make a substantial contribution to monthly overall income, increasing it by 40%. Home Produced income included food grown at home or at the family plantation, self-caught or gathered fish and homemade handicrafts and other goods grown and produced at home (Ibid:5).

The total subsistence income in 2009 was TOP66,834,000 (approximately AU\$40,600,000), of which the largest contributor was handicrafts making up 40% at TOP26,527,000 (approximately AU\$16,130,000) of work that is primarily performed by women. Subsistence agriculture came next, making up 27% at TOP18,711,000 (approximately AU\$11,300,000) (Ibid:44). Taking into account that some women farm for local markets, the contribution to subsistence income is likely to be fairly evenly split between females and males. The female contribution is generally unacknowledged.

The difference between rural and urban subsistence income is insightful as it demonstrates rural reliance on handicrafts and agriculture, including for Tongatapu.

Table 5: Total Subsistence Income by Type, Urban/Rural ('000s), Percentage of Total Income Type

Type	Urban	% of Type	Rural	% of Type	Total	% of Type
Agriculture	2,504	14%	15,606	86%	18,111	100%
Livestock	1,727	13%	12,046	87%	13,773	100%
Fish and Seafood	2,724	37%	4,639	63%	7,363	100%
Homemade produce	156	15%	904	85%	1,060	100%
Handicrafts	4,870	18%	21,658	82%	26,527	100%
Total Subsistence Income	11,981	18%	54,853	82%	66,834	100%

Source: Statistics Department, 2010:45

While handicrafts are an important source of subsistence income in urban areas they are of major importance in rural areas. The HIES breaks the figures down by island. Rural Tongatapu's subsistence income from handicrafts is TOP6,057,000 (approximately AU\$3,600,000) and when combined with the urban figure gives a total of TOP10,927,000 (approximately AU\$6,600,000) or 41% of all handicraft subsistence income for the country (Ibid:46). Ha'apai and Vava'u contribute strongly to the national subsistence handicraft result.

Subsistence income from agriculture in rural Tongatapu was TOP8,734,000 (approximately AU\$5,300,000), which results in a combined total of TOP11,238,000 (approximately AU\$6,800,000) or 62% of all subsistence income from agriculture (Op cit). Volumes may be accounted for by Tongatapu's land mass and by hosting nearly three-quarters of the total population but the importance to livelihoods is clear.

It would be meaningless to attempt to loosely estimate female and male incomes based on 2011 census employment data, summarised in Table 3 above, and 2009 HIES data. HIES data is conflated, for instance, it does not identify female headed household income or public sector/private sector incomes, and the sex disaggregation in Table 3 appears to be assumed, rather than based on real counts.

The 2009 HIES found that households spent an average of TOP1,550 per month (approximately AU\$942). Of this 50% was spent on purchasing food, 11% was spent on transport, 10% on housing and utilities, and the remainder was spent across a range of expenditure types, such as health, education, communication, clothing and recreation (Statistics Department, 2010:14). There were, of course, differences between rural and urban populations. Overall though, the difference between average monthly income and average monthly expenditure is TOP107 (approximately AU\$65), which does not provide much margin for unexpected expenditure.

The Draft Tonga Agriculture Sector Plan notes that around 25% of households in Tonga are estimated to currently live below the basic needs poverty line.³⁹ The draft reports that the severity and depth of poverty have increased significantly in the last decade, with the outer islands and non-urban areas of Tongatapu experiencing the sharpest rise in hardship levels. Historically, poverty and vulnerability have related more to geographic location than socially defined characteristics; however, evidence now suggests this situation is changing as remittances fluctuate, women's roles in income generation increase (mainly from handicrafts) and the number of unemployed youth grows. Generally rural poverty is concentrated among smallholder farmers who practice mixed subsistence and cash-crop production (GoT, 2015:10).

7.3 Cultural and religious factors

Culture and religion play large roles in the lives of Tongans. Culture dominates social norms such as 'women's work' and 'men's work' and both culture and religion strongly influence how women and men dress in every-day life. Attire is very conservative with women covered from neck to ankle, despite the tropical climate. It is uncommon, and to a certain extent frowned upon, to see women wearing trousers outside the house but young

³⁹ The 2015 MDG Tracking Report describes poverty in the Pacific as hardship, measured by the proportion of the population living below the basic needs poverty line (PIFS, 2015:9).

women are more inclined to follow fashions such as jeans. Ritual ceremonies such as weddings, births and funerals are increasingly becoming a significant economic burden for families and an economic benefit for businesses that are associated with them. The Tongan social structure is one of the most hierarchical in the Pacific and results in a complex weave of superiority in some instances and subordination in some instances for both females and males. There are strengths and weaknesses to the structure and while the oldest daughter may have special status in family decision-making, that does not extend to social, political or economic empowerment.

Tonga has a very homogenous population with almost 97% (99,641) of Tongan origin, and another 1% (1,069) of Part-Tongan origin. Those of another origin are Chinese, European or other Asian. A very small number of other Pacific peoples live in Tonga (0.06%), mostly Fijian (SPC, 2014:34).

Tonga espouses four core values that should underlie social relations:

1. *faka'apa'apa* (respect)
2. *mamahii me'a* (loyalty)
3. *lototo* (humility)
4. *tauhi va* (reciprocity)

All other values and principles are based on these four core values that Tongans should aspire to practise. A 2011 cultural mapping exercise reported that a series of studies indicated that practice of these core values is changing, marking a shift in people's beliefs about their relevance (SPC, 2011:12).

Tongan society is traditionally structured into three main groups: monarchy, nobility and commoners. The cultural mapping exercise identified that since the 1970s there has been a gradual increase in the formation of socioeconomic classes, in addition to the traditional class system. This manifests as elite commoners who draw power from their educational qualifications, status in government or ownership of private business, while those with limited access to land, livelihoods, support networks or formal employment experience more hardship (SPC, 2011:14).

All Tongans are ranked. Generally, sisters are ranked higher than their brothers and older persons are ranked higher than younger persons (SPC, 2011:14). Respected relationships include those with father's sister (*mehikitanga*) and the male clan head (*'ulumotu'a*). Respect is accorded to fathers as heads of households and to other traditional leadership positions in the community however, studies have indicated shifts in the way people are practising and maintaining these relationships. Due to increasing migration and financial obligations, the circle of reciprocity that traditionally marked relationships has been shrinking. Associated with these changes and shifting values is an increase in contemporary social issues, such as domestic violence, child abuse, and alcohol and drug abuse (SPC, 2011:14).

Husbands have higher authority than wives. Women have primary responsibility for production (subsistence and informal economy), reproduction (family care) and community management (church and social commitments). The field team were advised that some husbands assist with household labour. Women are active in the formal and informal economy but not in the same numbers as men. Men have responsibilities outside the house, whether in the formal or informal economy, farming and fishing or as casual labour. Traditionally, household decision-making is the realm of male head of household but the field team heard that some decisions are made jointly, including financial decisions.

Tongans take pride in being a Christian nation. Religion (*lotu*) plays a major role in Tongan culture in terms of people's beliefs, social practices and economic contributions (SPC, 2011:12). The 2011 Census reported that 99% of the population identified a religious affiliation. Of the 1,152 people who did not identify a religion, 877 refused to answer, 241 did not state, and 34 had no religious affiliation (SPC, 2014:33). Methodism was the dominant religion, with 36% of the population (36,592 members) affiliated with the Free Wesleyan Church. The Church of Latter Day Saints (LDS) was the second largest, with 18% (18,554 members) followed by the Roman Catholic Church with 15% (15,441 members), the Free Church of Tonga with 12% (11,863 members), and the Church of Tonga with 7% (6,935 members). All other religions had less than 3% of the population as members (SPC, 2014:33).

The cultural mapping exercise reported that one of the main challenges for the established churches is an increasing loss of members who are either migrating overseas or moving to newer churches. One obvious trend had been an increase in congregational numbers of the LDS church (Mormon). Common criticisms of the established churches included the burden of financial obligations and a lack of spiritual care for members. The new churches tended to be evangelical, fundamentalist and Pentecostal in nature and drew mainly younger generations. The new churches tended to be more relaxed than the traditional forms and structures of religious practices in Tonga (SPC, 2011:13).

Churches continue to have a strong influence over people's everyday lives, events and occasions of community life. Church conferences, singing competitions, youth festivals, women's group meetings and church services all work to preserve, create and develop culture in Tongan society. The influence of churches in the daily life of their congregations is evident in church members' dress code, behaviour and beliefs. While the newer Apostolic and Pentecostal churches have more modern and liberal approaches to religion, established churches tend to hold on to traditional forms of preaching and gathering, and pass along culture and norms that preserve these beliefs (SPC, 2011:36).

Church women's groups are active in social welfare and some run agricultural programs for women, which are mostly aimed at subsistence cropping. Most churches have networks of private schools. Sunday is a day of worship for most, after which there is often a shared meal. Trading laws prevent shops and restaurants from opening on Sunday. Most activities such as swimming, fishing and sports are banned.⁴⁰

How Tongans dress has been heavily influenced by missionaries. Women must cover their knees and elbows and men are usually dressed in pants or *tupenu* (cloth wrap skirt) that cover the knees. In public life women wear a full-length skirt covered by a dress length tunic. It is generally socially unacceptable for women to wear trousers in public life, though some women in the private sector can be seen in trousers on occasions. Young women are increasingly wearing trousers socially and on the weekends, such as jeans and leggings. A traditional woven mat, the *ta'ovala*, is worn by both males and females as formal attire and all government workers must wear one to show respect and authority.⁴¹ The *ta'ovala* is wrapped and tied around the waist. The length varies depending on the occasion but is commonly to the knee. A *ta'ovala* is always worn at ceremonies.

Rituals are associated with traditional culture and religious practices. In all rituals, traditional mats, tapa and kava are used in one form or another and these rituals encourage the production of those items. Tongans who have migrated overseas continue to purchase these products for their rituals and ceremonies. Rituals are increasingly becoming a significant economic burden for families. During a funeral, a family can spend money on catering services; hiring tents, chairs, tables, a funeral car and services; broadcasting the funeral announcement on radio; video recording of the funeral; hiring a PA system for the church service; and on purchasing a funeral casket, food, mats and tapa. Other rituals are associated with birth, birthdays, weddings, opening functions, gift exchange (*kātoanga*), group anniversaries (school, church), competitions, etc (SPC, 2011:18). There is no apparent research placing monetary values on these rituals but the figure is likely to be in the hundreds of thousands of pa'anga per annum.

7.4 Education levels and gender participation rates

Tonga provides universal access to six years of compulsory, free primary education. Females and males were reported in the 2011 Census as being equally represented in primary education (99%) and secondary education (75%). The data favours males for tertiary and vocational educational but progress has been made on equalising access since 2011 and the next census is likely to show a more equitable result.

Table 6: Sex Disaggregated Education Statistics

Education	Female	Male
Primary (6 – 14 yrs)	98.1%	97.5%
Secondary (15 and over)	74.4%	74.7%
Secondary qualification	33%	29%
Tertiary education	16.1%	16.2%
Tertiary qualification	2.7%	3.5%
Vocational/professional qualification	2.7%	9.3%

Source: SPC, 2014:xv

The rate of literacy for 15 - 24-year age group was 99.4% (99.7%f; 99.3%m) (SPC, 2014:xv). In 2011, only three-quarters of the teen population attended secondary education after age 14 years, due to lack of school fees amongst other reasons. Tertiary and vocational education levels are low. Despite universal access to basic education, inequities exist in the quality of education. This is particularly prevalent in the secondary system where

⁴⁰ <http://theonomyresources.blogspot.co.nz/2013/01/tongas-sabbath-legislation-theonomy.html>

⁴¹ <http://www.eua-island-tonga.com/Tongan-clothing-culture.html>

there is reportedly a distinct disparity between government and non-government providers.⁴² Education levels vary for the more remote locations also.

None-the-less, there is an emerging educated elite—including women—evident mostly in Nuku'alofa who have improved access to paid work and increased incomes.

7.5 Political, institutional and legal factors, including the regulatory environment

The Kingdom of Tonga is the last remaining kingdom in the Pacific. Tonga was never officially colonised but was a protectorate of the United Kingdom until 1970 when it regained full control of domestic and foreign affairs and became a fully independent nation within the Commonwealth. A pro-democracy movement took shape in the late 20th century, and, from the 1990s, reform advocates won significant representation in the legislature.⁴³ Tongatapu is the main island and hosts the capital Nuku'alofa, which is the home of the government and of the royal family.

Unique in the Pacific, Tonga is the only country with a constitutional monarchy that follows English common law. The constitution was last being amended in 2013.⁴⁴ Tonga has undergone an historic and fundamental change from an executive monarchy to a modern parliamentary democracy. The first democratic elections were held in November 2010.⁴⁵

Tonga has a unicameral Legislative Assembly or *Fale Alea* consisting of 26 seats. Nine seats are reserved for nobles and elected by the country's 29 nobles, and 17 additional members are elected by popular vote, to serve four-year terms.⁴⁶ The Prime Minister is elected from within the Members of Parliament. The last election was November 2014 and for the first time resulted in a 'commoner' majority. The Prime Minister is 'Akilisi Pohiva, who has been the leader of the Democratic Party of the Friendly Islands since 1987. He was first elected to Parliament the same year and has served several non-consecutive terms since then.

Tongan politics, like most of the Pacific, battles corruption, nepotism and scandal. The new government is already facing challenges of this nature. Resolving them honestly and openly will be important for maintaining the current high level of voter support. The Tongan electorate voted for change and may become intolerant of business as usual. Recently, the media reported that the Prime Minister's Office and Chief Secretary have come under fire for supposedly lacking transparency and good governance.⁴⁷ This story and a number of others are circulating on social media.

There is no constitutional provision for local level government but an equivalent exists. Tonga has five divisions of island groupings: 'Eua, Ha'apai, Niua, Tongatapu and Vava'u. These are subdivided into 23 districts made up of 116 towns. Officials are elected by popular vote for District Officer and Town Officer. These combined are the equivalent of local level government. No women have ever been elected as District Officers and three women have served as Town Officers.

The Supreme Court exercises jurisdiction in major civil and criminal cases. Other cases, heard in the Magistrate's Court or the Land Court, may be appealed to the Supreme Court and then to the Court of Appeal, the appellate court of last resort. The Privy Council has jurisdiction over cases on appeal from the Land Court dealing with titles of nobility and estate boundaries. The judiciary is independent of the king and the executive branch of Parliament, although Supreme Court justices are appointed by the king. Criminal defendants are afforded the right to counsel and the right to a fair public trial is protected by law and honoured in practice.⁴⁸ There are no female judges or magistrates but the numbers of female lawyers are on the rise, so a future appointment to the bench may result over time.

The Tongan Development Bank (TDB) was founded in 1977. Tonga's fiscal policy has traditionally been cautious, with taxation and expenditure measures balancing the recurrent budget and the development budget being financed mainly through grants and soft loans. The National Reserve Bank came into existence in 1989.⁴⁹ The Australian-owned ANZ Bank has operated in Tonga for many years and in 2015 the Papua New Guinea-owned Bank South Pacific (BSP) bought out Westpac Bank's interests.

A 2012 IMF report commented that Tonga has to step up its effort on structural reforms to promote private sector development if it is to raise potential growth (IMF, 2012:19). Key bottlenecks to private investment were

⁴² <http://www.aid.govt.nz/where-we-work/pacific/tonga>

⁴³ <http://www.britannica.com/place/Tonga>

⁴⁴ http://www.theodora.com/wfbcurent/tonga/tonga_government.html

⁴⁵ <http://www.aid.govt.nz/where-we-work/pacific/tonga>

⁴⁶ http://www.theodora.com/wfbcurent/tonga/tonga_government.html

⁴⁷ <http://www.radionz.co.nz/international/pacific-news/292040/distrust-surrounding-media-and-tongan-govt-relations>

⁴⁸ <http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Tonga.aspx>

⁴⁹ <http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Tonga.aspx>

cumbersome business licensing requirements and high utility costs. The very low efficiency of state owned enterprises (SOEs) were considered a drag on growth and to have crowded out private investment (Op cit). Suggestions to improve the business regulatory environment included moving licensing from an activity to an enterprise basis and providing long-term operating licenses; broadening the scope of the Companies Act to include provision for the formation of community companies and other indigenous forms of business; and enacting key business legislation to fill in the gaps in the commercial legal framework (Op cit).

On the World Bank's 2016 Ease of Doing Business rankings, Tonga is 78 out of 189 countries, which is down four places from 2015. Indicators for starting a business, accessing electricity, registering property, getting credit and paying taxes had all drop between one and eight places on the rankings,⁵⁰ meaning that doing business had become harder.

In relation to the ease, cost and speed of starting a business, the following was reported:

Table 7: Ease of Starting a Business in Tonga

Procedure	# Days	Cost in TOP
Reserving a name	2	80
Register and obtain certificate of incorporation	3	400
Obtain a business licence	7	120
Register consumption tax and income tax*	4	N/C
Total	16	600

Source: <http://www.doingbusiness.org/data/exploreeconomies/tonga/starting-a-business>

*Consumption tax is voluntary if turnover is less than TOP100,000.

Tonga is placed at 53 out of 189 countries for the ease of starting a business, which is ahead of all other Pacific countries ranked. Ways to improve the score would be to reduce the number of procedures, reduce the number of days and reduce costs involved. Each of the above procedures takes place at different government offices so new entrepreneurs are required to travel to various parts of Nuku'alofa over the 16-day period dropping of paperwork and picking it up again.

The Tonga Development Bank (TDB) has an Agriculture Marketing and Production Fund from which it makes loans of up to TOP100,000 at 1% interest for a period of nine months. Loans can be used to boost exporter's confidence by providing a facility to allow the early payment to primary producers or for investment in expanded agricultural production and value added activities. There are also 1% loans for the fisheries sector, tourism and manufacturing—all with different maximum values and repayment periods.⁵¹ There are also loans available for the same purposes at 4% interest, which have higher maximum loan thresholds and longer repayment periods. There are six additional loan categories for 4% loans, which include construction, retail and student overseas tertiary education.⁵²

Women agricultural entrepreneurs tend to apply for the 1% interest loan, as do most in the agricultural sector. The field team heard conflicting stories on how easy or hard it is to succeed in obtaining a loan for agricultural purposes. There is no information about collateral requirements on the TDB website but this has been the main area of constraint. The TDB website lists seven forms under 'Application Forms', regardless of the type of loan. One form is a brief 'Completion Instructions', which offers little completion advice. Another is a 'Loan Application Check List', which is actually a check list for opening a cheque account. Other forms are for a statement of financial position and for credit checks.⁵³ Not all are required, depending on each individual's situation. TDB could look into simplifying application forms without compromising due diligence. A lack of consistency in information from bank staff was also a cause for confusion. As a general comment, it appears TDB could do more to support women's economic empowerment, including improved training for their staff.

⁵⁰ <http://www.doingbusiness.org/data/exploreeconomies/tonga/>

⁵¹ http://www.tdb.to/images/pdf_files/1percentinterest3.pdf

⁵² http://www.tdb.to/images/pdf_files/4percentinterest3.pdf

⁵³ http://www.tdb.to/index.php?option=com_content&view=section&layout=blog&id=10&Itemid=32

8.0 Program Cycle Analysis

This analysis will indicate if and where the objectives and methods proposed for the program should be modified to improve the chances that the program will succeed and to minimise the likelihood that women or men will be disadvantaged as a result.

Many of the background documents provided for the gender analysis make comments similar to the following:

“...the Program continues to receive poor ratings for gender in the DFAT AQC, as gender considerations are not central to PHAMA’s planning and decision-making, nor are risks to gender equality identified and appropriately managed. This is because PHAMA’s key criteria for activity identification requires that support relates to a product (a) with export market potential and (b) where expansion of trade would have large-scale impacts on vulnerable people” (URS, 2015:viii).

A gendered approach starts from the premise that females and males each make up approximately 50% of any population, and assumes that everything has differential impacts on females and males including (a) export market potential and (b) where expansion of trade would have large-scale impacts on vulnerable people. That is, these key criteria are important to the whole population and not just half of it. Further, “vulnerable people” are often those living in rural or remote areas and people with disabilities. Recent Tonga MDG and Census reports indicate that females are generally more vulnerable than males. Increasingly, female headed households fall into the category of vulnerable too. So even though gender is not explicit in PHAMA’s previous planning and decision-making, maximum success for the Tonga program lies in taking a gendered approach to achieve the best outcomes.

If the only purpose of the PHAMA program in Tonga was to focus on physical improvements to the Government’s export facility and on negotiating market access with other countries, then the main gender concern would only be that females and males had equal access to improved facilities, that is, ensuring that nothing in the process, law or the regulatory environment discriminated between males and females.

The PHAMA program goes beyond facilities and bilateral negotiations. It has established a decision-making body (MAWG), which may eventually be formally acknowledged as an entity through Parliament (URS, 2015:34), and industry working groups (IWGs) that inform the work of the MAWG. The MAWG has also developed recommendations on possible future funding mechanisms based on government, private sector and donor contributions (Op cit), which may not have considered equality issues. The PHAMA program improves the capacity of government, growers and exporters to successfully meet the export requirements and makes investments based on proposals presented to the MAWG. These investments may have different impacts on females and males. One of PHAMA’s key groups is the Growers Federation which is described as the peak national private sector organisation for agriculture (URS, 2015:18). The field team met with the CEO of the Growers Federation and heard that it has 1,200 members, roughly 10 of whom are female. As a result, all of its decision-making bodies are entirely male. The CEO was quite open in admitting that the Federation had not actively encouraged women growers to be involved. Plans were being drawn up to attract and support more women growers over several years from 2016 but in the meantime women will not have a voice in Growers Federation decisions.

All these areas provide opportunities to make progress on gender equality and all risk unintentionally entrenching gender discrimination and vulnerability unless the different impacts on females and males in different communities are part of PHAMA planning.

DFAT Aid for Trade Investments

The Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) includes gender equality and women’s empowerment as one of six strategic investment priorities in Australia’s aid program. Key strategic target 4 is *Empowering women and girls: More than 80 per cent of investments, regardless of their objectives, will effectively address gender issues in their implementation* (DFAT, 2014:8). This reflects the statement that “One of the best ways to promote economic growth is to empower and make better use of the skills and talents of women and girls, and to advance gender equality” (Op cit). A new approach to annually evaluating quality on the six strategic investment priorities came into effect, known as the Aid Quality Check (AQC). Most programs, but especially all larger value programs, are assessed annually using the AQC process.

Quality standards in the annual AQC are scored between 1 and 6, with a score of 1 reflecting that the investment does not meet the measure and a score of 6 reflecting that the investment demonstrates real progress in addressing gender issues. Investments need to demonstrate participation of women in decision-making throughout implementation, pursue opportunities for women to be employed through an investment, or address

particular challenges such as violence (against women) or social norms that exclude women (DFAT, 2014:8). The collection of quality sex-disaggregated data is essential.

There are six quality standards for Gender Equality, which all investments are expected to gradually achieve at least 80% of full scores on, that is, a minimum score of 5 out of 6. These are:

- Analysis of gender equality gaps and opportunities substantially informs the investment.
- Risks to gender equality are identified and appropriately managed.
- The investment is making progress as expected in effectively implementing strategies to promote gender equality and women's empowerment.
- The M&E system collects sex-disaggregated data and includes indicators to measure gender equality outcomes.
- There is sufficient expertise and budget allocation to achieve gender equality related outputs of the investment.
- As a result of the investment, partners increasingly treat gender equality as a priority through their own policies and processes.

Recommendations to better meet the quality standards are provided in context below.

In July 2015 the Australian Government released a strategy on aid for trade. The strategy noted that aid for trade investments can make a significant contribution to advancing gender equality and economic empowerment of women; however, previous aid for trade efforts have taken very little account of gender issues in both their objectives and design. The strategy states that particular attention is required in integrating gender equality when designing and implementing aid for trade investments if DFAT's gender equality objective is to be achieved. Examples were given, such as, reforms on women's rights to own or manage a business, initiatives that facilitate dialogue between women entrepreneurs and government, or targeting women exporters when providing capacity building for farmers (DFAT, 2015:15). The strategy has three objectives and each one includes the economic empowerment of women as a priority area (Ibid:12). The strategy directs that this area should be incorporated in every investment (Ibid:14).

Phase 1 of the PHAMA Program commenced in 2009 and was followed by Phase 2 in 2013, which is prior to these strategies and standards coming into effect. The language of the design document is largely gender-blind, though there may have always been intent to include women and men in activities. DFAT's new approach to making real progress addressing gender issues, which is consistent with international standards, means more than just evidence from sex-disaggregated data that women were included in training or in consultations. It means examining the root causes of gender equality and looking for ways to address these that aim at positive changes to women's and men's lives.

Future programs should ensure that program design includes explicit acknowledgement of the different roles of women and men in agriculture and horticulture in Tonga and the implications of these for expanding export generally and for doing so equitably, so as to not increase income inequality or decision-making inequality. How this will be achieved should then be articulated in program approaches. Adding a gender action plan can also be useful along with ensuring that monitoring and evaluation frameworks include gender indicators. A sample of gender indicators for agriculture from an ADB-DFAT toolkit (ADB, 2013b:67) are:

- Number and percentage of poor women and men with increased income (vulnerability)
- Changes in income disparities between women and men
- Evidence that women are consulted and involved in the development of policies, strategies and plans
- Evidence that social protection, land tenure, and financial services laws and regulations are non-discriminatory and compliant with regional and international commitments
- Evidence that policies, strategies, and legal reforms are designed to support both women and men producers and entrepreneurs

Change in equality, just like any change, takes time to become evident and is impacted on by factors outside the control of the investment. Generally, DFAT is seeking assurances that investments are focused on contributing to gender equality and women's empowerment by having an articulated approach and by measuring against that approach. Baselines are required to identify changes over time, whether positive or negative. Good sex-disaggregated baseline data and commentary is usually available from census data, Household and Income Surveys (HIES) and, in the past Millennium Development Goal (MDG) reports. Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) reports should be even more useful in the future because a larger range of indicators will be measured. At the political level, the UN Universal Periodic Review (UPR) reports can be used to map changes in access to decision-making and discrimination in laws and regulations. In some countries other UN reporting mechanisms can provide evidence of changes, such as reports to the Committee on the Convention on the Rights of the Child. In the Pacific, the UPR process seems to be more consistent as many countries struggle to meet their reporting requirements on Conventions.

AQC Bullet Point 1: Analysis of gender equality gaps and opportunities substantially informs the investment.

Future programs should commence with a set of baseline indicators for gender equality in the program from all available data, which is then updated annually and the baseline analysed annually for gaps and opportunities, which can then be worked into the annual strategic plan (*Monitoring and Evaluation recommendation*). Key sources are census documents, HIES reports, agricultural surveys, demographic health surveys and other government, non-government and UN sources.

AQC Bullet Point 3: The investment is making progress as expected in effectively implementing strategies to promote gender equality and women's empowerment.

PHAMA should introduce a gender equality budget line—or individual sub-budget lines—into the Annual Strategic Plan FY16/17 to fund specific gender equality and women's rights activities. Additionally, there should be budget for gender training for all PHAMA staff and partners (*Gender Integration into the Program – recommendation 5*). Relevant indicators will be required, to measure change in areas such as equality of opportunity, equality of incomes, equality in decision-making and other areas.

Similarly, future design documents should include strategies to promote gender equality and women's empowerment and include relevant indicators to measure change in areas such as equality of opportunity, equality of incomes, equality in decision-making and other areas (*Program Design and Risk Management recommendation*).

Subject to final approval of the Agriculture Sector Plan, government and donor partners could invest in initiatives that contribute to the achievement of gender equality through the plan and could also support the MIA-Division of Women's Affairs to achieve Outcome 2 of the Revised National Plan on Gender and Development 2014—2018 (*Support for Country-led Initiatives recommendation*).

Gender Equality Risk Management

While pursuing redesign opportunities, a gender focus could be introduced to annual strategic plans, including risk management and gender indicators that identify what success would look like. A clear risk is that women farmers will not engage in the export sector due to lack of access to finance. The risk can be managed through advocacy, seeking out opportunities to influence discussions on collateral such as those underway between MCTL and the banking sector. Another risk is that women farmers will not engage in the export sector due to lack of access to land. The risk can be managed by advocating for unallocated land to be released by nobles so that women have an opportunity to lease the land. There are other ways to manage this risk, such as supporting the formation of collaborative mechanisms such as women's cooperatives. There are also risks around handicraft production that, when articulated, will inform the Program and budget.

By acting on these recommendations and taking deliberate steps to factor gender into strategic planning and budgeting, PHAMA can improve its AQC ratings for gender and show that it is playing its part in promoting women's economic empowerment.

AQC Bullet Point 2: Risks to gender equality are identified and appropriately managed.

PHAMA should expand the Program's risk management to include risks to gender equality and women's rights and then put appropriate risk management in place through the Program (*Gender Integration into the Program - recommendation 9*). Examples are provided above and risk management could also include gender training for PHAMA staff, MAWG members and IWG members.

Measuring Change

The PHAMA Strategic Plan 2015-16 mentions the term 'gender' five times (four times in the Executive Summary and once in the body of the plan), the term 'equality' once and the term 'women' twice (URS, 2015:viii, 38). The terms 'man', 'men' or 'male' are not used at all. This does not necessarily imply that the Program is aimed at both males and females or that it will ensure equal access to both males and females. The field team heard that both males and females have always been the intended beneficiaries of the Program. There is no reason to doubt that intent. The lack of articulation of an understanding of the differential impacts of agriculture, horticulture and of market access on males and females, and the lack of measures to ensure that the intent is being delivered, are undermining AQC scores.

Measuring change is preferred to measuring improvements. This is so that negative impacts and unintended impacts, whether positive or negative, can also be captured. Ensuring that the Program does not undermine existing equality or women's rights is just as important as making gains. Good baseline information helps identify unintended negative impacts, as do Program surveys.

The consultants have not seen a copy of the Monitoring, Evaluation, Reporting and Improvement (MERI) framework but would expect to find targets for males and females in relevant areas such as training. Introducing gender indicators, like the samples given above, will have cost implications so the M&E budget should be adequate to collect both quantitative and qualitative information, including case studies and informal surveys.

AQC Bullet Point 4: The M&E system collects sex-disaggregated data and includes indicators to measure gender equality outcomes.

Future programs should ensure that M&E frameworks include data disaggregation and gender equality outcomes. Then support partners to collect sex-disaggregated data and gender equality outcomes that can feed into M&E frameworks (*Monitoring and Evaluation recommendation*).

Expertise and Budget Allocation

Regarding the budget for 2015-16 identified in the PHAMA Strategic Plan, not enough detail is available to identify allocations to strengthen gender equality. No doubt the assumption is that expenditure will benefit the country and by extension all of society, which is not usually the case. PHAMA could consider developing a gender equality and women's rights budget sub-total for each country, which could break down to funding of investments that meet specific gender equality criteria (*Gender Integration into the Program - recommendation 5*); advocacy, such as for equality of access to finance for female and male farmers; producing country-specific gender in agriculture manuals for PHAMA Programs, or training in gender and agriculture for MAWGs, IWGs or other partners. It is not essential to have a specific budget sub-total for gender as long as existing budgets identify activity budgets for how PHAMA will support women farmers (highlighted in the Tonga Fact Sheet) and vulnerable populations. In the short term, the Tonga MAWG should consider whether a portion of the existing budget allocation for activities in Tonga in 2015-16 and 2016-17 should be dedicated in this way. In addition, this clear allocation of funds within a program budget should be recognised in future aid for trade focussed programs that DFAT designs or supports for implementation in Tonga.

If PHAMA has a budget for professional development for staff, annual gender training could be prioritised alongside other individual training. There is a range of gender training that could be provided over time, such as gender and agriculture, gender and economic empowerment, gender and transportation. In addition, DFAT could consider what training can be made available to relevant implementing partners in Tonga (or other countries).

AQC Bullet Point 5: There is sufficient expertise and budget allocation to achieve gender equality related outputs of the investment.

PHAMA should introduce a gender equality budget line or individual sub-budget lines into the annual budget to fund specific gender equality and women's rights activities; additionally, budget for gender training for all PHAMA staff and partners (*Gender Integration into the Program - recommendation 5*). They should reaffirm with staff the need to collect sex-disaggregated data as part of completing commodity and activity updates and the should continue to provide resources/budget for annual qualitative M&E activities such as participant surveys and the collection of case studies (*Gender Integration into the Program - recommendation 7*).

PHAMA should consider establishing a budgetary allocation for gender advisory expertise to provide all Country Coordinators with resources for support with achieving gender equality targets (*Gender Integration into the Program - recommendation 8*).

Partners in Gender Equality

PHAMA would like to embed the functions and operations of the existing Market Access Working Groups (MAWGs) and Industry Working Groups (IWGs) in national decision-making processes for agriculture, to formalise their roles as advisory and consultative bodies (URS, 2015:viii). It will be important that the makeup of these groups is balanced between males and females and that group members have a good understanding of equality issues. National decision-making processes are where equality issues can be either strengthened or weakened. A MAWG or an IWG that approaches its work from a gender-blind perspective can undermine PHAMA's gender equality obligations. The field team heard that some MAWG members in Tonga see their role as improving export opportunities and that gender has nothing to do with it and is not part of the brief. The PHAMA Program was instrumental in establishing MAWGs and IWGs and will need to ensure that the work of MAWGs and IWGs benefits females and males equally. PHAMA should consider ways female representation on the MAWG can be strengthened (*Gender Integration into the Program - recommendation 6*). Appointing a local gender specialist to the MAWG would be useful, if one is available. Otherwise, the PHAMA Coordinator should cover this role and be provided with appropriate gender training. The aim is to engage groups in understanding the additional benefits of taking a gender equality approach, both to their own business or occupations as well as to the overarching objectives of PHAMA's work. If there are formal criteria for MAWG membership, approximately equal numbers of males and females should be one criterion. If there are no formal criteria, the PHAMA Coordinator should be

tasked with ensuring that males and females have approximately equal representation and that the opinions of females and males are given equal weight.

Most exporters in Tonga, including MAWG members, hire casual labour for harvest. The field team were advised that males are employed to work in the fields and mostly females are employed in packing sheds, highlighting the preference for females to work in these positions. The demarcation of roles is consistent with cultural stereotypes of male and female work and may suit the preferences of individual workers. The PHAMA Program should make sure that females doing manual labour are not being disadvantaged by lack of opportunity to do higher-paying work, lack of access to training or by lack of appropriate working conditions. If casual labourers have input into decision-making about their tasks, both females and males should be included equally. Both females and males should have access to promotion where appropriate. If all packing shed supervisors are male and all employees are female, efforts need to be made to identify why and to give opportunities to females. Male and female earnings should be the same for doing the same tasks and females should have the same opportunities as males, such as to do higher paying work in the field if that is the case, without feeling pressured to adhere to stereotype. If child labour features, PHAMA should be guided by its obligations to DFAT's Child Protection policy when deciding who to partner with.

While numbers and earnings of females and males can be captured from payroll information, the impacts of the work on their livelihoods is best captured through interviews, case studies, surveys and other qualitative techniques. There are publicly available 'gender in agriculture' toolkits, such as the one cited in the references, which can assist PHAMA to identify gender equality impacts for reporting to DFAT and other donors. Engagement may be required with exporters to ensure that labour conditions comply with labour laws and to ensure that measures are in place to prevent workplace discrimination, such as sexual harassment. Neither males nor females should have to endure discrimination to earn income. PHAMA has recently employed and M&E/Communications Advisor to work with team members and other partners to gather the qualitative and quantitative data necessary to better tell the PHAMA impact story. This position will be an excellent support to PHAMA Coordinators in monitoring Program gender equality.

Similarly, when working with strategic partners whether public or private sector, PHAMA should advocate for equality of opportunity and monitor progress in these areas. While this suggestion may appear to be interventionist, PHAMA's achievements will be undermined by partners that practice discrimination. The suggestion is to monitor, to ask questions and seek evidence that partners do what they say they do in relation to social equality. One example is monitoring of the Draft Tonga Agriculture Sector Plan (TASP) when implementation commences, to ensure progress is made on the guiding principle of catering for the specific needs of women, children, youth and disadvantaged groups (GoT, 2015:31). This guiding principle is consistent with PHAMA's work, especially the key criteria of impacts on vulnerable people. Opportunities for PHAMA in the Draft TASP are discussed in the annexes.

AQC Bullet Point 6: As a result of the investment, partners increasingly treat gender equality as a priority through their own policies and processes.

Programs could monitor reports from relevant government departments and partners to identify gender equality priorities and progress. Where reports are not available, partners should be surveyed annually through a mechanism like the MAWG, ensuring that the Program office has additional capacity to conduct an annual assessment (*Monitoring and Evaluation recommendation*).

According to evaluations, the PHAMA Program has made remarkable progress in improving market access for countries. It is an important Program that hopefully will continue beyond its current lifespan. The URS/PHAMA Management Response to the Draft AQC dated 30th March 2015 commented that "market opportunity should still be front and centre as a criteria for selection, otherwise the Program could end up pursuing gender-focused initiatives which have little chance of commercial success". This is a reasonable concern given the constraints on including more women in growing for export, such as access to land, access to finance and gender stereotypes, but it fails to understand that long-term improvements to Tonga's economy rely on improving equality of opportunity so that potentially all 100% of the population can contribute. Certainly PHAMA should be selective about the initiatives it chooses to pursue but every initiative should be structured in a way to ensure it contributes to achieving scores of 6 on the AQC Gender Equality key target. This is not just to please DFAT and other donors but because the PHAMA Program values equality of opportunity and non-discrimination.

Lastly in relation to vulnerability, populations in the outer islands are amongst the most vulnerable due to remoteness. If PHAMA is planning to strengthen commercially viable export pathways (e.g. kava, vanilla, bananas) from those islands then gender analyses should be done in each location (*Horticulture and Root Crops - recommendation 4*) because different impacts are likely to exist due to population size, climatic risks and other factors.

9.0 Buy Tonga Made Campaign

In 2012, the Ministry for Commerce, Tourism and Labour (MCTL) in collaboration with the private sector instigated a Buy Tonga Made campaign, which aims at increasing public awareness of locally produced and manufactured goods. The Buy Tonga Made initiative is to promote and encourage the manufacture and production of locally made goods, encourage import substitution and reduce dependency on key imports. Further, increasing exports will contribute to reducing the current gap in the nation's trade imbalance and allow small to medium sized local businesses to expand and grow.⁵⁴ Employment will be created and people's livelihoods will benefit if the Buy Tonga Made campaign gains public support. If tourists are educated to look for a Buy Tonga Made label they will take away a true piece of Tongan handicraft and not cheaper replicas from overseas that are increasingly entering the market and are a threat to the handicraft sector.

There is an online marketplace for "Made in Tonga" products (www.madeintonga.com), which aims to allow manufacturers, crafters and artisans to present their products to the retail world. The website promotes and sells authentic products from Tonga, attempting to showcase the vast resources, ingenuity, and authenticity of the Tongan culture. It also provides access to the products from outside of the Kingdom. The website is hosted in New Zealand and it is not apparent from information provided that it is linked to the Tongan Government's campaign, though the website does display the Buy Tonga Made logo.

The Made in Tonga website states that it aims to help small businesses tell a story, highlighting Tongan products for their uniqueness and authenticity whilst aiming to help provide easy access for consumers to original products made or designed in the Kingdom of Tonga, along with information about these products, the culture and heritage. Products from the Langafonua Handicraft Centre feature.

The website is easy to negotiate and buy from. International shipping is offered. It is not clear how long it has been operating or how well subscribed it is but a linked Facebook page has 1,766 followers.

The Buy Tonga Made campaign could be extended around the region, particularly to countries with substantial Tongan populations and especially when Tongan exports are meeting off-season demand in those countries. Publicity and recognisable labelling may be all that is required, similar to the thumbnail sized ENZA labels that are attached to every New Zealand apple purchased in supermarkets in New Zealand or exported. Labelling handicrafts in a similar way would also be worth the investment.

Opportunities to support expansion of the Buy Tonga Made campaign should be investigated (*Support for Country-led Initiatives recommendation*), perhaps by funding increased production of the Buy Tonga Made campaign label and circulation to registered parties, or making information available about the Made in Tonga website through women's networks such as WISE so that more women can have their handicrafts advertised for sale.

⁵⁴ <http://www.madeintonga.com/tongan-made>

10.0 Seasonal Workers Schemes

New Zealand's Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) Work Policy facilitates the temporary entry of additional workers from overseas to plant, maintain, harvest and pack crops in the horticulture and viticulture industries to meet labour shortages. Tonga is one of eight participating Pacific countries. Employers contribute to travel expenses for workers and provide a wage and accommodation.⁵⁵

Mid-2015 the Australian Government announced an expansion of its own Seasonal Worker Program, including removing the annual limit on the number of seasonal workers who can participate in the program, and expanding the program to selected locations while still focusing on the agriculture industry and the accommodation industry. Tonga is one of 10 countries eligible to send workers.⁵⁶

In 2012/2013 a total of 1,573 seasonal workers from Tonga were recruited to work in horticultural farms in New Zealand as opposed to 1,199 hired to work in Australia. Tongans supplied 70% of the labour market for the Australian horticulture industry. Australia has announced that for 2015/2016 quarter the participation number will go up 4,250. In New Zealand, Tonga is second to Vanuatu, supplying 35% of the horticultural labour market.⁵⁷ Seasonal worker remittances are poised to exceed export earnings.

Approximately TOP\$35.6 million (approximately AU\$21.6 million) worth of remittances to Tonga was recorded in 2013/2014 financial year under the combined New Zealand Recognised Seasonal Employment (RSE) and Australia Pacific Seasonal Worker Pilot scheme. This is compared to around TOP\$23 million (approximately AU\$14 million) remitted back to the country in the 2012/2013 financial year.

The field team heard anecdotally that roughly 30% of a recent group of departing seasonal workers were female, and the females were particularly recruited for packing shed skills.

Some of those consulted during the field trip felt that overseas seasonal work was more lucrative than working the land at home for local or export earnings. Others felt that far more income could be earned by working bush land at home. The field team heard of land lying fallow in some villages because no-one was available to work it, and one incident where no root crops were planted in a village because the men who usually did that task were away as seasonal workers.

The field team also heard that some seasonal workers return with improved skills and ideas to innovate with crops at home, which may boost the export market in future.

Evaluations to date have focused on the operational challenges and benefits of these schemes. More specific research is required to identify issues such as export potential, land use, food security and other production issues, along with the social impacts of annual absences from the immediate and extended family.

⁵⁵ <http://www.dol.govt.nz/initiatives/strategy/rse/>

⁵⁶ <https://www.employment.gov.au/seasonal-worker-programme>

⁵⁷ <http://www.parliament.gov.to/media-centre/latest-news/latest-news-in-english/339-mps-learn-of-millions-of-remittances-to-tonga-under-seasonal-worker-scheme>

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Appendix A

List of People Consulted

Appendix A List of People Consulted

Organisation	Name
PHAMA Program	Bronwyn Wiseman, Deputy Team Leader Fiona Wyborn, M&E/Communications Advisor Paula Mosa'ati, PHAMA Coordinator (Tonga) Tom Nakao, outgoing Coordinator
MAFFF	Mr 'Imanuella Mo'ale, Head of Extension Services Mr Losipeli Funaki, District Extension Officer - Central Ms Vaimoana Mafi, Head, Women's Division Ms Luseane Taufa, Head Food Production & Processing Unit Ms Siutoni Tupou, Quarantine Officer
MIA	Ms Tupou Fakakovikeatau, Acting Deputy CEO, Division of Women's Affairs Mr 'Inoke Kupu, Deputy CEO, Local Government and Community Development
MCTL	Ms Moana Taukolo, CEO (Chair of MAWG)
MOET TVET-ISDF	Mr Mostyn Coleman, Education Advisor Ms Muni Kaitu'u, Lapaha Village Coordinator Ms 'Ana Ha'apai, Fungaloto Village Coordinator
Australian High Commission	Ms Lilika Fusimalohi, Aid Senior Program Manager Ms Meria Russell, Aid Program Manager
WISE	Ms 'Ofa Tu'ikolovatu, President
Langafonua 'a e Fafine Tonga	Ms Taumosi Hemaloloto, Manager, Handicraft Gallery (visit to Handicraft Gallery)
Tonga National Youth Council	Ms Vanessa Lolohea, Manager, Virgin Coconut Oil (visit to VCO processing shed)
Tonga Handicraft & Cultural Tourism Support Program	Ms Monalisa Palu, former National Coordinator
MORDI	Mr Soane Patolo, CEO
Tonga Growers Federation	Ms Sinai Tu'itahi, CEO
Exporters	Mr Koloti Seluini (visit to papaya plantation at Havelu) Mr Ma'ake Faka'osifolau, Mark Shipping Packing Facility Ms Lesieli Namoa, New Millennium Packing Facility Ms Lupe Kotoni, Lotopoha Export Trading (visit to Kolonga root crop farm) Mr Pousima Afeaki, Tinopai Farm Mr Minoru Nishi, Jr, Nishi Trading Packing Facility (visit to packing shed at 'Utulau)

Appendix B

Scan of Relevant Regional and Bilateral Agencies

Appendix B Scan of Relevant Regional and Bilateral Agencies

The following is not a complete scan of agencies because quite a bit of programming is being delivered in Tonga. It is a light scan in alphabetical order of those most relevant to the PHAMA Program. All agencies have a focus on gender equality in programming.

Asian Development Bank

The Asian Development Bank (ADB) has microfinance-related programs underway through MCTL and contributes to infrastructure programs including solar energy and outer island development. The ADB's Tonga Strategic Development Framework 2015-2025⁵⁸ focuses on economic development, human development with gender equality, and land, environment and climate, amongst other areas. Agriculture and exporting are features.

European Union

The European Union (EU) makes grants aimed at building the capacity of Non-State Actors and Civil Society Organisations in Tonga so that these can actively participate in the development of policies, good governance and trade issues of the country. To that end, seven grants valued at TOP392,000 (approximately AU\$240,000) have been offered to seven Tongan civil society organisations: Tonga Community Development Trust, Naunau 'o e 'Alamaite Tonga Association Incorporated (NATA), Tongatapu 3 Council, Catholic Women's League, Talitha Project, Queen Salote Ex-student Association and Tonga Academy International Ltd.⁵⁹

PHAMA works with the Tonga Trust by extension through MORDI. NATA is a disability organisation and could be a strategic partner, the Talitha Project works with young people and could also be a strategic partner, as could each of the others.

The EU makes a variety of other investments in Tonga as part of the Asia, Pacific, and Caribbean (ACP) agreement.

EU/PAPP and SPC⁶⁰

A four-day workshop to develop a National Extension Strategy for Tonga concluded on 6 November, 2015. The workshop was facilitated by the European Union (EU) supported by the Pacific Agriculture Policy Project (PAPP), which is implemented by the Land Resources Division of the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC). There is no information on when the strategy will be available or what period it will cover.

The workshop brought together stakeholders from both public and private sectors, including the Ministry of Agriculture, Food, Forests and Fisheries (MAFFF) extension staff, representatives from other MAFFF Divisions, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), farming communities (subsistence and commercial) and exporters. Training was delivered on Project Cycle Management including elements of the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and Logical Framework (LogFrame) tools. Participants contributed towards a SWOT analysis and the development of a problem tree. They were then involved in clustering and hierarchizing objectives and brainstorming activities for each cluster. Participants also determined key indicators and means of verification, a risk assessment and a Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) plan to support implementation of the strategy.

Food and Agricultural Organisation

The Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) provides assistance with agricultural and census surveys and advancement of ecologically sustainable agriculture production, improved food quality and safety, improved production, processing and marketing of agricultural produce, community development and support for the private sector, especially investment promotion. Increasing agricultural production for domestic consumption and export is also accorded high priority.⁶¹

⁵⁸ <http://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/linked-documents/cobp-ton-2016-2018-ld-05.pdf>

⁵⁹ <http://www.finance.gov.to/?q=article/european-union-and-government-tonga-jointly-support-non-state-actors-and-civil-society-0>

⁶⁰ <http://www.spc.int/pafpnet/about-papp/our-areas-of-focus/info-comms-knowledge/474-developing-a-nationals-extension-strategy-for-tonga>

⁶¹ <http://www.fao.org/3/a-av269e.pdf>

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Revision 1.0 – 01-Mar-2016

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International Fund for Agricultural Development

The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)⁶² is an important partner of MAFFF, MIA, MCTL and others, as well as MORDI and Tonga Trust. IFAD's Tonga Rural Innovation Project (TRIP) will result in community development plans for the whole country and is discussed elsewhere.

New Zealand Aid Program

The New Zealand Aid Program's indicative budget for Tonga 2015 – 2018 is NZ\$38 million (approximately AU\$36 million) (MFAT, 2015:8) with a focus on increasing economic opportunities and jobs from tourism, agriculture, and private-sector development along with investments in education, skills, and infrastructure management (MFAT, 2015:14). A current budget breakdown could not be found but for 2011 – 2014, New Zealand committed NZ\$4.5 million (approximately AU\$4.2 million) over three years to the Tonga Tourism Support Program (TTSP)⁶³ supporting the public and private sectors to boost economic growth through increasing income and generating jobs. The TTSP was being delivered by both the public and private sector by supporting local tourism initiatives and private sector coordination. Support for the private sector is through the establishment of the Tonga Business Enterprise Centre (TBEC), private sector training, business advisory support and the Pacific Business Mentoring Program.

New Zealand Aid has been instrumental in funding improvements to biosecurity operations at MAFFF so that exports can increase to New Zealand and Australia.

Pacific Leadership Program

The Pacific Leadership Program (PLP) is a DFAT-funded regional program. PLP began operations in Tonga in 2009, building relationships with civil-society, private sector and youth organisations through a partnership model based on trust. These relationships were crucial in providing access to discussions on leadership challenges in Tonga. PLP supports Coalitions for Change through the Tonga National Leadership Development Forum (TNLDF) to provide innovative approaches that support leadership beyond the partnership work and provide spaces for dialogue and programs for developmental leadership. PLP provides funding and technical support for TNLDF operations and programs. One of the TNLDF's success stories is the endorsement of the National Leadership Code as the people's Code by His Majesty King Tupou VI during his coronation in June 2015. PLP supports Private Sector Leadership through the Tonga Chamber of Commerce and Industry (TCCI). TCCI plays a role in coordinating private sector development and representing the private sector in multilevel engagements. PLP supports Community Leadership through the Civil Society Forum of Tonga (CSFT), which is the recognised representative voice of civil society in Tonga.⁶⁴

Pacific Island Private Sector Organisation

The Pacific Islands Private Sector Organisation (PIPSO) is the premier private sector representative body in the Pacific Islands region. Its members are comprised of the national private sector organisations of the 14 Forum Pacific Island Countries, and American Samoa. It is mandated to advocate the interests of the private sector at the regional level and participate and contribute to policy development and strategies for private sector development. PIPSO works with regional organisations and donor agencies to strengthen the capacity of its members through consultation, training, mentoring, technical support and funding to enable them to dialogue with their governments on a level playing field.⁶⁵ In April 2007, PIPSO was established through the support of the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (PIFS) and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). PIPSO receives funding through DFAT's Pacific Leadership Program.

PIPSO conducted its first Pacific Islands Women in Business Conference in 2014 in Nadi. With the theme 'Making the Connection – Challenges & Solutions, Opportunities & Options, Buyers and Sellers, Entrepreneurs & Leaders of the Pacific', the conference brought together a total of 110 participants consisting of women entrepreneurs, Government and community representatives from PIPSO's 14 member countries. Other organisations that participated at the conference included PIFS, the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG), University of the South Pacific (USP), Small Business Development Centre (Samoa), UN Women, Pacific Leadership Program, Fiji Women's Right Movement and the Secretariat of the Pacific Community. The conference reiterated the critical role that Pacific women entrepreneurs play in the economy of their countries with regards to income and

⁶² <http://operations.ifad.org/web/ifad/operations/country/home/tags/tonga>

⁶³ <http://www.aid.govt.nz/where-we-work/pacific/tonga>, accessed 26 November 2015

⁶⁴ <http://www.plp.org.fj/our-work/country-programs/tonga/>

⁶⁵ <http://pipso.org/about-us-2/>

employment creation and the need to create policies that would encourage and promote such developments. The Government representatives shared their Government's plans and policies with regards to the development of women entrepreneurs, the various government schemes in place to assist businesses and their policy on gender economic empowerment.⁶⁶ In Tonga, PIPSO has partnerships with TCCI and WISE amongst others.

Pacific Private Sector Development Initiative

The Pacific Private Sector Development Initiative (PSDI) is a regional technical assistance facility co-funded by ADB, Australian Aid and New Zealand Aid. Its aim is to support the private sector to drive inclusive economic growth, create jobs, and lift Pacific people out of poverty. In Tonga, PSDI recently supported MCTL to launch the region's first integrated online business registry, providing up-to-date information on Tongan companies and businesses to the public 24 hours-a-day.⁶⁷

In August 2015, PSDI piloted a project that will prepare women for leadership roles in the private sector in Tonga. The pilot project will train 17 women employees of Tongan companies and organizations to become more ambitious, capable and confident in approaching leadership roles. It is one of four pilot projects being implemented under PSDI's Economic Empowerment of Women focus area. Two more training sessions will be held in the coming six months and these will be complemented by online courses and the mentoring of participants by local and international business women. Numerous Tongan businesses and government agencies are supporting the project by encouraging their staff to participate or mentor, providing material assistance and facilities, and committing to facilitating follow-up trainings so course participants can pass on what they learn to other women. Participating Tongan employers include the Ministry of Commerce, Tourism and Labour; Tonga Power; Pacific Retail Ltd; ANZ Bank; the Ministry of Revenue and Customs; Tonga Airports; Tonga Development Bank; and Bank South Pacific.⁶⁸

Pacific Women Shaping Pacific Development

Pacific Women Shaping Pacific Development, known as *Pacific Women*, is a \$320 million program supported by the Australian Government to improve the political, economic and social opportunities of Pacific women in 14 Pacific countries. *Pacific Women* supports Pacific countries to meet the commitments made in the 2012 Pacific Island Forum Leaders' Gender Equality Declaration and will work with Pacific governments, civil society organisations, the private sector, and multilateral, regional and United Nations agencies to increase the effective representation of women, and women's interests, through leadership at all levels of decision-making, expand women's economic opportunities to earn an income and accumulate economic assets, reduce violence against women and increase access to support services and to justice for survivors of violence.⁶⁹ In relation to PHAMA's work, *Pacific Women* is supporting MIA Division of Women's Affairs to mainstream gender across government departments and raise awareness about the Family Protection Act 2014, as well as supporting women's NGOs working with victims of family violence. Alongside this work, SPC is supporting the Division of Women's Affairs to establish disaggregated databases for the collection of information and to raise awareness in the media on gender equality issues.

Secretariat of the Pacific Community

The Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC) is an important partner for PHAMA, through the Land Resources Division. SPC receives core funding from the Australian Government. SPC also works with the Tongan Government on economic development, public health including NCD issues, social development including gender equality and social inclusion, climate change and statistics for development. Many of these support PHAMA's objectives. Information on specific SPC initiatives appear in relevant areas of the report.

South Pacific Business Development

South Pacific Business Development (SPBD) is a network of microfinance organizations working in Fiji, Samoa, Tonga and the Solomon Islands dedicated to eradicating poverty by empowering women in poor rural villages with the opportunity to start, grow and maintain sustainable, income generating micro-enterprises. Established in Tonga in 2009, SPBD Tonga reached financial sustainability within 18 months of inception, and it expects to support 5,000 micro-credit entrepreneurs by 2016. To achieve this goal, SPBD Tonga will continue to expand

⁶⁶ <http://pipso.org/women-in-business/>

⁶⁷ <http://www.adb.org/news/tonga-s-innovative-online-business-registry-goes-live-ADB>

⁶⁸ <http://www.adbpsdi.org/search/label/Economic%20Empowerment%20of%20Women>

⁶⁹ <http://www.pacificwomen.org/about/about-pwspd/>

outreach on existing island groups (Tongatapu, Vava'u, Ha'apai, Eua') and will expand to the additional islands. To support this planned growth, SPBD Tonga will raise new loans and grants. SPBD Tonga claims to impact on more than 7,000 individuals or 42,000 families.⁷⁰

SPBD focuses primarily on women entrepreneurs. The scheme appears to have positive impacts on some women's lives; however, both consultants had previously heard concerning stories from different sources.

The consultants heard that the interest rate charged was 25%. Most borrowers start off on a TOP1,000 (approximately AU\$600) loan for one year, which they repay as TOP1,250 (approximately AU\$765) and are then able to take a larger loan at the same interest rate. The consultants had both previously heard that some women struggle to make 25% profit to repay the interest so instead they borrow from family and friends to make the repayments. Then when they receive the larger loan they repay all the borrowings but then have even more profit to make to repay the second loan. The consultants had heard that some women are trapped into a spiral of increasing debt that undermines their livelihoods.

SPBD Tonga is funded by an organisation called MicroDreams, which was established by and is managed by the same person who established and manages SPBD. An independent organisation called Give Well, conducts regular evaluations of microfinance organisations and provides ratings to inform people considering donations. Give Well has not evaluated MicroDreams since 2011 because at that time Give Well determined that it was unlikely to meet their criteria based on a past examination. The main reasons MicroDreams did not meet the criteria were due to the lack of collection of information on dropout rates and reasons, and other social impacts. Information on interest rates provided by MicroDreams to Give Well in 2010 advised that SPBD Tonga loans are for TOP1,000 with a 52-week repayment period. Weekly repayments are TOP24.03, which amounts to a 25% flat interest rate. Additionally, borrowers pay a 2% (TOP\$20) development fee up front and a 2% (TOP\$20) loan insurance fee. This ensures that the remaining balance of the loan is written off in the event of death. Interest and fees are used to cover the cost of the funds, the insurance benefits and the upfront training and ongoing weekly training, guidance and motivation sessions.⁷¹ There may have been changes since 2011 but both consultants heard in recent times that the interest rate increases vulnerability for some women.

The consultants had both heard separately that SPBD had been asked by government to cease operating in Samoa for the same reason, but this cannot be confirmed. The field team did not have time to meet with SPBD during the field trip to clarify further but urges caution in PHAMA's dealings with SPBD.

World Bank

The World Bank is funding large infrastructure programs in Tonga along with economic reform and climate resilience. Its work is co-funded, often by Australian Aid. The Second Economic Recovery Operation is the second in a series of grants, designed to assist the government in sustaining key services for the Tongan people. It will also support measures to reduce costs for local businesses by streamlining licensing procedures, and to ensure improvements in public financial management.⁷² The World Bank was instrumental in the drafting of the Tonga Agricultural Sector Plan (TASP).

Through the International Finance Corporation (IFC) and in partnership with Australian Aid, a Gender and Investment Climate Reform Assessment was conducted in 2010 which identified that women professionals and entrepreneurs face several constraints that inhibit their full potential for economic growth. Women are held back by traditional gender roles; cultural obligations that add familial responsibilities to women; limited access to land; and poor representation in Government. Women are further constrained by a legal framework that does not adequately protect their interests, particularly in relation to property rights and employment. The assessment resulted in recommendations to improve policy dialogue on investment climate reform for women's economic empowerment, improve the legal framework for women's businesses and improve training and networking for business women.⁷³ The report informs the World Bank's work in Tonga.

⁷⁰ <http://www.spbdmicrofinance.com/spbd-network/tonga>

⁷¹ <http://www.givewell.org/international/charities/MicroDreams>

⁷² <http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2012/11/15/new-boost-for-economic-recovery-in-tonga>

⁷³ <http://www->

wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2013/06/14/000333037_20130614145027/Rendered/PDF/784700WP0Box3700rmAssessments0Tonga.pdf

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Appendix C

Scan of Relevant Government Agencies

Appendix C Scan of Relevant Government Agencies

The main agencies of relevance to the gender analysis are the Ministry of Commerce, Tourism and Labour (MCTL), Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA) and the Ministry of Agriculture, Food, Forestry and Fisheries (MAFFF). In June 2015, responsibility for Tourism was transferred to the Ministry of Infrastructure but for the purpose of this report, the abbreviation MCTL will be used. Also, the field team heard that responsibility for Fisheries had recently been transferred away from MAFFF but the report will use the abbreviation MAFFF.

The Ministry of Education and Training (MOET) has a specific program as part of Technical and Vocational Education (TVET) aimed at training women as export farmers. This will be commented on also.

Ministry of Agriculture, Food, Forestry and Fisheries (MAFFF)

The Ministry's budget for 2014-15 was TOP6.653 million (approximately AU\$4 million), excluding Fisheries Division and one-off funding of the Agriculture Development Fund. Almost three quarters (72%) of that was allocated for salaries, with the remainders (28%) allocated for development-related activities. Export expansion, food security, extension and women's development received TOP1.866 million (approximately AU\$1 million) including for salaries. Quarantine and quality management support services received TOP0.932 million (approximately AU\$570,000) including salaries (GoT, 2015:77). The non-salary component for export expansions, food security, extension and women's development is TOP522,000 (approximately AU\$319,000) and TOP261,000 (approximately AU\$160,000) for quarantine activities.

MAFFF has an Extensions, Women's and Development Section, which has been active for 47 years. The Section consists of 64 staff, some of whom are based in Nuku'alofa with many others spread around the country, based at local government District Offices. The Section's work is guided by a sector plan that aligns with the Government's Tonga Strategic Development Framework 2011 – 2014 (TSDf 1), which is currently being redrafted for a second phase 2015 – 2025.

Amongst the Sections objectives are improving the effectiveness of policy and technical advisory services towards accelerating of agriculture commodity export, improving household food security and linking with communities to upgrade the standard of national food security, enhancing active partnership with public and private sector agencies to address women and youth development in the rural, remote and vulnerable communities, and promoting the development of women's and youth groups and District Women Committees.⁷⁴

The team met with the Officer in Charge (OIC) of Extension Services and the District Extension Officer for Central Tongatapu, and separately with two representatives of the Women's Section and a quarantine officer.

District extension officers meet with the OIC every Monday morning to discuss their schedules of work. The district officer the field team spoke to advised that support for women is in developing the family garden and support for men is in growing larger quantities for local and export markets. Families are encouraged to work collectively to grow at least one acre of crops on bush land. The role of women and children here is applying fertiliser and picking, cleaning and sorting crops. Men plough and prepare the land, apply chemicals and load the crops onto trucks when ready. The district officer was not aware of any women growing for export.

Exporters have registers of growers and work with MAFFF as the pathway to export. Squash is exported to New Zealand all year round and negotiations are underway to supply the China market. Other crops are cassava, yams and papaya. MAFFF also has a register of growers. MAFFF sends trainers to growers of crops that require quarantine services so that they know how to treat the crops.

A container holds 500kg and if an exporter is not able to fill a container, an advertisement is placed for others to supply the exporter with enough to fill the container.

A functional review of MAFFF was completed in November 2015 and weaknesses in extension services, quarantine practices and the collection and reporting of data are likely to be identified. Rectifying the weaknesses will be crucial for export revenue to increase.

Women's Section

Senior staff interviewed for the gender analysis suggested that more emphasis is required on the local market before focusing on the export market. Concern was expressed at the level of imported foods and the impacts

⁷⁴ <http://www.mafff.gov.to/Women.html#>

some of those have on diets and health, given the high levels of non-communicable diseases. There was also discussion on adding value to locally grown produce through canning and other preserving options. Current constraints included a lack of large equipment for canning or bottling and a lack of materials such as cans and jars. The Women's Section has a small commercial kitchen in the Nuku'alofa office which is used for training. Local groups are able to borrow kitchen equipment, such as slicers and fryers, for small-scale commercial production of products like taro chips for sale in the local market. Groups are encouraged to save from their earnings to set up their own kitchens and gradually increase volumes.

The Women's Section's work with women appears to be limited in flexibility, and staff felt that the distribution of free seeds and the loan of equipment has created dependency. Instead of saving some of the cash generated by crop sales to reinvest in the next crop, women farmers spend the cash and rely on MAFFF to start them off again next time. Possible reasons were expectations by the extended family to share savings, along with church expectations for donations. The issue of cash management and saving to reinvest arose many times during the field trip.

The analysis team heard that women involved in extension programs usually work in groups to farm but are not organised when it comes to moving beyond growing for subsistence and the local market. MAFFF staff gave the FRIEND Cooperative⁷⁵ in Fiji as an example of what women could achieve if they became more organised.

MAFFF Women's Section in Nuku'alofa works with Women's District Committees that have become known as Ministry of Agriculture groups. MAFFF keeps a register of farming groups. Women from between 10 and 12 villages are involved in the groups. Some groups have eight to 15 participants; others have 20 to 30 participants. Technical support focuses on food security, health and nutrition, and women's economic empowerment. Good progress is linked to good leadership. Where there is no leadership there is usually no progress. Group leaders are often wives of ministers, nobles or chiefs and wives of district or town officers. Attendance at group meetings can be problematic if women are busy attending to other responsibilities, such as family or making handicrafts. Most training is held during week days or sometimes Friday night but never on weekends.

MAFFF staff have noticed that women are at times collecting the free seeds but not attending groups because the training is always the same and the women feel they already know what to do. Staff felt it would be useful to introduce new crop types and different training to keep women enthusiastic but did not seem able to adapt the program. Budgeting training is not offered to groups to assist them to plan for the next crop and it is possible that participants do not have a clear understanding of the cost of inputs.

There does not appear to be a strategic approach to the extension program or flexibility to adapt the program across years or seasons. Perhaps staff are unable to influence program decisions and their knowledge from the field is not used to constantly improve extension work. Further, it may be useful for extension staff to receive regular professional development so that training on a range of commercial crops can be offered to women's groups, along with advice on turning growing into a regular business income. Each group could focus on one particular market crop to tend at the same time as the home garden, thus providing additional income to families while not flooding local markets with any one type of crop. It may also be useful for extension staff to encourage some type of savings club so that MAFFF can phase out the reliance on free seeds and encourage participant self-sustainability. Currently MAFFF extension work may be playing a valuable role in achieving its objective of food security and nutrition but it does not appear to be contributing much to its objective of accelerating commodity exports. Exporters appear to be taking the lead on this front by identifying and supporting communities of growers on a crop by crop basis.

MAFFF has historically held monthly coordination meetings with District Offices, which is where rural extension staff are located. Recently, coordination of these meetings has been taken over by the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA)-Local Government and Community Development Division, which appears to have caused confusion in the lines of authority and communication. MAFFF continues to align its extension work through District Offices. The Women's Section does not engage with the Division of Women's Affairs at MIA.

Quarantine Section

The field team were advised that handicrafts are almost entirely exported by individuals. Crops are exported by both individuals and commercial exporters.

⁷⁵ The FRIEND Cooperative is a successful community-based, poverty-reduction food manufacturing NGO in Lautoka, Fiji. It now supplies supermarkets in Fiji and other parts of the Pacific <http://friendfiji.com/>.
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Considerable volumes of handicrafts are exported, mainly to extended families in the diaspora and mainly for customary purposes such as weddings and funerals. Handicrafts for these purposes are usually confined to pandanus mats and tapa cloth made from tree bark. *Kātoanga* exchanges (mats for cash and other gifts) take place several times each year, resulting in mats travelling to the diaspora. These must be fumigated then manually inspected before departure for entry to Australia and New Zealand, but not for entry to the USA where there are no certification requirements. Information on volumes was not available but the value is anecdotally estimated to be in the millions. These activities are not captured in economic data because of the individual nature of the exports.

Small quantities of crops, such as tapioca or taro, are also exported to the diaspora and mainly through extended families. The family member then sells the crops through personal contacts or at farmers' markets. Profits are often not remitted to the grower or take a long time to be recovered from the family member acting as agent. These crops are fumigated or blast frozen before departure, depending on the crop.

Quarantine keeps a register of exporters. Most crops for commercial export require treatment before departure. Exceptions are squash, bananas and plantain. Bananas have not been exported for several years. At the time of the field visit the high temperature forced air (HTFA) facility had lost certification so commodities hosting fruit fly, such as breadfruit, chillies, eggplant and papaya, could not be exported. Other treatments are methyl bromide spraying and blast chilling, depending on the crop type. Tomatoes are grown for the local market but are not exported as they do not hold up to HTFA treatment.

The HTFA facility briefly achieved recertification in October 2014 after being closed for several years due to non-compliance with New Zealand standards. The facility operated for approximately six months before losing certification again when a shipment of breadfruit arrived in New Zealand carrying fruit fly larvae. Data was not available on types and volumes of produce processed during the period that the facility functioned. The quarantine section conducted an internal investigation and found that procedures were not being followed and too many people had access to the HTFA. An inspection of the facility is scheduled for December 2015 and it is hoped that recertification can again be achieved. Shipments of papaya and breadfruit are ready to go immediately.

Approximately 2,000 metric tonnes (Mt) of taro leaves are exported every week to Korea, Japan and New Zealand. The team was advised that there are 53 items on the approved list for export to New Zealand that are not being supplied. The list includes a large number of leaves and herbs.

The quarantine office was unable to provide information on volumes of commodities processed in any period. The information appears to be collected but was not publicly available.

Draft Tonga Agricultural Sector Plan

In 2015 a Draft Tonga Agricultural Sector Plan (TASP) was developed by the Agriculture Sector Growth Committee (ASGC), which is a cross-sectoral organization with the objective of "expanding the agriculture sector's contribution to employment, exports, and the annual growth of Tonga's GDP". The ASGC was formed to address the challenges of building up consistent supply to satisfy potential market opportunities, because of dwindling expectations by farmers that MAFFF has the capacity to generate and transfer the knowledge required to introduce and produce new varieties (GoT, 2015:13). The Draft TASP states that the design process was actively overseen by the ASGC, with cooperation from: (i) all of MAFFF's divisions; (ii) the Churches (four main denominations); (iii) a wide range of interested stakeholders from the private and public sectors; and (iv) about 600 men and women farmers who were interviewed in workshops to obtain their views on current sectoral constraints and issues, and their opinions on TASP's objectives, and possible programs and activities (GoT, 2015:9). The TASP is broader in scope than the public sector-focused MAFFF Corporate Plan (2014/15 - 2016/17); however, the Plan was used to inform the TASP planning exercise (GoT, 2015:20).

While the term 'gender' does not appear in the TASP, one of the guiding principles is catering for the specific needs of women, children, youth and disadvantaged groups (GoT, 2015:32), which could provide opportunities for PHAMA's gender equality approaches and for its objective to reduce vulnerability. Advocacy may also be necessary to ensure that the TASP does not perpetuate discrimination and stereotyping but instead provides equal choice to males and females. For instance, farmer training is to be phased in for men and women farmers with women expected to focus on the production of raw materials for handicraft manufacture (GoT, 2015:55). This may well be the preference of many women but there will be some who prefer other farming activities. Similarly, there may be men who prefer handicraft production. DFAT, NZAid, ADB, World Bank and other donors all have gender equality obligations in their own policies and accountabilities so eliminating the potential for discrimination

from the TASP will make investment decisions easier to make further down the line. Implementation of the TASP is reliant on donor cooperation. PHAMA management could take this matter up with the Tonga Post.

TASP intends to provide matching grants, which will be a good boost for female farmers as long as they can build a reasonable sum to match with; however, one type of matching grant will be for women handicraft materials farmers and another type will be for agricultural farmers. The grant approval conditions will be the same for both grants (GoT, 2015:57), submission of a simple business plan which demonstrates a willingness to share farm development and operational costs with the TASP (GoT, 2015: 56). Matching grants will no doubt provide a useful incentive to encourage male and female farmers to save, but both types of grants should be available to males and females.

There are many areas in the TASP that PHAMA may wish to support, such as improving training in colleges for future farmers, scholarships for those who plan to become commercial farmers, supporting promising farming graduates with "farming start-up" packages (GoT, 2015:54), as long as all of these are non-discriminatory.

Some of the TASP's objectives will assist the PHAMA Program to achieve. Objective 2.4 of the TASP is to ensure that Tonga's farmers (both male and female) have access to land, labour and farm finance (GoT, 2015:88). Objective 3.1 aims to improve farmer's knowledge and practices - including women in agriculture (handicrafts), natural resource management, and diversified crop (and livestock) production systems, which, if successful, could boost growing for export.

The TASP is a useful initiative and regularly acknowledges women as farmers, but more regularly acknowledges women as handicraft makers and may reinforce stereotypes unless there is a genuine intention to promote equality of access and continued engagement with women in decision-making.

Ministry of Internal Affairs

Two main divisions of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA) were consulted with: Local Government, and Women's Affairs.

Local Government and Community Development Division

Tonga's form of local government consists of district and town officers elected by popular vote every three years in a local election. There are 23 districts across the five regions, consisting of 166 villages (towns for the purpose of local government). There has never been a female district officer but since 2004 there have been three female town officers. Town and district officers communicate between central government and villagers. They identify local road, water and other needs, and can tell the minister of local government about needs and wants.⁷⁶

MIA aims to consolidate policy and delivery functions related to social and community development, to complement the efforts of other ministries.⁷⁷ To that end the Local Government and Community Development Division, which has responsibility for district and town offices, is attempting to identify and coordinate all relevant activities across ministries.

MAFFF extension officers are based in district offices. MAFFF has historically convened monthly meetings with district officers but in recent times MIA has taken over convening the meetings. There is a lack of clarity on lines of communication as a result of district officers reporting to MIA and district extension officers reporting to MAFFF, which may need to be resolved. In the meantime, support for agriculture and horticulture in villages appears to be unaffected. The focus of the field trip, Tongatapu, has seven districts made up of 70 villages.

District Officers work with several towns and Town Officers work with each village. The field team heard that villages tend to run their own activities, not necessarily through the District Office. Since 2014 the NGO Mainstreaming of Rural Development Innovation (MORDI) has been assisting MIA to prepare community plans for every village in the country. The process is participatory and women's needs are identified separately to men's and youth needs. These plans are to form the basis of priorities for government and other agencies. Individual plans will then be used to prepare a master plan for each region. The work will be completed by March 2016

Division of Women's Affairs

The Division of Women's Affairs (DWA) at MIA is the secretariat for the Revised National Policy and Strategy on Gender and Development 2014 – 2018. The policy aligns with the Government's TSDF and includes an outcome relevant to PHAMA's work:

⁷⁶ <http://www.citizenshipeducation.net/tongas-local-government/>, accessed 1 December 2015

⁷⁷ <http://www.citizenshipeducation.net/tongas-local-government/>, accessed 1 December 2015

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Outcome 2: Equitable access to economic assets and employment

- 2.3.2. Facilitate women's access to financial services, capital formation and insurances for small and micro-enterprises
- 2.3.4. Support schemes to facilitate women's access to land and ownership of productive assets
- 2.4.2. Support women's business development in fish farming, traditional farming practices, cash crops, notably organic production, and cultural industries
- 2.5.6 Strengthen the Tonga Handicraft Association to be able to promote production, ensure quality, assist in marketing and provide training to improve quality and productivity in the handicraft sub-sector
- 2.5.7 Strengthen the Handicraft Marketing Centre in Nuku'alofa which would promote regional specialities (GoT, 2014:7-8)

DWA and the MAFFF Women's Section do not communicate on a regular basis but this is likely to change as DWA involves more ministries in mainstreaming of the policy and strategy.

DWA has a national database of around 30 women's groups involved in women's economic empowerment activities, primarily handicrafts. At the time of the field trip, a DWA staff member was leading a mission of around 12 women to Australia to sell handicrafts at a cultural event. The same happens in March annually for the Auckland Pasifika Festival. DWA is looking in to similar opportunities in the USA.

The women take a range of handicrafts to sell at these events and return with roughly TOP30,000 (approximately AU\$18,000) between them. Fares and some expenses are funded by grants, such as from TBEC. These opportunities are not used to establish markets overseas; they are simply used to sell whatever handicrafts are taken. Participants do not have websites or Facebook pages to promote sales. Also, participants do not save some of their earnings towards travel and expenses next time, though they do use some of the earnings to produce more handicrafts. In fairness, the return is relatively small and without travel grants there would be little profit.

PHAMA's work assists the government to achieve its gender and development objectives so it would be useful for the PHAMA Coordinator to meet from time to time with DWA to discuss PHAMA's progress and hear about progress from other directions towards achieving Outcome 2.

Ministry of Education and Training: TVET-ISDF

A new DFAT-funded TVET program the Interim Skills Development Facility (ISDF) has recently completed a pilot year of training women farmers interested in growing crops for export. The program aims to link skills development with economic growth. Chillies and eggplants were selected for the pilot as there is unmet export potential for both crops.

ISDF recently released a baseline survey of 55 women who officially enrolled in the pilot program and was done prior to the commencement of training in March 2015. Data was collected in five different villages from three districts in Tongatapu. The baseline found that all participants had completed a high school qualification and seven had tertiary educations (ISDF, 2015:7) Sixteen participants reported that they had a person with a disability living in their household (ISDF, 2015:6) Just over half of trainees reported that their main occupation relied wholly on subsistence farming and fishing for day-to-day consumption. A little less than half were engaged in the informal sector and a small number (roughly three) were employed in the formal sector. Trainees in the informal sector include mat weavers, tapa cloth makers and vegetable growers (ISDF, 2015:7). Two-thirds of those women reported that they made handicrafts for sale at *kātoanga*, with the rest saying they sold at market places and tourist locations. Only 9% of women said they earned money through crop sales. Two thirds of respondents said they worked on their crafts every day (ISDF, 2015:8-9). Almost all respondents estimated their income as less than TOP300 per week (approximately AU\$282) and half of those estimated it to be less than TOP100 per week (approximately AU\$94) (ISDF, 2015:10). Subsistence farming contributed between 25% and 100% towards family livelihood (ISDF, 2015:13). Some participants also received remittances and donations from the extended family (ISDF, 2015:18). One of the main motivations for enrolling in the training was to improve the family's livelihood (ISDF, 2015:21). Ten of the trainees had registered as growers with MAFFF at the completion of the pilot.

The field team met with the education advisor managing the ISDF and heard that the program could be a useful avenue for training MAFFF extension officers especially as they are currently not well regarded. ISDF had recently completed training with Recognised Seasonal Workers due to depart for Australia and New Zealand. The training was provided over four months and roughly half of the 88 trainees were female. It was estimated that overall female seasonal workers make up 30% of all seasonal workers. It was believed that these workers return with improved skills. It was also believed that some men returning from seasonal work were more willing to share

household labour because they had been obliged to look after themselves while away; however, it was acknowledged that some became idle for five months, waiting for the next departure. The field team heard that in some cases when seasonal workers are away the bush block remains fallow as there is no-one to work it. Numbers are now uncapped for the Australian scheme and work is not confined to horticulture anymore. This development could have both positive and negative impacts.

Regarding the women farmers pilot project that been delivered during 2015, next year there will be more focus on training in the villages where the farming is done and the initial focus will be on livelihoods. Unemployed and under-employed youths will be included.

ISDF provided two contacts of village coordinators from the pilot program for the field team to interview. Interviews focused on how the program impacted on women's incomes and on household labour demands.

One coordinator was married to an extension officer, which gave her status in the village and made her an ideal person to select as coordinator because she could involve the extension officer when required. The extension officer was already involved in providing ISDF training. Fifteen women commenced the program but only 10 completed it. The program arranged ploughing and provided all the inputs and equipment required. Enough seedlings were provided for 50 rows of chillies and 50 rows of eggplants. Fifteen rows of chillies produced a 2kg crop. The coordinator has a greenhouse and grew all the seedlings for the group. When ready, each woman took her allocated supply to plant on her own land. Some planted the rows on the bush plot where their husbands were already growing pumpkin and watermelon for Nishi and for the local market. The closure of the HTFA resulted in the local market being flooded with chillies and eggplants. Some women made the chillies into sauce for sale at the market. Eggplant is not commonly eaten so it was harder to sell. A suggestion was made for the next training, if an unusual crop is chosen, was to include cooking classes or recipes so that growers knew how to cook the vegetable. Those remaining in the program would like to try different crops next time. Sales of the crops improved participants' incomes. Eggplant quality had to be high to meet export standard and was hard to maintain. Half of the chilli harvest was not fit for export either. Participants preferred to grow papaya because it always sells on the local market if it can't be exported. A conversation developed around papaya being well supplied for export while chillies and eggplants were for a niche market that was currently undersupplied for export.

Participants found the course demanding due to the export component. The course was delivered in English, which was hard for some women to understand. A certificate was on offer to those who completed the whole training but nobody qualified for one. It was observed that the certificate would have been worthwhile as it might have led to other work, such as in a nursery. One set of spraying equipment was provided to the group. Women didn't want to wear the spraying equipment. Using it was off-putting because women didn't know how to mix the spray or how to use the equipment. The extension officer was demonstrating how to use it but ended up doing it for all the plants, at the request of participants. There were challenges in keeping the group coordinated because they did not prioritise the project over other work. Some did not participate in parts because they were too busy or had to go to town. Participants wanted families included in the training so that men could do spraying and tasks that women do not traditionally do. Women only have time to look after one acre of land because of other demands on their time. These included household labour, community obligations and family ceremonies (weddings, funerals). The field team heard that three quarters of a woman's time is already occupied. The field team was told that women in this group preferred to make an income from handicrafts rather than from growing crops for export.

The second coordinator was a widow. The group farmed on a shared piece of land owned by one of the participants. This land will not be available again for another group exercise. Initially seven women participated but one dropped out. This group had started meeting weekly since 2012 to raise income for family emergencies. They operated as a small savings and loans group, each contributing a small amount of income each week. All were experienced at growing vegetables but this was the first time they had grown chillies and eggplants. Due to the closure of the HTFA, crops were sold locally or used in their own kitchens. Since participating in the program, some women had used their new skills to grow tomatoes and cabbage in their home gardens. The group enjoyed the training and liked the combination of half the day in the classroom and the other half in their fields applying the learning. The field team heard that the program was good for women and other women should be encouraged to participate next time. The coordinator is willing to use her bush land to grow larger quantities but does not have transport to get to the bush or to take water for daily watering of the plants. There were also problems with the bush land not being fenced to keep out livestock or prevent theft. In this community, women were the main income earners. Some were in paid employment as teachers and nurses. This group does not spend much time on handicrafts and would like to continue growing crops commercially.

All participants in the pilot have been involved in debriefs with ISDF and the learning will be used to improve the program for next year.

PHAMA and ISDF are already strategic partners. ISDF aims to skill women farmers in all parts of Tonga to grow crops commercially for the export market. Increasing the number of registered women growers increases the visibility of women's contribution to the economy while improving livelihoods for families. Greater visibility in the economy leads to decision-making opportunities in forums that are currently male preserves, and contributes to gender equality. Further, ISDF's program should result in reduced vulnerability for families.

Ministry of Commerce, Tourism and Labour

The main function of the Ministry of Commerce, Tourism and Labour (MCTL) is to facilitate the development and growth of the private sector through creating a supportive and fair operating environment for businesses and the development of an environment that ensures fair trade competition and a free flow of truthful information is available in the marketplace.

There are five divisions: Improving the business operating environment while ensuring business compliance and promoting innovation and creativity; Providing appropriate business development support; Creating an effective Public Private Partnership (PPP) framework; Improving the operation of the labour market; and Creation of marketing and product development strategies for Tourism.

The field team met with the CEO, who is also the current chair of the MAWG, and heard about a number of initiatives aimed at women's economic empowerment.

Through the Business Development Support Division, MCTL is supporting Civil Society Forum Tonga (CSFT) with a floriculture and vegetable garden project, MORDI and the Tonga Trust, amongst others. There has also been assistance with increasing handicraft sales to the cruise market and for attendance by women at cultural events and trade fairs in the diaspora. MCTL provides grants to cover travel expenses and leads delegations to events like the Pasifika Trade Fair in Auckland. The delegation is mostly women plus a few male carvers. MCTL is aware that some women have been given fares and expenses every year rather than saving from their earnings to self-fund. It now has criteria for who can apply to attend but is aware that some women go elsewhere for travel and shipping grants anyway, including to MIA. Product development, packaging and barcoding are other areas where MCTL has made progress in supporting small businesses. Improvements in quality have been noticed at the annual Tonga Agricultural Show. A strategy for marketing Tongan pearls has recently been presented to the Minister.

The field team heard that Tupu'anga Coffee has been taken over by Fofola Ltd, which is run by a woman. Tupu'anga harvests, roasts and packages its Arabica coffee beans entirely in Tonga, supplying local cafes and resorts, and exporting to New Zealand and Australia. Tupu'anga is currently planting more coffee farms to satisfy demand for the roasted beans, which is contributing to villages' sustainable development. Roasting the beans prior to sale enables the company to pay farmers a fair price above the worldwide coffee commodity rate.⁷⁸

MCTL and the ADB are planning to create cooperative companies as a path for women from the informal sector to the formal sector, and MCTL is meeting with banks to develop loans for women of up to TOP5,000 (approximately AU\$3,000) as a starting point for business development. Efforts are being made to resolve the collateral problem that many women experience when seeking a loan.

MCTL has been involved in establishing the Buy Tonga Made campaign, along with THCTSP and PHAMA and in the production of brochures on handicrafts that tourists can safely purchase and take home. It also engages with the Pacific Cooperation Foundation in New Zealand on economic development opportunities.

A Tourism and Manufacturing Grant scheme was administered by MCTL in 2013/14 but was later turned into low interest loans administered by the Tonga Development Bank (TDB). These loans are similar to low interest agriculture loans but are capped at TOP50,000 (approximately AU\$30,000) and may be repaid over longer periods. The tourism loan is aimed at improving existing tourism businesses or developing new ones. The manufacturing loan is for the development of competitive and value added products and to stimulate innovation and product diversification, amongst other areas. Assistance is available for writing a project plan and completing business registration and TBEC courses are offered on financial management and other areas.

The field team heard that a new micro finance company is setting up in Tonga to offer low interest loans to women active in the commercial sector and to compete with SPBD.

⁷⁸ <http://truepacific.com/producers/tupuanga-coffee/>

MCTL is in discussions with TBEC and the Samoan Business Centre to create a loan model where lack of collateral is not a barrier. The scheme should be ready early in 2016 and Bank South Pacific (BSP) has expressed interest, as the bank has a similar scheme in Papua New Guinea.

Recently the Business Registries Office opened a website and online portal to make it easier to search business names, file documents and obtain information.

An activity being developed by SPC is culinary workshops for the tourist industry aimed at connecting the farmer to the table. International chef and host of the Real Pasifik television series, Robert Oliver, is involved.

In 2013, MCTL developed a Micro, Small and Medium Enterprise (MSME) Policy and Strategy, with technical support from the Commonwealth Secretariat. As many MSMEs are operated by women and young people, policies and strategies aimed at building the MSME community will help them to grow their businesses, thereby improving economic strengths and resiliency, as well as improving the prospects for employment and skills development (MCTL, 2013:12). The document notes that the legal and regulatory environment must be aligned with the MSME policy and strategy. Goals are suggested as:

- Enhance policy implementation and integration
- Promote equality for women and youth
- Institutional arrangements
- MSME legislation and regulation as required, to define MSMEs, focus resources on MSME development and ensure that MSME development is a high priority in the government of Tonga, and identify and coordinate programming to support their development (MCTL, 2013:42).

The document encourages the creation of micro-finance institutions, credit unions and cooperatives for providing options to TDB and other loans (MCTL, 2013:44).

MCTL has no funding for implementation of the policy and strategy but has been engaged in a range of discussions with strategic partners that could result in implementation of parts. If implemented, the policy and strategy would reduce financial and other barriers for women entrepreneurs, encourage market access and contribute to skills development, which will have a positive impact on gender equality and PHAMA's work.

Women's issues are spread out across ministries and need coordination but not centralisation. The MIA-Division of Women's Affairs is positioned to take this role and hopefully coordination will improve as the government's gender policy and strategy are rolled out.

Appendix D

Scan of Relevant Sectoral Networks and Non- Government Agencies

Appendix D Scan of Relevant Sectoral Networks and Non-Government Agencies

All the agencies the field team met with received donor funding either currently or in the past. The level of functionality rises and falls depending on external funding.

Two of these agencies have a specific focus on women's economic empowerment and have both received donor support on and off for a number of years. They are not receiving external funding at the moment and do not appear to have been able to sustain the capacity that was built up in earlier times. A solution would be to charge higher membership fees to cover minimum administration costs such as at least one salaried worker and an office. It is unlikely that members would be willing to pay increased fees, or could afford to, unless there was a return through increased incomes.

An exception may be the Virgin Coconut Oil (VCO) not-for-profit business, which may in years to come be sustained by its own income, as it increases volumes of oil production and diversifies with vanilla and possibly other crops.

The Tonga Business Enterprise Centre (TBEC) is entirely donor funded but may be able to become sustainable over time by gradually increasing training fees and obtaining government commitment. Those prospects do not appear to be on the horizon at this time.

Women in Sustainable Enterprises

The Women in Sustainable Enterprises (WISE) network registered as an association in 2010. WISE was set up to connect businesswomen across all industries in Tonga and provide them with a platform to lobby for reforms that will encourage women to set up businesses, create jobs, support their families, and foster sustainable economic growth across communities and the country.

The field team heard that WISE has a register of 200 members whose main enterprises are handicrafts. Some members engage in activities like running cafes, floriculture and other businesses. Some WISE members operate more than one small business. Very few are involved in exporting, though the current president exports scrap metal and is moving into farming tapioca for the Hawaiian market.

The field team heard that constraints for exporting include the cost of shipping and handling fees, and complex paper work. There was also a suggestion for customs and wharfage fees to be paid at the same place. Apparently there are different offices in different parts of Nuku'alofa that the exporter has to travel to and pay a fee before moving on to other offices and eventually gaining shipping clearance. Having all of these services at the same place would streamline the process.

The team heard that some women are buying produce from Chinese market gardens and readying these for sale at local markets at a higher price. Women are more engaged in the processing side of crops rather than farming as farming is not considered a woman's role.

Handicraft producers mostly sell through family networks and sometimes trade fair. The Pacific Island Private Sector Organisation (PIPSO), with which WISE networks, provides grants to cover fares. Producers do not usually market through the Internet or Facebook.

The team heard that not many WISE members are Chamber of Commerce and Industry members. There is a perception that the Chamber takes no interest in the handicraft sector. There were also constraints around meetings being held in English language, which is not widely spoken by village women.

WISE no longer has funding for an office and is operated from the office of the president. Member meetings are held roughly quarterly, with the last one being prior to the Coronation (July); however, members keep in touch through email. WISE has a Facebook page that has in the past been used to advertise market nights and cultural event that are opportunities for selling; however, the website has not been updated since 2013.

WISE is able to purchase training up to the value of TOP\$20,000 (approximately AU\$12,000) per annum through the Tonga Business and Enterprise Centre (TBEC); however, this provision has been underutilised with only TOP\$2,900 (approximately AU\$1,700) being used in the year to 30 June 2013. One participant in a 2014 evaluation of TBEC, who had received support through WISE, felt that TBEC needed to push WISE to commit to creating greater awareness of TBEC's training and support services at a grassroots level (MFAT, 2014:44).

Langafonua Handicraft Centre

HM Queen Salote III established the Langafonua 'a Fafine Tonga (Women's Council of Tonga) in 1953 with the vision to "work in one accord" to ensure a better quality of life for all women of Tonga and their families. The centre was set up to preserve handicraft skills and promote Tongan handicrafts. The centre is well located in a central part of Nuku'alofa and next to a popular tourist café. All kinds of handicrafts are displayed for sale in a large L-shaped room. The centre is open Monday to Friday and a half day on Saturday. Most products are from Tongatapu with a few from Vava'u.

Langafonua has a register of 300 craftspeople. Roughly 80% are weavers, 10% jewellers and 10% carvers. Craftspeople work from home and bring completed products to the centre for sale—setting their own price. When the item is sold the craftsperson is paid after a 15% deduction, which the centre keeps as an administration fee. The centre does not seek out crafts, nor does it market or promote sales.

Twice a year Langafonua takes craftspeople overseas to Pasifika in Auckland (March) and Tonga Day in Sydney (November). Fares are usually covered by grants from TBEC, though six people are currently in Sydney at their own expense. Groups are said to return with around TOP12,000 (AU\$7,000) in sales, which is shared. Trips are not used to connect to markets and craftspeople do not use the Internet or Facebook to advertise goods.

Langafonua has a Facebook page but its use is primarily social and not related to the centre. There is no picture of the centre or of the crafts on sale and no contact details. The website 'madeintonga', which is discussed elsewhere, features a selection of crafts from Langafonua for sale on line. The popularity of the website is unknown.

Apart from more actively promoting sales, Langafonua could play a role in establishing definitions for types of handicrafts, identifying a patenting process and in regulating prices. The field team is not aware of an intention to pursue these matters.

Tonga Handicraft and Cultural Tourism Support Program

The Tonga Handicraft and Cultural Tourism Support Program (THCTSP) was a partnership between the Langafonua Gallery & Handicraft Centre and the New Zealand Aid Program. A National Coordinator was recruited, along with a small staff.

The three-year program ran from 2012 to early 2015 and was tasked with drafting a financially sustainable model for the handicrafts sector in Tonga by 2015. The draft has been submitted to NZ Aid but there was no outcome at the time of this field trip.

When it operated, the program aimed to improve the quality and marketing of handicrafts and local tours for the tourist market including the growing cruise ship market. It supported the quality and quantity of handicrafts and cultural tours so as to increase income for Tongan artisans and providers of cultural experience based tourism. The initiative facilitated handicraft and tourism experts transferring their design and product development expertise to handicraft producers and cultural tour operators through a training-the-trainer approach.⁷⁹ At its height it had 326 individual members on its register and 125 organisations as member.⁸⁰

The program provided business training, marketing training to women and some men in remote locations to increase their incomes and also supported women to participate in overseas festivals. On one occasion THCTSP took a group of seven women to a one-week event in New Zealand where the women returned with combined sales of TOP43,000 (approximately AU\$26,000). Travel costs were funded by MCTL. A main objective was for tourists to have an authentic experience when visiting Tonga, receive more information about the products and artists and understand the provenance of handicraft items.⁸¹

THCTSP also conducted a survey of 793 weavers and carvers and found that for 81% of those surveyed, handicrafts were the primary income source. It also surveyed volumes of handicrafts being fumigated for export by MAFFF over a seven-week period and assessed the value at TOP1,408,553 (approximately AU\$862,000). These and other results will be released in a report early in 2016.

THCTSP had developed a range of handouts for tourists identifying what could be taken in to their own countries (mats, tapa, baskets) and what not to buy (untreated wood, some shell jewellery). This had reportedly resulted in

⁷⁹ <http://www.pacifictradeinvest.com/wp/?p=3813>

⁸⁰ <http://www.vsa.org.nz/what-we-re-doing/polynesia/tonga/hctsp/>

⁸¹ <http://pacific.scoop.co.nz/2013/11/nz-supported-handicraft-project-set-to-empower-tongans/>
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increased sales, especially to cruise ship passengers. THCTSP has been a strategic partner in the Buy Tonga Made campaign, and produced a handicraft training manual.

Constraints that had been identified included problems with biosecurity; the need for innovation training; quality and authenticity to compete with cheap souvenirs arriving from China; certification of training courses; and sustainability of the program. Funding had been directly from Wellington and there was a sense that the New Zealand High Commission was not interested in THCTSP's progress.

Other issues raised during discussions were sales to government departments for events, resulting in a loss to the craftsman of 15% consumption tax, and the difficulty in tracking handicraft sales overseas through family connections because payments are reported in the national accounts as remittances.

The former National Coordinator has been instrumental in establishing a new NGO with 200 former members of THCTSP, called Tu Tonga Inc. This NGO plans to pick up where THCTSP left off and may develop into a good strategic partner for PHAMA.

Virgin Coconut Oil

Oxfam is working with its local partner Tonga National Youth Congress (TNYC) to build an economically sustainable social enterprise in Tonga. The New Zealand Aid Program contributes funding. This five-year activity has value chain coverage for the production and supply of organic certified virgin coconut oil to the global market. TNYC has developed a supply agreement with the New Zealand company, Heilala, and its virgin coconut oil has been stocked in Countdown supermarkets across New Zealand since late 2014. In the month of April 2015, TNYC significantly exceeded its previous production records and supplied 3,300 litres of virgin coconut oil to Heilala, bringing TOP\$34,385 (approximately AU\$20,000) of foreign exchange earnings into the local economy.⁸²

An article in the New Zealand Herald⁸³ on 8 November 2015 reported that TNYC's field officers visit coconut farms twice a month to grade and purchase the coconuts, paying the farmers between 25c and 40c per coconut according to size. Previously the coconuts were left to rot or fed to pigs. The officers take the coconuts to one of 16 hurricane-proof processing sites operated by TNYC in all parts of the country. The coconuts are husked and halved with machetes and grated by machines. The coconuts are then put through oil presses. The process takes three hours and results in nothing being wasted. Husks are used for firing the dryers; shells are made into kava cups; and the pressed coconut flesh is fed to animals. Each of the TNYC's sites produces around 40 litres of Virgin Coconut Oil per day.

The business provides employment, skills and a cash income that would not otherwise be available to people in rural areas of Tongatapu, 'Eua, Ha'apai and Vava'u.

Fiesta Ice Cream, based in Ma'ufanga, near the Nuku'alofa interisland ferry terminal, is Tonga's only local producer of confectionary. Fiesta purchases coconut oil that is an off-white colour, extracted from coconut flesh that has been dried for a longer period of time than that for shop shelves, making for a stronger and nuttier flavour. It also gives the ice cream an additionally soft, creamy taste and aroma. Fiesta buys around 200 litres of virgin coconut oil each week, and TNYC then reinvests the profit into local communities by helping farmers get organic certification.

Our field team visited the Virgin Coconut Oil (VCO) office and plant at Sopu, which is where all oil from the outer islands is graded and prepared for export. The manager is a woman and the plant employs 10 females and five males. Work opportunities are made available to people with disabilities and young people. Out-of-school youth have been offered work to help pay school fees and VCO contributes to school fees where necessary. Meals are also provided during work time. VCO has approximately 7,000 young people working for the program and approximately two thirds are female. Workers are paid TOP15 (approximately AU\$9) per bucket of oil, which can amount to a considerable wage over a week depending on the number of hours the worker puts in. Between 16 and 20 buckets of oil are processed daily.

As explained in Oxfam's Spring 2015 newsletter, farmers can now earn TOP40 (approximately AU\$24) for 100 coconuts, which is four or five times more than could be earned from copra when there was a market.

VCO keeps a register of coconut grower that it buys from. It reports quarterly to MAFFF and undergoes an annual compliance inspection from Australia to maintain organic certification.

⁸² <http://www.aid.govt.nz/node/1855>

⁸³ http://www.nzherald.co.nz/element-magazine/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503340&objectid=11541941

MAFFF pays VCO's annual organic certification fee of TOP30,000 (approximately AU\$18,000), which assist VCO considerably while it builds up volume and revenue. A constraint on time is the number of places VCO staff have to go to for payment of various fees before receiving a shipping clearance—a point raised by many others consulted. Otherwise the paperwork was considered to be straight forward and the fees reasonable.

Value could be added by bottling the oil in Tonga but the cost of equipment is preclusive. Also there is no testing laboratory for quality control.

VCO is building up vanilla production amongst its communities in the outer islands for sale to the cosmetic industry, through its partner Heilala.

Tonga Growers Federation

The Tonga Growers Federation (GroFed) was established in 2009 by government as an industry body for small-scale farmers, to promote public-private partnerships. Government funding stopped after two years but the New Zealand Aid Program has provided limited support. GroFed was initially based at the TCCI office but has recently moved to the office of the current CEO. There are 1,200 members, only 10 of whom are female. The organisation admits that it has not actively promoted itself to female farmers or encouraged women to join. GroFed has a council of 34 representatives from around the country, all male. These representatives are nominated by seven-member committees in each of the 34 areas, also all male. The current CEO is female and runs a farming business. Anyone can be a member. GroFed advertises on radio and in newspapers and holds community meetings to attract new members.

GroFed is the secretariat for the Agriculture Sector Growth Committee (ASGC), which recently drafted the Tonga Agriculture Sector Plan (TASP).

GroFed keeps a register of growers, 80% of which are subsistence growers and 20% commercial. The main challenge for subsistence growers is that they are not credit-worthy so do not have funds, and as a result they do not produce to export standard. GroFed provides support with food security, good agricultural practices and skills building. Commercial growers receive additional field support, seeds and connections to other growers for collaboration. Climate-friendly practices are a feature.

GroFed categorises two streams of members: those ready to export (Stream 1) and those at the next level down who, with support, can graduate up (Stream 2). There is an intention to support women growers through Stream 2, up to Stream 1.

GroFed is in the process of distributing sandalwood seeds to growers as a long-term income initiative. Sandalwood takes between 10 and 15 years to grow and there is concern that growers will not remain interested.

GroFed has an export relationship with Fresh Direct in New Zealand, which is a private enterprise that supplies supermarkets and other outlets. GroFed members export through one main exporter. Root crops and mature nuts are amongst crops exported. There are opportunities for breadfruit, papaya, chillies and eggplant but the constant closure of the HTFA has been a frustration. Future possibilities that GroFed is considering are pineapples and mangoes.

GroFed would like donor support to purchase six tractors, three to be rotated around Tongatapu and one each to be situated at the three main regional centres (outer islands). Access to tractors arose several times during the field trip.

Good crops for women to grow were considered to be breadfruit, papaya, chillies and eggplants. These crops are more lucrative than root crops but there are more risks from weather and insects and more input costs for fertilisers and chemicals. One acre of land can sustain 400 papaya trees, with root crops in between the rows. When mixed cropping, growers need to be careful not to plant crops that attract insects that effect the main crop.

A five-year strategic plan is in the process of being developed and New Zealand Aid has encouraged GroFed to submit for funding a three-year project aimed at encouraging more women and young people into the sector. The new strategic plan will encourage 20 new female members each year for up to three years and will provide support for growing, financial management and other areas. The intention is to advertise for women to register. Then the women must be recommended by the relevant councillor from one of the 34 districts. This was considered to be an issue of fairness so that no-one is given an unfair advantage due to personal connections, which is a current problem for GroFed. Pastors and town councillors will also be able to recommend women for the program. This approach needs to be thought through, given that only males can recommend. The CEO would

like to see a Tonga 'women in agriculture' organisation established, similar to one operating in Papua New Guinea.

The field team heard that the ISDF pilot was too structured for some women. Minimum requirements had to be achieved to receive a course certificate at the end of training and many did not achieve the requirements. Perhaps participants were not aware of the commitment expected or perhaps there were other reasons that prevented them from remaining fully engaged. No doubt the pilot will identify a way forward.

Some of the challenges the CEO experiences are work overload for a small staff, dealing with weather events, and governance issues. A restructure is planned to reduce the number of board members from 34 and include other industry stakeholders.

Mainstreaming of Rural Development Innovation Tonga Trust

Mainstreaming of Rural Development Innovations Tonga Trust (MORDI TT) works with poor, isolated, rural people to enable them to increase their incomes and determine the direction of their own development. Since 2007, MORDI Tonga has invested over TOP\$1.3 million (approximately AU\$795,000) in funding projects and conducting training in 25 isolated communities in Tonga, empowering more than 629 households to fight against poverty.⁸⁴ Main funders are the New Zealand Aid Program and the UN International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD). Other donors are involved in specific inputs, such as JICA-funded outboard motor training. MORDI builds strategic partnerships with the government's Aid Management Division and programs like PHAMA and TBEC. MORDI has a well-staffed office in Nuku'alofa, a functioning website and a Facebook page that is updated intermittently.

MORDI's main project is the Tonga Rural Innovation Project (TRIP), which is funded by IFAD with support from government and community and business beneficiaries. The program is being implemented nationally across 60 communities. The target group is extreme poor, women, women-headed households and youth. The target population is estimated as 16,900.

MORDI has been doing the field work resulting in Community Development Plans, which MIA intends to turn into regional plans for funding priorities. MAFFF extension officers support the process, particularly in the outer islands.

Training farmers for exporting is one of MORDI's objectives, along with food security. MORDI works with the private sector to train farmers, including on marketing. Vanilla and citrus are amongst crops grown by communities and MORDI is planning to support kava production for the European market, which is expected to reopen in 2016. Demand for vanilla currently exceeds supply.

MORDI organises *kātoanga* three or four times annually. As much as TOP80,000 (approximately AU\$50,000) can be exchanged for mats and tapa on the day and the overseas groups donate practical items like lawn mowers and generators. MORDI intends to eventually use its Facebook page to advertise and sell handicrafts and jewellery.

Challenges for women identified by MORDI include access to finance, low skills development, lack of support from MAFFF and the general lack of research and development. The field team heard that seasons are shifting due to climate variability and a challenge is timing planting and harvesting to maximise the changes and minimise crop failure.

MORDI has identified some attitudinal constraints impacting on how well women work together. Some competitiveness emerges that results in men being put forward as leaders of community development rather than women. Where there is good female leadership, for instance from the wife of a noble, there is more cooperation.

MORDI has also identified food security constraints relating to males leaving to undertake seasonal work in Australia and New Zealand, and suggested that the earnings of seasonal workers are less than could be earned by developing their own land in Tonga. In one example from Vava'u, one village had no root crops for two months because the males who usually did the planting had gone away as seasonal workers and no-one had identified that their absence needed to be mitigated. An unpleasant side effect was the theft of food. The problem was being rectified.

MORDI appears to be a good partner for PHAMA because of MORDI's focus on the vulnerable, in particular women and young people. Also MORDI works with existing exporters in support of continuity of supply to meet export markets and works with farmers to produce export quality crops.

⁸⁴ <http://www.morditonga.to/about-us/>

Tonga Chamber of Commerce and Industry – Tonga Business Enterprise Centre

The field team did not meet with the Tonga Chamber of Commerce and Industry (TCCI) but heard mixed reports about the usefulness of TCCI as a mechanism for supporting women's economic empowerment; however, the Tonga Business Enterprise Centre (TBEC), which is based at TCCI, was praised by many.

TBEC commenced in 2010 and is primarily funded by the New Zealand Aid Program to deliver training, advisory and support to improve the private sector's viability and profitability of Tongan businesses. TBEC has delivered training to 3,101 people in the last three years. During 2014; 217 businesses have received advisory services; and 149 benefited from mentoring. TBEC also administers seed funding to businesses with strong plans and proposals, with 42 businesses receiving a total of TOP\$547,709 (approximately AU\$335,000). TBEC entered a second phase at the end of 2014 with the announcement of a further TOP\$8.4 million (approximately AU\$5 million) by the New Zealand Aid Program over the next five years.⁸⁵ The government has provided office space to TCCI and TBEC as its contribution and commitment to the program and to Public and Private Sector Partnership.

An evaluation of TBEC was conducted in March 2014 and found that TBEC had continued to meet private sector needs and clients have received considerable value in accessing TBEC's services. The training program had reached a significant number of businesses, while the advisory and support programs had reached considerably fewer businesses but had still helped to address their immediate needs. TBEC's governance structure had been adequate but it required strengthening, particularly with regard to management and accountability of funding. Operationally, TBEC had grown as an organisation and continued to function at full capacity. In considering its future development, the evaluation reported that it is timely to consider how TBEC might better meet the needs of micro-level, grassroots businesses; how it can increasingly package its services to meet the needs of its clients in the short, medium and long term; formalising a governance framework which ensures TBEC can operate semi-autonomously from the TCCI; establishing more streamlined reporting processes; and ways to leverage greater engagement with the private sector and with government (MFAT, 2014:4).

TBEC provides a range of key activities. The Business Advisory Services (BAS) is an in-house free advisory service supported by both internal and external resources. The Business Development Scheme (BDS) provides small grants to help businesses overcome immediate impediments to their development. The Business Opportunity Support Scheme (BOSS) provides grants to help entrepreneurs and investors conduct feasibility studies to quantify business and investment opportunities, including opportunities for joint ventures. The Pacific Business Mentoring Program (PBMP) is promoting community prosperity and well-being through mobilizing the resources, skills and experience of business enterprise so as to foster employment. The Short Term Training and Attachments (STTA) is available to assist small and medium enterprises (SMEs) in Tonga access formal training, informal training and industry placements in New Zealand.⁸⁶ An analysis of data reported in the evaluation found that:

- 40 percent of BAS cases are female
- 20 percent of approved BOSS applications are from females
- 25 percent of approved BDS applications are from females
- 50 percent of PBMP clients are female
- 25 of applications supported under the STTA scheme are from females (MFAT, 2014:45)

TBEC is one of the agencies providing travel grants to women participating in cultural events in Australia and New Zealand, where there are opportunities to sell handicrafts. The new phase of TBEC will increasingly focus on women and on remote areas. The program is a good strategic partner for PHAMA.

In any country a functional Chamber of Commerce is a great support to the private sector but many around the Pacific do not function well. This report will not comment further on TCCI due to lack of information. Perhaps PHAMA management can discuss TCCI with the Pacific Leadership Program in Fiji and the New Zealand High Commission in Nuku'alofa to identify challenges and solutions.

⁸⁵ <http://www.mic.gov.to/news-today/press-releases/5148-tonga-chamber-of-commerce-a-industries-and-tbec-mark-the-commencement-of-tonga-business-enterprise-centres-tbec-second-grant-funding-arrangement>

⁸⁶ <http://www.tbec.to/site.html>

Appendix E

Exporters

Appendix E Exporters

Four male and two female exporters were interviewed during the field consultations, along with the not-for-profit business discussed above, which exports to New Zealand without an intermediary. Site visits were made to a papaya plantation, a root crop farm and a packing shed preparing squash for export.

Five out of the six exporters supplement their own growing with grower families who farm their own acreages. Four out of six exporters provide land preparation, seeds, fertilisers and chemicals to the grower families and recoup these expenses from payment for the crop delivered. Preparation and other inputs are estimated to cost TOP1,000 (approximately AU\$600) per acre.

The female exporters experienced challenges in accessing loans that the male exporters did not experience. While this was a frustration it did not prevent the females from succeeding because they could call on other resources.

Anyone planning to move into exporting will require considerable resources, good networks, perseverance and good family support due to the extensive time commitment.

Young Farmers Federation Ltd

The Young Farmers Federation Ltd is one of the more established export companies. The field team visited a 12-acre plantation where Hawaiian papaya is grown. In between rows are other vegetables, such as tomatoes and sweet potato. The exporter works with roughly 150 families, each farming two acres of their eight-acre bush land. The exporter prepares the land, provides papaya seedlings, fertiliser and chemicals, extracting these costs from payouts. The family does the work and sells the results back to the exporter for TOP2 per piece of fruit. Trees fruit roughly every nine months and trees are replaced every three years. Each small farm can produce up to 5,000 pieces of fruit every two weeks, earning TOP10,000 (approximately AU\$6,000) for the family for the length of the season. Families can also grow other crops in between the papaya rows such as squash and sweet potato. Farming families are identified through advertisements at district offices, then community meetings are held with interested families to explain what is involved in being a grower.

Mark Shipping Packing Facility

The field team heard that there are four squash exporters and three work with growing families. This exporter does not due to limitations on small growers' capacities. Those that use growers charge high fees, which reduces growers' profits. There had been no apparent improvements in squash exporting markets, although market access to the Chinese market is being sought by the Government with support from PHAMA.

There is no fixed price for root crop exports to New Zealand and there are delays in receiving funds. The exporter saw a role for government to act as broker on behalf of exports and had approached MAFFF to take on the role but there had been no progress. Apparently, this is a role that government played in the past but handed over to the private sector and the system is not working as well. Neighbouring countries like Fiji and Samoa have government representatives in New Zealand and Australia to broker. Tonga has a consul in Auckland who does not appear to fulfil this particular role. The Growers Federation had their own needs and no funds.

September and October are the harvesting months for squash. Roughly 30 women work in the pack house as it is not traditional for women to work in the field harvesting. The government rate of TOP30 per day is paid. Planting commences in July and is done by men and machines. Four men and machines can plant 200 acres.

The field team heard that loans are easy to obtain at this level but not for small growers.

The Port Authority appears to make its own regulations and set fees. Fees can be increased at any time. Quarantine is considered to be the same. There are experiences of business regulatory problems.

Fertilisers and chemicals are imported from Australia and New Zealand and those prices increase regularly also.

Squash is shipped directly to an agent in New Zealand who on-sells some produce to parts of Asia, including Japan.

New Caledonia is a major competitor for exporting squash to Japan as it has a minimum quota of 2,000Mt. Tonga has no quota. This exporter sends 500Mt per annum.

New Millennium Packing Facility

This squash exporter is new to exporting and previously imported used vehicles from Japan. As a result, there are good market connections. Korea is another market where there are established links. No broker is used and the crops arrive in roughly 13 days. Shipping through New Zealand, the pathway preferred by government, can take a month. So far this year 1,400Mt have been shipped with another 300Mt ready for the following week. Kumara and tapioca are also exported. The exporter has access to land, leases an additional 500 acres of land and works with growers who use their total acreage. The exporter provides seeds, fertilisers, chemicals and bins. These costs are extracted from final payment to growers.

Currently 50 women work in the pack house grading and packing and are paid TOP15 (approximately AU\$9) per bin. On average 23 people pack 200 bins per day—which, if accurate, averages out to TOP130 (approximately AU\$80) per person per day and is vastly more than the day rate of TOP30 (approximately AU\$18) for an eight-hour shift. The harvest takes approximately three months and positions for labourers are advertised on the radio.

The field team heard that exporters are very competitive with each other but could achieve savings by cooperating on the purchase of fertilisers, chemicals and other costs. The exporter had not received encouragement, in fact the opposite, from existing exporters. This may be because the exporter is working through its own networks and not the government-approved pathway.

The field team also heard that MAFFF has provided good training and preparation. Also, there was a question over whether customs treated all exporters the same. Apparently some exporters can load and then complete paperwork but this exporter must complete the paperwork first before loading. It was a cause of frustration.

Constraints were identified as banks restrictions on loans that hold back businesses, and customs inspection charges. There were no identifiable business regulation constraints.

The field team heard that growers supplying this exporter had been refused Tonga Development Bank loans and were told that if they sold their produce to any other exporter they could receive a loan. The field team heard later that this was a result of not going through the government-preferred agent in New Zealand, as this pathway provided a safeguard for banks. As a result, this exporter carries the cost of inputs for growers.

The issue was raised of the crash of the squash market in the 1990s,⁸⁷ when the government bailed out exporters' debts to banks but not the growers. Some growers lost land and have never recovered. As a result, some growers will not grow squash.

Access to equipment, especially tractors, was seen as a constraint for growers along with access to finance. The issue of not saving from profits arose again with the exporter saying that attempts had been made to encourage growers to save TOP10,000 (approximately AU\$6,000) from crop sales to commence the next season without needing a loan or being advanced inputs, but these had not been successful to date.

Lotopoha Export Trading

Lotopoha Export Trading is supplying New Zealand's SuperValue supermarket stores in two Auckland suburbs where many Pacific Island communities have traditionally shopped. Frozen taro, yam, cassava and giant taro are available to New Zealanders in new packaging with a professional look and feel. Pacific Islands Trade & Invest (PT&I) NZ started working with Lotopoha Export Trading in 2013 and assisted the company with the development of its retail barcodes through collaborative workshops led by PT&I, GS1 New Zealand and the Ministry of Commerce, Labour & Tourism in Tonga. PT&I also helped with packaging solutions through the Tongan Government's National Packaging initiative, a collective packaging solution ('Kingdom of Tonga Packaging') for produce exporters from Tonga. In 2014, the company had the capability to export consistently to New Zealand: therefore, PT&I successfully introduced Lotopoha Export Trading to SuperValue. Subsequently this has resulted in three trial shipments before securing a full container order earmarked for retail in South Auckland. As a result, Lotopoha employs more people to assist with the peeling and packing process. What began as a growing operation in a small area of an ancestral village has now grown to include other villages around the main island of Tongatapu.⁸⁸

Lotopoha exports frozen cassava, yams and taro amongst other crops. The exporter grows on 24 acres of family land plus 50 acres of land rented from the Royal Family. Local families grow crops as well and give Lotopoha first option to buy if they need extra to meet demand. These growers buy their own seeds, fertilisers and other inputs

⁸⁷ More information is available from <http://www.new-ag.info/en/country/profile.php?a=1990>, and other sources.

⁸⁸ <http://www.pacifictradeinvest.com/wp/?p=7523>

rather than relying on Lotopoha to supply these and deduct the costs. If Lotopoha doesn't need the crops they are offered to other exporters or sold on the local market. Similarly, Lotopoha sells surpluses to other exporters. Lotopoha pays half the value of the crop immediately and the other half when payment is received from the importer.

Lotopoha is one of the newer export organisations and the only one on the western side of Tongatapu. The organisation used its own funds to commence operating and struggled to get off the ground. The first three container shipments did not go well and one was a total loss. Longer-established exporters encouraged Lotopoha to persevere and the organisation is finally starting to make progress. The SuperValue contract has been of major assistance. The contract was secured through Pacific Supplies with assistance from a friend working in a regional trade office. Products are currently packaged and barcoded at the government's packaging plant but will eventually carry the SuperValue label.

Lotopoha sends a shipment every month of yams or cassava and is now adding cream coconuts. Produce is packed into 440 x 20kg bags. Yams are peeled and packed into 2kg bags. Local people are employed to assist with harvesting, washing, peeling and bagging. Males do the heavy work and females work on washing and peeling. Both males and females pack. This work is usually paid at the standard rate of TOP30 (approximately AU\$18) per day but sometimes peeling is paid at TOP2 (approximately AU\$1.20) per bag. Picking coconuts is paid at TOP70 (approximately AU\$43) per day and collecting coconuts at TOP30 (approximately AU\$18) per day. Fifty or more people can be employed at any one time and neighbours are very willing workers at any time, welcoming the opportunity to earn income. Some females heading households work on preparation and packing but do not commercially grow on their land.

Challenges experienced by Lotopoha include access to loans, the amount of time required to negotiate with growers and arrange casual labour, exporting requirements and administration and maintaining cash flow while waiting for shipment payments.

Of assistance with the SuperValue contract is that part payment is made when the order is placed. Australian importers send part payment when the container has been loaded and is ready to ship. The rest of the payment is made when the container arrives.

Regarding access to finance, Lotopoha tried to arrange a Tonga Development Bank (TDB) loan but found the process to be long and drawn out. The requirements were considered to be too many and the collateral issue was a barrier. In the end a personal loan was taken because an agricultural loan was too difficult to qualify for. An easier process for growers' loans would be appreciated.

Lotopoha was in a dispute with MAFFF quarantine when a staff member turned off a fridge containing 20kg of blast frozen yams worth TOP14,000 (approximately AU\$8,500). The yams were ruined but MAFFF would not take responsibility, instead accusing Lotopoha of submitting bad product. The exporter decided to not pursue the matter further so that relationships did not sour. It was a difficult loss for a relatively new business to absorb.

The field team heard that the government could focus more on encouraging women exporters or women who would like to become exporters, as well as making agricultural loans easier to obtain. Apparently when the loan scheme was run through MAFFF it was easier to access. A loan scheme specifically for women was also suggested.

Tinopai Farm

Tinopai Farm commenced in 1993 and is one of Tonga's leading growers and exporters and the Kingdom's largest overseas supplier of coconut products. Employing 16 full-time staff, Tinopai also provides a sustainable income source for over 70 small-scale farmers throughout the three main island groups, Tongatapu, Ha'apai and Vava'u. Tinopai made its first shipment of squash to Japan in 1994 and began growing produce for local sale. The following year, the company added root vegetables to its produce and made its first shipments of cassava, taro and yams to New Zealand and Australia. Main exports are coconut products, including fresh coconuts, virgin coconut oil and moisturising cream. Recognising Tinopai's potential, the Commonwealth Secretariat approached Tinopai in 2000 about developing a selection of coconut products. Coconut oil's growing popularity as an ingredient in natural beauty products prompted Tinopai to launch a moisturising cream three years later.

In 2001, Tinopai also set up a subsidiary company, Lau Lava, to develop taro for the lucrative Japanese market. Tinopai plans to diversify and expand both companies further, providing steady incomes for more workers in the process.

A strong advocate of corporate social responsibility, Tinopai supplies water for local residents and donated six tonnes of taro to victims of the 2011 Japanese earthquake and tsunami.⁸⁹

The manager of Tinopai is a member of the MAWG and a former Chair. The field team heard that the MAWG discussed the issue of introducing gender equality to the PHAMA Program and concluded that it would not be easy. The MAWG had worked with the Queen Salote College Ex-students Association on growing chillies, but the project failed as a result of drought and other factors. The MAWG also worked with THCSP on developing quarantine literature to inform tourists on what to buy without quarantine concerns, but this was considered a general initiative and not specifically a gendered initiative. The field team heard that gender is a difficult concept to Tongans because there is no equivalent definition or term in Tongan language.

The field team heard that the MAWG focuses on the best outcomes for all and has not been tasked with addressing marginalised groups to address the vulnerability objective of the Program (note: Assisting the vulnerable is part of PHAMA's design and the PMO has consistently requested explanations about how activities will ultimately benefit the poor).

A final evaluation of PHAMA is due to take place in 2016.

Nishi Trading Co Ltd

Nishi Trading Co Ltd is a family owned Tongan business and has been operating for over 20 years. It is a combination of businesses that began as a commercial farm for imports and exports and then expanded in the mid-2000s to include a farming supplies retail store and a quarry for manufactured and raw construction materials. Nishi Trading's newest service, Pest Control Service commences operating on July 2011.⁹⁰

The field team visited the Nishi packing facility on the outskirts of Nuku'alofa. The team heard that women are preferred for working in packing sheds as they are disciplined, reliable and hard-working. No heavy lifting is involved. Nishi's Operations Manager is female. There were currently 26 women working in the packing shed and 30 men working in fields. During peak times as many as 200 casual labourers are employed. Many are subsistence farmers and some have an interest in becoming commercial growers. Families are contracted to clear a field, for instance of onions, and are paid by the bin.

Nishi exports watermelon, butternut pumpkin and squash to New Zealand and watermelon to American Samoa. Duties in Samoa are too high to make export there viable. Nishi exports 20 tons of taro to Australia per week.

Nishi has only recently recommenced farming squash, having been forced out of the industry by government when the Minister responsible for issuing licences became a squash grower.

The field team heard that it takes roughly 12 years of growing to build up to exporting.

The manager of Nishi is the chair of the Exporters Network Group, which anyone can apply to join as long as they meet the criteria. The group is an industry body that aims to collectively address the challenges and barriers faced by exporters. Shipping was given as an example.

Nishi Trading commenced a Farmer Field School in 2015, which is open to anyone interested in improving farming skills. The first intake included women and people with disabilities. Two MAFFF staff also attended. Five years of funding have been secured from DFAT commencing in February 2016. Farmers from outer islands will be able to attend and the school will take an applied research approach. Groups of 25 will complete a 16-week course to learn organic farming and running a farm as a business. Approximately half the intake will be female. Eventually, the school will run multiple groups each year.

⁸⁹ <http://truepacific.com/producers/tinopai-farm/>

⁹⁰ <http://www.nishi.to/history.html>