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THE HOUSEHOLD, WOMEN AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Proceedings of a symposium organized by the Department of Home Economics, Agricultural University Wageningen, The Netherlands 18–20 January 1979

edited by

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PREFACE

The household and the process of agricultural development in sub-Saharan Africa, with special emphasis on women's role, was the central theme of a Symposium held by the Department of Home Economics of the Agricultural University Wageningen (The Netherlands), from 18–20 January 1979. The objective of the Symposium was to organize an exchange of ideas amongst representatives of various scientific disciplines, researchers and policymakers in order to try and formulate the contribution of Home Economics to rural development in Third World countries. On the first day of the Symposium Dr. Ester Boserup, Dr. Honoris Causa of this University, presented a paper to a large audience. During the following two days, some forty home economists, sociologists, anthropologists, nutritionists, agronomists, and economists presented papers and took part in discussions.

The present volume includes all the papers presented during the Symposium. It also includes some background papers, an introductory chapter, summaries of the working groups' discussions and a concluding chapter. The individual contributions that make up this volume follow a slightly different sequence to that of the Symposium. This is better suited to the two focal points which are women and households. Current practice, principles and policies of rural development provided the central theme around which all contributions were arranged.

We extend our special thanks to the authors who devoted considerable time to the preparation and review of their manuscripts. A Symposium like this would have been an impossible task without the active role of all the invited participants whose contribution is reflected in the three discussion reports, published at the end of this volume. The latter not only give illuminating insights into how to grasp the intricate relationship between the village, households, women and men, but also suggest alternatives for policy-makers.

We also want to thank the co-members of the organizing committee for their cooperation and advice: Prof. Dr. R. A. J. van Lier and ir. B. E. J. C. Lekanne dit Deprez of the Department of non-Western Sociology of the Agricultural University Wageningen, ir. H. C. S. Backus of the Home Economics Department for their stimulating intellectual contribution and Ms G. v. d. Westeringh of the Home Economics Department for her invaluable technical help.

It is hoped that students in this field, especially in Home Economics, and policy makers will find this volume to be a source of inspiration and a challenge to pursue further this area of study.

THE EDITORS

INTRODUCTION

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The organization of a Symposium on the Household, Women and Agricultural Development follows a sequence of isolated but significant steps taken by our Department in this direction in the last ten years or so. Among these we have singled out the mission to Kenya, undertaken in 1974 by the late Professor C. W. Visser, Head of the Department, in order to evaluate what was needed for the establishment of a Department of Home Economics at the Kenyatta University College, Nairobi. In September 1977 a seminar on 'Women and Rural Development' held in Amsterdam was partly stimulated by and organized with the cooperation of this Department. In some written documents published either by the Department or by the Dutch Association of Home Economists (Zuidberg, 1977:7) an explicit plea is made to extend its teaching and research to include the problems of developing countries.

Outside the confines of this Department, there is a growing awareness of the need for a systematic and scholarly study of Western and non-Western households as subjects of investigation in their own right. Interestingly enough, the suggestion to take up this type of research comes from a number of disciplines. Home Economics has for several years earmarked as a priority the comparative studies of households and a revision of the content of the discipline, when applied to non-Western societies. Economics on the other hand, deliberately chooses the household, rather than the individual, as the privileged analytical category. The second invitation comes from 'political economics' and 'political sociology' in so far as these branches represent a departure from the established body of knowledge in economics and sociology in the sense of a critical appraisal of these two disciplines. Within this approach the productivity of women within the household or their participation in paid labour was bound to invite renewed thinking concerning the position of the household as a tool of analytical research.

To avoid misconceptions and ambiguities, it is important to define here what we understand by scientific study of the household, within the context of non-Western societies and what objectives were assigned to the Symposium.

The relationships between the immediate physical environment, the set of regulations, processes and policies of living in society, and the activities of household members considered as social actors on one hand, the interdependence of these various elements making up the human eco-system on the other, are the fields of scientific concern of Home Economics.

The household is the socio-cultural environment, within which take place efforts and strategies to achieve individual and collective well-being and to enhance the quality of

life. It is also here that priorities are determined and life projects worked out. Important decisions about the allocation of available material and non-material resources to satisfy biological and cultural needs, are taken within the household. Some of these decisions affect the household directly; others, have a more diffuse influence. These deal with the allocation of labour, income distribution, benefits from educational, health and cultural facilities, the production of goods and services within and outside the household.

Besides studying decision-making processes, types of social pressure and plans worked out within the household, one may distinguish processes taking place at higher levels (regional, national), which influence intra-household decisions. Changes from one type of economy to another, for example, have important consequences on labour-allocation policies and on the professional career of household members. Hence, by weighing the options against social pressures, the household meets society in the social policy arena. This view, that the household is interrelated with high-level social and economic processes has lately become more prominent. It has become so especially in Third World countries, for there social economic changes have been abrupt and deep. Development is no longer defined exclusively in economic terms, with per capita income and GNP as the main indicators. Current thinking on development stresses concepts such as the distribution of goods and services and participation of the various groups of the population at all levels of community decisions.

This more balanced concept of development, especially as it concerns the rural sector, aims at improving the living conditions of rural populations, the establishment of social justice, the spreading of acceptable patterns in the distribution of goods and services, of education and self-actualization in order to free the individual from nature's uncertainties and break the marginality of the rural masses. This view of development implies a direct appeal to scholars and policymakers to take into consideration the mobilization and effective use of all human resources in the development process. When one speaks of human resources, this naturally implies that both sexes are included in the process of change. Inadequate involvement of either men or women is a waste which seriously impairs development and leads to poor or unbalanced development. One logical consequence of this approach has been the growing interest and concern for the role of women in the development process.

The mode of household organization and functioning determines, to quite a degree, the possibilities of mobilizing all human resources. The household plays a strategic role in the agricultural production process of Third World countries, especially regarding food. Food production and storage, transport of goods and manpower, division of tasks and available labour are closely interrelated activities. The household defines not only the living space of household members; it determines the areas within which the individual takes decisions and participates in activities related to the satisfaction of household and community needs. It follows that the household must be given much more consideration in scientific research, planning and implementation of development programmes, than has been the case till now.

Although one finds some implicit agreement on the importance of the household, in reality micro-processes are studied either at the village level or at that of the individual. In the latter case focus is on categories of individuals and not on households, which are the platform on which most activities are fulfilled and resource-allocation decisions are made.

International meetings have not focused on the household and its activities from the viewpoint mentioned above. This has several reasons. One is the relatively low status of the household as an object for scientific study. In traditional societies, a social unit of relatively limited size such as the household is easily assimilitated for scientific purposes into larger social units such as the kinship group or the clan where the connections of the latter with overall social and economic organization are better perceived. The second reason is because of the erroneous identification of household activities with women's activities. This misconception still persists in women's literature and studies where every reference to the organization of activities from within the household is systematically downgraded as reminiscent of non-economic and hence socially inferior female activities.

Yet, observation of everyday life in the traditional household invalidates this assumption. In a subsistence economy all the activities related to the production and consumption of food and services, as well as those related to biological reproduction and cultural survival of the group, are allocated to members of the household. The sphere of domestic activities influences the non-domestic one and conversely, the sphere of non-domestic activities shapes the domestic. The involvement of women in the production, conservation and exchange of agricultural products is a case in point. As a producer of food crops (non-domestic activity) a woman has to cope with the observance of a relatively tight time schedule during the different seasons of the year. As a homemaker (domestic activity) she is expected to transform into an edible form the products of her agricultural labour. Between the producer and the homemaker roles there is a constant interpenetration. A man's life schedule is also marked by the same process. As a farmer or as a wood carver (non-domestic activity) he performs every day of the year the productive activities which guarantee the livelihood of the members of his household. As educator (domestic activity) he initiates his sons into the knowledge of his arts and crafts. You cannot separate domestic and non-domestic activities in these households as occurs in the urban households of industrialized nations.

The household, in the commercial agriculture of developing nations, still retains the combined domestic and non-domestic activities within its boundaries.The degree of interpenetration of these two spheres depends, however, on how far modern methods of agriculture and the marketing of goods have separated these two types of household activities and to what extent they have allocated them to household members according to gender criteria introduced by Western norms, whereby non-domestic, paid, activities are attributed to males, domestic and unpaid activities to females.

The third reason which explains the relatively insufficient attention given to the

study of households is the departure of development aid programmes and policies from the basic dwelling units where most of the human activities for the satisfaction of elementary needs are performed and several strategies for the survival of the group are elaborated and carried out. From its inception and until the very recent past rural development policies have neglected the inclusion of the household and household activities within the process of change just as they have neglected to include women in the same process.

The household, women and agricultural development are inseparable when striving for human well-being; an endeavour which underlies development policies. To bridge the gap between these three elements, traditionally treated as distinct parts, was the task of a Symposium organized by a Department of Home Economics such as ours.

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OPENING ADDRESS

H. C. VAN DER PLAS

Rector Magnificus of the Agricultural University Wageningen, The Netherlands

Prof. Presvelou, Dr. Boserup, Ladies and Gentlemen,

With great pleasure, Prof. Presvelou, I have accepted your invitation to make a few introductory remarks in this afternoon session before the opening of the Symposium on 'The Household, Women and Agricultural Development'. The reason for this is quite simple. First of all, because it provides me with an excellent opportunity to meet and to welcome this afternoon's foreign guest speaker Dr. Boserup, who is doctor honoris causa of this Agricultural University. I remember quite well, Dr. Boserup, the days you spent with us at the time of the 'Dies Natalis' of our University in March 1978 and I am happy that we could arrange a follow-up of this official event by inviting you to participate in this workshop. I am also happy to see you back in good health and in vigorous spirit to present your lecture this afternoon to such an interested audience. The second reason, Prof. Presvelou, to accept your invitation to be here is that scientific activities which pay close attention to problems in Third World countries are part of a great tradition in our University. Therefore, I feel honoured to be present at a scientific gathering of this kind.

Ladies and gentlemen, in the Symposium which will be held during the next days, you will deal with household, women and agricultural development. Although this is not included in the title, I must conclude from the programme that the workshop will be strongly involved in discussing the problems of Third World countries, in dealing with the situation of human resources in the development process with special attention to a growing concern of the often-neglected role of women in this process, and in the collection of basic material on the role of households in agricultural development. You will try to learn from each other in which area of research people are active and, last but not least, for the Department of Home Economics of this University, to obtain valuable information for further initiatives toward a research and teaching programme in Third World countries, in which the expertise of the Home Economics Department can be usefully applied.

Allow me, Mrs. Chairman, to make a few remarks on this topic:

a. As I said before, close attention to problems in underdeveloped countries has belonged to the tradition of this University for many years. For a long time most of our efforts in this field were directed, and still are, to the solving of technical problems, such as improvement of crop production, improvement of irrigation, better regulation of water management, etc. However, we can see that little by little attention has been

shifted from the purely technical approach to attempts at a better understanding of the human factors and of the situation of the people involved in these technical developments. There is a shift from, what I call a technology-centered approach, to a human-centered approach. Personally, I consider this more balanced development, very necessary and very useful, although we must be careful that the scales do not tip.

In this picture of a human-centered approach, I think that the development of teaching and research programmes directed to an improvement of basic understanding of households in agricultural developing countries fits excellently. However, I wish to express my feeling that one must be careful not to pay special attention to the position of women only. My opinion is that the very sad and deplorable situation in which 700 million of women and men live in poor and underdeveloped countries allow me only one conclusion: both women *and* men need our help. Maybe this is a daring statement for this workshop!

b. The second remark I wish to make relates to: Why is the Department of Home Economics so interested in starting a programme in teaching and education in the Third World? Looking to the past, we can trace several initiatives, already taken by the late Prof. Visser. I recall her study tour to Kenya in order to investigate the founding of a department of Home Economics in Nairobi. I recall her assiduity for the organization of a study-day in tropical agriculture at Deventer, specially aimed at the position of women. I recall the organization of a seminar in 1977, together with the Dutch Federation of University Women, on 'women and rural development'.

Nowadays we see an increasing number of students in Home Economics who arrange their study programmes through the choice of subjects in the 'kandidaats-B programme', the practical training in the tropics and the choice of subjects in the 'doctoral study', in such a way that they have – both theoretically and practically – a deeper understanding of problems in Third World countries and are able to provide solutions to those problems. I think that the stimulating influence of Prof. Presvelou, who has such an interest in and experience with Third World countries, is an additional incentive shaping Prof. Visser's original ideas.

In this respect it may be of interest to mention that this new direction in the development of the Department is somewhat contrary to a decision made by the University in 1969 in which the name Agricultural Home Economics was changed to simple Home Economics. To justify this decision the late Prof. Visser used to say that by omitting the prefix agricultural we wish to express that the agricultural household is not the *only*, but only one of the households to be studied. I think that the recent growing interest in studying households in *agricultural* Third World countries creates a situation in which, perhaps, the name Agricultural Home Economics deserves to be introduced again.

c. I would like to make a third remark. The preparation of the programme of this symposium has been in the hands of two departments, i.e. Home Economics and Sociology of non-Western areas. This idea of interdisciplinary co-operation between a department with a very great expertise in development co-operation and the Depart-

ment of Home Economics, which has a staff with only a very limited experience with underdeveloped countries, was an excellent one. It was a stimulating experience, it prevented pitfalls, and I think that the Department of Home Economics is very lucky to have in Wageningen another Department which is able and willing to share its wide and useful expertise in this field of study.

I would like to conclude my remarks as follows: A few years ago, on the 25th anniversary of the Institute of Social Studies at the Hague, Mr. Van Gorkom, Director-General in the Ministry of Development Co-operation, gave a lecture in which he stated, I quote: 'We miss today, in Parliament, a strong lobby for international development co-operation and at the same time I miss an effective counterinfluence from the scientific world'.

I am not in a position to represent the scientific world of our Universities here, but looking at this Wageningen of ours, I am compelled to say that in this particular university town we are certainly able and certainly trying to develop in our young students a positive attitude towards the needs of our brothers and sisters in the Third World countries. Let me give some illustrative data: About 20% of our graduates try either to obtain a job in a developing country or a job which is aimed at development co-operation. In the last two years 12 theses have been defended at this University dealing with problems in Third World countries (12 theses = 15%, a high percentage). About 40 men and women a year take part in teaching and research programmes for Third World countries. From these data I have to conclude that in Wageningen there is great interest in studying problems relating to Third World countries and that therefore Wageningen is very effective in promoting international development co-operation.

It is my sincere wish that this symposium may contribute considerably to the position which the University of Wageningen deserves in the field of agricultural development co-operation, may contribute to a better understanding between the participants in this conference and may give the Department of Home Economics ideas, which are useful for starting a sound research and teaching programme in developing countries.

Ladies and gentlemen, in the name of those, who badly need our help, I wish great success to your work.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN ECONOMIC PRODUCTION AND IN THE HOUSEHOLD, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO AFRICA

E. BOSERUP

The problem of women's work in production and in the household is a crucial one in African development, because the role of women in rural areas is different in Africa from that of most other parts of the world, as we shall see below. However, Africa is a large continent, and women's roles are not everywhere the same. The discussion below will focus on women in Africa South of the Sahara and leave out the very different conditions in North Africa. Moreover, the focus will be on women belonging to agricultural families, excluding those of familiés of pastoral tribes.

The best way to understand the peculiar role of women in African agricultural families is to compare them to the roles of women in peasant families in Europe in the days before the beginning of agricultural modernization. The characteristic feature of the European peasant societies was, that they consisted of family enterprises. These family enterprises produced a number of crops, and the head of the family enterprise, i.e. the oldest man in the family, organized and was responsible for the production of all these crops, and for the animals belonging to the farms. This responsible male would have his wife, children, daughters in law and grandchildren as unpaid family aid, performing different agricultural operations according to his orders and under his control as the head of the family.

The female members of the family would besides their agricultural work perform the household tasks, which would to a large extent be their responsibility, but the agricultural part of their work, which was considerable would be performed as assistants to the man. The men were decision makers in all agricultural matters, it was their responsibility that the crops were selected and produced. Women might at the most take independent charge of a vegetable garden and of the poultry.

Another characteristic feature of the European peasant farming system was that the same crops were produced partly for family consumption and partly for sale. Production for sale was in reality a sale of a surplus, which was unneeded for family consumption, and one has to go far back in European history to find peasants who produced crops exclusively for family consumption without selling any surplus. Families who did not sell a surplus were not peasant families, but families of agricultural labourers, who only had at their disposal a vegetable garden.

In Africa, the situation is fundamentally different. Agricultural production in Africa is not a family enterprise with men and women producing the same crops, the women as assistants responsible to the men. In Africa men and women are both independent

producers, both producing different crops. In most cases, women produce the basic food crops, which are consumed by the family, while men produce other crops. These men's crops may sometimes be another food crop, but, usually, men do not produce food crops, but specialize in producing crops which are not used by the family, but are sold. These may be crops such as coffee, cocoa, tea and cotton, which are not used by the peasant families, except after processing elsewhere, or they may be crops such as rice, groundnuts or palm oil, which are little used by the peasant families.

Women give some help to the men with the production of their sales crops, and the men often help the women to clear the ground before they sow or plant the food crops, but each sex is an independent producer responsible for their own crops. The women must use the food crops, which they produce, to feed the family, including the men, but they carry out their production independently and dispose of the surplus, when the needs of the family are fulfilled. In other words, while peasant women in Europe were unpaid family aid in enterprises belonging to the male members of their families, African women are independent producers and decision makers, disposing of their own labour and of the money they can earn by producing a surplus over and above the food needs of the family.

In order to understand this African system, it is necessary to look at its origin, i.e. to look briefly at the development of African agriculture before and during the colonial period. In most of Africa, population density is very low compared to that of Europe, and we need not go far back in time to find that gathering of food and hunting were more widespread than food production. Men hunted and women and children gathered vegetable foods in forests and bushland. When population density became too high to permit the continuation of these methods of food supply, women, instead of gathering crops, planted or sowed these crops in small plots which they – or the men – cleared in the forests or the bush. This system of food production is still predominant in most of Africa except North Africa.

In the colonial period, the Europeans took advantage of the African system of food production. They discovered that the women took care of the food production with little, if any, aid from the men, and that the men devoted their time to hunting and warfare. The Europeans either incited the underemployed men to work in plantations, mines or other activities, which were part of the colonial economy, or they forced the men to undertake these tasks as obligatory labour. Moreover, many African men discovered that they could earn money by planting and selling the same types of crops which the Europeans were cultivating in European owned plantations and farms, so they started small scale production of these export crops. In other words, men became engaged in new activities, either non-agricultural activities or production of new cash crops for export to the markets in Europe. Women, on the other hand, continued to produce food crops for the family in the usual way. Men could leave the villages and transfer to employment in plantations or non-agricultural enterprises, because the women were accustomed to producing all the food, which was needed both for them-

selves and for the small children, the aged and other non-working members of the family. The men's role in food production had always been limited to giving some help with land clearing, that role could still be performed by the minority of men and young boys left in the villages. Thus large parts of Africa became areas of labour migration. In such areas there were few adult, ablebodied men left. Women were heads of households, it was they who went to the fields, sowing, planting, weeding, watering if necessary, harvesting and carrying the crops back to the villages.

The regions, which became areas of labour migration, were those where transport systems were non-existent or so primitive, that it did not pay to produce cash crops. In these districts, the only way to earn money income was to send some members of the family off to other regions and they would send money back. In these regions, the women became heads of households and sole providers for non-working members of the family. Women became independent, because men went away for years or even for ever. During the colonial period however the role of the women changed, even in more advanced regions where it was possible to produce cash crops and transport them to markets elsewhere, because the men, when they produced cash crops, often demanded that the women helped them with some of the work on these crops. In these regions, the women acquired a double role, or even a triple, if domestic duties are also taken into account. Women became unpaid family workers in the men's cash crop production, but at the same time, they continued to be independent producers of food crops for family use, and sellers of food surplusses, which were not needed for family consumption. Nevertheless, the change in women's work was less radical than that in men's work. The main role of the women continued to be food producers for the family and performers of domestic services, and in many cases, they did not take any part in production of the men's crops.

The colonial system meant that both men and women had to do more work. Men worked with cash crops and with non-agricultural activities, and women either had to support the family alone, if the men went away, or they often had to help men with the cash crops. Many conflicting and incorrect statements are made about the work input of men and women in African agriculture. The crucial role of the women often is overlooked by people, who only focus on the production of crops for sale and overlook or underestimate the production of food for family consumption. In other cases, women are said to do all or nearly all the work in agriculture, because this statement is made with the focus on the food supply and the export crops are overlooked which provide the main agricultural work burden for the men.

Some quantitative studies have been made in regions, in which both cash crops and food crops are produced. These studies sometimes only cover a few families, but a compilation of 18 larger studies from different parts of Africa revealed that men spent an average of 14 hours on agricultural work per week, while women spent 15 hours (BOSERUP, 1970). The difference is not very large, but it must be taken into account that over and above their agricultural work, women had a very large burden of domestic work to perform, this not only includes cooking, cleaning and childcare, but also the

crude processing of food, water carrying and the gathering of fuel. All these are tasks, which are considered women's work. So African women in rural areas have a heavy work burden, while men are much less burdened with work.

The end of the colonial period did not reduce the work burden of African rural women, but enhanced it further. The reason for this was that the end of the colonial period coincided with two other changes: on one hand an acceleration of the rate of population growth, and on the other a further acceleration of labour migration in Africa.

Rates of population growth accelerated because of a decline in mortality, especially child mortality, this means that families were larger than previously, and therefore the women need to produce food for more people. The increasing population also means that more land has to be cultivated, either by using land that is less fertile, or further from the village, or by using more intensive methods of cultivation, for instance hoeing the land better or weeding it more often. Regardless of the method used, it means a larger labour input than before, so women have to work more in order to supply their families with food. And women have even less help from men than previously, because migration of men from the villages has become even more frequent than in the colonial period.

In other words, the task of producing enough food for the whole family has become much more difficult for the women than previously, and this means that they cannot produce as large as or larger food surplusses for sale as they could do earlier. The lack of surplusses implies that when towns grow in size, they cannot get sufficient supplies of food from the countryside, but must be supplied by increasing imports from other countries.

It is not a new feature that African towns are supplied by means of food imports from other continents, this also happened in the colonial period. The relatively few and small towns that existed at that period were mainly inhabited by non-Africans, i.e. Europeans and Asians, who preferred to eat food of the types they were accustomed to from their countries of origin, thus food was imported from non-African countries. In contrast to peasant farming regions of Europe, the African rural population supplied little food to the towns and few of the products of the urban areas reached the surrounding countryside. The African peasants earned money by selling export crops to foreign countries, and they used this money to purchase imported manufactured products. The African towns did little more than handle this import and export trade, and the traders were nearly all non-Africans.

This system has changed fundamentally since African countries have become independent. The foreigners have left either voluntarily or have been expelled, and there has been a very large migration of Africans to the towns. The town population has increased much more rapidly than the food surplus in the countryside, and with the increasing town populations food imports have been rising very rapidly in most African countries.

Let us now see, what role the food producing African women have played in this development, and return to the comparison between European peasant production and agricultural production in Africa. The family production in Europe consisted of crops, of which a part was consumed by the family and a part sold to the neighbouring towns. When the population in Europe increased and agricultural production became more intensive, total crop production increased, more food became available to the increasing families and more to the enlarging towns. Subsistence production and production for sale both expanded, without any change in the organization of the family production. The men continued to be the responsible and the women remained as unpaid helpers.

In Africa, by contrast, expansion in the production by the men meant only an expansion of the production of export crops, but no additional food, which could feed the enlarging towns. Food produce for sale increased little, because it was done by women, and the women were overburdened due to the increasing size of family and male migration. The women could do little more than supply the food, which was needed for subsistence in their own family. Moreover, because they produced for subsistence, they did not earn money which could be used to purchase fertilizer and other agricultural inputs. The men used the money they earned on their own export crops, and not on the women's crops. They also, used the better land and left the poorer land to the women, who could therefore only obtain low yields, especially when they were unable to buy fertilizer.

It is more and more obvious to many African governments that a change in the system of food production is necessary. It is true that there are also non-African countries, which have become heavily dependent upon food imports. Many Arab and Latin American countries import food but many of these are rich countries, which can pay for food imports because of large incomes from the exports of oil or minerals. African countries which import food are by contrast poor countries, needing their export incomes for purchase of equipment and other goods, which they cannot produce themselves, rather than use their export incomes for the purchase of food. Nearly all African countries have large areas of unutilized land, suitable for food production. It is not lack of land, but lack of proper organization of food production, food trade and food transport, which explain the increasing food deficit of Africa.

Moreover, African governments want to become more self-sufficient in food in order to become less dependent upon the agricultural policy in the big food exporting countries. These countries produce food surplusses as a part of their farm support policy, and their supplies to the world market are irregular and dependent upon changes not only in harvests, but also in internal agricultural policies, which create fluctuations in prices and supplies to the world market. Therefore, African countries want to become more self-reliant, and this means that a better organization of food supplies from African villages to African towns is an urgent problem.

The way in which this problem will be solved will become crucial for African women in the rural areas. If food production changes from being subsistence production

undertaken by women to being male production for sale with female help, similar to the organization of the production of export crops, the position of African women will change fundamentally. African women from being independent producers, may become unpaid family aid in their husbands' food producing enterprises, they may loose the little economic independence they now have, because they supply themselves and their children with food and can sell whatever food surplus they produce.

Such a loss of economic independence would be serious, because it would coincide with other changes in the African family system, which accompany modernization of African societies. In Africa, as in other parts of the world, there was a traditional solidarity between family members, which went farther than the immediate family. If a man left his wife or demanded a divorce, she could get support either from her own family or her husband's family, and in addition African women could produce their own crops, so they and their children did not need to starve. Modernization of the African societies, is resulting in the breaking down of the system of family solidarity, and it is rare that a woman has access to family or tribal land for subsistence production, because land is changing from family and tribal possession into private ownership. Therefore, African women are tending to become much more economically dependent upon their husbands than they were before. A change of the food production system, which would deprive them of their role as independent producers and make them unpaid family aid for their husbands, would enhance this process.

Therefore, the problem of the future changes in the system of food production in Africa is crucial both for the large majority of women, who live in the rural areas and for the African economies. In my second paper included in this volume (p. 35), we shall look at the possible alternatives for rural changes in Africa.

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THE DETERIORATING POSITION OF AFRICAN WOMEN IN THE DEVELOPMENT FROM A SUBSISTENCE ECONOMY TOWARDS A MARKET ECONOMY

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1. INTRODUCTION

Most Africans are farmers and the vast majority of them have to rely on a subsistence economy. Only small sections of their farms are commercialized. With the small amount of money these African farmers earn from commercialized agriculture, they can buy few of the much desired western consumption articles. The desire for more of these articles and more comfort, unleashes a severe competition for the cash with which to buy these articles.

Although people were not equal in the pre-colonial traditional society, there were, however, no large qualitative disparities in the standard of living in the subsistence economy. People had the same kind of houses, clothes, food, etc. With the introduction of cash crops and new techniques, production and consumption patterns changed. Differences in the possession of land and cash crops have resulted in differences in money income, which in turn has led to qualitative differences in housing, clothing, food and general comfort. The competition for a better standard of living has adversely affected the forms of unpaid cooperation within the family, village and tribe. Even today these are essential for an increase in production, as many farmers cannot afford hired labour or mechanization. Hence, the production of the African farmer stagnates at the level he can sustain by his own physical labour alone and probably will decrease in the course of years.

While the prices received for agricultural products are low and fluctuate little, wages and prices for imported products show a tendency to soar. The attraction of a western consumption pattern on the one hand and the stagnating or deteriorating production on the other, cause great tensions in society.

2. FROM SUBSISTENCE ECONOMY TOWARDS COMMERCIALIZED AGRICULTURE

2.1. *Cooperation within the nuclear family*

At the turn of the century, the economy was a subsistence one but some bartering took place within the villages of specific chiefdoms. Land was so abundant that a

couple intending to marry had little difficulty in obtaining a plot of arable land. A man was expected to marry before he started a farm because of the traditional division of labour. Planting, weeding and harvesting were women's tasks, while the men ploughed, dug and sowed the land and also tended the cows. The men were also responsible for constructing the bamboo framework of the hut and for thatching the roofs. It was left to the women to fetch the grass and plaster the walls with mud. In addition the women were responsible for cooking, bringing water and firewood and caring for the children. Only occasionally did a man help his wife to harvest a certain crop.

Over-production was not encouraged, because crops are rather perishable and barter was limited to the neighbourhood. Most farmers possessed fields of roughly the same size, depending of course on the number of the people in the household and their needs. Only for a few crops, was the production of a surplus encouraged. Surplusses of agricultural products were exchanged for cows. An investment in cows was considered more productive, more lasting and less arduous. A man who reared cattle successfully, was in a position to enlarge his 'bank account' by increasing his herd of cows. From this he could pay off some of his outstanding debts connected with the bridewealth for his wife. He could even contemplate paying the bridewealth for another wife. A man who had more than one wife, was likely to have more children, was able to cultivate more fields and consequently had an increased production.

Besides his wives, a man could also count on his children to assist on the farm from an early age. Children were more dependent on their parents who employed all of them on their farms according to age and sex, especially as there were no schools or other avenues of employment. The boys helped their fathers and the girls their mothers. In any case children were dependent on their parents and their family for shelter, food, clothing and marriage. Furthermore children were expected to show great obedience to, and respect for their parents. People were shocked if children failed to obey and respect their elders and it was generally believed that defaulters were struck by a curse in the form of diseases or death. The childrens' allegiance to their parents was not based on filial love alone. Economic needs and the threat of magical sanctions, played no mean role in this. Having pressurized their children into a form of docility, the parents were thus assured of the necessary input of labour.

2.2. *Cooperation within the extended family*

By the time a man had succeeded in building up a sizable farm with a large labour force of wives and children and a large herd of cattle, he was already old. The eldest person in the extended family enjoyed great power. Officially, he had a great say in the marriages contracted within his family. He was partly responsible for fixing the amount and for deciding to whom the bridewealth was to be paid. Besides he could call upon his younger brothers and their households to help him cultivate his compound and fields. Old men had more influence, because of their greater experience and wisdom. Generally he also had greater economic power at his disposal than the younger generation.

2.3. *Cooperation within the village*

Apart from the regular help received from his wives and children, and the occasional assistance given by members of the extended family and neighbours, a man could also call upon his co-villagers to help him with hoeing, weeding and harvesting. At the most, such assistance lasted one day. The helpers were rewarded in the evening with a meal and some beer. In order to cope with the cooking of food and the preparation of beer for a large working party, a man had to have several wives. Logically therefore, a man with industrious and capable wives, was able to cultivate more and more land with the help of his family and co-villagers. He was in a position to organize working parties regularly, and to invite numerous friends to his house. Slowly but surely, such a man forged a certain link with groups of people who were often working on, and eating at, his farm.

Such people in turn, tended to develop a certain form of allegiance to him because of his hospitality. Naturally they were more than likely to side with him in the event of trouble; for example, they would take his side in a fight, a struggle, a conflict or a court-case. Moreover, they were inclined to support him at meetings in which decisions, affecting communal actions or judgements regarding abuses and instances of misbehaviour were taken.

In short, surplusses were invested in persons who had an allegiance to a rich man, irrespective of whether they were wives, children, relatives or co-villagers. Wealth was, in fact, vested in authority over others. As a man was old by the time he had become wealthy, the authority structure was gerontocratic, the basis of which was wisdom, experience, age, greater wealth in the form of land, labour and capital, and the possibility of safeguarding the position by magical means.

3. Factors of Change

The most obvious factors of change are of a three-pronged nature, namely, political, economic and demographic. Among the political factors of change are, for instance, the colonial administration, the infrastructure and overhead facilities, as well as post-colonial government measures. The economic factors of change include the introduction of new cash crops, money, agricultural implements, markets and cooperatives. Due attention has also to be given to the demographic factors of change, such as population growth, resulting partly from better medical care, and the effect the introduction of schools had on the quality of the labour force.

In short, in the colonial time the subsistence economy was partly commercialized. Several farmers grasped the opportunity by bringing more land under cultivation for growing cash crops. Due to the population pressure and the growing importance of cash crops, land is no longer in communal ownership. Nowadays, land belongs to, and is exploited by, the members of a family. A person can possess land in several different villages. One is no longer required to live in a village in order to inherit or secure a piece of land.

As a result of the rapid population growth more and more farmers are trying to obtain a large tract of land so that a group of landless people is emerging. The opportunities for this landless group of earning an income within as well as outside agriculture are small. Although the landowners are in need of labour which could be provided by the landless people, the former often are unable to pay them or to resort to mechanization because their income from the smallholder cultivation of primary products is too small. Hence production is stagnant or even decreasing.

4. The commercialization of the subsistence economy

4.1. *Cooperation within the nuclear family*

Today the most important and permanent labour force on the farm is still made up of all inhabitants who are not at school, or who are not employed elsewhere. Polygamous men still have a larger labour force comprised of wives and children. Such men are generally older, and possess more land, more cash crops, have larger money incomes and enjoy the highest standard of living. Moreover, they exercise most of the political functions in the village. The elementary or nuclear family increasingly tends to become the production and consumption unit. Besides, especially within a polygamous nuclear family, the fields and wealth are divided between a man and his wife or wives. There is, however, a general decrease in the amount of land possessed and consequently in the income accruing from it. At the same time there is a greater demand for better food, better clothing, housing and furniture. As a result of the severe competition to own more land and to have a greater money income, traditional forms of cooperation within the village, the extended family, and even within the nuclear family, are steadily decreasing.

A man and his wife are supposed to share the income from their harvest. Men usually try to reserve the greatest part for themselves, if not the entire money income. Consequently women are not anxious to work too hard, especially when they do not own cash crops. Nowadays, the wife of a polygamous man insists on having her own house and her own fields. Formerly children were more prepared to live and enjoy their meal at the place of the mother whom they liked most. Nowadays, there is a lively competition between the wives who want to reserve a greater share of the rather small income for their own children. They are no longer eager to work in the fields of their co-wives, except on terms of reciprocity. The older wives may sometimes even try to shove of their cooking responsabilities on to a younger wife with whom the man lives, and on whom he bestows greater favours.

Children, who are continually in search of opportunities to acquire education, tend to work less at their parents' place. Boys prefer to acquire some form of education or find a salaried job, rather than work on their father's farm. If a boy is able to obtain some education and a salaried job, he is assured of a regular cash income which ammounts to more than his father might earn on the farm. Thus, the childrens'

dependence on their parents, and the authority of the parents over the children, is diminishing. In fact, sometimes the reverse may even occur: parents become financially more dependent on their children, who have successfully found employment.

4.2. *Cooperation within the extended family*

Cooperation in the extended family is likewise becoming less. Formerly, the oldest man in the extended family could invoke the help of his younger brothers and their families, especially that of his own sons, even if they were married. In this way, his farm tended to prosper. Formerly, the bridewealth for the girls of the entire extended family went to the family elder. It was he who distributed the cows to the family. At the same time if a boy in the family wanted to marry, family members had to help pay the bridewealth. As cows are expensive, a father increasingly tries to avoid sharing the bridewealth received for his daughters with his brothers but tends to keep it for him self. On the other hand, his brothers are hardly likely to help him pay the bridewealth for the wifes of his sons. Nowadays, cooperation within the extended family is often restricted to cases of extreme emergency only.

4.3. *Cooperation within the village*

Traditional cooperation within the village is also becoming rare these days. Neighbours are less eager to help one another. Formerly some groups of neighbours used to share their meals at each other's respective places. Boys often brought along groups of friends to work and eat at their mothers' place. Male neighbours were cordially welcomed to partake of the food when their wives were absent or indisposed. Strangers were also received with greater hospitality. All these forms of help are becoming rare and restricted only to cases of emergency.

The most important form of cooperation within the village was the working party. These days, working parties are smaller in size and take place less frequently. As neighbours are not eager to help in preparing the food and serving the beer for a working party, this arduous and time-consuming responsibility devolves on a man's wife alone. Moreover, even if a person is able to organize a working party, he will in all likelihood refrain from doing so, because many persons tend to join the working party as late as possible and try to do as little as possible. Their meagre efforts do not, however, deter them from going for the choicest bits of food and the largest quantities of beer in the evening. In addition, many of them are unwilling to join a working party simply for the sake of having some food and beer in the evening. A large proportion recognizes that, by working in such a working party, they contribute to an increase in the harvest of the landowner, and consequently his cash income. Realizing their own growing need for money in particular, almost all of them prefer to receive a day's salary, which only the richer farmers can afford to pay. Thus many farmers who would like still to organize a working party are unable to do so. In face of the growing needs of their own family, most farmers cannot afford to pay for hired labour or mechanized tools. Only those farmers who have additional employment are able to hire labourers to carry out some of their agricultural tasks.

Briefly, members of a village are increasingly having their own fields, their own supply of labour and their own source of money income for their own rapidly growing needs as individuals. On the other hand farmers with large tracts of land, need help. But since unpaid cooperation is on the wane, and since these farmers cannot pay for hired labour, or cannot afford to mechanize, labour productivity, and consequently their money income, is slowly decreasing.

5. The vicious circle of poverty

At the same time, there is a corresponding increase in their consumption needs. Surplusses are not bartered but sold in order to obtain cash. Money is also no longer invested in cows. Sometimes, however, relatively large sums are still spent on bride-wealth. Surplusses are not so much invested in cattle and bridewealth or used to assure the allegiance of people, but in better housing, food, clothing and comfort. The differences in the standard of living are on the increase. Since qualitative differences in the standard of living in a subsistence economy were as a rule small, the wealth of a person needed to be evaluated in terms of the number of cattle owned, the allegiance of many wives, children and co-villagers. Nowadays the criterion for being rich is no longer determined by the number of cattle owned, or the allegiance shown by others but by a higher standard of living. Through the scramble for a 'western' standard of living and more comfort, hence a 'western' consumption pattern, the communal way of production, existing in the subsistence economy, gives way to an individual way of production as practised in the commercialized economy.

Without any help, a farmer cannot cultivate more than he and his household can cope with. Moreover as the earnings from the cultivation of cash crops are very small, all farmers have to grow their own food crops. Hence for their basic requirements they have to rely on the subsistence economy. Therefore many farmers are in an economic dead-lock in which they have to cling to the traditional way of life in the subsistence economy in which more socio-economic security can be found. As the traditional communal way of production is disappearing fast, it offers a rapidly decreasing socio-economic security which also cannot be provided for by the tiny part of their economy which is commercialized. Hence, most farmers are in an economic no-man's land in which it becomes increasingly difficult to make any economic progress at all. Since the production in agriculture is increasingly restricted to the amount of work an individual or a family can cope with, production tends to become stagnant. Although many farmers increase their labour productivity by working harder and longer, many are at the moment unwilling to do more than their actual 4 or 5 hours a day. Hard work and longer hours as a result for example of a better system of weeding lead to a slight increase in cash income but also require a far greater labour-input. As a far greater labour-input in respect to heavy and dull work results only in a relatively small extra profit, many prefer the leisure-time, now available to them, than meagre increases in

money income. Moreover, some farmers who managed to earn more through sheer hard work, found out that they did not reach a correspondingly higher standard of living because the extra money income was straightaway spent on outstanding debts and the emergencies such as hospital bills, school-fees, etc. A rich farmer is constantly under pressure from his poorer co-villagers. If he turns down these frequent appeals abruptly, he runs the risk of being avoided by co-villagers or that they start gossiping against him. All this may result in some misfortune for him through witchcraft. Consequently a rich man, especially when he is young, who still lives in the village is supposed to have superior magical power to protect himself, his family and accumulated wealth. On the other hand, as co-villagers tend to avoid a rich uncooperative man, he must be prepared to be self-reliant in matters of production and consumption and even during emergencies. People are only prepared to help if paid. Many farmers are therefore satisfied when they have a money income which is sufficient to satisfy their basic daily needs.

6. The position of women in the development from a subsistence economy towards a market economy

6.1. *The position of women as a result of the division of labour between men and women in the subsistence economy*

In the subsistence economy men were strongly dependant on women because of the division of labour which was based on age and sex. Her labour input was not only larger than that of the men, but even indispensable. Women coped with the lion's share of food production, the food preparation and care of children and had an indispensable task in the preparation of clothes and shelter. In all basic needs like food, clothing and shelter, a man was directly dependant on women. As long as a man was not married, he had to rely on the help of his mother or sisters. Only when he was married could he start his own household.

Not only his existence as well as his survival were dependent on women but also his wealth was based on female work. Especially by the hard work of women, a man could produce agricultural surplusses which he could exchange for cattle. In this way he could amass a dowry with which he could marry other wives. More wives meant an increase in labour and in the number of children who, from a very early age joined in farm labour. With more wives a man was able to invite more visitors for working and eating on his farm by which he could increase his production and his say in village affairs. Apart from the dowry, wives cost their husbands very little as they provided most of their own basic needs of food, clothes and shelter, as well as most of the basic needs of the man. The more wives and children a man had, the more production factors he had at his disposal at a minimal cost. As land was not a scarce production factor and the production factor capital was almost non-existent because of the low technical production level, an increase in production could only be caused by an increase of

labour. As the women had the greatest labour output consequently a man with many wives and children was rich.

Although the direct authority of a woman in the subsistence economy appeared to be low, her indirect authority was great because a man was directly dependant on women not only for his existence but also for his survival and his accumulation of wealth. A man was continually threatend by the fact that his wife or wives could desert him if he mistreated them. In this event not only would his production collapse but he could be forced into either returning to his mother or going to his father-in-law to ask his wife back after having apologized and possibly having paid a fine. This strong economic dependence of a man on his wife, placed a woman in a real strong position of authority.

6.2. *The position of women as a result of the division of labour in the commercialized subsistence economy*

In the commercialized subsistence economy, women lose much of their authority. The production of cash crops by which the indispensable money is earned, is controlled by men. Men provide by far the greater part of the labour in the production of cash crops and they appeal to their wives or others only when they cannot cope with the work on their own. In this way a man makes sure that he can lay hands on the greater part of his tiny money income without being obliged to share it with others. Moreover by his money income a man becomes less dependant on his wife or wives in food production, food preparation, clothing and shelter. The money increases his self - reliance as he has to rely less on the help of his wife for his survival. A man's wealth need not be based on the labour of wives and children anymore. On top of the dowry, wives and children cost more than they produce. In contrast to the subsistence economy in which women contributed by far the most to the cost of living of the men, nowadays they become more and more dependant on the money income of the men. The more wives and children a man has nowadays, the more production factors he has who, however, cost more than they produce.

By the increase in technical know-how, labour is no longer the only scarce production factor; the increasing scarcity of land and capital is more severely felt. Wealth is no longer based on the labour of many wives and children but on the possession of land and capital by which labour or mechanization can be paid for. Although the direct authority of women in the commercialized subsistence economy is still not great, her indirect authority is also decreasing because the man becomes less dependant on his wife.

As a man usually cannot miss the labour input of his wife or wives in the production of cash crops and certainly not in the production of food crops he has to appeal to her for assistance in return for a share in his money income or harvest. This part of the tiny money income which the women get, is so small that they cannot pay their elementary cost of living with it. The possibilities of increasing this income e.g. by brewing beer or prostitution are small in the rural areas. This poverty causes tensions in marital

relations which more and more lead to disruption and divorce. A man often puts forward as a reason for divorce that his wife regularly commits adultery and a woman often lodges the complaint that her husband does not provide for her basic requirements. Although men as well as women suffer severe poverty, African women are often more severely afflicted by it.

The contents of the foregoing article is based on the following publications:

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MALE AND FEMALE FARMING SYSTEMS AND AGRICULTURAL INTENSIFICATION IN WEST AFRICA: THE CASE OF THE WOLOF, SENEGAL

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It is generally thought that the position of rural women in developing countries deteriorates when agriculture intensifies. I shall argue that for several ethnic groups in West Africa there is no evidence available to support this view. The Wolof in Senegal even form a contradictory case: the position of the rural Wolof women improved in the process of agricultural intensification.

It is important to know my definition of deterioration in casu improvement of the position of the rural women. I limited myself to their economic position, ignoring their political, ritual and religious positions. Although not allowing for final conclusions, I take the view that this limitation is admissable because the economic position is everywhere a necessary condition in determining the total position in the community.

What do I mean by economic position? Many writers state that in hoe agriculture the rural women have a very long working-day and consequently their position is bad. However, BOSERUP (1970), LANCASTER (1976) and others argue that in the development of a more intensive farming system many rural women work less on the farms, stay at home more and therefore lose status. If the indicator of economic position is the degree to which the women work in the agricultural or domestic sphere, this implies a contradiction. More important is their material position: to what extent does a woman control the distribution of agricultural produce or, said differently, to what extent does she have access to the products of her labour.

However, revenues, obtained from her labour, are only in so far a good indicator of economic position if simultaneously the financial responsibilities of the spouse towards the household are taken into consideration. I shall return later to the question: which items of the household budget are in fact borne by the women? To summarize, the better the material position of the rural women is by cultivating a proper farm or by engaging in trade in agricultural produce the better their economic position and thus, speaking generally, the better their total position in the community.

Let me also say what I mean by agricultural intensification. My startingpoint in West African agriculture is a farming system usually called a hoe culture with a long fallow-period (extensive hoe culture). Gradually, seen in a time perspective, agricultural production per hectare increases by the use of improved seeds, organic matter, fertilizer, crop-rotation, draught animals and implements, among which is the plough. The

length of the fallow-period decreases. A farming system in which most of these methods are applied is called a plough culture. Moving in the direction from a hoe culture with long fallow periods to a plough culture with no or short fallow periods I call agricultural intensification.

What is the connection between agricultural intensification and the cultivation of food and cash crops? It is clear that long before the introduction of a plough culture there has been a growing monetarization of the village economy and commercialization of agriculture. First surplus food production was exchanged in internal trade, later cash crops were grown for export. Taking into account such differences in degree of commercialization I distinguish in the farming system of hoe culture a type called hoe culture based on food crops and a type called hoe culture based on cash crops.

Having defined the concepts, I now return to the general idea that the position of the rural women is deteriorating with the intensification of agriculture. Let us first consider their position in a hoe culture based on food crops.

As is shown by BOSERUP (1970) and GOODY (1977), mainly women looked after agricultural production in subsistence agriculture, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa which is referred to as the region of female farming par excellence. Because the share of women in the workload was high, their status was also high compared with that of the men. However, they do not relate this sexual division of labour to the control over the surplus production in the household. There seems good reason for not doing so because there are hardly any studies available which document the revenues of the rural women. Here I am not concerned with the urban women-traders whose activities are well-documented even for the colonial times. When the Wolof practised a hoe culture based on food crops, they exchanged coton-cloth, wool, millet and cattle for slaves, horses, rice, medicine, soap, biscuits, ornaments, kolanuts and cigarettes (AMES, 1962). This trade took place at least from the 18th Century onwards. Commodity money, cotton-cloth and iron bars, have been widely used since that time. With the help of their domestic slaves the rural Wolof expanded their farms in order to engage in internal trade. Groundnut was already cultivated as a cash crop from 1850 onwards. The term hoe culture based on food crops fails to suggest that also in the precolonial and colonial times the surplus production in food crops and animal products was traded.

In view of the many consumption-articles available one can expect that besides the head of the household the male dependants and spouses also had personal ends and an interest in revenues of their own. Among the Sarakollee in Mali (POLLET and WINTER, 1968), the Béti in Cameroun (GUYER, 1977) and the Yukun in Nigeria (MEEK, 1931) the presence of womens' farms in a hoe culture based on food crops has been established. For the Wolof, AMES (1953) and MONTEIL (1967) observed that at least from the 18th Century onwards the unmarried male dependants cultivated a farm of their own as did the domestic slaves. It is also known that Wolof women could own slaves and cattle, but there is no evidence available that in that period the women also cultivated a proper farm. My research showed that at the end of the 19th Century a Wolof woman owned

the cloth, woven from the cotton cultivated in association on the millet plot. Although most cloth was destined to dress the members of the household, she could trade the remaining skirts ('pagnes') for small cattle or ornaments. From 1900 onwards the rural Wolof women in Saloum started to till their own plot with groundnut of which the yield belonged to them. The evidence available suggests that in some ethnic groups the rural women had access to the products of their labour. This then confirms the general view about the position of the women in subsistence agriculture.

Now I turn to the position of the women in a farming system I defined as a hoe culture based on cash crops. Has their position really deteriorated compared with that in a hoe culture based on food crops? As has been established by BOSERUP (1970) and GOODY (1977), the introduction of cash crops in a hoe culture increased the part of the men in total work input in village production. However, again the sexual division of labour has not been related to the pattern of distribution of agricultural production in the household. Other writers are more explicit on this point, arguing that in agriculture dominated by cash crops a male cash crop system develops parallel to a female food crop system with the men receiving the cash income and with the women cultivating food crops and vegetables as food supply for the household. This line of thinking does not seem applicable to West Africa in general, for two reasons. First, among several ethnic groups in West Africa, the men continue to perform the male work tasks in food crops. These male tasks may be quite extensive as has been established among the Ibo (OTTENBERG, 1965), Yakö (FORDE, 1964), Tiv (BOHANNAN and BOHANNAN, 1968) and Yoruba (LLOYD, 1965). Second, the rural women of many ethnic groups in West Africa quite often have maintained their sources of cash income from farming.

In the first place they may derive revenues from trading part of their husband's crops in compensation for their aid in cultivation and trading. They either may obtain a share in the proceeds or they may obtain a share in the crop which they then trade or process into meals or snacks to be sold in the household, village or at the market place. Income derived by the rural women in this manner has been documented among the Ibo (OTTENBERG and OTTENBERG, 1965), Yakö (FORDE, 1964), Tiv (BOHANNAN and BOHANNAN, 1968), Yoruba (BERRY, 1975), Haussa (HILL, 1972), Toupouri (GUILLARD, 1965), Nupe (NADEL, 1961), Béti (GUYER, 1977), a.o.

In the second place the rural women may derive income from cultivating a proper farm with cash crops of which they appropriate the yield. Such has been described for the Sarakollee and Bambara (POLLET and WINTER, 1968), Tiv (BOHANNAN and BOHANNAN, 1968), Ashanti (HILL, 1970 and LYSTADT, 1958), Tallensi (FORTES, 1969), Toupouri (GUILLARD, 1965) and Haussa (HILL, 1972).

Many rural women thus continue to be active in the cash crop sector while the men continue to be active in the food crop sector, even in a hoe culture based predominantly on cash crops.

This situation can be amply demonstrated for the Wolof (VENEMA, 1978). The Wolof live together in extended polygynous families. Their society is patrilineally organized.

Their religion is Islamic but women do not inherit land. They grow millet as a food crop and groundnut as a cash crop, they have herds of cattle and goats and sheep owned by men as well as women. My research in 1972 showed that the growing of the millet is still predominantly a male's responsibility. The head of the household and male dependants clear the millet farm, they thin the millet clumps, weed twice in between the rows and on the rows, they cut the millet stalks and harvest the millet by cutting the ear. All millet is stored in the husband's storage shed and it is the head of the household himself who hands out the daily quantity to be pounded. When millet does not suffice, it is the responsibility of the head to buy additional millet at the market-place. Women in fact only help in the sowing of millet which takes about one day only. They may also help in the harvesting of millet by cutting the ear or in transporting it homewards, but they are not required to do so and if they do, they receive a present in kind which is normally 5 kilograms millet for a day's work. They often sell this to the village shopkeepers. Then the money received, almost equals a normal daily wage.

As to who cultivates and controls the cash crop, my research showed that besides the head of the household and the male dependants also the Wolof women cultivate a proper farm with groundnuts. Daughters as well as sons obtain from their father a plot in usufruct from the age of 16 years onwards, adult women obtaining a plot as soon as they have installed themselves as spouses in the compounds of their husbands.

The yield belongs to the person who has grown it, only a symbolic present in kind ('zaragh' in Wolof, 'zâka' in Arabic) being given away: girls to their mother, spouses to their husband, sons and younger brothers to their father and eldest brother, respectively. The present amounts to 5–10 % of the total crop. For an area of 1400 hectare the parts cultivated by the different members in the household were calculated. The head of the household cultivated 50% of the area grown with groundnut, the male dependants 30% and the women 20%. Thus we have to keep in mind that the plots of the women are much smaller: they are on average a third of the plots of the men.

Wolof women also obtain revenues by engaging in working parties to perform the female tasks on the farms of the men. Women receive the presents in kind for harvesting millet and for transporting it. On the men's groundnut farms the women perform the female tasks of heaping and winnowing groundnut for which activities they receive the present in kind of 5 to 6 kilograms groundnut per day. As with millet they often sell it to the shopkeeper; the money received equals a daily wage. The tasks of lifting and threshing groundnut on the women's farms are performed by men. Quite often a woman does not have to offer the present in kind or a meal to the members of the working party working on her farm. Most recruited men have social obligations towards her because of her position as washerwoman, fiançee, mother-in-law or godmother.

So we see that in Wolof hoe culture predominantly based on cash crops, contrary to the general view, the men remain largely responsible for the cultivation of food crops and the provision of food while the women obtain income from cultivating a small farm with groundnut and from participating in many working parties to perform the female

tasks on the farms of the men.

We now return to the material position of the rural Wolof women in an intensive agricultural system defined as plough culture. As is argued by BOSERUP (1970), GOODY and BUCKLEY (1973) and others, almost everywhere the animal-drawn plough falls within the province of the man. Women are pushed back to the domestic domain and lose their position as agricultural producers which implies a loss of status, especially if the farmers are able to hire labour and land is scarce.

Let us first consider whether the Wolof farming system can be defined as a plough culture. In a pilot area of 1400 ha under crop, numbering 183 households, the number of seed-drills increased from 139 in 1968 to 248 in 1973, almost all farms being sown mechanically. Most weeding in between the rows of millet and groundnut was performed by the animal-drawn cultivators. Their number increased from 100 in 1968 to 176 in 1973. The number of draught-oxen increased from 6 to 83. In 1973 there were 103 donkeys and 109 horses in the pilot-area. Of the about 900 ha groundnut 316 ha had been lifted mechanically. However, due to several difficulties only 84 ha had been ploughed. A start had been made to introduce crop diversification: instead of millet sorghum was planted while in 1973 69 hectare cotton was grown. The area cultivated with groundnut was twice that cultivated with millet and sorghum. Improved seed was made use of and in 1972 30% of the area under crop received the right amount of 150 kg fertilizer per hectare, the remaining 70% less or none. The fallow period had dropped from 2 years to one year on average. Although the area ploughed was small and the dose of fertilizer applied was insufficient, we can conclude that Wolof farming resembled a plough culture in many aspects. The fact that land is scarce among the Wolof and that they employ day-labourers and a few permanent labourers does suggest that the position of the women has deteriorated.

However, contrary to what was expected, the material position of the women has not been undermined. In fact her material position has improved for several reasons.

First, all women, in 1972 and uptil today, still have a plot in usufruct on which they continue to grow the cash crop groundnut.

Second, in the Wolof plough culture the husbands and male dependants work with their implements on the farms of the women. While in Wolof hoe culture the sowing and weeding of their groundnut-farms was done by the women themselves, now this has become an obligation of the men. So, while their cash income has remained the same, the work input of a Wolof woman has decreased. However, the dates of mechanical intervention on the respective farms of the household follows the social hierarchy: first the farms of the head of the households are sown, then those of the male dependants and at last those of the wives and girls. The same is true for weeding. Because timely sowing and weeding is of extreme importance in the Sudanese climatic zone, the yields of the farms of the women are low. While the head of the households obtained yields of 1010 kg groundnut per hectare in 1970, the average yield of the male dependants was 918 kg/ha and the average yield of the women 881 kg/ha. However, very likely the

sowing and weeding on the women's farms in Wolof hoe culture took place not much earlier than actually because when sowing and weeding are performed manually these tasks take several days.

In the Wolof plough culture the women also work less on the millet farm of the head of the household. While in hoe culture the women had to assist in the sowing of millet now this is most frequently done by the men with the animal-drawn seed-drill. Food production in Wolof plough culture has entirely become a man's burden.

Third, in Wolof plough culture the farms have become larger as a result of the shortening of the fallow-period. Due to the adoption of innovations the yields have increased. Thus there is an increase in the number of working parties required for those activities that cannot be performed mechanically. Because it is mainly the women who participate in working-parties that are remunerated by a present in kind, their revenues have increased. The introduction of cotton increased their income too because the picking is a female job for which they are paid in cash.

Fourth, there is some evidence that fertilizer, improved seed and wage labour used on the farms of the wives is sometimes paid by the husband. A student who participated in my research established that of the 31 women investigated, 11 women used fertilizer. All 11 women had obtained their fertilizer free of charge from their husbands. The student also enquired about the payment of day-labourers who had been employed on the women's farms. She established that of the 41 women that used hired labour, in no less than 20 cases the day-labourers had been paid by their husbands. As regards the obtainment of groundnut seed, of the 24 women she investigated, 11 had obtained seed free of charge from their husband. However, contrary to her findings concerning the obtainment of seed, of the 8 women I interviewed myself 7 had obtained seed from their husband at an interest rate ranging between 25 and 100%.

The four reasons mentioned above suggest that the material position of the Wolof women has not deteriorated after the introduction of a plough culture in Wolof agriculture.

Finally I now return to the question whether a woman's revenues can be used as an indicator of her material position. As I argued in the beginning, it is necessary to look at the expenditure of the women in the household. Which are the items in the household budget borne by the women?

According to BOSERUP (1970) it is normal in traditional African marriages for women to support themselves and their children and to cook for their husband, often using the food they produce themselves. Viewing this heavy burden of the wife, she speaks of the 'African type of woman'. It seems, if this is true, that using revenues as criterion of material position is invalid. I shall not deny that a spouse has financial responsibilities towards her household. However, I wonder whether these responsibilities are indeed so one-sided as is stated.

Often the rural women in West Africa buy the main part of clothes for themselves and for their children and also the herbs and relishes for the meals like salt, pepper, oil

and dried fish. However, the provision of the staplefood is often the responsibility of the men as is the case among the Yoruba (BERRY, 1975), Haussa (HILL, 1972) and Nupe (NADEL, 1961). In addition, the husbands of these tribes are responsible for the payment of bridewealth, tax and the provision of farm tools. Many Haussa men give their wives lamp oil, ointments, powder, perfume and henna on religious or family feasts, or some even every Friday. They also often pay for the larger cooking utensils (SMITH, 1955). Among the Bêti (GUYER, 1977) and Ashanti (FORTES, 1956) the school fee is paid by the men.

As I have already said the Wolof husbands are responsible for the staple food. When millet is in short supply it is the husband who has to buy additional millet on the market. A Wolof man is also responsible for providing his wives with decent housing and a bed, with new articles of clothing on the Islamic sacrifical feast 'Tabaski' ('Aid el Kebir') and for the payment of the main part of the bridewealth of his sons, in addition he buys the rope and the bucket for drawing water and the salt. A woman is responsible for the herbs and relishes of the meals and for firewood and for the payment of about a sixth of the bridewealth of her sons. She also buys the pooley for drawing water and the medicaments used by herself and her children in case of illness.

Thus the main part of the household expenses are not borne by the women of all West Africans. For other ethnic groups evidence is lacking about who is responsible for what item in the household budget. Often there are no facts available as to who has paid for the fertilizer or seed, who has participated in the payment of the bridewealth, who is responsible for the dowry the girl takes with her to her new compound, who has paid for the kerosine and furniture, who has paid for the ornaments and clothes of the wives and children. Perhaps here we can speak of a male bias in anthropological research.

As I tried to show in this short explanation, the view that the economic position of rural women in West Africa is deteriorating still needs to be proven for several countries of this region.

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FOOD PRODUCTION AND THE HOUSEHOLD AS RELATED TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT

E. BOSERUP

If we want to study the way in which the position of rural women in Africa may change in the future, it is necessary first to pose the question of the general alternatives for rural development in that continent. Will subsistence production continue to be important, or will it quickly give way to commercial production of food? Will there be a rapid change to modern technology, a change to 'intermediate technology' or a continuation of primitive agricultural systems and methods? Will small scale or large scale production gain ground, and how will production be organized? After we have discussed these problems we can pose the question of the likelihood of either a shift from female to male food production or a modernization and expansion of female food production. We shall look at these problems one by one.

Let us begin with the choice between commercial agriculture and improvement of subsistence production. It is a just criticism that both in the colonial period and after independence, virtually all efforts in the agricultural sector have gone into expansion and improvement of the commercial production of export crops, and virtually nothing has been done to help the women to improve the production of subsistence crops. Therefore it is argued by many, that a reversal of policy is needed, and that both donor countries and the African governments themselves should focus on improvement of subsistence production and social development in the villages.

However, it is an illusion to believe that social development and improvement of the subsistence level can ever be a realistic alternative to further expansion of and improvement in commercial agriculture. Donor aid is very limited and is likely to remain so. Sooner or later, the donor will move out and another way will have to be found to pay for the clinics and other services, which have been set up with outside aid. It could be argued that this could be done, if the governments would devote less of their total resources to industrialization and urban development, and more to social development and improvement of subsistence production in the villages. It is true that rural development has been neglected by many African governments, and that some are willing to engage in a somewhat less urban-biassed policy. The taxation of the rural areas, accomplished mainly by large levies on export crops, may be somewhat reduced, but it is quite unrealistic to assume that the change could go so far, that the small urban sector could finance improved social services and other aid in the rural areas. Lasting social improvements in rural areas will only be possible, if these areas are able to pay for these services themselves, and that can only happen, if their commercial production is

expanded and becomes more efficient. So, there is no real choice between social or economic policy or between subsistence production and commercial production. Social improvements and improvement of subsistence level are only possible in the long run, by means of expansion of and improvement in commercial agriculture, with markets either in the export or urban areas. Only by means of a rapidly increasing surplus of village products for sale elsewhere, can the villages get means to finance social improvements and better living standards.

Like the choice between social and economic development, the choice between modern and 'intermediate' technology is no real choice. This is so because the lack of, or poverty of, infra-structure makes the use of modern technology impossible in most of Africa.

Let us just take the example of chemical fertilizer. It is impossible to use large amounts of chemical fertilizer unless there is a railway network or a very good road network to transport the fertilizer. In Europe, agricultural modernization did not start before the second half of the nineteenth century. At that time, railway density in Europe was already ten times larger than it is in Africa to day. Of course to day road motor transport has become possible, if there are good roads, but while there are thousands of meters of roads per square kilometer in Europe, there are only some twenty or thirty meters per square kilometer in most African countries, and very few of these small networks are hard surface roads. (Boserup, forthc.). Under such conditions, utilization of fertilizer becomes risky, if not impossible, as was proved by the recent difficulties in Zambia, when its small railway network broke down because of military transports, leaving the peasants without supplies of fertilizer.

In the middle of Africa there are hundreds and hundreds of square kilometers devoid of any transport networks or other economic infra-structure. In such regions there is no possibility of using modern technology, and the types of intermediate technology that can be applied are very limited. Costs of infra-structure investments are closely linked to population density. In a densely populated region, there are many who may use the facilities and services and help to pay off the cost of the investment, but Africa generally is sparsely populated, and the small, scattered, and poor population is unable to secure sufficient usage to make infra-structure investment feasible. Therefore, agricultural modernization is severely handicapped in Africa, compared for instance to densely populated Asia.

The lack of infra-structure limits the number of crops, which can be grown in Africa, except for a few areas, which are better provided with infra-structure. Most of the African export crops are durable and easy to transport even under difficult conditions, but many food crops can only be grown in the immediate neighbourhood of the areas of consumption, because they would perish in transport under the given conditions.

The lack of infra-structure also influences the choice between large scale and small scale farming. Small scale farming with sale of a surplus is only possible, if there is some public infra-structure in the region, but large plantations, set up by multinational

corporations or national companies are able to finance and build their own infra-structure, including roads and railways. African export products, that are difficult to transport, such as fruits and flowers, therefore, are often produced in large scale farming. Small scale farmers, either male or female, are unable to compete in these fields, because of the poverty of the infra-structure in the areas, in which they are living.

The examples above indicate that there are many conditions to take into account, if a policy for improvement of agriculture in general and of female farming in particular is to be achieved. Because men in a given area can sell the cash crops they produce, it does not necessarily mean that it is also possible for women to sell their food crop surplus. Large plantations can produce fruits and other non-durable goods, but this does not mean that it is by any means certain that women can make a living by producing these products. Programmes for helping women to change from subsistence producers to commercial farmers, or just helping them to earn some money, requires a careful study of the region in which the women live, the natural conditions, the existing infra-structure, and the likelihood that this infra-structure may be improved in the near future.

The tenure system in the region also plays a role as to whether it is possible for the women to produce crops both for subsistence and for sale. According to the traditional tenure system, which still exists in most of Africa, land belongs not to individuals, but to the tribe. If the population is sparse, a woman may start cultivation of crops on vacant land without asking permission from anybody. If land is less abundant, she may need to have land assigned to her by her husband, or by the tribal chief. If population density has become relatively high and men have occupied much land for their cash crops, most or all the land may have become considered the private property of the occupier, and women may therefore be unable to get hold of land, on which they can start cash crop production, and may even have difficulties in getting hold of land for cultivation of subsistence crops. Due to the rapid increase of population in Africa in recent decades, more and more land is passing into private possession, and in this process women tend to lose their rights to cultivate land and to become more and more dependent upon their husbands and other male villagers, who have secured themselves permanent rights to the land, to which previously access had been free. A result may be that women may now have to pay rent or deliver a share of the crop to a male landowner, while men will more frequently be able to cultivate land without such levies.

In many cases, the change from tribal tenure with free access to land to private property occurs, when large scale irrigation systems are introduced in a region. In such cases, individual ownership rights are often granted to men as heads of families, but no cultivation rights are given to women, who become wholly dependent upon their men and if the women are divorced by the husband they are cut off from land for subsistence production.

The large irrigation projects create many difficulties in Africa, besides the problem of the loss of womens' rights in land. One of the most serious problems is the effect on

health. A number of waterborn diseases appear in the wake of irrigation projects. Many technicians have been ignorant of the risks of flowing or stagnant water as breeding grounds for disease, and some regions which were meant to be improved habitats for people, have become instead so heavily infected by disease that the population has left the areas, when riverblindness, malaria or other diseases became widespread.

Women have not only greater difficulties in getting access to land for cultivation, but also greater difficulties in getting access to other inputs, because they have almost no cash income and usually no access to credit, because they are legally dependent upon their husbands, who may be unwilling to honour their obligations. Therefore, the shift from subsistence producer to commercial producer is very difficult for women, and in a situation, in which it is urgent that commercial food production replaces food imports, it seems likely that we will see female subsistence production of food replaced, not by female commercial food production, but by male commercial food production. There are parts of Africa where this is happening. Men engaged in food production for the market, sometimes with use of modern inputs, and women changed from independent producers either to unpaid family labour for their husbands or to wage labour for other men. We have already discussed the unfortunate results of such a change in a period, when the traditional family system is breaking down and leaving women unprotected, because they no longer can count on the solidarity within a large family group. We have also already mentioned, that increasing family size and increasing male migration from the rural areas, make women so overburdened with work, that they have great difficulties in producing surpluses of food for sale. Also this invites a shift of food production from female to male family members, when food production becomes commercialized. It could be avoided, if women were helped to modernize their production, to get credits, and became trained in better, more labour-saving methods both in their agricultural and domestic activities. Deliberate efforts in these fields, are necessary otherwise there is likely to be a gradual shift to male-organized food production.

In some parts of Africa, women are trying to start commercial food production or the production of other commercial crops by establishing women's cooperatives, in which they pool their resources of labour and money for puchase of inputs. Women may more easily be able to get credit, when more than one can help to pay back the loan, and their husbands can not demand that women hand their earnings over to them, when these earnings belong to the cooperative and are reserved for purchase of inputs.

In regions with large scale farming, women have the possibility of earning money by wage labour on large scale farms, and thus retain some economic independence and means of support in case of divorce and desertion. Women can also obtain money by participation in cooperatives but, unfortunately, many cooperatives are 'family cooperatives' which hand the rewards for the work of the whole family to the men as the 'head' of the family. Many women both in Africa and elsewhere have obtained their first independent money income by joining a cooperative of the 'non-family type', and

because it provides the possibility for earning independent incomes, such cooperatives are often much more popular with women than with men. Wage labour in private plantations and farms, which men regard as socially inferior to family farming, may also be considered a mark of prestige for women, because they can earn their own money in this way. Men may however for the same reason, resent the existence of income earning opportunities, which make women able to support themselves.

A pattern of mixed tenure, in which large scale and small scale farming coexist in the same region may sometimes provide women with better opportunities for some economic independence than well-meaning attempts to teach them production and sale of their own crops, if the prospects for remunerative production and sale of such crops are bleak in that region, either for lack of markets or economic infra-structure, or for other reasons. Modernization of male farming can also sometimes bring so many economic and social improvements to a region, that women get possibilities for employment or self employment in processing industries or rural services. The jobs created in this way may only be available for a minority of rural women, but they may provide a possibility for economic independence for deserted women, and for women who need an alternative to an unhappy marriage.

It was mentioned above that two factors are very important for African women in rural areas: the large male emigration and the large family size. It is pertinent to ask, if these are likely to be permanent features. Let us begin with the migration.

African men, especially young ones migrate from rural areas either to urban areas or other developing districts in the same country or to other African or non-African countries in order to earn money incomes. Income differences between rural and urban areas are large and they have become larger since independence. Although industrialization in Africa has been limited, many employment opportunities were opened up in the towns in construction, administration and other urban services, while it was difficult to earn money in the backwards rural areas, in which cash crop production was handicapped by poor infra-structure. The emigration from areas with widespread cash cropping was also large. Cash crop prices were sometimes low and when they were high, the government took a large share of the profit by levies on exports. The urban population was closer to the government than the distant villages, and the villagers were looking for security by having some members of the family in urban employment, who could help the relatives in the village in case of need. The modern services in towns, including movies and sports facilities also attracted the young villagers. Rural services, have sometimes been improved, especially by the establishment of rural schools, but this has enhanced rather than deterred the migration, because the schools were considered the means of qualifying for urban employment, so a large proportion of the young men left the villages as soon as they had finished school. Rising unemployment in many African towns and restrictions on access to the European labour market for foreign workers may help to slow down the emigration of young men from African

villages. Emigration of women will possibly become less infrequent than before, but it is nevertheless certain that a surplus of women will continue to exist in African villages, so the problem of women who must support themselves is a permanent feature.

The large size family is also a feature, which will be characteristic of Africa for many more decades. There are signs of declining family size, due to fertility control, in a large number of developing countries, but these do not include the African countries. In this, as in other respects African development is retarded compared to other continents. Child mortality is still so high, that parents are disinclined to restrict fertility, when they do not know how many or how few of their children will survive. Moreover, child labour is widespread in rural areas, so children, even small ones, may contribute more to family production than to consumption, this is because African agriculture does still rely on human muscle power, and many of the operations, which are needed in rural production and services can be performed by children. The large number of children in African families are an added work burden for the women, as mentioned earlier, but they try to alleviate this work burden by making use of the labour power of the children. Children therefore become increasingly useful as they grow up, and they are the parents' hope for survival and a decent life in old age.

Since most African countries are underpopulated rather than overpopulated, and both agricultural and industrial development is handicapped by low population density, most African governments have few motives to promote fertility control, and they are under little pressure from the population to engage in such activities. The new generation of African women will therefore also probably have many children, and be forced to lead more traditional lives than young women in other continents.

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INCORPORATION AND CHANGES IN THE COMPOSITE HOUSEHOLD. THE EFFECTS OF COFFEE INTRODUCTION AND FOOD CROP COMMERCIALIZATION IN TWO BAMILÉKÉ CHIEFDOMS, CAMEROON

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1. INTRODUCTION[1]

1.1. *The problem*

This paper is based on research in the West-Province of Cameroon from December 1977 till September 1978. The theme is rather broad: an exploration of the changes at the household level of society in a Bamiléké region as a result of the incorporation into national and even international systems. It is impossible to isolate the structural and cultural effects of particular aspects of the incorporative drive but nevertheless I have tried to put special emphasis on the effects of the introduction of coffee as a cash crop and the commercialization of food crops. In writing this paper, within the framework of the central theme, some special and often closely interrelated topics were important to me.

a. Changes in the economic, political and social functions of the household entity. This topic is very much related to questions of disintegrative tendencies at the household level.
b. The incorporation of sons and brothers in the region where the household operates. In view of the considerable migration of especially men from the Bamiléké area this question appeared necessary to me.
c. The economic, political and social position of women and changes in these positions. This is closely related to the division of labour between men and women and their access to resources. I paid special attention to this aspect because,
   1. the research took place in a Guinean society where, in general, the traditional politico-economic position of women is strong in spite of the apparently androcentric character of society;
   2. the hypothesis often found in development literature that the politico-economic position of particularly the women in rural areas grows worse during the process of change towards some type of capitalistic industrial society.

I am aware that my research did not produce sufficient data to answer these questions conclusively. Nevertheless I hope my analysis to some extent reveals the reality. In this paper I do not discuss the above mentioned topics in general terms for Africa sub-Sahara or even for the Guinean world, so here I am not able to indicate more specifically the special and 'normal' characteristics of the Bamiléké region under discussion. The reader will look in vain for references to the important writings of for instance BOSERUP (1970) or GOODY (1976).

1.2. *The setting*

The high Bamiléké plateau (1000–2000 m) is very important for the whole of Cameroon and even for the neighbouring countries. The area is not only of utmost significance for the production of Arabica coffee, but at the same time it is the most important producer of food crops for the cities of Cameroon with a considerable legitimate and illegitimate export to Gabon and Nigeria (DONGMO, 1974: passim). The plateau is densely populated: more than 150 inhabitants/km² was very normal for the Bamiléké chiefdoms in 1967, with a maximum of 323 (Cameroon: 12 inhabitants/km² in 1967). In 1967 the density of the chiefdoms I studied in the Département Bamboutos was: Tsa 250 per km², Ngang 204 per km² (CHAMPAUD, 1973: 8, and maps). In 1977 the density in Tsa was about 300 per km² and in Ngang 250.

The Bamiléké of Cameroon can be compared with their cultural 'cousins' the Ibo of Nigeria in their migration mindedness (CLARKE, 1970/1974: 32) and their dynamic activities in commerce, finance and transport in the whole country (and Gabon) (GOSSELIN, 1970: 129, 130). With the Ibo they have in common the suspicious attention they receive from the other nations within the new states where they live. The uprising of the Ibo in the Nigerian context in 1967/1970 came not very far behind the Bamiléké unrest of about 1958–1963. In this paper I do not venture to discuss similarities and dissimilarities between those two 'peasant wars'.

Contrary to the Southern parts of Cameroon with its segmentary tribes, the Bamiléké are traditionally organized in independent chiefdoms. They now number from a few thousands to some 50.000 inhabitants per chiefdom (Bandjoun) (e.g. HURAULT, 1970: 1). The number of inhabitants of the Nquiemba chiefdoms I studied was (1977): Tsa about 25.000 and Ngang about 30.000.[2]

Without underestimating the changes brought about by the German and French colonial times, changes which caused the rebellion of 1958–1963, one can say that the internal political functioning of the chiefdoms remained eventually unchanged till the end of the fifties (OUDEN, 1979: 12, 14, 22, 23). Especially just before and after Independence (1960) and during the rebellion which accompanied Independence the government strengthened its grip on the Bamiléké population by considerably speeding up institutional incorporation. As far as Tsa and Ngang are concerned, the new division ('préfecture') Bamboutos was constituted around 1952 and the sub-division ('sous-préfecture'), comprising the chiefdoms Tsa, Ngang and Mougong, in 1963. The three chiefdoms or 'groupements' constitute at the same time a municipality. Police posts

were established in Mbouda and Batcham-'regroupement'.

At the end of the rebellion we also find an extension of the Minagri (Ministry of Agriculture) network at the local level and the start of public schools and dispensaries/clinics in addition to the already existing Protestant and Roman Catholic schools and dispensaries/clinics. The paramount chiefs loyal to the Ahidjo government during the rebellion, (e.g. the chiefs of Tsa and Ngang) obtained from the government privileged and unassailable positions. However we have now reached the time of the sons of those fathers. If they are not strong personalities they are doomed to be the factotum of the modern administration, nevertheless protected, because they have to legitimize the state power in the eyes of still a considerable part of the population[3].

2. Before incorporation; permanent insecurity

This is not the place to discuss the working of the traditional Bamiléké chiefdoms. Hurault(1962 and 1970) gives an excellent picture of the chiefdoms in the vicinity of the new city of Bafoussam. In other publications I shall discuss the specific character of the Nquiemba chiefdoms (some remarks in Ouden, 1979: 2–5, 29–32). In this paper I am mainly concerned with the micro level, the household entity.

A Bamiléké chiefdom comprises a number of quarters with, likewise, hereditary chiefs. Traditionally these quarters form clusters of compounds, dispersed in the valleys, but for defence reasons not far from each other. Often the quarters were seperated by hills or swamps which were not cultivated.

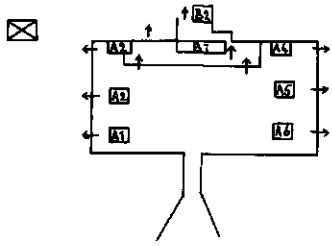
A quarter consisted and most often consists of a chief and his people. That is to say people who stick together for political, economic and social reasons and who find their interests sufficiently safeguarded in a specific ward. The core of this group consists of the chief, some of his paternal uncles, other agnatic relatives and his elder and younger brothers. Attached to this group were some slaves (slavery came to an end in the German period, at the turn of the century), free descendants of slaves, and people who fled from other quarters or even chiefdoms. See map of Toula. (p. 45).

A Bamiléké compound or (composite) household in Tsa and Ngang consists of the house(s) of the husband and the houses of his wives in which also the children of the respective women live. If the husband is the heir of his father we also find there the widows of the deceased. Adult boys settle apart by obtaining a terrain from their father or from the chief of the quarter; they can even offer their services to the paramount chief and ask him for some land. If sons are not already looked after by their father, it was (and in many families is) the duty of the principal heir to settle his brothers by giving them some land or to acquire land for them elsewhere, in order to give them an economic start.

A strong principal heir managed to control his brothers by keeping them in a dependent position. He often arranged wives for his brothers, while paying the bride-wealth himself. This meant that the bridewealth for the daughters born out of such

marriages had to be paid to the principal heir and not to the father. In this way the principal heir created a 'fund of women' which gave him a 'fund of power'.

EXAMPLE OF THE COMPOUND OF AN IMPORTANT MAN IN TSA/NGANG IN 1978.



A 1–6: Houses of wives, and of widows of deceased father.
B 1: House of the master.
B 2: House in which the master can withdraw if he is 'not at home'.
—: Enclosures, formerly impenetrable.
⊠ House of the Gods where the skulls are burried.

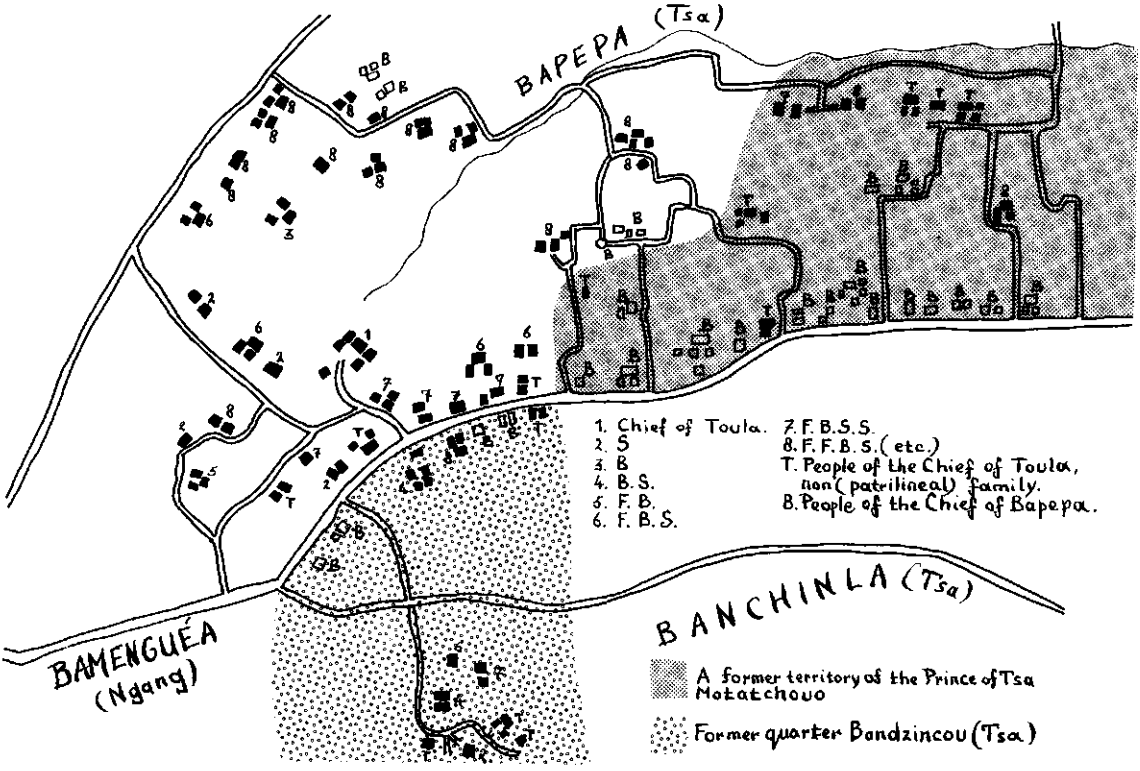
The future of a quarter depended on the power of the chief, on his capacity to defend his people against attacks from other quarters or even other chiefdoms and his success in attacking others. A powerful chief has many followers, a chief who fails looses his people and even runs the risk of being eliminated. A chief cannot complain about the behaviour of others in the court of the paramount chief, because the latter only backs strong chiefs unless political reasons make other decisions necessary; a strong paramount chief is not interested in weak chiefs unless he can profit from their weakness. At all levels – the chiefdom, the quarters, the residential family group (compounds of agnatic family members within the quarter), the compounds, the matrifocal group within the compounds, and the individual level within the compounds – the central question always was and still is: 'Who is the strongest?'

This is not to say that no intergroup ties existed between households, agnatic family groups, quarters or even chiefdoms. Marriages certainly did not always bring forward strong links: the pacifying effect of such alliances often appeared to be rather weak in reality or even resulted in conflict. A son nominated by his father as successor, could not succeed his father as paramount chief of Ngang *because* his mother was a princess of neighbouring Bafou; during the rebellion of 1958–1963 the successor to the throne of Balatchi was killed *because* his mother was a princess of neighbouring Ngang of which Balatchi till recently was a 'sous-chefferie'. I also should like to mention the answer to my questions about quarrels within the chiefdom of Tsa between the chief of the quarter Toula and his neighbours, the chiefs of Bapepa and Banchinla: 'Chiefs often speak with each other and can be good friends. However, at the same time, if the question of land control arises they fight each other bitterly. The chiefs of Toula, Bapepa and Banchinla are friends *and* serious opponents. Their enmity exists in spite of family relations: the present chief of Bapepa married a woman of the Toula palace and in Banchinla the mother of the present chief's father was the eldest daughter of Tchinda, chief of Toula.'
Restricting myself to the household level, I should like to indicate that important in-

tergroup ties were and are realized by women cultivating their food crops in the estates of various principal heirs, a subject to be treated in extenso in this paper. In fact, women through their cultivation activities were and are involved and interested in a number of estates outside their husband's holding, creating a specific interhousehold cohesive factor. The economic interests of women brought and brings about a network of relations covering a vast territory including quarters and even independent chiefdoms. The political integrative effects of this phenomenon should not be underestimated.

Before about 1915, there was much land not used for cultivation of food crops, but nevertheless in that period land for cultivation often was a closed resource. Women and children had to stay within the inhabited area of the quarter with its endless enclosures, fenced areas. Outside the ward women and children were always in danger of being kidnapped by gangs of robbers of other chiefdoms looking for potential slaves. Enclosures were not only necessary to prevent cattle from entering the plots under cultivation, but also to prevent strangers entering the inhabited area. The number of passages through the fences of wattled raphia hedges was minimalized. Moreover, the compounds were difficult to enter from the roads situated on the hillcrests because they were hidden in the valleys and often could only be reached by a tangle of very small pathways bordered by fences. In the protected area the women cultivated food crops

MAP OF TOULA (TSA), SCALE: 1:5000



such as yams, black beans, groundnuts and later, maize and macabo. Men were engaged in animal husbandry (mainly sheep, goats and pigs), field clearing, construction and repair of fence enclosures, construction of houses and roofs and, last but not least, with the function of defence and offence. Moreover, men were and are in charge of trees and bushes, including plantains but not bananas. Some men were certainly also important in crafts such as iron-forging, wood-cutting and the fabrication of stools and masks. The women of Tsa were and are known for mat-plaiting.

It is not surprising then that a sharp division of labour existed between men and women and that the spheres of life of men and women were to a large extent seperate. Women, like men, had their 'secret' societies and the paramount chiefs and chiefs of quarters had '*mafouos*', 'queen-mothers', at their side, to represent and to stress the importance of the female section of society. Male sorcerers were not more important than the '*djuedses*', female sorcerers.

> During the war between Tsa and Ngang in 1946 an important *djuedse* of Ngang who took a position between the two parties to stop the blood-shed, was shot by the people of Tsa. Even now in Ngang and Tsa I met people who considered this killing as an unbelievable and forbidden act.

In the German period, perhaps even before, some women already made loans to men and obtained the right to cultivate plots of land till the loans were repaid. Even in 1978 disputes arose over such plots: the male 'heirs' of those women, having learned to reason from the principle of personal titles to land, claimed that the land was theirs because it was 'bought' by their mothers or grandmothers.

This brings us to the traditional system of land titles. Again we have to remember that not so long ago the main resource was not land but the control over people. As is normal outside the reign of mercantile domain, it was and often is, not right to ask who has full control over the land, who is 'the owner'. Many people had some legal say in a particular piece of land: the paramount chief, the chief of the quarter, the principal heir, perhaps men who represent him (since they really control the land), women who have legal rights to cultivate and women who represent them and actually cultivate. The principal heir, guard of the family property, indicated which plots were open and closed for cultivation by the women and, consequently, where the sheep and goats had to graze. I doubt whether he had much say in conflicts about rights of cultivation between the women. Most of the time the women settled these conflicts themselves, if necessary guided by a noble woman.

Where did a woman cultivate? Formerly and now it was and is normal to cultivate land in various holdings. It was (and often is) selfevident to obtain a plot in 'her father's holding'. Her mother would help her to start and would arrange some land for her. After marriage she could obtain land in 'her husband's farm' to cultivate food crops. Not only men have heirs, women do too. So it would be considered appropriate that the heiress of a woman assumed her cultivation rights. For Tsa and Ngang I had the impression, however, that it was less selfevident for the second successive heiress to continue cultivation on these various plots. Much depended on the necessity for the

women concerned to claim or ask the principal heir and 'his women' the right of succession. To noble women, *mafouos* or princesses of the family of the paramount chief, land and raphia palmes were granted by the chief and in their case land rights were much more permanent. It was and is quite normal that in the next generations they or their heiresses were succeeded by sons. If a woman is unable to cultivate a particular plot herself we found and still find her mother, a sister or a friend cultivating in her name in which case most of the produce belongs to the woman who really has the right to cultivate (See maps in section 3.2, examples I and II: the women living outside the chiefdom).

How could and can women defend their rights? Of course men were and are interested in the production of food crops by women: the men and children on the whole are nourished by the women and so men are often quite willing to support the claims of the women of their households. Prosperity of the women adds to the well-being of the household and supports the status of the head of the household. Moreover if heiress of a woman she is in a special position. She can withhold her support to rituals in favour of the deceased which only she can perform. The heiress is in charge of the skull of the deceased woman. These rituals are necessary if a sorcerer, male or female, indicates that sacrifices have to be made to the skull of the deceased person. This may occur if the family, in a broad sense, is confronted with several cases of illness or death. I give an example from Ngang to link generalization with reality.

> The following case deals with three generations: Meli Boukeu, a prince of Ngang who lived from the second half of the 19th century till 1944, his mother and one of his daughters named Fokou Marie. Meli Boukeu's mother died without living daughters. She indicated as heiress the daughter of her son (principal heir of her husband). This woman, Fokou Marie, is still alive. If members of the family (descendants of the grandmother) want to give offerings to the skull of her paternal grandmother she has to perform the rituals and receives a goat and some food. Meli Boukeu confirmed her position as heiress by giving her land to cultivate, probably already cultivated by his mother. Fokou Marie sold the land she had near the palace of Ngang to a man, but never gave up the particular plot obtained as her grandmother's heiress. This land has now been taken by one of her brothers (not the same mother) and is cultivated by his wives. This was possible because of a conflict with regard to the succession of Meli Boukeu: since 1959 there has been no real principal heir to control the family affairs. In 1977 one of Meli Boukeu's sons tried to seize power and moved the family skulls to a new building on his land. Fokou Marie was not present during the ceremonies which took place. In fact, because of the loss of her land, she refuses to take part in any family ceremonies and also she does not perform the rituals for the celebration of the skull of her paternal grandmother. This is why many people believe that the land given to her by her father will be restored to her one day. This will happen if the family suffers from serious misfortunes and a sorcerer indicates that sacrifices to this particular skull are necessary in order to be able 'to live in peace'.[4]

However separate the worlds of men and women seemed to be in the economic, political and social fields, we could not deny an amount of integration in household or compound, quarter and chiefdom. I already mentioned the former competence of the principal heir to indicate the land for cultivation, the grazing and enclosure of sheep and goats or even horses and cattle. The men also had some power in the domain of

food crops. He could take some maize ears from each woman and store this in his house. On the other hand we hear that women asked their husband for some maize seed for sowing. In the case of black beans ('mecou mouola') it was normal for the men to supply the seed and to obtain a considerable part of the harvest. The same was true for some yam varieties ('loung' for instance) which are cooked and afterwards dried. In general it can be said that a good manager of the household affairs kept a store of food in his house for bad times, especially dried food which can last a long time. On the other hand the men presented palm oil and salt to the women from time to time and, with a less ceremonial value, meat and dried fish. Integration also, I already mentioned, because of the necessity of the family – father's brothers (sons), brothers and sons – to stick together in order to defend property and people. Nonheirs who did not have the capacity to fight themselves into a better position (by ousting the principal heir; leaving the family and offering their special services to a chief; by making a career as sorcerer, medicine man, etc.) often were in a very dependent position; they were cared for and at the same time kept loyal

> 'Takuatada (died in about 1929), brother of principal heir Fouotsa, never had many goats. Perhaps he had some hidden at the back of his hut. If he showed them to others, notables certainly would have taken them away saying: 'You little man, do you think you are becoming important?' Principal heir Fouotsa was a notable himself, even a son of a princess of Tsa; the others did not dare to touch his property. He gave Takuatada a slave as wife.'

But now we leave the strict household level and speak about a level between household and quarter: the family group consisting of the household of the principal heir and the people living separately on land ceded to them temporarily or permanently from the holding. See the map of the quarter Toula (p. 45). Like the household this is a territorial group, the core of a quarter or a sub-quarter.

Solidarity and integration existed also because the father of the children was interested in as many children as possible which enabled him to enlarge his territory peacefully or by force.

> See the map of Toula: the successful attack against part of the quarter Bandzincou at the beginning of this century and the partly failing occupation of a former territory of the prince of Tsa Motatchouo in 1952; in the last case the neighbouring 'sous-chefferie' of Bapepa, backed by the paramount chief, appeared to be stronger than Toula.

It was in the interest of the father to let the sons work with him and to try to settle them in his immediate vicinity. In a situation of hostile chiefdoms and a low geographical mobility the sons normally were interested in maintaining the father's household and the broader territorial agnatic family group.

3. The Changing Scene

3.1. *The process of incorporation*

Already during the French colonial period peace was enforced to a great degree in this area. Of course from time to time conflicts between chiefdoms arose, but in general

the whole area became open for peaceful trade, migration, etc., stimulated by a network of roads and modern transport. As mentioned, inter-chiefdom raids for slaves ended in the German period.

Trade always existed, but in the colonial period we find the start of trade in less precious goods such as agricultural produce, goats, sheep, pigs, etc. Urban centres like Bamenda, Dschang, Nkongsamba and Douala stimulated the commercialization of food crops. In 1930 we find traders from Nkongsamba buying maize and other products (e.g. potatoes) at the market of Bamindjinda (near the recently founded town of Mbouda) and transporting the produce with trucks to the Southern towns. The improvement of communication, geographical mobility and the growth of urban centres undoubtedly raised expectations as to the standard of living, causing feelings of relative deprivation and envy. Certainly so in a situation where traditionally individual achievement was and is much welcomed but at the same time restricted by the traditional order: you really have to fight hard for it.[5] Again: 'Who is the strongest?' Commercialization of the women's food crops, the commercialization of animal husbandry (goats, sheep, pigs) and migration of the men were results of this process. Emphasis on personal achievement, on a better socio-economic position and the structural barriers to achieve this were important factors in shaping the peasant rebellion in the Bamiléké aerea. My informants characterized the rebellion as explosions of hate, revenge, envy and jealousy. They may well be right (OUDEN, 1979: 17–27).

An important contributing factor in understanding the changes in chiefdoms like Tsa and Ngang must be mentioned, namely the improvement in the medical situation after about 1930, leading to a demographic crisis. The study of family genealogies strongly favours the hypothesis that epidemics exterminating complete families slowed down in the thirties and fourties.

This demographical crisis certainly is not the only cause of the ecological crisis which developed. I have already mentioned the peace enforced on the region, making it possible to economize more intensively the areas for food crops, the grazing of sheep etc., outside the strict quarters with their enclosed compounds. A very important factor in this ecological crisis was not the initial introduction of Arabica coffee at the beginning of the thirties on important estates, normally of chiefs, where the strict rules of the cultivation could be realised and controled (ILLY, 1974: 283, and TCHOUAMO, 1978: 16, 17), but it was provoked by the liberalization of coffee cultivation around 1950. At that time every 'planter', small or big, became interested in having as much coffee as possible and, consequently, in having privately as much land as possible.

Where should the coffee be planted? In the fields where the women already cultivated food crops.

3.2. *Changes at the household level*

One of the most important reasons for staying together, for rallying and controlling as many people as possible, vanished because of the peace imposed on these areas. Peace caused the high counsels of the chiefdom, the age sets and other semi-military

organizations to lose most of their functions. Peace also attacked the integration of the quarter, the residential broader family group and the household. Cultural change never immediately follows structural change and we still find men marrying a great number of women under the motto: 'An important man has many people; I will try to found my own quarter where I shall be chief'.[6] But what to do with all the sons of whom now only about 30% die before adolescence, basically often due to poor nutrition? Daughters remain important for bridewealth reasons. The open space used for the grazing of goats and sheep disappeared nearly completely with the introduction of coffee, the commercialization of food crops and the rapid increase of the demographic pressure. Boys are sent away or leave spontaneously.

In the quarter Toula (Tsa) with about 500 inhabitants I found in 1978 the following composition of the population:

Age	M %	W %
0– 9	25	21
10–19	9	9
20–39	4½	15
40–59	4½	7
60 and over	2	3
	45	55

This is very much in accordance with the rural Mifi Bamboutos area where the men – women ratio was 44,8%–55,2% in 1967 (CHAMPAUD, 1973: 12). For the sex-ratio, the number of male adults (15 years and over) per 100 female, Tsa and Ngang in 1967 belonged to the area where the ratio was between 53 and 65 (CHAMPAUD, 1973: map Demography).

In the chiefdom itself there is hardly any work for the young men. The few bushes of coffee on the plot of for instance 40 by 40 meters which the father ceded to them (see the map of example I in this section: the two small holdings in the right upper corner) certainly is economically insufficient to make a living. The modern migration is quite different from the 'old' one in which people fled to other chiefdoms because they took the wife of another man, or didn't pay the bridewealth, or because they were accused of killing people by black sorcery, conflicts with the principal heir, or because they were involuntary kidnapped as slaves.

Even principal heirs migrate more and more because in the chiefdom there is no future for them, no work with which they can earn the same as is possible outside the Bamiléké plateau. In Toula (Tsa) 34% of the heads of the household were not present and in Menguéa (Ngang) in 1978 this was even the case for 41% of the holdings. In Toula 20% of the houses (mostly one-house compounds) were not inhabited; in Menguéa this percentage was 7½ in 1978. I have to mention that young principal heirs who don't feel strong enough to control the widows of the deceased father, and their own brothers, and who cannot avert black sorcery effectively, also often migrate out of fear.

Here I present parts of two biographies of young men from Tsa and Ngang to illustrate 'modern' migration and the problems of young people.

X. 'I was born in Tsa in 1958. At the age of six my father sent me to a friend in Mbouda and this man was my tutor for some years. There were already three boys from other families in that household. At the weekends and during school holidays I sorted bad grains at the coffee cooperative to pay for school necessities; I could earn about CFA frs. 120,– in two days. In 1967 my father died, poisened they say. He indicated me as heir of what was left of our estate: in 1957 the paramount chief took a lot of our land because my father was a member of the wrong political party and the chief gave this land to my father's brother. My mother never allowed me to sleep at home because she feared and still fears very much the envy of her co-wife and the children of that woman. From the money my father left me (CFA 20.000)I bought my first pair of shoes and I could pay the school.

In 1970 my elder sister who lived in the plantation area of Mungo asked me to join her. Here I got yellow fever which nearly killed me: a medicinedoctor from Tsa but working in the Mungo area saved my life. I had to work in the pineapple and banana estates to earn money to pay the school fees etc. The eldest son of my mother's co-wife took the bridewealth for one of his own sisters; I was too young and too weak to prevent this as principal heir. With CFA 8.000 earned by working in the plantations, and 2.000 obtained from the husbands of two sisters, I went to a college in Douala in 1971. I hoped I could stay there with a family from Tsa, but these people sent me to a Mougong family in Bonaberi, a suburb of Douala. I was often ill, probably also because of the hard work in the banana plantations during holidays. I failed at school and in 1973 I returned to Mbouda with CFA 7.000. The husband of my sister in Bafoussam paid me CFA 8.000 as part of the bridewealth. I joined a Roman Catholic college. In Mbouda I suffered very much: often I had nothing to eat and could hardly study because of hunger. In 1975 I passed the BEPC examination (after four classes of college). Then everything went wrong. A sister married and her husband promised to pay a considerable part of the bridewealth. However I received only CFA 8.000 from this police-man who went to live with my sister in North Cameroon. I had to leave college in Mbouda because of heavy debts. With books and notebooks of friends I tried to pass the 'Probatoire' (after six classes of college), but I failed. I am now assistant-teacher in a Roman Catholic primary school in Tsa; I live in the empty house of a lorry driver. My family now asks me to arrange the commemoration of the death of my father, because in some households of brothers and sisters misfortunes occur more and more often and sorcerers indicate that the ceremony is really necessary to restore peace. So now it is for instance necessary to construct a new house in our compound: the adult men have no house in which to stay. I don't see any possibility of paying the expenses.'

Y. 'I am born in Ngang in 1955. My father died in 1965, indicating as principal heir my younger brother whose age was eight at that time. In the following years my then eldest brother (the eldest son of my father died as 'maquisard') managed the household-affairs. This man, son of a co-wife of my mother, is very envious and tries to tempt our father's decision and become principal heir himself. In 1966 I went to Mbouda to stay with a brother (not the same mother) of my mother. I had to sort bad coffee at the cooperative to pay the school. My mother helped me financially by selling part of the food crops she cultivated. In 1967 I was robbed of my money; certainly it was the eldest brother who arranged that. That year it was really famine. In 1970 I had to leave school because of my financial problems. I became factotum in a little shop at Tsa market. The owner of the shop did not pay the amount agreed upon and after some months I left.

That year I harvested for the first time some coffee in my own field (CFA 1000). In 1971 I was taken to Bafoussam by a son of an elder sister of my mother to help him in his small commerce. Here again I was robbed of my money, but I still kept CFA 13.000. In 1973 I went to Yaoundé to stay with a daughter of an elder sister of my mother. There I earned

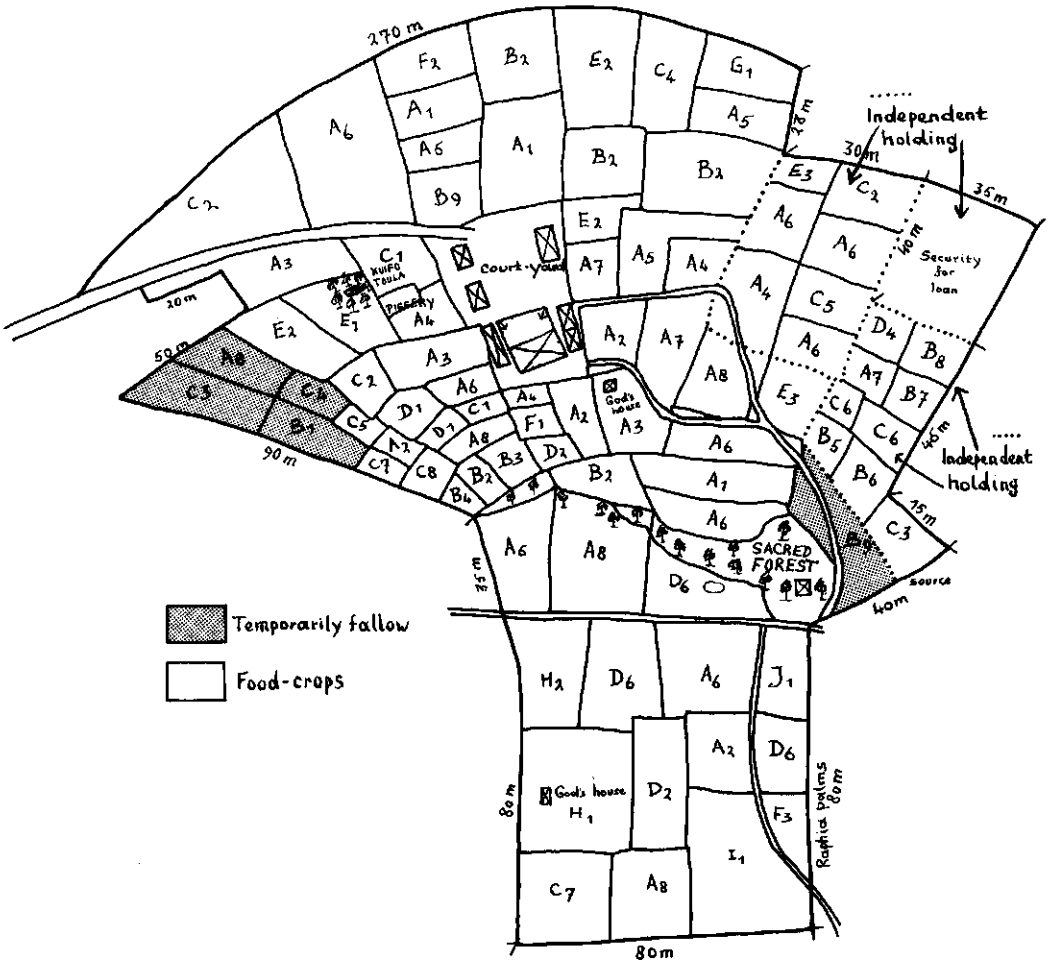
CFA 4500 per month as helper in a shop. Then I was able to rent and, afterwards, even to buy a draught-cart (to transport small loads to and from the markets). In the evenings I attended classes. In 1975 I returned to Ngang to explain to my eldest brother that I wanted to start a trade myself in Yaoundé. I myself had already saved CFA 50.000 and this brother gave me CFA 40.000. Now I realize that he must have obtained that money with magic and that it was very dangerous. I returned together with my little brother, the principal heir, to Yaoundé (where he still works as a clothmerchant) and there we both fell very ill. I was taken to the hospital but after a short time was repatriated to Ngang because the illness changed for the worse. A lady-sorcerer saved my life. I paid her one sheep, a duck and CFA 5000. The illness of my brother and me, transport etc., took our whole capital of CFA 90.000. Recovered from the illness caused by my eldest brother I felt much stronger. By force I took some other plots of land in the holding of my deceased father. In 1976 I was again poisoned but again managed to stop the attack of my brother. In that year I also started the breeding of chickens but, during a day being in Bafoussam, I found them all dead; the pigs, also ill, I managed to sell before they died. In 1977 I became assistent-teacher in a primary school in Ngang. That year my coffee realised CFA 60.000. Nevertheless it was a bad year. The eldest brother killed my sister of eleven years; this murder is proven by a superior sorcerer in Bamenda (Den Ouden: but strongly tempted by the paramount chief of Ngang). Now also during dreams I am very much threatened by this wicked brother. I try to defend myself with the help of the mentioned sorcerer in Bamenda.'

Postscript: Of course at the same time I had much contact with the eldest brother of Y and with the paramount chief of Ngang. I will not be surprised if Y manages to eliminate his competitors in the future and become heir in at least a big portion of his fathers estate. During my stay in 1978 Y prepared a new attack on several plots of land within his deceased father's holding. Who can stop his aspirations. Even his father could not be stopped when he forced the then principal heir to flee to another chiefdom in about 1923. The paramount chief is no longer in a position to intervene; he remembers quite well that the father of Y filched land from his grandfather, the paramount chief himself, and that the chief was unable to defend himself in about 1925. The new administrators can easily be misled: these strangers from other parts of Cameroon don't have much feeling for the complex Bamiléké situation. But now that the 'préfet' of Bamboutos (and even the 'sous-préfet' of Mbouda) is a native from neighbouring Bafou... (the first Bamiléké since the rebellion!)

Now that men are interested in coffee, conflicts with women arise: both cultivate the same plots in a mixed cropping system. Already during the riots of 1958–1963 women were burning down the (male) coffee in the plots they cultivated (GOSSELIN, 1970: 67). Even now it is not rare for women to destroy coffee plants on plots where men try to start cultivation. It is quite normal for women to cut the roots of the coffee plants, so the bushes stay small and much space be left for food crops.

In four examples I depict the situation of the cultivation of food crops by women. One should bear in mind that the agricultural products of men (coffee, plantains, kola nuts and other tree fruit) are cultivated in the same fields where the women also cultivate their crops.

EXAMPLE I


270 m
Independent holding
30m
35m
Security for loan
Court-yard
KUIFO TOULA
TISSERRY
20m
50m
90m
Independent holding
SACRED FOREST
source
40m
15m
35 m
80 m
Goat's house
Raphia palms
80m
Temporarily fallow
Food-crops

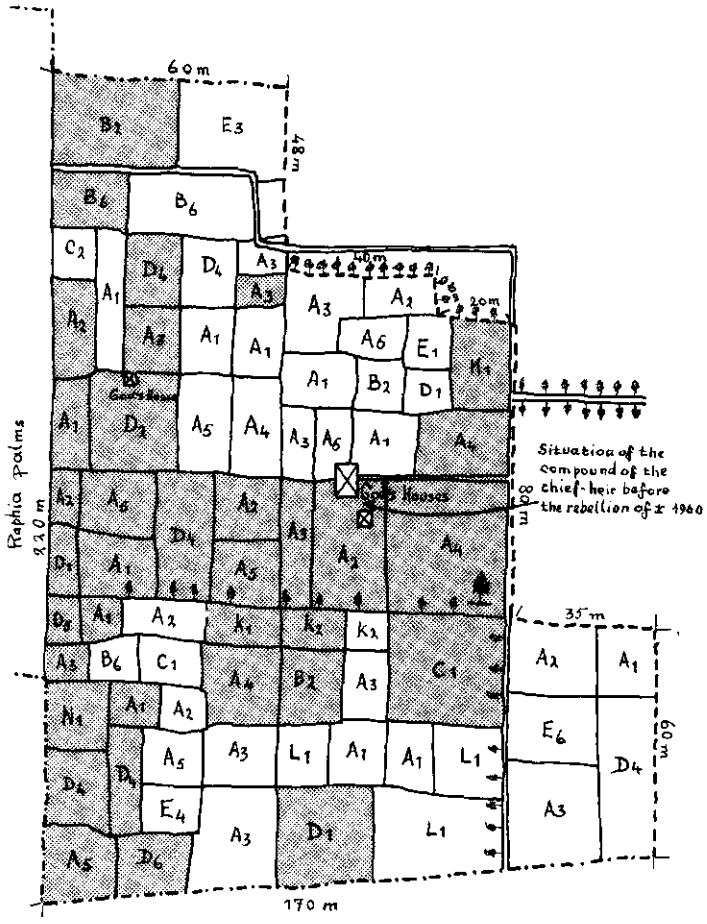
EXAMPLE I (the 'old' situation)

Example of the 'old' situation concerning the rights of women to cultivate. The principal holding[7] of a principal heir (at the same time chief of a quarter in Tsa), including the land ceded by him to three sons, and the family relation of the women cultivating in the estate with this man. I indicated also where the women actually lived in 1978.

B = brother, D = daughter, F = father, S = son, W = wife, Z = sister.

A	1–8	Wives of the principal heir.	Same quarter.
B		Daughters	
	1		Mbouda
	2		Same quarter
	3–9		Other quarter of Tsa
C		S.W.	
	1–2		Same quarter
	3		Penja (Mungo region)
	4		Same quarter
	5		Douala
	6		Ngaoundéré (North Cameroon)
	7–8		Nkondjok (Yabassi-Bafang colonisation area)
D		Z	
	1		Same quarter
	2		Other quarter of Tsa
	3		Ngang
	4		Other quarter of Tsa
	5–6		Same quarter
E		B.W.	
	1–2		Same quarter
	3		Ngang
F		B.S.W.	
	1–3		Same quarter
G		Z.S.W.	
	1		Other quarter of Tsa
H		F.B.D.	
	1–2		Same quarter
I		F.B.S.W.	
	1		Same quarter
J		Z.D.	
	1		Same quarter

EXAMPLE II

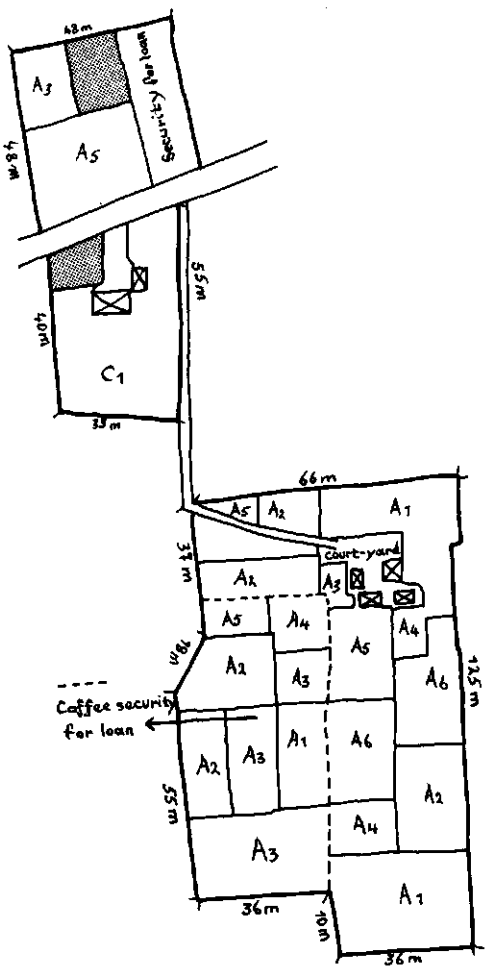

60 m
Raphia palms
220 m
170 m
35 m
60 m
Situation of the compound of the chief-heir before the rebellion of ± 1960

EXAMPLE II (the 'old' situation)

Women who cultivate in the principal holding of a principal heir in Tsa and their family relation with this man.

A	1–5	Wives of the principal heir	Same quarter
B		Daughters	
	1–2		Same quarter
	3		Douala
	4		Foumbot (Bamoun area)
	5–6		Other quarter of Tsa
C		S.W.	
	1–2		Douala
D		Z	
	1		Same quarter
	2		Other quarter of Tsa
	3		Balessing
	4–6		Other quarter of Tsa
E		B.W.	
	1–4		Same quarter
F		B.S.W.	–
G		Z.S.W.	–
H		F.B.D.	–
I		F.B.S.W.	–
J		Z.D.	–
K		W.M.	
	1–2		Other quarter of Tsa
L		W.Z.	
	1		Other quarter of Tsa
M		F.W.D. or F.F.W.D.D. (heiress of a wife of 'father' who was a princess of Tsa)	
	1		Other quarter of Tsa
N		F.Z.S.W.	
	1		Same quarter

EXAMPLE III



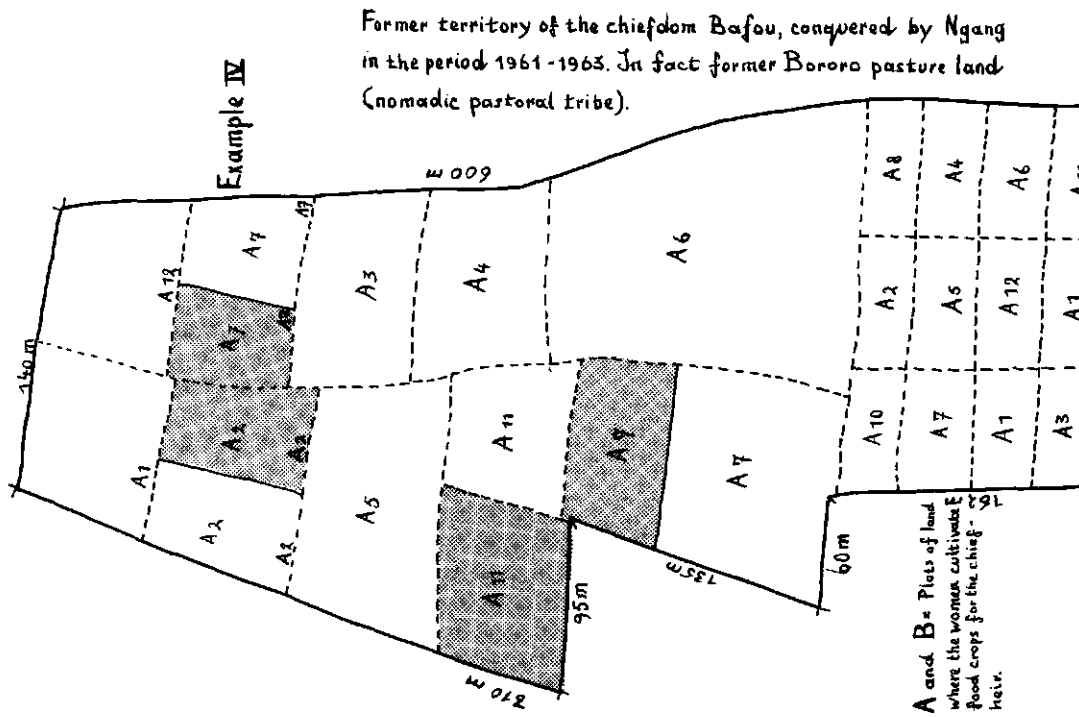
EXAMPLE III (the 'new' situation?)

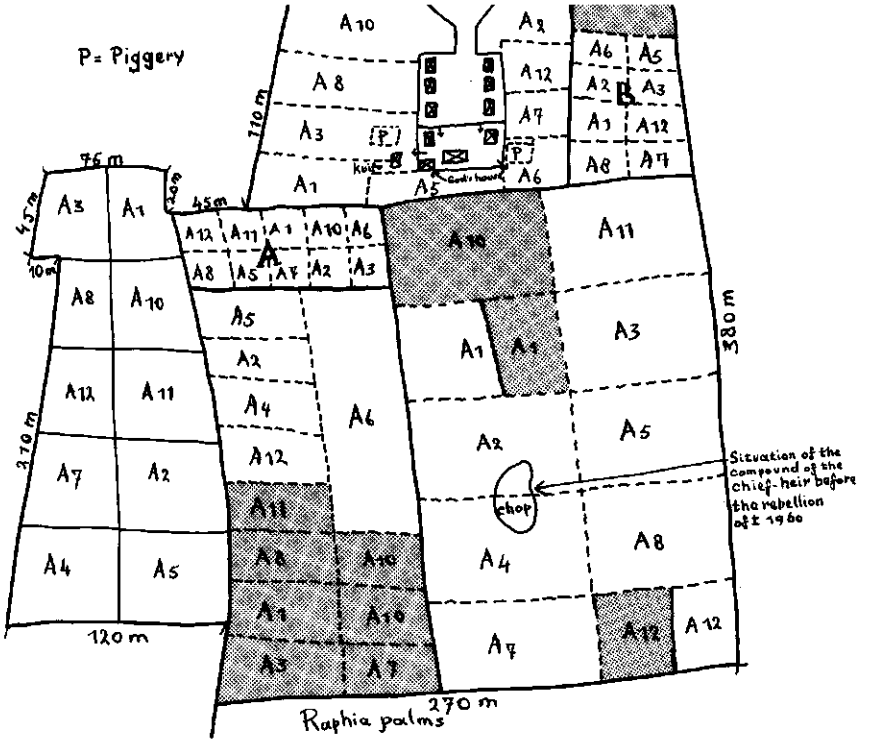
A 1–6 are wives of the principal heir.

C 1 is the wife of the first son who obtained some land from his father. She lives in Bafoussam; her land is cultivated on her behalf by her mother and a sister.

The principal heir does not possess land other than that indicated on the map. *This in contrast with the other three examples.*

EXAMPLE IV


Former territory of the chiefdom Bafou, conquered by Ngang in the period 1961-1963. In fact former Bororo pasture land (nomadic pastoral tribe).
Example IV
w 009
150 m
95m
135m
60m
A and B = Plots of land where the women cultivate food crops for the chief's heir.



EXAMPLE IV (the 'new' situation?)

A 1–6 are wives the principal heir married himself.

A 7–12 are widows of the father of the principal heir. After a conflict A 9 left the compound to live with a son; the principal heir deprived her of the right to cultivate in his estate.

Because of the abundance of land, with the consent of the principal heir his wives often invite 'friends' to cultivate as sharecroppers for them.

The 'traditional' situation is shown in examples one and two, in which not only the wives of the principal heir of the land cultivate but where we find a much broader category of women. This is still the very normal situation.

Examples III and IV stand for a 'modern' minority of the holdings in Tsa and Ngang. There the men managed to put an end to the old rules regulating the cultivation by women. They really consider themselves as owners of the land with personal (though still not official and legal) land titles and not any more as only 'guardians' of the family property. In the third example we still find married daughters who cultivate, but they are only allowed to do so on condition that they are only helping their mothers. The owner here is very much afraid that cultivation rights of married daughters can create a situation in which their sons claim that land as property. This indeed happens now and then, especially if men don't have coffee or plantains on that land.

In example III we find two plots of land where cultivation rights serve as security for loans. In one plot the creditor has got the right to harvest coffee beans, but the women of the debtor continue their cultivation of food crops. However in the other plot also the women of the creditor cultivate. It is important to note that the debtor's women quite often have to quit if the productive capacity of the land – probably except the produce of specific trees like the kola tree – is used as a plegde. In case of the sale of land – according to many people an act to be condemned, but nevertheless not exceptional any more after the turbulent early sixties – the women of the former owner have to leave, their cultivation rights being taken over by the women of the buyer. It was difficult to find a man who compensated the women cultivating the plot he sold.

In the case of example number four we have to bear in mind that this holding was only founded by the father of the present principal heir. Also the area where the houses are, was conquered from Bafou in the German time. This means that the situation of cultivation rights by women was never so complicated as for instance in the first and second example. The present principal heir is very strict in the matter of the rights of women: he himself made the plan for the present division in plots and changes the plan if he marries a new wife. He refuses the cultivation of food crops to anyone but his own wives and his fathers widows. Sons and brothers he forces to leave the area by giving them only tiny plots for the building of a house. In 1978 he rented the new area, conquered from Bafou in about 1962, to a state organization to start an experimental potato research station. In the fourth example it is interesting that the principal heir asks his women to cultivate food crops for his profit in two plots of land, a system we normally only find in nearby regions with a low population pressure (e.g. the Noun valley). Moreover he plans to take part of the old estate to plant potatoes exclusively for his own profit, through which the women lose still more of 'their' land. This man rationalizes his actions refering to the 'Green Revolution' praised by the high authorities.

Nevertheless the normal situation is characterized by a wide range of female relatives cultivating the land without men effectively challenging their rights.

In Tsa we find for instance a group of 'modern' young farmers who try to start the production of tomatoes, cabbage, leek and other vegetables. After some years now their

efforts appear to be doomed to failure. For their 'modern' agricultural activities (fields with only one product) they need plots of land where women don't cultivate. So they have to ask the women in their own holdings to abandon some plots of land for a time. The women were only willing to cooperate if the men rented other land for them. It also happened that the women indicated plots where the soil was nearly exhausted. They hoped the men would restore the fertility by using huge quantities of fertilizer. The cooperative in Bafoussam with which the group works together in collectively buying, selling and transporting, does not approve of the situation. They accept as members only men who dispose of the land for a minimum of five years. Two members of the group of eleven already changed their policy completely to poultry farming for which not much land is needed. The worlds of men and women are apparently so segregated that there is no possibility of working together in the production of vegetables on the same plots. The cooperative in Bafoussam is a mens' affair: they don't consider the possibility of having women as members.

It is clear that the former integration which to a certain extent existed within the household and at the level of other territorial groups decreased. Since the introduction of coffee and the disappearance of the breeding of goats, sheep, etc. men have no control over which part of the estate must be used for what. Except in rare cases men now have nothing to do with the cultivation of food crops and the storage of food that can be kept a long time.

We now even hear of men with a number of wives who break into their wives' houses in order to find something to eat. In general in this area we don't find a rotation system in which, for instance, a wife serves her husband from 17.00 h till 17.00 h one day and is then replaced by a co-wife. Every woman prepares something for her husband every day or, if the man cannot enforce his rights, she simply prepares nothing for him. Often women are not present for days or even weeks, without the husband having the slightest idea where they are: 'They are probably in Bamoun to cultivate their fields over there' (the Noun area).[8]

Much of the other traditional work was also 'modernized away' such as the construction of houses and thatched roofs. The construction of enclosures is minimalized.

Not only the segregation of the worlds of men and women increased, also the ties between father and sons and 'father' – brothers was greatly shaken. Sons and brothers are sent away if they don't leave themselves. Often it is the mother and not the father who tries to give some money or who pays schoolfees. Of course, if the boys fight themselves into a good economic position, then the point of family solidarity is stressed and exploited in all possible ways.

In 1978 I even came across some cases in which a father or brothers living in the chiefdom tried to force 'rich men' (one of them was a 'sous-préfet') to take an extra wife. The father for instance makes a deal with the father of a girl and already pays the bridewealth on behalf of his son. Of course part of the money is for the son's father and the 'happy' bridegroom has to repay his family much more than the real amount of the bridewealth.

In 'normal' households however we find cooperation between men and women and between men in the production of coffee.

'After the coffee harvest I give palm oil to the women because they cultivated the coffee for me. This is not to say that men don't pick the beans: women and men do it together. Also manuring can be done by the women, but pruning is an affair of men. Removing the pulp is done by men, helped by women and children.'

Household and family integration now is mainly emphasized during ceremonies, the most important is the commemoration of a dead person ('funérail'). Other important ceremonies are the burials ('deuils'), the annual commemoration of the dead members of the family and ceremonies for particular skulls. I expect that these important ceremonies in due course will be undermined by the process of secularization, individualization, and Christianization which ends old customs without introducing much instead. Expenses for the 'funérails', and the building of one's own house in the chiefdom where one should die and be buried, are important stimulants for economic activity of migrants and those who still live in the chiefdom.

To put it in an extreme and defiant way: 'Who will win, men or women?' It is impossible to predict the answer correctly, however for these densely populated chiefdoms I bet on the women. The government wants to have coffee, which is very profitable for the state (TCHOUAMO, 1978: 28). A system whereby the state drains the profits still does not exist for food crops. But at the same time food crops are a very weak spot of the government: the prices for foodstuffs cannot be raised too much in the cities. Also it seems to be true that where one expects 'order', there is but 'disorder'. The government is simply not aware of the problems of the production of food crops and of coffee. With their Western eyes they are blind to African reality. They try to solve problems by manipulating the prices of coffee, fertilizers and insecticides and by making plans for enormous 'industrial' schemes for the production of maize and other food crops. It is not unusual to hear high authorities speak about the necessity that all members of the household should behave as 'loyal Cameroon citizens' who together take part in the production of coffee.

Regardless of government action the position of the women may well remain comparatively strong. When betting on the women, I take the following points into consideration.

1. The land is cut up in such small estates that it is hard to imagine that coming principal heirs will be able to make a living from coffee on the land which is left to them. In, for instance, example III given in this section, now already one son in Bafoussam built a house on a plot of land ceded to him. Of the other five sons who migrated four plan to build their houses in 1979–1981. If we bear in mind that there are also still six little boys at home, it will become clear that the future principal heir will control nearly nothing. Even in examples I and II it is difficult to see how the future principal heirs can carry on. This brings us immediately to the second point.
2. Migration does not provide a solution to the increasing population pressure, because the emigrants should have a pied-à-terre in the land of their ancestors. Moreover 'important' migrants secure for themselves considerable parts of the family property (who dares to oppose?) which remain nearly fallow aside from the cultivation of food crops by women of the family.

In 1978 the most important subchief of Tsa died. In fact this line of chiefs is honoured in the whole Nquiemba region: 'This chief was already there when the present Nquiemba para-

mount chiefs came to power'. He indicated as principal heir a son who is a military man stationed in the Mungo-area. This man did not even find time to attend properly the ceremonies for his inauguration as chief. He is not prepared to give up his profession and return to Tsa. Before his death I asked the old chief why his estate was in such a state of utter disorder. (I now regret my observation very much: as a complete junior I dared to adress a Nquiemba chief in a very insulting way). The answer of the chief was very quiet: 'Are you able to convince my sons to work on my land without obtaining a salary?' The paramount chief of Tsa is unable to interfere in this problem of succession: traditionally it is even forbidden to him to enter the territory of this subchief. Now the 'sous-préfet' of Batcham tries to convince the authorities that it is necessary to transfer the new Nquiemba chief from Mungo to Bafoussam, so to enable him to back up his representative in this Tsa subchiefdom.

3. The women of this area are able to cultivate and earn money in the mountainous areas and in the Noun-region where from time to time they stay several days or weeks. Indeed there are some men (mainly chiefs and officials) who have a second farm in the Noun valley, but it is far more normal to migrate to these areas and to leave the chiefdom more or less permanently. So the women have more possibilities to continue in the chiefdom itself, even with increasing land-scarcity.

4. Retrospect

The structural changes accompanying the process of incorporation are not only determined by the nature of actions taken by the colonial or independent state, Roman Catholic and Protestant mission, or by the private economic sector, but most certainly also by the traditional structures and culture. It is quite understandable that the establishment of peace in the area brought about a destructive shock to every section of Bamiléké tribal structure and culture. Here we may refer to the contrast between situations of 'Warre' and 'Peace' as interpreted by Thomas Hobbes in which 'Warre' stands for a 'general disposition and right to fight' (Sahlins, 1968: 5). Much of the integration and solidarity at the various levels of the Bamiléké chiefdoms, including the household entity, was based on a situation of permanent insecurity, on 'Warre'. The disintegration brought about by peace and order as enforced by the state continues and I have not observed any alternative sort of integration at the micro level in the chiefdoms I studied. In government policy only one integration is at stake in Cameroon at the moment and that is integration at national level.

Women reacted to the new situation by expanding the cultivation of food crops on land previously only used for the grazing of goats and sheep. Here lies the basis of the West-Province as the most important producer of food. The commercialization and expansion of animal husbandry by the men was less remarkable. Space for a considerable expansion of animal husbandry was as a rule not available and Bamiléké men are not pastoralists comparable with the Bororo or Fulani. Their reaction was rather migration to the plantation areas of Cameroon and the new cities. Coffee cultivation, undertaken by nearly all planters after about 1950, did not change the

migration pattern at all. The cultivation of coffee is difficult if it has to be done in fields utilized for food crops by women, at selling-prices fixed by the government at a rather low rate (TCHOUAMO, 1978: 28), in progressively smaller holdings, and by men who like to leave much of the work in the coffee-plantations to the women.

The demographic explosion of the population and the fact that land scarcity is increased by giving land to migrants, both make it difficult for young men to work in the home region itself. The possibility and willingness of principal heirs to help brothers and sons by giving them land is decreasing. Already the holdings of many principal heirs are too small to earn a living, and if land is still available people try to keep it for themselves. The former *guardians* of family property now become more and more *owners* of the land with the right to buy and sell.

The political position of women may have been shaken now that the government has not incorporated the female dignitaries into its administrative machinery. At the household level their economic position has become more independent. Their strong position is based on four different factors:

a. Women traditionally have the right to cultivate in various holdings, at least in the estates of her father and of her husband. We now find exceptional cases where men forbid cultivation to women other than their own wives.
b. Also men from time to time need the help of heiresses, who are in charge of the skulls of deceased women, for the commemoration of those skulls in order to stop misfortunes. They will be most hesitating to take away the cultivation rights of such women. In general, of course, you have to be very careful not to press people too hard: illness, death and other misfortunes are often caused by people, women most certainly included.
c. Women have the possibility to obtain land for cultivation in the vicinity of the old chiefdoms under some form of sharecropping. In the case of Tsa and Ngang these are the nearly uninhabited slopes of the Bamboutos mountains and the Noun valley. This strengthens their positions in the home-chiefdoms.
d. The position of women as producers of food crops originates from the traditional division of labour between men and women and was consolidated during the French colonial period – in the period before the liberalization of the cultivation of coffee – when the commercialization of food crops really started and men stuck to the breeding of sheep, goats and pigs.

In addition to these four factors, further points can be raised. The rather strong financial position of quite a number of women often makes it necessary for men to ask their assistance in paying bridewealth for themselves, sons or brothers, or for financing the iron sheets for roofs, or to start a commercial enterprise. You have to be friendly to them. Women already traditionally were well organized; we now find dance groups, chit-funds (rotating credit associations) or even women sections of the national political party, and moreover the functioning of traditional noble-women is not completely past time. To quarrel with women you have to be a strong man.

It is extremely difficult to fortell the future. Faced with ever more pressing landscar-

city in many chiefdoms, in combination with the individualization of landtitles, and now that the production of food crops appears to be more and more profitable, will the men be able to restrict the cultivation-rights of women? We already found a start in this direction. Will the men be able to drain in one way or another – by some share-cropping system? – part of the profits women gain by the cultivation and selling of food crops? Many more variables influence the course of future events. We may refer to the prices of coffee and food crops, a possible monopolization of the buying of food crops at fixed prices by 'cooperatives' (= marketing boards), the occupation and settlement of so far nearly empty regions on the borders of the Bamiléké-plateau, the reactions of state and population to the expansion of Bamiléké politico-economic power in Cameroon, etc. I guess that if the Bamiléké women are in trouble in future, at the same time the whole Bamiléké population will be very much menaced by political, military and economic forces. But without such far-reaching crises the position of the women will remain strong for a long time.

Notes

1. I am very much indebted to the Paramount Chief of Tsa, H. H. Tatang Robert, to the Paramount Chief of Ngang, H. H. Zange Momo Joseph and to the Cameroon authorities for their permission to work in their territories and for the help they gave me. I am very thankful for the assistance given to me by Fouodji Dieudonné (Tsa) and Ngouané Simon (Ngang) during my research in the Bamboutos area.
   All the maps in this paper are drawn by Mr. P. Holleman of the Agricultural University, Wageningen. He was so kind as to help me, although the time I left him was extremely limited.
2. 'Nquiemba' not only indicates a linguistic region. The five chiefdoms of this area have a myth of origin in common, often fought together and probably protected each other for attacks from outside.
3. In official school-education the traditional chiefs are not mentioned. One searches in vain for their position and functions in a school-book like 'J'aime mon pays: Le Cameroun' (Bala, 1976). In the 'Décret no. 77/245 du 15 Juillet 1977 portant organisation des chefferies traditionnelles' they are only pointed out as 'auxiliaires d'administration', as auxiliaries of the government, but in a way not to be misinterpreted by the authorities. So to say: 'In the North and West we need them. Please don't let them down because otherwise the administration and even the State might be in trouble'. (Also Ouden, 1979: 22, 23).
4. Also the Christian section of the population (about 60 %) most often is very susceptible to the belief that misfortunes including death and illness, are caused by persons, living or dead.
5. Illy, 1976: 39. 'Die Sozialstruktur fördert also durch zwei Mechanismen das persönliche Vorankommen des Bamiléké: Die limitierte Patrilinearität enthebt ihn moralischer Verpflichtungen gegenüber einer grossen erweiterten Familie, und der angestrebte Prestigegewinn ist nur durch äusserste ökonomische Anstrengungen zu erreichen'. (Also Ouden, 1979: 4–8).
6. In 1978 in the quarter Toula (Tsa) of the 62 households 5 men were unmarried, 15 had one wife, 26 two wives, 3 three, 1 four, 1 five, and 1 seven wives. Not included are fathers' widows. In the quarter Menguéa (Ngang) the marriage situation in the 97 households was as follows: 2 men were not yet married, 45 had one wife, 18 two, 5 three, 4 four, 3 five and 1 man married eight wives. In Toula in 10 cases I could not determine the number of wives of migrated men of

inhabited compounds; in Menguéa this was the case for 19 men who were absent.

7. The term 'principal holding' I use for that part of the estate which is reserved for the future principal heirs and (traditionally) can never be divided or sold.
8. Because of land scarcity and, perhaps more important, the interesting prices of food crops, many women (this can be 25 % of them) cultivate plots of land on slopes of the Bamboutos mountains that were formerly nearly empty (potatoes) or in the Noun valley, till recently unaccessible because of malaria or military defence problems. Here we find some sort of share-cropping. The estate-owner invites women to cultivate food crops. He provides planting material etc. and claims for himself about half of the produce, leaving the other 50 % to the women. The owner likes to have some security and does not invite women who are unknown to the women who already work for him. However I never found teams of women undertaking the cultivation of these lands: the women work individually on their 'own' plots and for their own profit.

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THE HOUSEHOLD AND 'HOUSEHOLDING'; SOME CONCEPTUAL CONSIDERATIONS

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In the social sciences, there is much confusion about the concept of household. There is no consensus of opinion as to its exact meaning and content. In general the concept of household is handled somewhat loosely. In this paper I will try to clarify this concept, and to arrive at least at a preliminary delimitation and provide some indications as to its content.

The first problem that presents itself if we look at the concept of household is the fact that on the one hand it refers to certain activities of one or more persons, and on the other to the persons who perform these activities.

In Dutch this indistinctness does not exist, since in home economics the term 'huishouding' refers to the activities and 'huishouden' is used for the group of persons performing the activities. So a lot of confusion can be avoided by introducing the term householding for this specific set of activities.

When focusing the attention on the household, a second problem arises: the criteria used in several social scientific disciplines for distinguishing the household as a small social unit from other small social units are many and diverse. Let us consider some examples of conceptualizing the household:

Laslett (1972) stated that the household is a group of persons '...in fact determined by three main considerations. ...if they had the three following characteristics in common; they slept habitually under the same roof (a location criterion), they shared a number of activities (a functional criterion), they were related to each other by blood or by marriage (a kinship criterion).' He assumed that the first two criteria are universal.

Bohannan (1963) defined the household as: 'a group of people who live together and form a functioning domestic unit. They may or may not constitute a family, and if they do, it may or it may not be a simple nuclear family.' He ascribed to the household a multiplicity of functions: the provision of food and shelter, education of children and 'Every function necessary for people or for society that is not performed by some special institution is performed by the household'.

Bohannan furthermore pointed out that the criteria of residence and of kinship and marriage should not be confused. '...residence does not apply to marriage at all. It applies to households. There has been a lot of loose discussion about 'patrilocal

marriage'. What is patrilocal is not the marriage but the household that may emerge from it. Several terms have been confused; marriage is a relationship, a family is a kinship group, a household is a local group'.

Bender (1967) stated that the assumption that co-residential group and household are one and the same concept is not correct, neither empirically nor logically. It is not logically correct because the criterion of co-residence and the criterion of domestic activities are of a different order. With illustrations drawn from Murphy (1960) and Fortes (1947), he demonstrated that these criteria are not always interconnected. 'The basic feature of 'domestic' activities is not that they are necessarily associated either with families or with co-residential groups, but that they are concerned with the day-to-day-necessities of living'.

We see that in these definitions, two structural criteria and one functional criterion are prominent: 1. locational proximity, 2. marriage and kinship relations, and 3. certain activities performed by the group; the authors cited disagree as to the kind of activities concerned. The concept of household gains a different content depending on which criteria are more heavily accentuated.

I agree with Bender, who maintained that the three criteria mentioned are not necessarily interrelated. Families do not necessarily live together (Smith, 1956, Solien, 1960). A co-residential group does not necessarily form a family (Bohannan, 1963, Solien, 1960). It is not necessary that the co–residential group carries out the domestic activities together (Bender, 1967, Goody, 1972, Smith, 1978). In Western societies the three groups generally are one and the same, although exceptions do occur, e.g. the commune. But I also want to refer to those cases of separated or divorced parents with children, whose household activities remain interrelated although the parents no longer live together. In the non-Western world it occurs more frequently that the three groups are not the same. Especially in West–Africa and in the Caribbean region examples of this phenomenon can be found.

Hence, I propose to base the definition of the concept of household primarily on domestic activities, or householding.

Man does have needs, material as well as immaterial, which have to be satisfied. The way in which these needs are met (fulfillment postponed until later, or the needs never satisfied) is culturally prescribed and is in every society institutionalized in a specific way. In all societies human beings live as a rule in a group that can be considered as built around the institutionalized fulfillment of most of their needs, the household. Thus we are not primarily interested in the origin of the group in terms of marriage and kinship, nor in other aspects but rather in its meaning and functioning as related to fulfillment of needs.

By the satisfaction of needs, we do not mean the satisfaction of all possible human needs. A number of needs are satisfied by (as a function ascribed to) the family and kinship group (e.g. reproduction and regulation of sexual relations). Socialization includes aspects which belong to the family and kinship sphere (e.g. learning certain

social roles) as well as aspects that might belong more obviously to the household (e.g. transfer of those skills indispensable for the material survival of the group, (Fresco, 1976). Although many problems present themselves in delimiting the content of the concept of householding, for the time being we include only material aspects/needs in this domain. It is questionable whether all material and non-material aspects are always clearly distinguishable, often both aspects are interwoven (Spijkers-Zwart, 1973 and Fresco, 1976).

The important characteristic of this group, the household, is its common householding, that is the common activities directed towards the satisfaction of needs. Common does not mean that all activities are commonly performed, but that the activities reflect a certain interrelationship.

Householding then, can be defined as the interdependent complex of activities geared towards the satisfaction of most material needs of man and towards the disposition of material conditions for the satisfaction of his immaterial needs (Spijkers-Zwart, 1973). The household can be considered as the group of people performing these activities in an interdependent way.

What exactly do we mean by household activities? First of all it should be clear that when speaking of householding, productive, consumptive and reproductive activities are included; food production for subsistence as well as for the market, food preparation, acquisition of cash income, socialization, provision for social obligations, etc.

Since we depart from activities geared towards need satisfaction, it seems a sound idea to take the five basic needs for food, clothing, shelter, health and education as a starting point for constructing categories of household activities. However, for any village, region or country under study this list should be adapted and refined in order to meet local reality (circumstances).The categories of household activities for rural households in developing countries should be very different from those used for western households. In many rural households in non-Western countries subsistence food production, preparation and conservation play an important role, activities which take place mainly in the invisible sector of the economy. For urban households in industrial societies, where a major part of the 'productive' activities are taken over by special-purpose groups, transfer of cash income is of crucial importance.

A study of time budgets of the household members is a basic prerequisite for drawing up this list of household activities. The analysis of time budgets at the village level also gives an insight into interrelationships between households, their economic ties, their mutual rights and obligations, specialization at the household level, etc.

The complex of household activities should be viewed as being directed by a set of norms regarding need satisfaction. Needs are not viewed here as primarily physiological, and identical for all. They are by definition social products, as is the mode of fulfillment. The multiplicity of socio-cultural influences that cause needs to manifest themselves in a specific way and ask for a specific mode of fulfillment are perceived by the individual and the household as a whole, as one standard, the standard of living.

We can say that the household with its householding aspires to achieve the standard of living. The results of these efforts is the level of living, the actual way of living, that finds itself in a constant field of tension with the standard of living. This relationship of tension is the concept of level of aspiration (Spijkers-Zwart, 1973).

Besides the standard of living i.e. a status which most people in theory aspire to, one should not forget the culturally accepted economic minimum. Subsistence farmers and vulnerable groups such as African female cultivators may sometimes be better understood from a perspective of minimum-avoidance than from a perspective of aspiring to higher standards. Especially in those instances of rapid socio-economic changes where victims outnumber winners.

How processes of change and incorporation affect the household, can be studied along the following lines:

1. changes in the availability, acquisition and allocation of resources
2. changes in the household structure
3. changes in the standard of living
4. changes in the level of living
5. changes in the interrelationships between households

When speaking of the household aspiring to achieve its standard of living, this implies an organizational and a power structure. In this sense, the position of each household member can be analyzed in terms of participation in each and all household activities, with respect to decision making, labour/time input and access to resources. His/her participation should also be seen in relation to the participation of the other members.

Finally I want to stress that this paper focuses on the internal functioning of the household. In research and in policy-making, however, it should always be taken into account that households operate within certain margins, dictated by its society's other socio-economic structures, which should also be analyzed.

This discussion of the concepts of household and householding is far from exhaustive. Theory building in household science in this sense is still in its infancy. We hope that this article has made clear that we are dealing with important social phenomena and that to study them is very worthwhile for a better understanding of how processes of incorporation affect households and householding and for possible predictions of alternatives open to households and householding in adapting to processes of change.

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THE HOUSEHOLD, A WOMAN'S CAGE? A POLICY PERSPECTIVE

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Asked to comment on the general topic: the household, women and agricultural development, I think it is necessary to make the subject as concrete as possible. Therefore my first question when we talk about the household is, what do we mean by it. In your background booklet *the household* is described as *the socio-cultural environment* within *which efforts* and *strategies to achieve individual and collective well-being and to enhance the quality of life take place. It is also there that priorities are determined and life projects worked out.*

This description gives me the impression that you at the Vakgroep Huishoudkunde are so happy the North American influenced period in Home Economics, when all the attention was focused on the internal management and the functioning of the household has gone by, that you now throw your windows open and emphasize all the non-material processes that take place in the household and in working out your concept stress the interrelationships between the household and the wider environment.

No doubt what is described is happening in the household, but other units exist who also provide this socio-cultural environment in which the same kind of efforts and strategies take place, for instance, the village, or maybe even society at large. For policy purposes this description seems to me not precise enough. Any project-officer, researcher, let alone statistician in the field charged with carrying out a certain project might have some trouble working with this description.

For practical purposes I think the notion of *dwelling place* has to come in. This is also necessary to distinguish the household from the family. A household, as I see it, is at least characterized by a group of people living together in a home, a homestead or a compound, where reproduction of its members takes place daily and generationally.

Everyday life of individuals takes to a considerable extent place in a household and it is this household that is in various ways interrelated with the wider society, economically, socially, culturally and legally. And in the context of this household decision-making, the determination of priorities and the working out of life projects are important processes. But, I think adding the notion of dwelling place is necessary in order to be able to locate a household.

One of the main aims of this workshop on 'the household, women and agricultural development' is to study the ways the household *can* and *should* be viewed as the basic

unit for development programmes. This question cannot be answered with a simple yes or no.

It is also worrying me a bit. I fear that the by now more or less internationally accepted – at least verbally – *policy-aim* that women and men should participate in development on a basis of equality, will be negatively effected by emphasizing the household as the basic unit for development programmes. It may result, be it unwillingly, in enforcing the tendency that women's contribution to development is in the first place her contribution to the household. And even a very wide definition of household will not prevent that, because with household-work and domestic chores goes the notion *women's work*.

Therefore in contributing to the question *can* and *should* the household be viewed as the basic unit for development I like to consider two points:

First, what role does the household play in the general policy and action oriented literature on women and development.

Secondly, what indications regarding research and policy-making do African women themselves give about the household as a basic unit for development programmes.

Since the appearance in 1970 of Dr. BOSERUP's book 'Woman's Role in Economic Development' (BOSERUP, 1970), the start of the United Nations Decade for Women and the World Conference in Mexico, a lot has happened in consciousness raising about women's role in development and equality between women and men. From the stream of literature it is obvious that the focus is on *women* and not on the household.

Moreover, the household, when it is mentioned, is quite often referred to in a negative sense: household tasks should be lightened and should be shared by women and men, in order *to free women for other activities*.

An example of this is the World Plan of Action (UNITED NATIONS, 1975), one of the most comprehensive documents on what action has to be taken to integrate women on a basis of equality with men in society. This document, the purpose of which is to stimulate national and international action to solve the problems of underdevelopment and of the socio-economic structures which place women in an inferior position, stresses the integration of women in activities outside the household.

When it mentions the household – and it does that only in a very few places – it talks about the necessity of changing the traditional role of women as well as of men. And it states that 'in order to allow for fuller participation in all societal activities, socially organized services should be established to lighten household chores'. The plan encourages the acceptation through education of shared responsibilities for home and children by both women and men. The Plan does not have a section on the household but on the family and there it states:

> 'Household activities that are necessary for family life have generally been perceived as having a low economic and social prestige. All societies should, however, place a higher value on these activities, if they wish the family group to be maintained and to fulfil its basic functions of the procreation and education of children' (UNITED NATIONS, 1975: par. 125).

and it continues:

> 'The family is also an important agent of social, political and cultural change. If women are to enjoy equal rights, opportunities and responsibilities, and contribute on equal terms with men to the development process, the functions and roles traditionally allotted to each sex within the family will require continual re-examination and re-assessment in the light of changing conditions' (UNITED NATIONS, 1975: par. 126).

In its section on research, data collection and analysis it says:

> 'Many women are automatically excluded from the economically active population in national statistics because they are homemakers only and homemaking is nowhere considered to be an economic activity' (UNITED NATIONS, 1975: par. 163).

Also women who in addition to their homemaking activities are selfemployed, doing handicraft or other home industry or unpaid family work in subsistence agriculture, are left out.

The World Plan of Action's recommendations for action with reference to the household and agricultural development can be summarized as follows:

- The economic value of women's work in the home in domestic food production and marketing and her voluntary activities not traditionally renumerated should be recognized.
- Household chores should be lightened to make women free for activities in the wider society.
- Women and men should share household tasks.
- New cooperatives and where appropriate women's cooperatives should be organized especially in areas where women play an important role in food production, marketing, housing, nutrition and health.
- Rural women should participate in the formulation of national plans for integrated rural development.

When studying the *Plan of Action for Africa* we found the same tendencies: the stressing of *activities* that *lighten* women's work, the encouragement of education and training so women can participate in development efforts and in modern economic activities and girls get a wide choice of employment opportunities; the introduction of training programmes for women at the village level in modern farming, use of equipment, agriculture, fishing, cooperations, entrepreneurship, commerce and marketing; the creation of wage-employment opportunities and income-generating activities through self-employment and family-employment; the provision of public services and facilities, including those for child care, in order to support women in their multiple roles of employee, home-maker and mother (UNITED NATIONS, 1975: 76–78).

For *research* the African Plan of Action emphasizes the need for studying the extent of women's activities regarding food production (cash crop and subsistence), water and fuel supply, marketing, transportation and participation in local and national planning and policy making and furthermore it stresses:

- The study of causes and effects of the prevailing images of women and their roles, including cultural roles.

- The study of the division of labour and the time-budgets for women as compared with those of men, with regard to both economic and household activities.
- Research on family and household situations including the extent of households in which the head is a woman, and on the economic, social and demographic benefits of the wider participation of women (UNITED NATIONS,1975: 81).

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations in a document on guidelines for the integration of women in agricultural and rural development projects considers the *participation* of women in decision-making, planning and implementation of each project activity as very important. And as far as the household is concerned it emphasizes labour and time saving improvements and management (FAO, 1977).

At a preparatory meeting of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization in Vienna, Austria (6–10 November, 1978) the FAO presented a document called 'FAO approach to enhancing the role of women in rural economics', prepared by Home Economics and Social Programmes Service Human Resources, Institutions and Agrarian Reform Division (FAO, 1978). In this document the FAO emphasizes the necessity of integrated rural development, where integration means that the participation of women in productive, socio-economic and political activities is required for rural development. On page 5 the document states: 'A consensus is evolving that the approach to women's problems should be oriented not only to "welfare" and household activities but towards development and based on women's meaningful participation in the economic sphere, higher productivity and higher income.' 'Paradoxically' it continues 'women, and especially those living in the rural areas, are so over-occupied at low levels of skill and technology that they cannot add new activities' (FAO, 1975: 5).

The vision of UN-agencies on policies concerning the household, women and agricultural development is important, since a substantial part of the Dutch aid to women's projects is chanelled via the United Nations Fund for the Decade of Women and specialized United Nations' Agencies like the FAO.

Like the policy documents of the international agencies, the policy documents of the Dutch government concerned with women's role in development, do not pay much attention to the household in their development programmes. In my opinion this is a weakness in policy planning in this area. Because, in not considering women's base in her household, the planning of projects and programmes runs the risk of becoming unrealistic. Research has shown that women compared to men make very long working days. When we look at a not unusual working day of a rural woman in Africa we may find 15 hours of work including food preparation and field work, one hour for eating and 8 hours for sleep (ILO, 1977). A time schedule that does not give much room for all the activities envisaged in projects and programmes for development.

In order to get a realistic insight in what possibilities there are for development programmes aimed at improving women's position in agriculture, it is absolute nec-

essary to give more attention to the household and its claim on a woman's time.

This does not mean, however, that I am of the opinion that the household should be viewed as *the basic unit* of development programmes. Here I come to my second point. In this context I want to refer to the discussion of a group of young African women researchers on women in rural development. In December 1977 these African women researchers organized a seminar on African Women and Development in Dakar on the topic 'Decolonization of Research'. Too long, it is felt, have white women been researching black African women and therefore it is time now that black women start researching themselves.

The group – most researchers in the social sciences – formed the Association of African Women for Research and Development, AAWORD for short. In their working group report on women in rural development it is concluded that women in Africa are being marginalized by contemporary agrarian reform policies, that the introduction of certain types of farm mechanization while alleviating the work done by men increase the work required of women in agriculture and women are not receiving extension services, technology etc. (ASSOCIATION OF AFRICAN WOMEN FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT (AAWORD), 1977).

In discussing the future of women's role in agriculture in Africa the group formulated priorities for research in this area. It should again be noticed that no mention is made of the household as a unit of research.

The priorities given are:

- Impact of agrarian reform on women as producers.
- The impact of land development and farm mechanization on the division of labour between men and women.
- Women's access to land, agricultural credit and extension services.
- Women's time allocation for farm and non-farm production activities.
- Surveys of village technology requirements, availability and their use by women.
- Women's decision-making on the farm in the context of decision-making and power relations between the sexes and classes.
- Types of production techniques used by women and their effectiveness.
- Survey of women's organisations and groups in rural development.
- Agrobusiness – multinational corporations. (ASSOCIATION OF AFRICAN WOMEN FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT (AAWORD), 1977).

In the whole document no mention is made of the household neither in this section nor in the sections on food, nutrition and health; participation of women in rural development institutions; population movements and education and training. Nor in the other working group reports presented on: The psychocultural aspects of women's condition; the legal status of women; and women in urban development.

This raises the question, if we are not getting too much out of tune with what is felt by

African women themselves, when we stress so much the importance of the household

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In this context the development of village technology or may be more specific household technology is of great importance. But then this should be developed by African women themselves or in participation with them.

Finally I want to mention one category of households that requires very special attention in development programmes and that is the category of women-headed households. So, even though I am not in favour of viewing the household as the basic unit of development programmes, I want to plead for special attention for this category of women in programmes of development cooperation.

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RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES AND THE FARM HOUSEHOLD AS A UNIT OF OBSERVATION AND ACTION

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1. INTRODUCTION[1]

Rural development is a process of change, involving economic, political, social, cultural, as well as ecological systems. An agricultural strategy aiming at an increase in agricultural output as well as in the output per person employed in agriculture, usually requires changes in land tenure system and production structures, more appropriate technologies, and supporting services and institutions. It also requires new incentives and motivation among the farming population, since changes in farming methods is likely to require changes in the farmer's way of life.

Advancement of agriculture, according to one approach, would require at least three main actions: 1. adapting the farm structure to meet the demand for increased agricultural production; 2. assisting the farmer and the rural community to the changing farm structure; 3. creating external environmental conditions that promote development. (WEITZ, 1971). To this could be added two pre-conditions to obtain progress: increased participation and self-reliance in decision-making and action by the farming population.

As a result of past development strategies, most of the world's small farmers living in developing countries are under-nourished and with little or no access to opportunities in education and employment to obtain a satisfactory level of living. Present institutional and organizational structures of subsistence cultivators are often such as they do not provide for creativity and incentives needed to improve production nor do these structures provide the farming population with opportunities to participate in decision-making in community and national affairs.

Over half of the world's population depend on agriculture for their livelihood and about one third of these live in what is described as 'absolute poverty'. The rural poor consist mainly of small cultivators, tenants, landless labourers and artisans. The number of small farms have increased in recent years; farms smaller than 1 ha. were as many as 46% in India, 52% in Liberia, 57% in the Philippines. The landless agricultural labourers ranged from 42% in Brazil (1970) to 42% in Jamaica, and 55% in Uruguay. There are indications of a deterioration of the food products situation in

for its main items of consumption, and the production process is mainly carried out to meet consumption needs and not the market needs. The farm usually relies on the household for its labour requirements and other inputs.

3.2. *Factors influencing the small farmers on macro and micro levels*

In subsistence or near-subsistence agriculture the small farm household, whether nuclear, extended or communal, is a socio-economic unit of production and consumption. A household is, however, usually an insufficient unit of production with limited capabilities and resources to raise the level of production. Therefore, the agricultural planner tries to determine the amount and combination of resources to be allocated to different types of farm units so that, with new production structures these should be able to meet agricultural requirements as well as provide farm households with a desired income.

Changes in a production structure usually require changes in the way of life of the farm family. However, farmers may resist changes not only because they may doubt the profitability of proposed changes but because these changes may impose on their traditional values and patterns of living. Experience shows that agricultural development in a subsistence economy does not occur unless there is also a change in human behaviour, e.g. replacing dependency on nature with a desire and ability to influence environment.

Economic efficiency at household level depends primarily on the human qualities of those who work the land, whether owners, tenants or labourers, and their knowledge, skills, entrepreneural ability and capacity for rational action. It is essential to assess not only the economic contribution of the farming unit (individual or cooperative) but also how this unit reacts in the surrounding social systems, and the cultural values which are characteristic of these systems.

Since the social structure of a household is likely to undergo a transformation with the transition from subsistence agriculture to a market-oriented society, it seems appropriate to choose the household as a unit of observation. Some *basic questions* which need to be answered when studying the farm households in different agrarian structures include:

a. What are the internal characteristics of a farm household, including structure, functions and social processes. How do these vary in different land tenure and production structures?
b. What are the external, ecological, political, economic, social and cultural conditions that influence the households at community level?
c. What are the criteria for allocating managerial decision and division of labour among household members and what is the basis for sharing rewards accruing from farm work?
d. What support do the farming population receive through their traditional organizations on one hand and through government institutions and services on the other hand?

e. What socio-economic performance do planners and policy makers expect the farm household to carry out in terms of production, organization, management, distribution and consumption?
f. How are government policies and programmes perceived by the small farmers in terms of individual and family goals, values, needs and participation in decision-making?
g. What are the perceived consequences for the household unit of government's development plans?

When studying a farm household it is necessary to keep in mind the interrelationship between macro and micro levels, as explained in Chart 1: 'Factors influencing peasants at macro and micro levels'. Chart 2 shows some elements of 'The interrelationships between farm household and farm in different agrarian structures'.

3.3. *Interrelationship between the Household and the Farm*

At subsistence level the farm and the household are interdependent in decision-making not only in regard to family labour input on the farm, but also regarding household inputs and outputs, domestic savings versus farm investments, and technology at farm and household level. Family goals and values effect the choices between subsistence consumption and/or marketing. The decision-maker(s) tries to maximize the income by utilizing available labour for the farm and/or household. However, the household and family welfare often receive second-hand attention in allocative decisions.

It is necessary to understand the interdependence not only between farm/household in regard to division of work, decision-making but also in relation to national goals and policies. Agricultural policies need to take into account family goals and values and aspirations if they are to accelerate or influence the farming sector to achieve a specific set of national development goals. At household level the meeting of basic family needs for survival are usually placed ahead of profit maximization expected by the policy maker. The preference of goals at policy level may, therefore, not be the same at farm level.

The economic behaviour of the subsistence farmer and other members of the household is related to their educational levels, to the means at their disposal and the socio-economic and political environment which influences their decisions. The degree of uncertainty in subsistence farming is often related to the dependency of the farmer on the physical environment and the lack of facilities or knowledge how to control it. Policy decisons, therefore, need to be supported by instruments at local levels which provide for motivation and incentives to effectuate the policies, such as appropriate technologies, training, credits, etc.

The decision-making process in a farm household is based not only on family values and goals but also on values and goals in the surrounding social systems. Management decisions on the farm can be either routine and focus on daily tasks, or innovative decisions looking for potential increase in production outputs.

CHART I. FACTORS INFLUENCING PEASANTS ON MACRO AND MICRO LEVELS

MACRO LEVEL

I. *DEMOGRAPHIC SITUATION*

1. Population structure, growth and distribution
2. Cultural characteristics of population
   - ethnic
   - linguistic
   - racial
   - geographical
3. Population education
4. Relationship between population on agrarian structures

II. *RURAL ECONOMY*

Role of agriculture and its contribution to the economy

1. *Goals and policies*
   - national goals and policies
   - agricultural policies and policy measures
   - other sectorial policies affecting rural development
2. *Existing agrarian structure*
   - land tenure
   - production structures
3. *Major economic constraints*
4. *New forms of agriculture likely to emerge through agrarian reforms*
   - land tenure (land consolidation, irrigated areas, new settlements)
   - new production structures
   - absorption of labour
   - supporting institutions and services

III. *NATIONAL SOCIAL SYSTEMS*

Reflecting development goals

1. *Ecological environment*
   Human and natural resources management: population balance, land tenure, soil and water control, waste disposal, pollution, regional resource endowments.
2. *Political systems*
   Political/social power structure, people's participation in decision-making, political freedom and political strains, national security, international relations, regional, ethnic or other imbalances, Spatial distribution or development as a result of political decisions, spread of infrastructure.
3. *Productivity and economic growth*
   Meeting increased demand for domestic food production, agrarian structure and need for reforms, employment promotion, increased labour productivity, price, taxation, subsidies, trade regulations, industrialisation.

4. *Social welfare and justice*
Health, education and social services and amenities, style of life, distribution of wealth and income, equality of opportunities (education, employment, etc.), access to benefits from development efforts, social integration, communication.
5. *Cultural patterns*
Traditional customs and laws governing the use, distribution and inheritance of land; the impact on agrarian reforms programmes and on the present household in particular.

VERTICAL INTERRELATIONSHIPS

HORIZONTAL AND

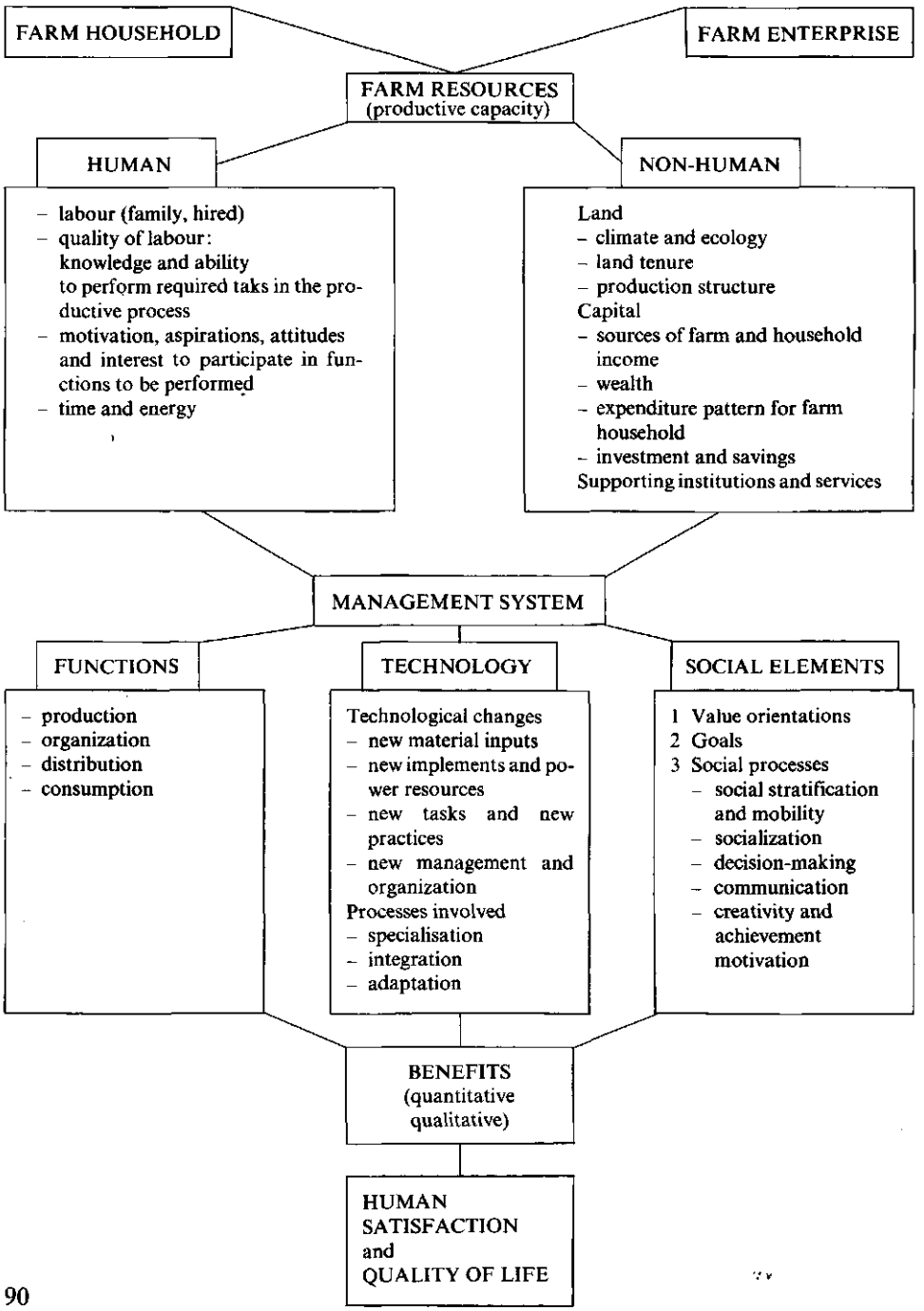
MICRO LEVEL

IV. *FARM HOUSEHOLD*
1. Household structure
2. Management systems
   - functions
   - technology
   - labour requirements
3. Family income and expenditure
4. Socio-economic roles of household members
5. Motivations and incentives
6. Social processes

V. *FARM ENTERPRISE*
1. *Present situation*
   a. Land tenure systems
      - number and size of holdings
      - land ownership (individual, communal, commercial, etc.)
   b. Production structure
      - systems of farming
      - level of technology
      - management and organization
      - labour utilisation
      - farm family income, investment and saving

VI. *LOCAL SOCIAL SYSTEMS*
1. Supporting institutions and services in regard to major functions of the household.
   - production
   - organization
   - distribution
   - consumption
2. Local people's participation and contribution to development.

CHART 2. THE INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN FARM HOUSEHOLD AND FARM/FIRM IN DIFFERENT AGRARIAN STRUTURES



For an innovative farmer there are almost an indefinite number of choices available which makes it difficult to make rational decisions. A 'rational' decision is one in which alternatives and consequences are considered as fully as the decision-maker given the time and other resources available to him, can afford to consider them (BANFIELDS, 1962: 71).[3] Human actions are goal-oriented and, therefore, all rational actions are in terms of the attainment of goals. The value of a decision is related to the degree to which set goals are achieved. Social power structure is the focus for decision-making, and, therefore, an understanding of the household and community power structure is basic for the identification of managerial behaviour in a farm enterprise.

The farm household as a production and consumption unit requires a joint management since it is based on joint resources. Farm management is concerned with the management of the production unit in regard to: farm size and location, climate, soil, selection and combination of labour utilization, technology, capital and credit limitations, market facilities, profitability and return to investment (FRIEDRICH, 1971: 3–17). Home management is defined as 'a dynamic, continuous process consisting of a series of decisions through which one plans, controls and evaluates the use of family resources in order to reach family goals and aspirations' (GROSS and CRANDELL, 1973).

Joint farm and household management encompasses human actions and involves a series of decisions which are directed towards the attainment of certain goals of the farm household and the farm. The interrelationships between the farm and the farm household are found in the main tasks of production, organization, distribution and consumption processes.

4. A Social Systems Approach to the Assessment of a Household

In attempts to describe, explain and analyze the social structure, function and processes of a household certain concepts need to be clarified. A social system can be defined as a network of human relations in which individuals and groups cooperate according to their roles under a more or less common value system to achieve certain goals. Examples of social systems are, a household, a cooperative, a community, an organization or a nation as a whole. A social system approach facilitates the analysis of changes that may occur in a specific group, such as a farm household, when an innovation is introduced.

The introduction of a new technology in a household as a production and consumption unit requires new roles of household members; this may result in new division of labour and specialization of tasks in the household unit. If this change is to continue, it must be integrated in the overall socio-economic systems of the community and the nation. Social change usually will involve alterations in the structure and functions not only of households but also of other surrounding social systems.

The basic assumptions of a social system approach are that:

- the important elements of study are social relationships (e.g. roles and status of household members);

- the social relationships are organized into a social system;
- the most important elements articulated within a social system are: values, [illegible] and decision making.[4]

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APPENDIX 1

FARM HOUSEHOLD DATA

A. FARM HOUSEHOLD

1. *Social Structure of the Household*
1.1. Size and composition
1.2. Stage in family-life-cycle, marriage pattern
1.3. Educational level
1.4. Ethnic and religious characteristics
1.5. Legal, economic and social rights and responsibilities with regard to children, property, land by age and sex
1.6. Occupation of family members in farm and non-farm activities, by sex and age
1.7. Division of labour among household members, by age, sex, activity or responsibility: 1. household; 2. farm; non-farm
1.8. Roles of household members; decision-making pattern among household members by sex, age, activity, access to resources

2. *Household Labour*
2.1. Labour requirements by age and sex (considering hired labour if needed): 1. farm; 2. household; 3. non-farm
2.2. Labour quality and capacity of farm household members as related to work requirements (in terms of knowledge, skills, abilities, interest, time, energy)
2.3. Capacity of farm enterprise to provide remunerative work for household members (farm, non-farm work)
2.4. Exchange of labour with neighbours

3. *Family Income*
3.1. Sources, type and amount of income by age and sex:
- farming only (cash, kind)
- part-time employment
- full-time employment (income-earning activities off-farm)

3.2. Food expenditure (subsistence, purchased)
3.3. Total cost of living as related to basic needs: food, housing, clothing, educational and social expenses, (taxes, insurance, etc.)
3.4. Investment: farm, household, family welfare, and education
3.5. Savings

4. *The Socio-Economic Role of Farm Women*
4.1. Earning: ways and means of earning money, goods
4.2. Allocating: making decisions regarding family resources, including money, goods, services, time and energy
4.3. Converting: combining goods and services for the benefit of the family, such as, food preservation for home use or sale
4.4. Spendings: amout of money to spend, how to spend, on what, exchange of goods and services
4.5. Educating: the role as educator of the children, educating oneself
4.6. Social participation: taking active part in community life, voluntary groups

5. *Management System*

5.1. Farm household functions: Decisions regarding production, organization, distribution, consumption

5.1.1. Methods of earning goods and services:
- What to produce and how much
- How and when to produce it
- Where, when and how to buy and sell products (farm/home produce)
- Who will do what

5.1.2. Methods of spending money:
- What proportion of money and goods are needed and actually used for investment on the farm
- What proportion of money and goods are needed and actually used for improvement in the home (e.g. household surveys and consumption studies)
- What proportion is needed for social purposes (education, security) and what is actually used

5.1.3. Factors influencing household functions, such as income, locality of household, communication, family goals, cultural patterns

5.2. Technology

5.2.1. Types of technological change as a result of change in production structure:
- new tasks
- new material inputs
- new power resources
- new implements
- new practices
- new management and organization

5.2.2. Impact of technological change on family labour pattern:
- specialization and integration of tasks
- adaptation to socio-economic environment
- changes in social roles, goals and values

5.2.3. Labour-saving-technologies:
- water supply
- diversification of production
- integration of crops and livestock
- selective mechanization
- post-harvest processes
- village industry
- other

5.3. Social elements

5.3.1. Household goals, values, aspirations and their positive and negative influence on household work

5.3.2. Motivational forces behind patterns of production, organization, distribution and consumption (according to preferences, needs, utility, economic value, time, energy, and cultural constraints)

5.3.3. Incentives to socio-economic changes (e.g. membership in cooperatives, and credits, literacy, participation in community affairs)

5.3.4. Spatial migration: rural/rural, rural/urban, immigration

5.3.5. Social mobility
a. group mobility (collective behaviour) such as group farming
b. individual mobility: related to opportunities, such as education, employment and power (accumulation of wealth, prestige and privileges), also related to sex, age and occupation

B. FARM ENTERPRISES

1. *Land tenure system:*

1.1. Number and size of holdings, by mode of operation, fragmentation

1.2. Land ownership (individual, communal, government, cooperative farming, mixed ownership)

1.3. Land settlements, types and facilities provided to settlers

2. *Production Structure*

2.1. Systems of farming (crop, livestock, mixed)

2.2. Level of technology as related to size of holding and family labour

2.3. Farm management and organization

2.4. Labour utilization (household members), paid labourers

2.5. Sources of farm family income, investment and saving for farm and household

3. *Supporting Institutions and Services*

3.1. Fundamental and vocational education, agricultural extension and other technical services, health clinics, maternity and child welfare services, social security and public welfare services, recreation facilities

3.2. Rural people's organizations, e.g. cooperatives, credits, marketing facilities and consumer organizations

3.3. Other government and voluntary agencies

C. SOCIO-ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT

1. *Levels of Living*

1.1. Nutrition:
- calorie supply per caput per day as percentage of requirements
- percentage of calories derived from cereals and other foods rich in carbohydrates

1.2. Health:
- life expectancy at birth
- access to mother and child care clinics

1.3. Housing:
- distribution of persons by households according to type of living quarter and facilities available

1.4. Education:
- percentage of literate persons in the population aged 15 years and over
- percentage of school enrolment in the population aged, 6–14, 15–19 years

1.5. Social participation:
- participation in community social activities, such as mutual-aid groups, community development
- participation in cultural events
- participation in political activities

2. *Causes of low levels of living*

2.1. Low production output due to the small size of farms, traditional land tenure systems and production structures, farm and household organization and management, type of technology, market opportunities

2.2. Unemployment and underemployment in farming due to lack of additional income-earning opportunities on or off-farm, and consequently high ratio of dependency to head of family

2.3. Low-quality and efficiency of work, lack of specialization according to work

requirements

2.4. Mal- and under-nutrition resulting in poor health and consequently low work efficiency

2.5. Illiteracy and low level of knowledge and skills, lack of ability to plan for the future

2.6. Factors pertaining to location (distance to town, markets, industry, roads, transportation)

2.7. Communication and information sources available (e.g. extension, radio, television, newspapers, social groupings)

3. *Policies related to farm households*
Identification of policies regarding social equity and opportunities, participation in development, and sharing of benefits

3.1. Government policies related to: marital status, age at marriage, family planning and welfare, mother and child welfare, women's legal rights in relation to home and family

3.2. Government policies related to equal opportunities for men and women in relation to education, employment, inheritance, land property.

3.3. Government policies including special measures for raising levels of living of rural families

sistence economy, traditional and unsophisticated tools based on hard physical labour are used. The daily work of rural women in the fields is a 'captive time' (e.g. an obligatory performance) because the very subsistence of the household members depends on the foodstuffs they produce.

In a market economy, by contrast, sophisticated tools are used to increase the yield and hence the profits from the land. Mechanization and land improvement are accompanied by technological know-how and labour-saving devices. These are taught to male workers who make up the majority of manpower in this sector of activity. The content of school curricula and school attendance by sex follow the same patterns of inequality, as will be shown below.

To this gloomy situation for rural women, should be added the fact that modernization as an ideology and as a praxis increases the gap between the two sexes and keeps women in a position of continuing dependency.

Let us recall, briefly, the well-known fact that literacy and schooling rates are higher for men than they are for women everywhere in the developing countries. These discrepancies appear at all levels of education and of vocational training. Family resistance toward the schooling of girls is still very strong, either because the maternal destiny of girls is thought of as paramount or because the family fears the pernicious effects of formal education on girls and the temptations of independence that it might stimulate, or still more, because the period of schooling deprives families of their daughters' help in household tasks and in the fields. This need is felt, all the more, if the family must already do without the help of boys who are attending school. Thus, even where the chances for female schooling and vocational training are greater, which is the exception rather than the rule, women and girls are still subjected, in most of the world's rural areas, to the strictures of outdated customs, economic injustice and a low level of professional skill.

Irregular school attendance by girls also has a negative effect on their nutritional level. In several developing countries that we visited to evaluate the impact of development programmes on the improvement in the status of rural women[2] (Presvelou, 1975 and 1976a), we were able to observe that the great majority of beneficiaries of school meals supplied by international development aid agencies, were boys. Hence girls who, for one reason or another, are prevented from attending classes are deprived not only of the direct benefits of schooling. They are also deprived of the indirect ones such as the daily meal or 'snack' whose nutritional value is far higher than that which the family can supply.

Women also suffer from psychological isolation due to their cloistered life, from constant surveillance of their every gesture, ignorance and poverty – which is, of course, the common lot of the rural and urban poor. Rural girls and women are thus in a far inferior situation than some of their sisters living in the cities who enjoy better education, higher levels of living and hold prestigious social positions.

Social and psychological restrictions lead to self-restraint, withdrawal, shyness, or to a feeling of inferiority and failure. These reasons explain why rural women are unable to

defend their position and that of their children. Tolerated as procreators and as producers of staple foods, rural women, submit passively to physical, health and social hardships and accumulate the handicaps leading to dependency. Consequently, they become a formidable obstacle to development.

Until a few years ago, industrialization had first priority in the development policies of the United Nations, their specialized agencies and the various bodies of bilateral and multinational aid. Failure of these policies in several countries and a deeper understanding of the structure of underdevelopment and poverty have led to the recognition of the need to further develop the agricultural sector of the economy and to involve in it all available human resources, that is to say, men, women and the young.

Despite this recognition, development programmes still tend to dissociate production factors from the agents of production. The largest part of development project budgets is spent in buying agricultural machinery, better seeds and fertilizers; in opening new roads, in establishing administratively complex networks of extension services. Funds for research in advance as to how such innovations will affect the various household members and the village structure are not available. Customs are overlooked which govern the relationships between relatives, neighbours, members of larger social groups, such as clans, and the connection of household members vis-à-vis the everyday economic and non-economic activities they perform. Little thinking and research goes into forecasting the resistance to, and acceptance of (and by whom, in terms of sex, income, etc.) technological and cultural change. The importance of the household as a motivation-creating unit for improving the level of productivity, the decision-making capacity and the planning abilities of its members, especially women, is not studied. Unresearched also remains the fact that unplanned innovations introduced in the village decrease group solidarity and demobilize the energies of household members. They encourage fractioned contacts between individual household members and say, technical advisers, health officers, home economics extension workers. The husband is advised by the agricultural adviser, the wife by the home economics extension worker, the child by the school-garden counsellor, etc.

As a consequence of the lack of preliminary and systematic thinking on these matters, the model of development which prevails is that in a situation of dependency, external intervention (for example the various forms of technical, educational, health, and other innovations) will produce the anticipated positive effects. More specifically, it is anticipated that women will automatically benefit from all innovations introduced into the village, often without their consent or cooperation.

To limit the inefficiency of often expensive projects, rural development tends to be considered more and more as an unified approach. This concept refers to the steps which must be taken by planners, policy makers and scientists to recognize and analyze the complex laws governing the relationships between household members and the sectors of economic activity which are most meaningful for the village considered as a system. New connecting points intended to expand planned change through more global economic and social policies and through specific actions are also being tried

out. Such policies should be aimed both at the more vulnerable groups of the population (women, the rural poor, children) and at income-producing activities which are negatively affected by technological change. Through planned and integrated rural development a reciprocal attraction between all the human and non-human factors which make up village life can be expected.

DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES, AGENTS OF IMPLEMENTATION AND GUIDELINES FOR ACTION.

Having explained above the reasons which plead in favour of the implementation of programmes intended for rural women who play an absolutely essential role as food producers and members of local communities, as mothers and as primary socialization agents, we shall examine below the principles, guidelines and measures which should govern the planning, working out, implementation and evaluation of development projects and programmes. They are aimed at *three kinds of agents of development aid involved with rural women, these are:*

1. National associations of women in Third World countries: who are searching for answers to the anxiety-producing quest of improving the living conditions of the majority of their poverty-stricken sisters. Women's organizations in developed countries are also involved in this issue;
2. Governments of the beneficiary countries: they are directly concerned with the advancement of their female populations;
3. The donor countries which establish bilateral and multilateral aid relationships with developing nations.

What are the principles of action which govern (or should govern) programmes of technical cooperation in ministries entrusted with the management of bilateral or multilateral aid?

It is important to keep in mind a basic principle which underlies every policy statement related to cooperation for development. Developed countries are requested to contribute to the carrying out of plans and priorities which are determined by the beneficiary countries. Recognition of this principle may be a source of tension or even conflicts between donor and beneficiary countries, especially when projects and programmes intended for the improvement of the position of rural women are discussed.

Difficulties arise, especially, in the case where donor countries attempt to introduce in, or impose upon, the beneficiary countries a Western model of the possible and desirable functions for rural women of other countries and continents. Such ideology underestimates the fact that aid must draw its inspiration from the specific context to which women belong. The large variety of economic and social roles performed by women (and men) in each country, as a function of cultural, political, religious and economic traditions should be recognized. An activity which is predominantly male in a specific context may be female in another.

Difficulties also occur every time that the cooperating partners deal with the selec-

tion of projects for the advancement of women. For, although, in general, the beneficiary countries are well aware of the need to improve the conditions of life and the status of their female populations living in rural areas, high level policy-makers entrusted with implementation of such programmes are often males. Either they do not have a specific knowledge of the problem, or else underestimate women's needs. During study missions to Third World countries, our male participants tended to overestimate the status and the contribution of women of their country by referring repeatedly to examples based on the brilliant professional and social success of the few women who hold high positions in government, politics or the liberal professions. It is a well-known fact that in all countries only a small minority of women hold high positions. Therefore, when such exceptional careers are given as customary facts, they simply legitimize the status quo and male bias, hide the true nature and extent of the inequalities between men and women and delay the advancement of women.

Another important question which should be examined is whether one should encourage projects and programmes planned exclusively to help women or if, on the contrary, development policies which are intended to improve the living conditions of specific groups (and where, naturally, the needs of rural women would be taken into consideration), should be encouraged? There is no single answer to this question. On the other hand, donor countries pursue, in this matter, policies influenced by other considerations and motivations as the following analysis shows. Switzerland encourages a model of cooperation based on development which allows the members of the assisted country to take an active and responsible part in the development of their society and to fully benefit from the advantages of the action undertaken in their favour. From this point of view, women should not be made 'a separate subject' of development; their needs and the pressures they are subject to should, on the contrary, be taken into consideration in each programme (Swiss Report, 1978). Norway follows a slightly different policy. This country states, on one hand, the inalienable rights of women to full and global development, the strategic role they fill in the bio-socio-cultural and economic survival of their families and countries, and it acknowledges, on the other hand, the very marginal position which is the lot of rural women in all developing countries. Norway, nevertheless, feels that priority should be given to programmes which aim at the most deprived layers of population among which one naturally finds women (Norwegian Report, 1978). Western Germany is of the opinion that two types of projects related to the needs of women should be encouraged: 1. projects which are intended exclusively for the advancement of women, 2. more general projects in which the female population and their need for training, the right work and emancipation should be considered on equal terms as those of other social groups: children, adolescents, men, the handicapped, the sick, etc. (German Fed. Republic Report, 1978).

Each donor country bases its policy towards women on different principles of action, as a function of its own cultural traditions and of the historical bonds which it has established, or is in the process of establishing with developing countries. A balance

DEVELOPMENT AID AND RESEARCH IN RELATION TO AGRICULTURE AND HOUSEHOLDS

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Ladies and gentlemen,

My special task this morning is to comment on the contributions of previous speakers. So far we have had two general presentations by Mrs. Boserup, one by Mrs. Janelid and three specific presentations of case-studies by Mr. Venema, Mr. Konter and Mr. den Ouden. The latter were illustrations of the general topics presented by the previous two speakers. Of course not all the papers for this workshop have been presented as yet, there are still two left, one by Mrs. Thomas and Mrs. Presvelou will also give a presentation at the end.

My first remark on what has been put before us so far is, that the talks came in a logical historical sequence. One could question whether the first talk of Mrs. Boserup dealing with the position of women in economic production and in the household being of a less general nature, should not have been the second. I think, however, that there is a logical reason for this particular order. By starting with this topic we have stressed that we will consider agricultural development in particular in connection with women and the household. It seems self-evident in discussing rural development, especially when discussing the African situation, to pay attention to the household and women. It is a fact, however, that most often this subject is treated as a separate topic and is left out when agricultural development is discussed. It seems therefore a good thing to give it full priority in this meeting and stress the fact that one cannot properly consider agricultural development without giving full attention to the household and the role of women.

I should like to continue with some general remarks on rural development and planning and especially the roles of the international agencies in it.

There is a tendency in international organizations and I think also on the national level in the developed countries to discuss the concrete problems of the Third World as if the politicians and scholars participating in these discussions were the policy makers themselves. Of course they do not discuss completely on their own, there are in most cases people from the developing countries at these meetings and most of the time the material is supplied by the countries themselves of which the future is at stake. But what strikes me all the time in these meetings is, that people from the developed countries speak as if they were directly responsible for the developing countries as if they had power of decision overthere.

I often said, that we in the Netherlands are more concerned often about what happens in let us say Ghana or Surinam than about what happens here on the spot. This is of course very nice, and very honourable and I do not want to criticize it too much, but it often gives a wrong perspective. The real situation is that industrialized countries, developed technologies, including social technologies which are applied to other countries. They also developed science and knowledge having a tremendous influence on thinking there. Moreover, a great many people in the developing countries graduated from European and North American universities. So I think that having this in mind people in the developed countries feel responsible for the kind of knowledge they are supplying. I understand that quite well. But the wrong perspective in which the situation is viewed, is that we are overrating the impact of our thinking; it is not so that what we say or what we believe matters so much.

It also has another very negative effect. Overrating our knowledge and its effects covers up the fact that what is put on paper as planning and policies in and for these countries becomes very rarely real policy.

It is true that people in the developed countries dealing with development problems are more and more becoming aware that our thinking about rural development, does not have the proper perspective and that the policies for the developing countries are too often only not applied, but not taken seriously at all. But in general, as I said, they too overrate the influence of rational thinking in the developing countries. This does not mean, however, that thinking on development in all the countries concerned is nevertheless not playing an important role in what is going on.

There was a time in development during which it was thought that the countries outside Europe and the USA could develop rapidly. That was the period of the economic planning bureaus. The western expert reviewed the statistical figures and mapped out the ideal course. Then he went away and left the people with a blue-print. On the basis of this they then got the money from abroad to start their efforts at implementation. The great stress in this period was put on rapid industrial development. It was surmised that the generated wealth would trickle down to the countryside and would generate agricultural development and more demand of consumer goods. This would have been a new type of development. European development and that of other countries like Japan, where development succeeded, was done on the back of the farmer. It was the agricultural sector, which gave the necessary surplus for further development. But why should history always repeat itself? Why not try something else? Why should we not start with an accelerated industrial development? But the outcome in the developing countries disproved this view: industry developed poorly and the anticipated results did not appear. What I am saying does not hold for Brazil and some other countries but it was definitely the case for Africa, where surplus and surplus capital moved from the countryside to the town mainly in a one-way flow. Mr. den Ouden in his recent research saw very interesting things, among others, that some of the people who migrated from the countryside to towns are still in contact with their villages and are investing there in agriculture. So the process is more complicated. But this reverse

movement is not very well developed.

As this type of thinking did not succeed, Western experts started a second type of development approach by introducing more educational loans, and measures for infra-structural improvement. This also has not given a proper result. So we are at present putting heavier emphasis on the role of agriculture. But what is still lacking at the moment is a clear conception of the role of the agricultural sector in total development. This is a difficult matter and we should look very carefully into this.

Mrs. Boserup said that we can distinguish two types of rural development, and I think that this idea should be discussed a little bit more. She made a distinction between development for economic growth or development for food production and social development. In fact it is very difficult to discuss rural development policies along these lines. I don't think that rural development policies can be divided in this way and that a choice between these alternatives is possible. Social development is not a luxury; there is not an option by which you can say: 'shall we further it or shall we not further it?' Part of social development is not consumption; it is a productive factor. The question in rural planning is how much are you going to invest in different factors. I consider certain types of infra-structural and social development as an input; education up to a certain point is an input, it is not a luxury. A specific type of health investment is not only social development, is not only in the area of making life nicer, but it is really a necessary input for adequate labour. To divide our thinking in the above mentioned way is I think a wrong approach. It is better to ask different questions. Health has economic aspects which could be calculated. The same can be said of education and other social investments. You cannot divide development processes arbitrarily. The whole process has to be reviewed again.

Another very important element in our discussion is the question of food production and cash crops. Much of the nice plans I have seen in fact are not dealing with a comprehensive rural development. They are dealing more often with cash crops and how these should be developed. This is done because it gives national revenues (taxes); there is also a foreign currency part to it. But the main reason is a need for taxes. They are seldom based on a comparative study of the alternative possibilities of agricultural enterprises according to size in which also the question of food crops and cash crops is taken into account. Small farmer schemes exist in a number of plans, and in certain countries like Kenya and the Ivory Coast they were even successful. There is information available although not sufficient, that small farmers can produce a lot of cash crops cheaper than big plantations. But in planning no proper use is made of this type of information. I think that this whole question of plantations versus small farmers should be viewed more carefully and be taken into account in the strategy of rural development together with the place of food-crop production.

There are a lot of further questions which are not properly studied and are not sufficiently taken into account in building up a development policy in which the rural sector receives proper attention. I should like to point in this respect to a book 'Why the poor stay poor' by Michael Lipton, a famous economist. One of the reasons for this

state of affairs is in his view the urban bias of development planning. I think he overstated the case, although there are many points to what he is saying. Many of the local problems we are discussing here have their basis not only in this urban bias but also in a too state-dominated rural policy. The State interferes in the local field via its marketing boards and cooperatives that are directed too much from the top. The State influences prices and strips farmers from initiatives by manipulating these prices. What is at stake often in Africa and in many other parts is that the interests of the small farmers are made second to particular interests on the national level. I don't think this is done by people who are bad by nature but the fact is that there is a new 'bourgeoisie' in power which identifies often its interests with the general interest. To put it in directer terms I would say that everywhere there are people in power who want to keep it and who use their power to aggrandize it. This question of leadership and power in Africa is another point which needs careful study. But I will not go into the details of this question now. On the other hand, I think that in a lot of ways, if you change the government or the powerrelations, there will still remain a great many questions in the local field. If you look for instance at some socialist countries, you will find a lot of the same troubles as in non-socialist countries even in a far more pathetic way. What I want to point out is that there are problems of a structural nature in the field of rural development in all countries dealing with small farmers development.

Coming now to research, let me start with the following point. *Research in Africa* for small farmers is not very well developed. Most of the research was done on cash crops, by stations that were in the services of colonial governments, interested in the first place in an export oriented agriculture. This is so not only the case in Africa, but also in Latin America. Research on food crops was very insignificant. Not only do we not know enough about the kind of seeds and all the economic problems that are connected with food crops, but also there is not sufficient knowledge of the problems of the extension services in this particular respect.

The situation has somewhat improved after the colonial period but I don't think that I'm overstating the case if I say that there is still not enough modern research available on the problems of food crops. A reason is that national governments in the developing countries don't like to invest in food crops, they don't like to invest in small farmers. One of the reasons for this attitude may be that as pointed out before, they have not a clear conception of what the results of those investments are. Recently, so far as I know, some international stations move very slowly into the field of research of food crops in production by small farmers. We have some contact with them. One of the food crops receiving attention is for instance cassava. But suddenly this food crop turns also into a valuable cash crop being important for cattle in the Netherlands and the rest of Western Europe. It should be watched carefully that this interest is not turning against the benefit of the small farmers.

We shall now give more attention to another theme, the household. It is characteris-

tic for Africa, Mrs. Boserup pointed this out in her first lecture and also in her book, that in many cases the farmer is a woman. In 'Woman's Role in Agriculture' she distinguishes three types of agricultural systems, one in which men only prepare ground and women do all the other work, a second in which men do most of cultivation, and a third in which men take part in cultivation, but women do most of the work. I believe that it would be worthwhile to introduce in the scheme the factor cattle. This whole matter of cattle cannot be reviewed separately from rural development or the development of agricultural food crops. Cattle should be put into the picture and poultry also should not be left out in establishing an adequate agriculture development-policy.

I now come to another point, the household. Superficially one might think that it would not be strictly necessary to discuss the household as a separate item in development. However, if you look at the literature one of the almost completely neglected subjects is the study of the household as a production unit. One of our famous sociologists, in fact the man who with Durkheim virtually created modern sociology, Max Weber, devoted a lot of thinking to the household as a social and production unit. After his work you will find very few studies on the subject besides the work of Egner. It is amazing, that in anthropological works, including those on Africa, when the family is discussed it is only followed by a small discussion on the household, but more often this subject is not treated at all and there are certainly not many studies considering it carefully as a production unit. Primarily this has something to do with the fact that economic anthropology and economic sociology were together with political sociology and anthropology the last to come into being as full-fledged disciplines. It was only after 1930, and especially after 1950 that gradually studies were introduced which had a definite importance for economic anthropology.

Malinowski and Raymond Firth started important field research in the field of economic anthropology. But it was not followed up by many studies and still the weakest part in monographical studies in anthropology remains the section on economics. It is improving somewhat, but most anthropologists are not properly trained in economics and that explains why the parts in monographs that often have very valuable information on other fields, are very weak as far as economics is concerned. But especially weak is often the study of the household, if it is given attention at all.

Recently the household is receiving somewhat more attention in social history, and some interesting studies came out in this field. Several years ago I asked two female students, to start studies on the household and to write about it. One of them is here today. At the same time a study was started in the department of home economics. I wanted to develop the study of the household as a production unit because I was already a long time aware that it was a very important factor in planning agriculture development.

Did we make much progress since? Not very much, as we proceeded very slowly. But, it was a beginning. It is impossible to study African agriculture without studying the

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necessary for an appropriate development policy. This means of course multidisciplinary work.

I shall, however, not end these comments with the obligatory remarks, a customary recital on most symposia, on the multi-disciplinary approach. We are, I believe, all convinced that the multi-disciplinary approach is most desirable in studying human affairs, especially in the field of development. To apply it is, however, another question. In an address which I shall deliver shortly in the University of the West-Indies, I shall point out that in stead of discussing in general terms the benefits and a possible methodology of multidisciplinary work, it is better to identify the problems that matter, to analyze them, and then to try to interest people of other disciplines who are able to look at things in an unorthodox way and in broader perspective to join in the research. This will bring about real multi-disciplinary work in a direct way. The research needed to determine the role of the household and women for development policies will, I believe, also benefit much from such a procedure.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS

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REPORT OF GROUP ONE

The group discussed three main themes:

1. The need for a conceptual clarification; what is a household; what is meant by position versus status of women?
2. Types of research and research priorities within home economics, as they are related to non-Western countries.
3. The position of Western home economics departments in relation to the developing countries.

1. *Conceptual clarification*

Since quite a number of home economists participated in this group, the question of how to define the concept of household was discussed at length. In the papers presented during the symposium much attention was paid to the subject of male and female labour in agriculture in relation to the relative positions of men and women in the household and in the village. (Boserup, Konter, Venema, Den Ouden). Much less attention, however, was paid to the household as such.

There exists a tacit consent in social science that the household is a co-residential group, most often made up of a (nuclear) family, that shares a number of activities, geared towards its members' well-being (sometimes described as economic activities). It is distinguished on the basis of three criteria. This may at first sight apply to the household in Western countries; in Africa the household group cannot be as easily discerned.

In African reality it appears that the three criteria, mentioned above, do not necessarily refer to the same group of people; they are not indissolubly linked (Spijkers). So the group discussed the question: on which criterion should the definition of the concept of household be founded? The group decided to focus on the criterion of common activities, as a functional approach to study the household in relation to the needs of its members and to the particular society with which it interacts. This manner of linking the household to its environment, provides a dynamic concept, by means of which relations of the (African) household with the village, the region, the State can be studied.

As a consequence, the group declined to discuss the household as women's activities only; men and children should also be considered as actors in household activities.

The discussion continued with the question of which activities should be regarded as household activities. Answering this question was regarded as decisive for defining the concept of household. The typology of activities related to meeting basic needs of food, clothing, health and education was taken as an example. The group indicated that this typology should be adapted to the particular situation of every country and to the specific type of research under consideration. A final conclusion in this respect, however, was not reached.

Can one define the whole village as a household, as one speaker suggested, based on the argument that the people of a village could be asked at a given moment to help with activities that need to be performed at the village level? The group felt that this depends on the precise description of the activities considered as household activities.

2. *Research*

The group concluded that in development programmes and in research related to development problems, the household, in the sense discussed above, should be taken into consideration as a unit of observation and action. One of the participants stressed this point, saying that according to his experience in identification missions, there is no clear concept of the role of the household and of the contribution of home economics in the developing process. So there lies an important task for home economics research in this field. The household is the elementary social and organizational level at which critical decisions take place, regarding allocation of resources in order to satisfy biological and cultural needs. Decisions which affect not only the household itself, they also have more extensive repercussions and influences at local, regional and national levels.

Discussing more specifically home economics research in developing countries, a distinction was made between the policy making, action-oriented type of research and the fundamental, theory-building type of research. The policy makers of the group stressed the importance of research that could be applied immediately. One should be very careful in doing fundamental research, which can be very interesting to a few scientists, but is of no immediate use. On the other hand, as was put forward by some home economists of the group, there is a need for a more theoretical body of knowledge in order to be able to better explain and eventually to predict household processes and their impact on village organization. The reciprocal influences between households and other sectors such as markets, agricultural production, health services, etc. was also stressed. Thus there is need for home economics research which covers a wider field and is not aimed at solving immediate problems.

There followed a short discussion on the 'position' versus the 'status' of women. It was put forward that a clear distinction should be made between the two concepts. The need for developing objective criteria for 'measuring' the position of women was expressed. How objective can these indicators be, since they tend to reflect the cultural background of the researcher, which is most often not the same as the background of the women under consideration. This question remained unanswered.

3. *The role of home economics departments*

There was a short discussion on the moral aspect of the position of home economics departments, their staff and students, in developing countries. Are we, as representatives of Western universities, needed there to do research? It was stressed that there are many requests from developing countries for scientific assistance to government agencies and universities. On the other hand, in many other cases, the initiative for research is taken by the Western university. This often results in a type of research that benefits that university or researcher in the first place.

Regardless of the stand taken by the members in this respect, the group stressed the importance of establishing a continuous form of cooperation and exchange with home economics departments in a few developing countries. This cooperation could be of mutual benefit with regard to curriculum development, providing teaching material, student exchange, etc.

One of the participants stated that home economics departments, working on research projects in developing countries should focus on the fact that women are oppressed. The group did not accept this statement as a starting point for research. One might reach this conclusion at the end of a study, but it could never be taken as a starting point. Home economics research and home economists working with developing agencies should focus on the rural poor. Women certainly form an important part of this group.

In addition to this point it was put forward by some members that in any research project it is very important to involve the people at the local level. This would also provide a feedback for policymakers. In this respect cooperation with women's organizations at all levels was strongly stressed.

REPORT OF GROUP TWO

The group in its report first gave a short survey of processes and problems discussed during the symposium and that were regarded as most important for the household and women. After that a series of more detailed recommendations were made for researchers and policy makers.

1. *Analysis of processes and problems.*

Development in Africa has brought a complete change in many households. In the past women were the main food producers in Africa. When food production becomes of national importance and food crops for the greater part are commercialized, male-oriented farming systems tend to gain ground; men are going to earn a major part of the money income of the household. There is also a shift to new food crops (e.g. rice) which can become a cash crop for urban consumption, provided that the infrastructure (market, transport, etc.) is adequate. This process may have the same effect.

The change in the structure of land ownership is another important factor which is

Another problem discussed was that of marketing. In many countries there is a lack of infrastructure. The group suggested that 'donors' should invest particularly in infrastructure projects, in order to improve marketing facilities in areas where the costs of the infrastructure cannot be borne by the national government.

In situations where there is little demand in urban areas as a consequence of heavy food imports, so that surpluses cannot be marketed, it might be a good idea to encourage intra-village specialization. So, avoiding the dependency on the market, productivity could be increased by means of some division of labour between agricultural producers (men and women) in the village.

causing changes in African households. Households which were separate production units, or perhaps were several interrelated production units making up a single one, now tend to change and are becoming households of landless labourers. Land is becoming scarcer, the population has doubled and it is going to increase dramatically in many regions. There is a tendency for households to become more and more dependent on wage labour. The working group suggested that these processes will have a great impact on the household. This wil affect households where the female is the head of the household. Are women being pushed out of food production? It will also affect many male-headed households.

Another problem area which was discussed by the group is that of the inter-relationships between the household and macro-level processes. This was considered as

conflicts arising from the pursuit of macro-versus micro-ends. In many cases cash-crop production is promoted because it produces national revenues (taxes). Little attention is paid to small farmers producing food crops for subsistence. Alternative possibilities for large or small scale agricultural enterprises in which the question of food crops and cash crops is also taken into account are not studied, nor the consequences for the household and the position of women therein.

There is another point which, in development policy, should be taken into consideration and that is what could be termed social investments, e.g. investments in infrastructure, education, health, etc. These types of investments have a consumptive and a protective as well as a productive aspect. For example, a specific investment in the health area is related not only to social development; it is also a necessary input for providing adequate labour.

CONCLUSIONS

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Within the context of this Symposium the drawing up of systematic conclusions seems, at first, a difficult if not a perilous enterprise. There are several reasons for this. One is that throughout this volume the terms household, rural development and rural women have been used by speakers and participants in different ways. Therefore, any effort tending to infer identity in content from the use of the same term would be incorrect. Another reason is that the participants did not make up a homogeneous group with regard to field experience in developing countries, degree of personal involvement with development policies and scientific disciplines. Economists, anthropologists, home economists, biologists or sociologists brought to the plenary sessions and the group discussions the insight of their disciplines and professions. Therefore, to remain faithful to each contributor's point of view would mean to draw as many individual conclusions as there were participants. A third reason is that what the organizers of the Symposium sought to achieve does not necessarily completely coincide with all the expectations of the participants. It follows that the same basic material when reviewed for the conclusions can, theoretically, be used in a variety of ways. An extension officer, for example, might focus more attention on the parts dealing with the implementation of strategies than, say, a member of a research institute. These different types of emphasis and interpretation are reflected in the individual contributions. As far as possible, special attention has been given to having the write-ups of the three workshop reports, reflect this variety.

For the concluding remarks of this volume the decision was taken to use the goals of the Symposium as guidelines. The first of the three goals was to explore in what ways concepts which are related to the social and economic relevance of the rural household in developing countries could be formulated in applied scientific research. The second was to study how and under what circumstances the household can and should be considered as the basic unit for development programmes. The third was to evaluate to what extent the exchange of information gathered during the Symposium could help to identify research areas and thus contribute to the design of appropriate training curricula.

These guidelines also provide a framework for the future activities of a Department of Home Economics such as ours which, in addition to the national (topical) perspective, also has comparative and transcultural ones. From our point of view, this framework closely links the conceptual, empirical study of the household and of its activities – object of Home Economics – (which was the Symposium's first goal) with

the concrete activities and policies of development (i.e. the second goal) which constitute its logical sequence. The interpenetration of these two and their mutual interdependence suggest areas where research is needed and the results of which should be fed back into the teaching and training curricula (i.e. the third goal).

On the basis of this framework three general conclusions can be drawn from the proceedings:

1. *Recognition of the complexity of the household unit*

The concept of the household and of its activities appears as a rather vague point of reference in some of the lectures when these are isolated from the whole. However, if the sections of this volume are read as interrelated parts, the household ceases to be an abstract and somewhat static element.

In the course of the Symposium, through the case studies presented and the ensuing discussions we feel that a sort of transformation has occurred where rural (African) households become 'living wholes' made up of a finite number of members each striving from his (her) position and assigned (predetermined by tradition) or assumed (introduced by change) role(s) to satisfy the needs of the group and the village community to which the individual belongs. What each member does is not simply 'an activity'. The activity becomes a series of sequential steps: planting yams, millet, beans or groundnuts, tending them, storing the crop, selling the surplus; taking care of the sick and the young; teaching boys and girls traditional arts and crafts; attending weddings, death or initiation ceremonies. Households have their individual and collective histories. They are confronted with old customs or with novel, bureaucratic regulations. They shift from one rural area to another and in the course of their migrations they remain undivided or split into smaller residential units. Some adapt easily to the modernization process and profit from it; others lag behind and become even more impoverished. Individuals and households become identifiable men and women who laugh or cry, work or rest, devise means to free themselves and their families from economic dependency or submit to it passively. From this, it becomes possible to reconstruct, in all their complexity, the individual households and the activities performed within them.

The next step consists in specifying the interrelated historical, socio-cultural and economic variables which are needed to define the household. By historical variables we mean the traditional past or the period which preceded modernization and its impact on the ongoing development process. The economic variables refer to the income structure of and resources (land, water, etc.) available to the household within a given community, how they influence the income-generating and other activities of household members, the capacity of the latter to satisfy group needs, the degree to which resources determine the position of households within the community and influence community life. The socio-cultural variables refer to norms and values which differentiate the activities of men and women, of old and young, of rich and poor. They also help to specify the structure of the household in terms of household composition

and of the activities performed to satisfy the basic needs of members in the sexual, emotional, technological, economic and social spheres.

The proceedings of the Symposium (lectures and reports of workshop discussions) include a variety of topics that focus broadly on the production, reproduction and consumption functions of the household. What impact do prevailing socio-economic conditions have on structure and functions of the household unit, and on the position of men and women? What is the nature and function of traditional sex roles and what are the structures (including the household) that have supported them from generation to generation? Do men and women have equal access to and control over resources, i.e. land, credit, labour-saving devices? Because of the recognition by the participants of the fact that the quality of research in general and of the household in particular has been affected by the inadequacy or the inapplicability of existing conceptual frameworks and research methodology, the proceedings offer the possibility of focusing attention on what we consider decisive methodological issues. Namely, how far can existing concepts of household and its activities reflect non-Western realities? What approaches would facilitate in-depth and complex analyses? Can indigenous practices of communication and information-gathering be used innovatively and in a manner sensitive to the needs and aspirations of non-Western households?

No attempt has been made here to present a theoretical framework linking household activities to household structures and the position of each member (micro-approach) on one hand, to the community on the other (macro-approach). It is merely suggested that a comprehensive reading of the proceedings of the Symposium offers the possibility of attempting such an endeavour. And this is, indeed, a very encouraging result.

2. *Awareness of the need to focus attention on the household and on its activities in research and development policy*

In the text this awareness grows gradually and one could say that it did not fully emerge. In addition, it would seem that it develops as a reaction to the current practice of studying the position and the role of rural women, which tends to dissociate the latter from the household.

It is a generally accepted point of view, as has been put forward in the lectures and in the discussions, that as development proceeded, the position of rural women in Africa deteriorated (although there may be some exceptions to this rule). According to many scientists this is because in development praxis ethnocentric concepts prevailed. It has, namely, exported a Western model of economic and social change through the allocation of different resources (education, training, jobs, salaries, etc.) to men and women. It has also profoundly altered the structure of the market abilities of rural men (producers of cash crops) and of rural women (producers of food products for household consumption). The establishment of topical development schemes where beneficiaries are grouped according to individual characteristics (age, sex, etc.), has substituted individualism for communalism. As a consequence, woman's position has

been neglected and her role in production understimated. The concept of the male as head of the household – a Western idea – guided development planners to focus their attention on male farmers. This contributed to the weakening of the household unit, and the position of women.

In a large number of publications, especially since the International Women's Year (1975), pleas have been made for the recognition of the important role rural African women play in production and for the improvement of their social and economic status. From several statements selected from the lectures and discussions it seems that the improvement in the status of rural women necessarily passes through a phase of repudiation of household activities. According to some speakers or discussants this is a necessary and sufficient condition for 'liberating' rural women from the household-traditional structure of their confinement. It is, apparently, postulated that the more rural women are linked to claims for education, technical training and paid income-generating activities without any explicit reference to the household or even by deprecating its very existence, the more they will increase their social status.

According to us this postulate is not as universal and culture-free as its proponents claim it to be. More specifically, it deliberately disregards the fact that the members of a household are not merely individuals, accidentally living together and performing their productive and reproductive activities on an individual basis. This idea is based on a Western concept of the household which in extreme cases is almost devoid of productive functions. Moreover, it refuses to acknowledge the fact that the household constitutes the platform on which decisions regarding allocation of resources are taken and carried out in an interdependent way.

The preceding brief discussion leads to the conclusion that there is not a necessary and sufficient link between the improvement in the status of women on one hand and the downgrading of the household and of household activities on the other. On the contrary! An example from the industrialized countries may be relevant here.

In Western societies efforts have been made in recent years to 'de-alienate' workers (mostly men) from labour. This is pursued through flexible work schedules, reduction of working hours and commuting time. One of the most direct beneficiaries of these policies is the household. Time (as a resource) freed from paid work increases the worker's, man or woman, range of options. The husband can spend more time with his wifes and children or perform household activities often neglected because of lack of time. If the equation: household involvement $\neq$ lower social status of the homemaker is true then it follows that an inferior status for males is to be anticipated as a consequence of their greater involvement with the household! Culture-bound, e.g. Western postulates and working hypotheses are therefore ill-suited for studying the position of women on other continents.

The above discussion supports our belief that daily as well as occasional activities performed in the 'invisible' sphere of the rural household must be recognized by researchers and policy-makers. This has also been officially accepted by the United Nations.

> Indeed, since May 1977 the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) of the United Nations has adopted the proposal for a National Household Survey Capability Programme (NHSCP) originally conceived in 1973 as a sequel to the African Census Programme. The NHSCP has developed from the realization that 'the household plays a key role in development in developing countries'. Follows the recognition that 'it is in the household where much productive activity is organized, including most of the agricultural sector and so-called 'traditional' sector'. The conclusion is therefore that 'to study the household as a complex economic and social unit, it is necessary for a country to have efficient field survey capabilities' (UN, 1979).

This awareness which, as stated earlier, emerged slowly in the proceedings of the Symposium, should be developed further. Namely, researchers should translate, in quantitative and qualitative terms, what the contribution of household activities are to the well-being of its own members, in creating and maintaining activities of real and symbolic value at the village and national levels.

3. *Contribution of Home Economists to research in developing countries*

The Symposium brought to light some research priorities. One of the final conclusions that could be drawn from the various papers and from the discussion reports is the fact that it is very important indeed to study the effects of the development process, in general, and of specific development plans, in particular, at the household level.

Home Economics research can make an important contribution to this field, since it aims at understanding the way in which activities carried out by the household and geared towards the satisfaction of its needs, are structured. In doing so Home Economics research considers social, economic and technological factors in an integrative way and can apply concepts and approaches from sociology, economics and the natural sciences.

The problems rural African households have to face, such as the shift from subsistence crops to cash crops, the growing dependence on cash income, the fission of domestic groups and the growing importance of the nuclear family, the individualization of cultivation rights, etc. should be analyzed in connection with the changing positions of the individual household members, in terms of labour input, decision-making, access and control over resources and outputs.

Another point of entry for Home Economics research is to study the effects of development processes on the level of well-being of individual households and the differentiation within and between them in terms of food production and consumption, use and effects of health services, education, etc.

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