

# COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT ON SETTLEMENT AND RESOURCE SYSTEMS ANALYSIS

HOUSEHOLD DYNAMICS AND DEVELOPMENT

Annotated and General Bibliographies

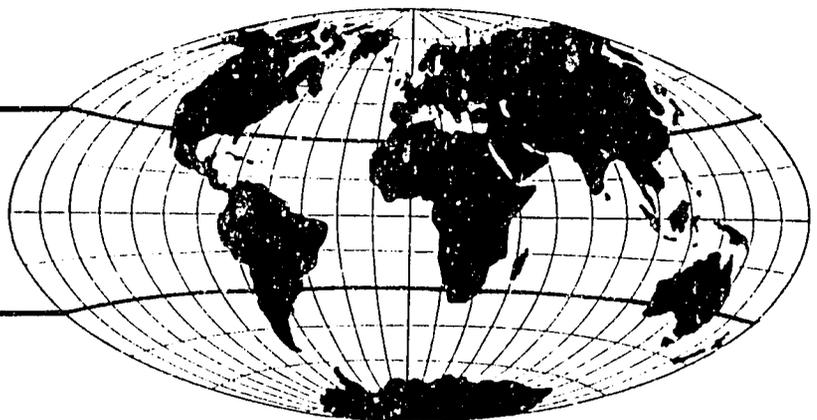
Focus on Africa

by

The Household Studies Group

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Settlement and Resource Systems Analysis  
Cooperative Agreement (USAID)  
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Though the finer points of definition may cause disagreement, it is difficult to imagine that a student attempting to do a household census in the field should report that there was no such grouping to be found.

Robert McC. Netting, Richard R. Wilk, and  
Eric J. Arnold, 1984:xxi

Everywhere in the world there is a domestic economy made up of the interlocking tasks of the members of the household . . . where there is a division of tasks, there automatically comes into existence a relationship of dependence between the people who perform the tasks . . . The more complex the division of tasks, the more complex must be the organization.

Paul Bohannon, 1963:220

Almost every survey contains somewhere in the foreward, footnotes or appendices, the problem of defining household membership . . . . Although the houses and farms just sit there to be visited and counted, people come and go . . . . This not only makes data collection practically difficult but it makes precise calculation of production and consumption patterns in terms of household labor constraints and food requirements problematic . . . (Also) individuals can exercise rights and be subject to obligations . . . normally thought of as economic beyond the household in which they live.

Jane Guyer, 1981:98

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## PREFACE

The Settlement and Resource Systems Analysis Cooperative Agreement (SARSA) is a research program funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development. The purpose of the agreement is to conduct basic research on critical Third World development issues and to provide technical assistance to Third World countries. The Household Studies Project has as its goal to increase our knowledge of household production systems and the allocation of time, labor, and resources to facilitate the advancement of SARSA's research agenda and priorities.

The Household Studies Group consists of Eileen Berry, Ophelia Mascarenhas, Barbara Thomas, and Anita Baltzersen at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts and Muneera Salem Murdock and Cynthia Woodsong at the Institute for Development Anthropology in Binghamton, New York.

The conceptual framework for the two bibliographies and the monograph now in preparation was worked out by the whole group in a series of workshops. The Annotated Bibliography was the work of Anita Baltzersen and Cynthia Woodsong while the General Bibliography was organized primarily by the group at Clark University with contributions from the Institute of Development Anthropology. Individual sections of the monograph are being prepared by Eileen Berry, Ophelia Mascarenhas, Muneera Salem Murdock, and Barbara Thomas. The project is supported by a grant from USAID under the Cooperative Agreement on Human Settlements and Natural Resource Systems Analysis.

Thanks are due for this support to Dr. Gerald Karaska of Clark University and Dr. Thayer Scudder of the Institute for Development Anthropology, and also to Donna Martin, Sharilyn Geistfeld, and Elaine Hartwick for help in preparing the materials for publication. We should also like to thank Jeanne Kasperson, Librarian at CENTED - Clark University, for valuable help in obtaining materials.

## INTRODUCTION

The two bibliographies represent an initial attempt to bring together important theoretical and practical materials on the household which are currently referenced under a variety of disciplinary headings because of the cross-disciplinary interest in this subject. These two bibliographies are the first phase of SARSA's project on Household Studies and Rural Development. The second phase is directed towards the publication of an edited monograph consisting of four individually authored papers, which will deal with the most important themes in household research highlighting substantive problems and controversial issues.

The household has recently become a central focus in development studies. It has received increasing attention as an important institution and the locus of key decisions in natural resource management and agriculture. These are matters of interest that reach from the micro-level to questions raised by the World Bank following costly failures in large-scale projects due to lack of effective information on local management systems, including those of farm-households.

Whereas previous interest tended to be in its role as a consumer group, the household is now recognized as being both a production unit and, often, a reproduction unit. The "new home economics" emphasizes this change in focus though it retains a neoclassical perspective on decision making and the western model based on the nuclear family. Other disciplinary approaches take different views looking at intrahousehold relationships as important in the understanding of decision making.

As indicated in the title the main focus in this work is on Africa though other areas are included if the work has some significance for understanding either concepts or issues. Africa is a major concern in development efforts at the present and households in Africa, like many in the developing world, defy the simple description and generalization afforded by the western model, reliance on which has led to serious mistakes in project planning. The complexity of composition and internal dynamics, plus the variety of livelihood strategies by which such households are sustained, all contribute to the need for a more realistic model (Berry, 1981). Conceptual confusion between the terms "family" and "household", also coming from the use of the western model, is responsible for the lack of clear thinking about the exact role of the household as an economic unit.

Problems of conceptualization and of definition and a continuing debate concerning the role and significance of the household take place despite the increased recognition of its importance. Researchers engaged in surveys at the household level grapple with these difficulties in the field. Some would argue that larger kinship groups are still more important in certain areas, while others would point to the virtual autonomy of sub-groups within the household, especially in polygamous households where

women and children may be functionally separate. The issues of boundaries and overlapping functions constantly arise. The debates cut across disciplines so that many anthropologists, for instance, now think that the household is more significant than kinship groups traditionally studied.

With so many different perspectives on the household, it is to be expected that the terminology used, the conceptual frameworks and the research questions will also vary widely. However, the growing interest in the subject and the need to resolve the practical problems of fieldwork have led to a move towards the sharing of ideas and information, as witnessed by the publication of a number of edited volumes such as Netting et al., 1984; Smith et al., 1984; Guyer et al., 1986; and Mook et al., 1986. The discussions and debates are well covered here and in the literature that we have reviewed.

Certain issues appear to be especially well represented. These include the concern with female-headed households, sexual division of labor, migration as a factor in household composition and labor, child labor, and the rationality of farm households in adopting innovations. A recent emphasis on bargaining models in the explanation of decision making and an interest in the effects of migration on rural areas are noted. Some topics such as women's work, nutrition, and the linking role of cooperatives, have a broad interest and we have not attempted to cover the whole field. Instead we have chosen entries of particular interest.

The gaps in knowledge that we have noted are in questions such as the differential access to resources, seasonality in labor use, other time-related issues, and evaluative studies of policy impacts. It may well be that we have missed important materials because of the very broad scope of this research and we hope readers will bring significant items to our attention so that we may improve and up-date these bibliographies.

The essential purpose of the two bibliographies is to serve the practical needs of users, primarily those working in the field of development studies and planning. The annotated bibliography reviews the more important articles and books. Except for a few articles in French, known to the compilers, only the literature in English is covered by the two bibliographies. The general bibliography is meant as a ready reference. The alphabetical order facilitates this, while further information is provided by the use of key words, a brief descriptor, and an index that references subject and area.

We hope that these two bibliographies will provide a useful beginning to SARSA'S project on Household Studies and Rural Development, a project that is directed towards assisting work currently in progress under the four headings of natural resource management, rural-urban dynamics, settlement and resettlement, and regional planning. It grows out of the recognized need for better information at the household level and a clearer definition of the framework within which it may be obtained.

Eileen Berry  
November 1986

**ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Arizpe, Lourdes.

1982. Rotating Urban Labour: Relay Migration as a Strategy for Survival Among Peasant Households. In H.I. Safia, ed., Towards A Political Economy of Urbanization in Third World Countries. Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 19-46.

Arizpe observes high rates of temporary wage labor migration in two communities in Mexico and documents age, sex, and other characteristics of the migrant labor force relative to the political economy of the communities. She suggests that high rates of temporary migration are due to the fact that these "migrants have not severed their links with their parents' household because their migration is functional to the household" (p. 32). They are, then, fulfilling their assigned role within the household. Wage labor is thus viewed as a critical household survival strategy. This occurs because the capitalist sector requires cheap labor and obtains it from peasant societies which are constantly losing their resources as they are incorporated into the capitalist economic system.

Arizpe then discusses the relationship between migratory wage labor and the composition of peasant families. She presents economic opportunities for sex and age-specific cohorts for each community and compares them with fertility rates, household size, dependency ratios, and data on the domestic cycle.

In one of the villages a pattern which Arizpe calls "relay migration" emerges in which "first the father migrates and then progressively, as the sons and daughters grow up, each migrates in turn" (p. 37). The pattern corresponds to the household domestic cycle and its needs. After presenting data on such migration and the economic opportunities which exist for migrants, the author concludes that "in order to provide the wage income required over a period of twenty years, we can estimate that the family needs three sons or a combination of four sons and daughters" (p. 39) to survive at a minimum level.

The other village studied is more agriculturally based and the author does not observe the pattern of relay migration, although migration does occur. In this village, the author notes trends similar to those reported in her previous work in which "each social class tends to generate specific forms of out-migration in response to the economic and social pressures that affect it" (p. 20). Wealthier peasant families encourage migration of children to achieve upward social mobility.

Urban migration is thus viewed as a sound economic strategy for rural peasant households, although it has negative consequences at the national level by encouraging high fertility and overpopulation in urban areas. These negative consequences lead Arizpe to conclude that industrial capital does not "'maintain' the subsistence peasant economy to save the social costs of the reproduction of labor" (p. 44), but rather, that it is not in the interest of the capitalist sectors "to maintain agricultural enclaves which send thousands of migrants to industrial centers where there is no possibility of their being employed" (p. 45). Still, at the household level, the maintenance of high fertility allows

for perhaps the only possible source of investment, that is, the labor power of children.

KEY WORDS: migration; urban households; survival strategies

Baltzersen, Anita.

1984. Women's Networks: An Exploration into Their Use for Empowerment and Social Change. The African Review 11:1.

In this article, Baltzersen reviews the cross-cultural literature on women's networks in an attempt to derive a composite definition of the term. She focuses on the external influences which impact on women's choices of strategies to change their lives and whether women choose to be isolated or participate in informal or formal networks. She examines this process through a case study of women university students in Ile-Ife, Nigeria. The study is based on fieldwork conducted during 1981-1982.

Drawing on cross-cultural and cross-class studies, Baltzersen explores several types of reciprocal exchange networks and offers a working definition of a network that emphasizes a shared condition, physical proximity, reciprocity, and shared social resources in decision making. Networks vary significantly over time as the needs of the members change. Formal networks may arise as women seek to gain access to public resources which may otherwise be out of their reach.

Baltzersen next looks at the impact of male dominated policies from the colonial period to the present-day development agencies as they relegate women into the 'private' household sphere. She argues that because these policymakers do not look at internal household dynamics, they obscure women's productive roles and view them only as housewives and reproducers. In an attempt to cope with this situation, women help one another with domestic chores (informal networks) and may organize formal groups to gain visibility and access to resources. She examines this process in the Nigeria study.

The author concludes that formal and informal networks vary by class and by need (e.g., prestige or to share economic resources) as determined by the participants. She maintains that more research is needed to understand how successful women's networks are in gaining access to resources and how this contributes to change in the women's lives, especially among rural women. She finds that networks are particularly salient for women in transition and that research into this

topic could produce a wealth of information on how women cope with change.

KEY WORDS: informal and formal networks; decision making; access to resources; policy issues; gender/generational roles; socio-economic differentiation

Barlett, Peggy F.  
1980. Adaptive Strategies in Peasant Agricultural Production. Annual Review of Anthropology 9:545-573.

In this extensive research review, Barlett focuses on work that uses the family farm as a basic unit of study. She is particularly concerned with the 'adaptive strategies' approach applied to studies of Third World peasants. Barlett argues that the adaptive strategies approach can describe current resource allocation strategies, determine the variables that impinge on decision making, clarify the causal relationships among variables and predict future change.

Barlett begins by reviewing research which outlines the factors that affect agricultural strategies, including natural, political, social, and economic environments. She next reviews research which uses the household as a unit of analysis. She finds that individual household studies have highlighted the breadth of variables and strategies involved in agricultural decision making. She groups these studies into four categories: (1) population density and agricultural intensification; (2) stratification in access to resources; (3) the influence of household labor resources; and (4) cycles in household resources and needs.

Next, Barlett reviews the wide-ranging scope and method of research on peasant production strategies. The research often concentrates on individual households at one point in time or over a period of time. Barlett is critical of several good studies that did not look for cross-household decision making patterns based on the choices made and did not then group the patterns in relation to changes in relevant variables. Such links, Barlett contends, would lead to a discussion of why some households have access to capital or land and why others do not. Such questions will allow anthropologists to contribute to rural development efforts by focusing on the complexity of variables involved in agricultural strategies and identify when those variables become critical.

Barlett concludes that future research needs to explore the long-range impact on production strategies and adaptive processes on the world ecosystem, especially in light of the influence of agricultural technology. A better understanding of the household decision making process and the contribution of household members in the final allocation of resources is needed. This is especially important as stratification at the global and local level increases. Careful attention to

measurement, data collection and the interrelatedness of variables is also important.

KEY WORDS: resource allocation; adaptive strategies; family farm; peasant agriculture; decision making; intra-household dynamics; stratification

Barlett, Peggy F.

1977. The Structure of Decisionmaking in Paso. American Ethnologist 4:2:285-307.

In this article, Barlett analyzes the changes in land use patterns among peasant farmers in Paso, a predominantly agricultural community of 75 households. She is particularly concerned with uncovering the structure of peasants' decision making process. She details the variables significant to the decision making process and quantifies them and their patterns. An underlying assumption is that peasants are rational economic actors and that the individual choice process, to have meaning, must be linked to community-wide patterns.

In Paso, agriculture has adapted to steep mountain slopes, plus the consequences of increased population and decreased soil fertility. Access to land, determined by socioeconomic differentiation within the community, defines the crop mixes grown by Pasano farmers and helps to explain two major shifts in land use, for pasture or growing tobacco.

To evaluate Pasano farmers' decisions concerning crops, all heads of households were interviewed concerning labor and cash inputs to the production process. Barlett assesses this methodology in terms of reliability, profit, labor input, and risk (among others). She concludes that farmers weigh and rank crop options for their land.

In the following sections, Barlett analyzes the peasant decision making process by means of a flow chart. She discusses the relevance of community differentiation to the analysis of agricultural decision making.

Barlett concludes that profit is important in agricultural decision making among Pasano farmers. Family labor, though not a primary concern, is not discounted. She emphasizes the importance of returns to land (as opposed to the returns to labor criteria advocated by Chayanov), and finds that the Pasano decision making process seeks to maximize utility once the necessary minimum is reached. Barlett argues

that theories and structures of decision making must consider the existence and causes of community differentiation.

KEY WORDS: land use; agricultural decision making; access to resources; intra-household dynamics; socioeconomic differentiation.

Becker, Gary S.  
1965. A Theory of the Allocation of Time. Economic Journal 75:493-517.

In this article, Becker attempts to develop a general treatment of the allocation of time in non-work activities. He argues that, for example, the full cost of attending the theatre or dining out equals the sum of the market price plus the foregone value of time that could have been used in production.

In the first section, Becker sets out a basic theoretical analysis of choice that includes the cost of time on the same footing as the cost of market goods. In the remaining sections, he discusses some empirical implications of the theory such as hours devoted to work or to leisure and the division of labor among household members. He asserts that household members who are relatively more efficient at market activities would use less of their time in consumption activities than other members. An increase in the relative market efficiency of any member would affect a reallocation of time of all other household members toward consumption activities to permit the former to spend more time at market activities.

Becker systematically incorporates non-work time into a traditional utility function. He assumes that households are producing units and utility maximizers. He argues that money income plus income foregone by using time and goods to obtain utility produce a measure called "full income." He suggests that foregone earnings are quantitatively important and that full income is greater than money income. Since foregone earnings are primarily determined by the use of time, non-work activities need to be considered for efficiency and allocation.

Becker argues that the reallocation of time involves simultaneously the reallocation of goods and commodities, so that all three decisions become intimately related. These decisions affect household time and resource allocation. Becker adds that as of 1965, there has been little systematic empirical testing of this theory.

KEY WORDS: resource allocation; intra-household decision making; division of labor; allocation decisions

Beechy, Veronica.  
 1978. Critical Analysis of Some Sociological Theories of Women's Work. In Annette Kuhn and Ann Marie Wolpe, eds., Feminism and Materialism: Women and Modes of Production. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp. 155-197.

Beechy first discusses the Parsonian model to show how it places the segregation of sex roles within the occupationally derived class structure dominant in industrial society. In this way the importance of women's waged and domestic labor is ignored.

She notes that studies subsequent to Parsons' which did address female wage labor usually considered women as fulfilling two roles. Such approaches "fail to consider the ways in which the labour process structures the organization of work in the capitalist mode of production and the labour process," (p. 157). Dual labor market approaches are seen as static, ahistorical and classificatory, rather than explanatory.

Beechy seeks the answers to questions concerning women's work in Marxist analysis. She calls for an integration of feminist analysis of the sexual division of labor with a Marxist analysis of the labor process. She feels that dual labor market approaches, although they do not offer explanations for the subordinate position of women, do rightly emphasize "that where women are employed it is in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs in particular occupations and industries, many of which provide little job security and are poorly paid" (p. 176).

In the remainder of the chapter she explores the ways in which female labor is advantageous to the capitalist mode of production and the concept of a female industrial reserve labor force.

KEY WORDS: Marxist-feminist theory; sexual division of labor

Bender, Donald R.  
 1967. A Refinement of the Concept of Household: Families, Co-residence, and Domestic Function. American Anthropologist 69:493-504.

After discussing tendencies in the literature to conceptualize households separately as propinquity groupings and family as kin groupings, Bender notes the need to "distinguish between co-residential groups and domestic functions" (p. 495). The domestic unit, then, may be constituted by an entire community, as with the Mundurucu, or may be co-terminous with family.

This leads Bender to view three social phenomena as analytically significant -- family, co-residential groups, and domestic functions -- which vary independently. For Bender the term household has thus been

"applied to noncomparable phenomena" (p. 496). He suggests that the tendency to associate residence with kinship grew from anthropological studies of kinship, but says they must now be separated in light of evidence to the contrary. Residences are often temporary, family is not always kin based, family does not always reside together, residential groups are not always kin, and nuclear families are not always biological families.

For Bender, neither are sexual and reproductive activities universally associated with the nuclear family, nor are processes of socialization. Functional definitions are considered ambiguous and the family "is best defined structurally since there are no conclusively established invariable connections between specific family forms and particular family functions" (p. 503).

KEY WORDS: household definition; kinship

Berk, Richard A.

1980. The New Home Economics: An Agenda for Sociological Research. In Sarah Fenstermaker Berk, ed., Women and Household Labor. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, pp. 113-148.

In an overview of the New Home Economics, Berk sets out to "improve the quality of dialogue between sociologists and economists, paying particular attention to Marxist approaches to household production and its critiques of the New Home Economics." The New Home Economics approach views households as producers and consumers in a "small factory" operating according to neoclassical theory.

Following a straightforward presentation of the mathematical model of the New Home Economics, Berk discusses the problems associated with the theory. One of the main criticisms is its failure to operationalize the distinction between leisure time and household commodity production time, allowing for "psychic" rewards in household production. Berk nevertheless appreciates the New Home Economics for its contribution to considering households as production units.

Berk then considers Marxist criticisms of the New Home Economics which reject it for the same reason that neoclassical theory is rejected--for ignoring the relations of production within the household and the household creation of use values, which are produced in order to reproduce labor power. Household commodities, then, are to the New Home Economics as use-values are to Marxist theory (although Berk is careful to note that use-value is not the same as household commodities).

Although both neoclassical economists and Marxists view labor sold for wages as impersonal and domestic labor as highly personal, the

theories may be irreconcilable in their treatment of domestic production. Berk notes (as do other essays in this volume) that neither Marxists nor New Home Economists provide empirical data describing household organization of production.

Considering that household production studies are still in their infancy, he calls for serious academic research to move beyond theorizing to incorporating practical demonstrations and tests of the theoretical assumptions.

KEY WORDS: new home economics; Marxist theory

Berk, R. and S.F. Berk.

1979. Labor and Leisure at Home: Content and Organization of the Household Day. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

In this volume, Berk and Berk provide empirical data on the content and organization of household-based activities. The authors report on a detailed study of such activities within 750 U.S. households. In this study the household activity, rather than the individual, was the unit of analysis to determine production functions. Data was collected on both husbands and wives.

The book contains detailed information on household activities. Households are divided into four categories and longitudinal patterns of household activities are compared. The authors look at feasibility and efficiency in household production. They argue "for the concept of production functions and for a decision making model in which obtaining utility was the critical motive" (p. 229). They also distinguish between 'work' and 'leisure' and provide relevant decision making information on this distinction. A section on psychic rewards is included.

Summaries of the data provide few 'surprises' for those familiar with the literature on household work. Berk and Berk conclude that women perform by far the bulk of household tasks and when they are employed outside the home, in effect, they hold down two full-time jobs. Men enjoy more leisure time than women and their contributions to household work are most often in child care and helping with after-dinner chores. The authors acknowledge that the study is limited by (1) choice of households, (2) data was not collected on weekend activities, and (3) simultaneous activities were documented yet not analyzed as such. It nevertheless provides a detailed methodology for studying daily activities in a household setting.

KEY WORDS: methodologies; inequality among household members

Berry, Eileen Hadley.

1981. The African Family-Household: A Behavioral Model. Ph.D.  
Dissertation, Clark University, Worcester, MA.

(Author's Abstract)

This study examines the African family-household as an important economic organization. The household is distinguished from the social unit of the family, within which it forms a localized subset, and from the purely geographic unit confined to a specific locus. Survey workers and census takers in Africa frequently encounter difficulties in the recognition of household groups, where kin relations in both composition and socioeconomic organization are more complex than in the more industrialized countries.

Because most African family-households are farm households, or are economically tied in with farm households, they are important producers as well as consumers, and this gives the household a large economic role in all African countries. Many households produce foodstuffs for themselves and for local markets, as well as producing commercial crops for national export markets. Households are also the chief management units for national livestock populations because commercial ranching is still limited. Given this important role, the household has become the focus for development planners who must ultimately deal with the people who make the practical day-to-day decisions in farming and herding.

African family-households still depend ultimately on land or rights in land because African countries do not have fully monetized economies in which families can rely on wage incomes alone for their living; and yet some cash is essential to pay for tax bills, school fees, clothing and supplementary food. This semi-subsistent existence is one of the modern aspects of African daily life.

The main purpose of the dissertation is to produce a research model of the African family-household as it exists today, as a semi-subsistence domestic economic organization, not as a relic of an earlier traditional indigenous economic system. A systems framework is suggested for understanding the relations between the members and the complex trade-offs which have to be made between the in-household and the non-household use of time and resources in production and consumption.

The applications of the research model to development planning and its potential use in farming systems research are also discussed.

KEY WORDS: household model; resource allocation; decision making; markets; household organization; effects of the cash economy

Birdsall, Nancy.  
 1980. Measuring Time Use and Non-Market Exchange. In William Paul McGreevey, ed., Third World Poverty: New Strategies for Measuring Development Progress. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, pp. 157-174.

Birdsall presents in this chapter a brief overview of the methods and associated problems of time use studies and measurements of non-market exchange. Her discussion is based on the proceedings of a series of workshops and meetings around which the volume is written.

Noting that time-use data collection and analysis is still in its infancy, she calls for an inventory or integration of existing methods, and provides examples of some recent time-use surveys in developing countries. Four methods are discussed: one-day recall, observation, diary-keeping by respondents, and participant observation.

Although Birdsall states that "the definition of household can itself be complicated" (p.162), she feels that the household is an important unit of analysis for time study and encourages data collection on all household members, especially when focusing on women.

However, when discussing the feasibility of collecting data on nonmarket exchange within and between households, she cautions that by using only the household as the unit of analysis, the importance of transfers of money, goods and rights among relatives and nonrelatives both within and outside of households may not be reported. In addition, monetary income alone is not seen as a good measure of welfare. According to the author "(i)n most cases the benefits of development programs that increase monetary income of households may be at least partially offset by an erosion of the support network" (p.172).

Birdsall concludes with a discussion of how such data may be useful in analyzing poverty, measuring development performance and formulating policy.

KEY WORDS: methodologies; time-use

Birdsall, Nancy and William Paul McGreevey.  
 1983. Women, Poverty and Development. In Mayra Buvinic, Margaret A. Lycette, and William Paul McGreevey, eds., Women and Poverty in the Third World. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 3-13.

In this introductory chapter, Birdsall and McGreevey address three themes which demonstrate the relationships among women, poverty and development. These are as follows:

--undervaluation and enumeration of women's labor, especially in home production activities and labor force surveys. The authors draw attention to the System of National Accounts (SNA) used by many developing countries to compute household income in which some household production activities (i.e., producing grain, animal products) are valued as income while some (i.e., grinding grain, preparing meals) are not.

--the nature of women's work. Women are usually under the pressure of the 'double day' combining domestic and market activities. Cash income is commonly generated through involvement in the informal sector, where wages and productivity is lowest. Females, as children and as adults, generally work longer hours than males. Women's use of time and occupational status change more over time than men's as they adjust to the size and structure of their households.

--expectations for women. Women's occupational choices are seen as limited. They receive less education and less emphasis in development programs aimed at raising productivity. According to the authors, this "entails costs to society, not only because of the loss of women's potential for higher productivity in market work, but also because women as mothers make the first investments in the nutrition, health and education of children--investments that are critical to future economic growth" (p. 13).

Birdsall and McGreevey draw attention to special problems of female-headed households, women's lack of leisure time vis-à-vis men's, and valuation of housework. They feel that the above three themes, which are discussed to varying degrees throughout the volume, make "clear that poverty is very much a women's issue, at least in part because of women's double roles" (p. 3).

KEY WORDS: gender; female-headed households; women's labor

Bleiberg, Fanny M., Thierry A. Brun, and S. Gohman.  
1980. Duration of Activities and Energy Expenditure of Female  
Farmers in Dry and Rainy Seasons in Upper Volta. British  
Journal of Nutrition 43:1:71-82.

This article considers the changing position of Burkina Faso women farmers who have gained prominence in the production and marketing of foodstuffs. This has been caused by male outmigration in search of wage labor or male concentration on cash crop production. In the research area, the extended family is the basic unit of production; members produce primarily for household consumption. The authors argue that women farmers should be a major concern of food and nutrition planners because they are frequently undernourished, they face food shortages, their productivity is low, and their poor nutritional status affects their children (especially during pregnancy and lactation). This study

precisely details the daily rate of women's energy expenditure in activities in the home, the village, the market, and the fields.

Twelve women from two Mossi villages participated in the study during both the rainy and dry seasons. The researchers employed a Kofranyi-Michaelis respirometer to measure energy expended in several activities (food preparation, craft production, farming, and marketing). They compared the resulting figures with body weight and body fat and then computed a daily energy output.

The authors discuss the kinds of measurement errors in this type of study (e.g., people work harder/faster when being measured). They claim that no accurate comparative data exists; however, their findings closely agree with those of another, more extensive study conducted in Burkina Faso.

Their findings suggest that food consumption and physical activity vary by season. They also find evidence that women farmers expend more energy than is generally estimated, and that their nutritional intake is low. They found evidence that women experience weight loss and reduced body fat during the rainy season, which they attribute to the compulsion of some female farmers to spend long hours doing heavy work. During the dry season, the authors found that women farmers spend more time sitting or standing as they engage in craft production, so they expend less energy than in the rainy season.

KEY WORDS: energy expenditure; nutrition; gender roles; intra-household dynamics; policy issues.

Bryant, Coralie, Betsy Stephens and Sherry MacLiver.  
1978. Rural to Urban Migration: Some Data from Botswana. African Studies Review 21:2:85-99.

In this article, the authors report and discuss survey findings concerning the characteristics of migrants to Gaborone, the capital city of Botswana, based on a migration study conducted by the Statistics Department of the University of Botswana. In total, 930 adults in Botswana households were interviewed. From this research, the authors discuss the primary characteristics of the migrant population: demographic and social, motivation, place of origin, employment, housing, and rural-urban linkages.

Within a year of the study, 55 percent of migrants entering Gaborone were women who migrated in response to perceived job opportunities in domestic service. They often accompanied other family members (mothers, sisters) also searching for employment. The preponderance of the total migrant population was educated young people. Many (61.4 percent) migrated from large villages within 100 km. of Gaborone.

The authors report that many recent arrivals (61.5 percent) had wage employment. A large proportion of women worked in the informal sector. The surveyors also found that the informal sector was not the first stop for new migrants. Those who entered the informal sector were unable to find wage employment or had accumulated capital. The survey also found that those residing in public housing were the most disgruntled; those living in squatter settlements were less discontented.

Only 10 percent of respondents said they had no contact with home villages; many claimed property such as land, a house, a business or livestock in their home villages. Cash and goods were frequently exchanged, and many visited home villages. Upper income groups appeared to send money as often as middle-income and low-income groups. Often, children remained in the care of extended family members in the home village. The authors acknowledge the likelihood of reporting inaccuracies.

As a measure of commitment to urban life, the survey found that 21 percent of respondents had no plans to return to their home villages. The proportion of female migrants who said they would not return to home villages was higher than that for male migrants. The authors argue that town life may be better for unmarried women who had few opportunities to own productive resources in rural areas but have children to support.

The authors conclude that some migration theories could not be substantiated empirically in this survey: the informal sector is not the first stopping place for migrants; public housing is not the most equitable alternative to squatter camps; women are not less likely than men to migrate.

They also conclude that rural and urban locations are points in the same social system and that movement between those points is frequent. They call for a systematic evaluation of the ways in which governments can respond to urbanization. They argue for the formulation of integrated urban and rural development plans that correspond to national development goals. These include housing options, recreation of communities with self-help settlements, and provision for informal sector activities.

**KEY WORDS:** migration; rural-urban linkages; policy issues; informal sector; gender/generational roles; labor; intra-household dynamics; income transfers; external influence; urbanization.

Burfisher, Mary E. and Nadine R. Horenstein.  
1985. Sex Roles in the Nigerian Tiv Farm Household. West Hartford,  
CT: Kumarian Press.

This study offers a planning methodology that accounts for sex role differences in the farming household. It examines the intended and actual impact of an agricultural development project among the Tiv that considered the farm household as a single unit. The proposed methodology disaggregates the project impacts by gender in order to test hypotheses concerning the division of labor and income among men and women in Tiv farming households.

The authors use farming systems research methodologies to understand the internal structure of the farm household and how women and men are differentially affected by project intervention because of access to resources, division of labor, and income. They argue that by viewing the household as an integrated production and consumption unit, all household members' activities (farm and off-farm) can be counted and they offer suggestions to accomplish this task.

The authors discuss Tiv farming systems and male and female roles within them. They discuss the project and its interaction with farming households and the results. They then offer alternative designs for the project.

Burfisher and Horenstein call for detailed farm level analysis to determine the differential effect on household members from project intervention. A comprehensive baseline study will add to midterm project evaluations to study project impact. They conclude that farming systems research must go beyond looking at the household as a unit of analysis and look at the intra-household division of labor and income. This is crucial to projects which seek to improve productivity and income among rural people.

KEY WORDS: farming systems research; household division of labor and income; intra-household differentiation; project impact; methodology

Caldwell, John.  
1982. Theory of Fertility Decline. London: Academic Press.

This volume is essentially a synthesis of Caldwell's previously published papers in which he develops his 'wealth flows' theory of fertility decline which grew from his work in Nigeria in response to the use of demographic transition theory and the growing literature on the economic value of children. Simply stated, Caldwell's theory of fertility decline rests on the assumption that all societies are economically rational and that high fertility rates will prevail where economic

advantage accrues to large families. When the cost of rearing children exceeds the return on investment, fertility will decline. Thus, high fertility is found where flows of wealth are primarily from child to adult, and low fertility occurs where the flow of wealth is from adult to child. Wealth is defined as "all the money, goods, services, and guarantees that one person provides to another" (p. 333).

For Caldwell, there is a "great divide," or shift in such wealth flows which characterizes "transitional societies." This is a partial departure from demographic transition theory which views fertility decline primarily as a response to lower mortality rates and increased life expectancy, following the example of fertility decline in Western Europe and the U.S. Indeed, he is critical of Western-biased models of fertility behavior and presents extensive data from Nigeria to support his theory. He cites the strength of sub-Saharan African lineage systems which maintain family relations and, at the same time, incorporate aspects of Western ideological and material culture. In such societies, according to Caldwell's theory, a shift in intergenerational wealth flows may not occur for some time.

This volume contains much information on household production and economics, children's labor, decision making, and education, both in general and within traditional (Yoruba), and Western (Australia) societies.

KEY WORDS: gender/generational; conceptualization/methodologies; value of children

Caplan, Patricia.

1984. Cognatic Descent, Islamic Law and Women's Property on the East African Coast. In Renee Hirschon, ed., Women and Property, Women as Property. London: Croom Helm, pp. 23-43.

In this paper Caplan shows, through an exploration of property rights, how "the household/family has not emerged as it has elsewhere, into a corporate property-owning group under the control of a male head" (p. 42). Her case study is taken from the Tanzanian island of Mafia, where both Islamic and "customary laws" co-exist. Within this society both women and men own land (communal and private) and property in their own right, although men have easier access to larger amounts of cash and certain types of land are more commonly associated with a specific sex. A sexual division of agricultural labor reflects the basically egalitarian nature of traditional society.

After a discussion of the Islamic and customary marriage rights and responsibilities, Caplan considers that the household does not form "economic units of production, consumption and reproduction" and "is not a very useful concept to use in Northern Mafia" (p. 29). She shows how

households are not co-residential units, but may be considered "a collection of individuals engaged in productive activities, but retaining the fruits of their own labor, to a large extent" (p. 30). In other words, household/family units do not pool or jointly own resources, but rather, exchange them.

Caplan sees Tanzania's villagization policy as having a potentially negative effect on women's position, as it attempts in part to enforce its goals through organizing households and families into more meaningful, co-residential, and politically manageable units under the authority of a male head.

KEY WORDS: access to resources; gender; land tenure; division of labor; conceptualization

Chernichovsky, Dan.

1979. The Economic Theory of the Household and Impact Measurement of Nutrition and Related Health Programs. In Robert E. Klein, et al., eds., Evaluating the Impact of Nutrition and Health Programs. New York: Plenum Publishing Corporation, pp. 227-267.

In this paper Chernichovsky applies econometric analyses to the household to develop ways to measure the impact of health programs. He maintains that the household, and individuals within the household make decisions about the use of health and nutrition programs; therefore, the household is a significant unit of analysis for such intervention programs. Working from the assumptions of home economists, he considers that households engage in activities to produce consumption commodities with a utility function. He presents the economists' view of household decision making processes in a model and discusses health program utilization.

The author next gives an economic formulation of health related outcomes and discusses the problems of measurement and possible solutions. The problems include long time lags between intervention and outcome, cultural constraints which create competing hypotheses, and ethical considerations.

The author concludes that "although health related interventions aim to increase household and individual welfare, they may be inconsistent with the household's and individual's own objectives and opportunities" (p. 251). He feels that when households exercise choice in program utilization, econometrics can provide useful insights for measuring program impact.

KEY WORDS: health interventions; home economics

Chibnik, M.  
 1984. A Cross-Cultural Examination of Chayanov's Theory. Current Anthropology 25:335-340.

Noting that several anthropologists have tested Chayanov's theory of peasant household resource allocation, Chibnik attempts in this article to operationalize the theory in a variety of societies to test its general applicability.

The author has translated six hypotheses from the theory into the terminology of modern statistics to test the relationship between consumption, production, and the number of workers. He tests the hypotheses (using correlation analyses) on 12 data sets gathered from anthropological journals and articles that cite Chayanov, from other anthropologists' work, and from U.S. census data.

The author states that his analysis provides ammunition for both proponents and critics of Chayanov's model of family farming. His tentative findings suggest that Chayanov's theory may have broad general applicability, and support Chayanov's basic argument that the composition of the household influences the economic behavior of family farms whether they rarely sell crops (Kenya) or where they hire labor (Iowa). Chibnik's findings imply that Chayanov erred in his relative emphasis on working capacity and consumption requirements as determinants of household economic activity. Chibnik also contends that Chayanov underestimated the general applicability of his theory.

The limitations of Chibnik's data did not allow him to control for wealth and class variations within communities to test external influences on household production levels. Nevertheless, Chibnik's analysis suggests that even in quite stratified societies (like the Swiss and Iowa cases), household composition influence family farm production.

KEY WORDS: Chayanovian model; intra-community variations; socioeconomic differentiation; resource allocation; intra-household dynamics

Clark, Mari.  
 1985. Household Economic Strategies and Support Networks of the Poor in Kenya, A Literature Review. World Bank Report No. UDD-69. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Clark's review covers the state of the literature on the topic of resource mobilization and household economy in Kenya. Her focus is both rural and urban poor, with emphasis on the strength of rural-urban ties and the interchange of rural and urban populations. Clark gives attention to the needs and economic strategies of women (particularly household heads) as well as men.

This review addresses the following issues:

1. What kinds of social support networks do the rural and urban poor in Kenya use?
2. What kinds of household economic strategies do lower income households use?
3. Do the poor use support networks to satisfy basic needs?
4. Do network members use these networks to improve social and economic conditions?
5. What is the significance of women-headed households in rural and urban Kenya?
6. How do the economic strategies of women heads of households compare with those of male-headed households?

Clark defines terms carefully and offers her analysis in the context of social, political, and historical influences on social networks and economic strategies. Her categorization of networks includes informal networks such as domestic groups, extended kin, cultural groups, and neighborhood, friendship or workmate networks and groups, as well as formal networks such as cultural group associations, self-help groups and cooperatives, labor organization, religious groups, or community political organization. She concludes that the poor in Kenya, particularly the urban poor, have a wide range of potential network linkages based on formal as well as informal relationships which they maintain through various patterns of exchange.

Faced with limited resources, minimal education, few employment opportunities, and the need for cash to meet basic needs within a market economy, the poor in Kenya use three major strategies: (1) they try to satisfy basic needs outside the market economy; (2) they diversify income options to insure some cash will come to the household (multiple sources of income); and (3) they adjust the number of consumers to the resources available (flexibility in household size). Clark discusses the various ways in which each of these strategies can be implemented. She also offers several specific case studies as illustration of the ways in which the poor use network links and survival strategies in different contexts, and she suggests the implications of these findings for policy and program planning.

KEY WORDS: networks; women-headed households; household economic strategies; rural-urban linkages; value of children

Cleave, John H.

1977. Decisionmaking on the African Farm. World Bank Reprint Series No. 92, I.A.A.E. Occasional Paper No. 1. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Drawing on field investigation, Cleave's objective in this monograph is to examine the nature and interaction of the variables involved

in production decisions on the African farm. He develops a decision making model to analyze decisions which impinge on production over a one-year time frame. The author also indicates areas for further research.

Cleave suggests that the farm household is usually considered as two units: the firm and the household. The firm provides subsistence and cash for its members, while the household provides labor and purchases inputs. While acknowledging that it does not reflect reality, Cleave combines the two units for this analysis. He assumes the 'family' to be a "homogeneous decision unit under a male household head."

The author finds that farmers make production decisions within a framework of resource scarcity. There exists a competition between production for use and for sale. Other constraints include risk to the environment, alternative demands on family labor and existing farming patterns.

Cleave concludes that within this framework, and with some empirical evidence, farmers do make rational decisions. He finds little evidence of the relative weight of these variables as farmers decide to accept innovation and incentives offered by change agents. He calls for a simple listing and subjective valuation of the elements of farmers' decisions so that change agents can address farmers' concerns.

Cleave makes several recommendations to enhance the work of development planners: specific research on the importance of the credit constraint, the impact of water supplies, and the level of non-farm social and domestic activities and the extent they inhibit change or are overcome with the offering of profitable alternatives. He argues for a "risk aversion" model for Africa. Cleave emphasizes that the farm must be viewed as a whole, both by the researcher and the agricultural practitioner. Though small in output or resources, the farm is an intricate, complex entity.

KEY WORDS: household model; decision making; resource allocation; subsistence/cash economy; conceptualization

Cloud, Kathleen.

1985. Women's Productivity in Agricultural Households: How Can We Think About It? What Do We Know? In Jamie Monson and Manon Kalb, eds., Women as Food Producers in Developing Countries. Los Angeles: African Studies Association and OEF International, pp. 11-18.

In this chapter, Cloud is concerned with ways of defining and measuring women's productivity so that a farm household's total output

She further argues that an expanded definition of household productivity is essential to understand the opportunity costs of each household member's time and the tradeoffs each faces in making time and resource allocation decisions.

Cloud defines the agricultural household as "a kinship based group engaged in both production and consumption with corporate ownership of some resources and a degree of joint decision making among members. Its boundaries are assumed to be permeable and to change over time, as well as under different macroeconomic conditions" (p.13). Cloud contends that by expanding the definition of household productivity, women's productivity can be analyzed within the household framework, rather than treating women as separate decision making units. She acknowledges that individuals within the household often have separate and perhaps opposing interests, but she assumes that the household acts more or less rationally and equitably to maximize the benefits to household members.

The author outlines a number of constraints in measuring women's relative productivity in agricultural systems, such as establishing a fair value for women's work vis-à-vis men's work and suggests more rigorous data collection and analysis to realistically measure level of effort required in various tasks. Cloud also suggests that gender differences in productivity are influenced by structural and ideological factors which grants a male monopoly over resources, inputs, and technology. Women's ability to produce human capital through childbearing is frequently ignored in agricultural household models, though Cloud maintains that some devote attention to the determinants of fertility. Access to education and training is another factor which influences women's productivity.

Cloud concludes that women are productive members of agricultural households but their ability to gain access to more productive resources is frequently constrained by forces beyond their control. She hopes a more accurate analysis of their reality will lead to programs that better serve them.

KEY WORDS: decision making; access to resources; intra-household dynamics; gender roles; methodologies; policy issues

Dahl, Gudrun and Anders Hjort.

1976. Having Herds: Pastoral Herd Growth and Household Economy.  
Stockholm: University of Stockholm.

This book focuses on the economic aspects of having herds and adaptation to the environment (rainfall, grazing areas). The authors argue that keeping large herds is closely linked to protecting the household against drought, epidemic, and food shortages in dry periods, and not necessarily for prestige purposes. The authors are also concerned with the impact of colonialism, changing power structures, access

to resources, and post-independent governments' attitudes towards pastoralists. This book is an attempt to compile the scattered knowledge on domestic herd animals, and to construct a general model of pastoral societies. They focus on the pastoral household and its herd.

The authors define the pastoral household as the "minimum independent societal unit which contains sufficient personnel and an internal division of labor that enables it to carry out the most important tasks of looking after the herd, that is of sufficient size to supply the household members with their requirements for meat (occasionally blood) and milk" (p. 21-22).

Chapters 1 through 4 compile the general evidence on herd keeping and sketches a model to define the upper and lower limits of the pastoral economy. Chapter 5 simulates a disaster and Chapter 6 discusses the redistribution of wealth that occurs in response to disaster. Using these data, the authors formulate generalized growth models. Chapters 7 through 9 compile scarce evidence on the productivity of pastoral herds and discuss minimum herd size (one breed) for subsistence needs. Chapter 10 does the same for a combination of four main species for production, ecological and management demands, and for herd diversification and the emergence of cash economies.

Dahl and Hjort conclude that anthropologists, planners, administrators and veterinary experts have all relied on insufficient knowledge about nomadic societies. They have concentrated on herd growth; food production capacity; and the advantages, disadvantages, and merits of pastoral domestic herds.

They find that the household labor supply and environmental conditions affect herd size and the redistribution of wealth. Milk production may be the primary object of the household economy, but the offtake for meat is also important; it has symbolic and emotional implications. Slaughter is often for ritual purposes and involves communal sharing. This form of sharing ensures that all in the community get some meat while it overcomes the problems of meat storage by individual households.

Dahl and Hjort summarize the five central issues of the book as follows: (1) Pastoral households rely more on milk production than meat production for subsistence. This requires different management techniques. (2) The uncertain environmental conditions can be counterbalanced by social organization, social structures, and herd management practices. (3) Building up herds solely by biological reproduction is more limited than suggested by some studies. (4) The long-term effects of drought and epidemic can be clarified by demographic analysis. (5) Pastoral households rely on varied animals and agricultural produce for nutrition. There is an interrelationship between ecology and social values.

**KEY WORDS:** pastoral household; social organization; environmental adaptation; intra-household dynamics; herd management; external influence.

Deere, Carmen Diana and Alain deJanvry.  
1981. Demographic and Social Differentiation Among Northern Peruvian Peasants. Journal of Peasant Studies 8:3:335-366.

In this paper Deere and deJanvry work with the concepts of demographic and social differentiation to explain inequality among rural Peruvian households. Utilizing both Chayanovian and Marxist frameworks, the authors examine household allocation of labor and inequality within households, as well as family structure and composition. They consider social differentiation to be the more significant process which explains inequality among peasant households, yet hold that the Chayanovian model of family life cycles helps illustrate important aspects of demographic differentiation. Demographic differentiation becomes an important variable "when applied to choice of activity, i.e., to the division of labor by sex and age and to sources of income over the life cycle" (p. 337).

The Chayanovian model is presented in some detail to show how Deere and deJanvry distinguish between three types of differentiation: demographic, social differentiation within generations, and social differentiation between generations. The authors hold that it is within the latter that the most important processes of social differentiation occur.

This is illustrated by case material from northern Peru where indicators of social differentiation including labor market participation, land-holding and other assets show marked inequality. Given such inequality, there is variation in household survival strategies influenced not only by class position and access to the means of production, but also household structure and composition. This affects the retention and expulsion of working age children and their subsequent formation of new households in a different class position.

KEY WORDS: demography; differentiation; generational issues

Deere, Carmen Diana and Alain deJanvry.  
1979. A Conceptual Framework for the Empirical Analysis of Peasants. American Journal of Agricultural Economics 61:4:601-611.

Deere and deJanvry present in this article an important model for understanding the organization of the peasant household under increasing incorporation into the capitalist mode of production. They observe correlations among family size and access to means of production and class formation.

Drawing from the Marxist tradition, the authors consider the household to be "both a unit of direct production and a unit of reproduction of familial labor power on both a daily and generational basis"

(p. 602). Their model illustrates the processes by which households produce and reproduce: the "home production process, wage labor production process, circulation process and reproduction-differentiation process" (p. 602).

They use data from Peru to demonstrate the applicability of the model to a peasant population. Much information on differential access to productive resources, household division of labor by sex and age, income generating activities and sources of income is included.

Rejecting the Chayanovian view, Deere and deJanvry find that "simple reproduction of the peasant household. . . must be located in the relations of production that presume surplus extraction" (p. 608), which further leads to class formation. The continued extraction of surplus from the peasantry will eventually lead to its disintegration, but that process of transition, they contend, can take a long time "under the double force of demographic explosion and the decomposition of feudal and communal modes that eject their peasantries into the capitalist mode of production" (p. 611).

KEY WORDS: access to resources; organization of production; conceptual framework

Deere, Carmen Diana and Magdalena Leon de Leal.  
1981. Peasant Production, Proletarianization, and the  
Sexual Division of Labor in the Andes. Signs 7:21:338-360.

The authors report on data collected in three Andean regions in Colombia and Peru which demonstrate the influence of economic factors on the sexual division of labor within productive activities. The three areas are characterized by the percentage of participation in wage labor as 'noncapitalist,' 'predominately capitalist,' and 'advanced capitalist.' The authors analyze "the variations in the sexual division of labor in peasant agricultural production and in wage employment as it relates to the uneven development of capitalism . . . and processes of social differentiation" (p. 340).

Deere and de Leal note that the sexual division of labor varies between regions according to the task involved, the class position of the household and the form of labor procurement. Tables are included on the composition of agricultural labor by task and gender which show that women participate more in the field work labor force in regions of capitalist agriculture than in the predominately noncapitalist areas.

The authors agree with the "proposition that the development of capitalist relations of production leads to a less rigid or delineated sexual division of labor in productive activities" (p. 349). They note that in processes of capitalist development, women are often the first to become involved in wage labor, yet with further development, men's

participation in the labor force surpasses women's. Capitalist relations of production, they suggest, "place women and men in different economic positions" allowing capitalism to use "the subordination of women to its own advantage" (p. 358). Women come to constitute a reserve labor force entering waged labor at times, and assuming subsistence agricultural activities which becomes the household's secondary activity as men increasingly participate in waged labor.

KEY WORDS: differentiation; gender roles; wage labor

Dixon, Ruth B.

1985. Seeing the Invisible Women Farmers in Africa: Improving Research and Data Collection Methods. In Jamie Monson and Manon Kalb, eds., Women as Food Producers in Developing Countries. Los Angeles: African Studies Association and OEF International, pp. 19-35.

In this chapter, Dixon focuses on the methodological problems that lead to the undercounting and undervaluing of women's labor participation in official demographic and economic statistics and thereafter to being ignored by planners and policymakers. She highlights definitional problems behind 'economic activity' and 'labor force participation' as well as how and when demographic or agricultural censuses are conducted. Dixon then discusses some more realistic estimates of women's labor participation in agriculture based on ILO studies.

Dixon finds that time-use surveys provide the most detailed accounting of women's work (both domestic and productive). She discusses the use of a modified time-use survey to enumerate women in the labor force based on a one-time survey. She notes that time-use surveys are expensive to collect and difficult to analyze. She also notes that such surveys cannot overcome the institutional and political blindness to women's productive activities and the reluctance to share resources with them. Therefore, Dixon concludes that including women in labor force statistics is only one step in making women visible to planners and policymakers. The challenge for the future is to see that women get the recognition and the resources necessary to expand agricultural productivity and gain adequate returns for their work.

KEY WORDS: labor force statistics; time-use surveys; gender roles; policy issues; access to resources

Dyson-Hudson, Rada and Neville Dyson-Hudson.  
1980. Nomadic Pastoralism. Annual Review of Anthropology 9:15-61.

In this review article the authors survey research on pastoral nomads during the 1970s, especially drawn from East Africa. They concentrate on three particular areas of study emphasized them: women's roles and status; ecology and social organization; interactions of nomadic pastoralists with other groups. The authors find that attempts to generalize about pastoralists are of limited value to understanding the structure and function of pastoral societies which involves "contingent responses to a wide range of variables in the physical and social environment" (p. 17). They are especially interested in studies which allow for comparison within and between groups.

The authors discuss articles which differentiate women's and men's access to resources, their influence in decision making, and women's solidarity (especially over sexuality). They conclude that women are tied to unequal relations to meet their immediate economic interests. The authors suggest that specific studies of women's and men's contributions to the pastoral economy, access to resources, and decision making are critical. They find little research concerning how women and men influence resource allocation decisions.

The Dyson-Hudsons argue for detailed studies of the complex relationship between ecology and social organization. They discuss one detailed study concerning the variables that impact on determining herd size. The authors then posit that anthropologists do not widely agree on the value of ecological studies to identify aspects of social organization which are linked to the pastoral form of production.

The authors review the topic of pastoralist interaction with other people under several sub-headings dealing with movement as political adjustment, in complex societies, symbiosis and exchange, raiding and warfare, movement in and out of the pastoral mode of production, and influences of colonial and post-colonial administrations. The Dyson-Hudsons contend that knowledge about the physical environment of pastoralists is inadequate to understand their behavior.

The authors conclude that there is no single phenomenon called pastoralism. They find that a complex array of environmental considerations (physical, social, and political) affect decision making and access to resources or markets. There are as yet no comprehensive studies that detail individual decision making processes in any nomadic pastoral society, nor are there systematic studies on the value of children. The Dyson-Hudsons find the most useful studies to be those which view pastoralism as a process adapting to change rather than as static models and typologies.

KEY WORDS: pastoral production system; resource allocation; social organization; decision making; ecologic change; intra- and inter-household dynamics; external influence

Etienne, Mona.

1980. Women and Men, Cloth and Colonization: The Transformation of Production-Distribution Relations among The Baule (Ivory Coast). In Mona Etienne and Eleanor Leacock, eds., Women and Colonization. New York: Praeger Publishers, pp. 214-238.

In this chapter, Etienne traces the influence of French colonists on the production and distribution of cloth among the Baule of the Ivory Coast. In the pre-conquest period, cloth was important not only for subsistence but for trade, ritual and prestige. Production and distribution was divided by gender, but work was cooperatively organized. Women grew cotton from which they prepared thread for the cloth; men wove and sewed the cloth. Women distributed the cloth, which afforded them power and autonomy within the community. But since men finished the product, they had an opportunity to break the production-distribution relationship. This occurred during the colonial period.

Etienne discusses several changes introduced by the French that converged and complemented each other in breaking down the pre-colonial production-distribution process which resulted in women losing control over cloth. Contributing factors included the availability of European thread, emphasis on cotton production for export, introduction of other cash crops into men's domain, and the perception of cloth as a commodity. Women lost their economic independence; conflict between women and men within marriage increased. Women have responded by remaining unmarried and finding their own sources of cash, sometimes by working in thread making factories.

KEY WORDS: colonial policies; gender relations; external influence; subsistence/cash economy

Fleuret, Patrick.

1985. The Social Organization of Water Control in the Taita Hills, Kenya. American Ethnologist 12:103-118.

Fleuret's analysis of an indigenous irrigation system in the Taita Hills of Coast Province in Kenya focuses on the interplay between water control and society, the social causes and consequences of differential access to water, and the influence of social organization on the form and management of the irrigation system. He concludes that water management among the Taita is inextricably embedded within broader social relationships which regulate access to and management of both land and water.

A brief analysis of the place of such a study in the irrigation literature is followed by a description of the local setting and organization among the Taita. Fleuret describes the physical layout of the

irrigation system, and procedures for using water, as well as maintaining the canal infrastructure. The groups of primary importance include households, small three-and-four generation lineages, canal committees, sub-locations and locations, each with specific responsibilities.

Findings of the research, which was conducted in Taita in 1981 and 1982, reveal that the distribution of water follows the distribution of political and social status in Taita society. At the level of the canal, institutions such as intermarriage or community self-help may soften the consequences of 'embedded inequality.' More broadly, however, upstream users are able to preempt access to water, in this case for purposes of commercial coffee and vegetable production, leaving the households downstream with inadequate water for food staples. This periodically leads to the need for famine relief.

Fleuret observes that one cannot distinguish between the management of social relations and the management of natural resources. In many instances, the moral order, the social order, and natural order converge, as, for example, when senior agnates who hold many livestock receive preferential access to water in times of scarcity. Among the Taita, therefore, there is a clear alignment in the relationships among the ideology of kinship, the technology of irrigation, and the organization of society.

**KEY WORDS:** resource management; community organization; kinship systems; irrigation

Folbre, Nancy.

1985. *Cleaning House: New Perspectives of Households and Economic Development.* Unpublished manuscript. University of Massachusetts, Department of Economics, Amherst, MA.

In this article Folbre reviews the literature on household studies which has "a visible conceptual thread--the influence of economic self-interest on decisions of the household as a whole, on the decisions of individuals within households and on the evaluation of social and political institutions that condition individual decisions" (p. 3). Included in the discussion are neoclassical, Marxist, feminist, and new home economics approaches.

She observes that economic approaches have made progress in overcoming some theoretical obstacles yet view the moral economy versus political economy issue as an unresolved problem for neoclassicists and Marxists. In addition, while neoclassical research stresses individual or household decisions and Marxists' efforts stress class or group strategies, "both draw on a notion of economic rationality that is

broader than income maximization per se. And both tend to treat the household as an undifferentiated unit" (p. 14).

In her review of empirical studies of the household as an economic unit Folbre argues that the household can be analyzed in economic terms if they are broadly defined and if standards for data collection are refined to include recent discoveries, such as the value of women's household labor, the significance of female-headed households, and the distinction between economic activity and domestic work.

Studies of the household as a demographic unit likewise must avail themselves of current knowledge so as to more realistically analyze fertility decision making, value of children, and migrant remittances. For Folbre, one of the most serious problems with the household literature as a whole is a failure to deal effectively with inequalities within the family. She repeatedly stresses that exploitation, intra-familial problems and differentiation occur along sex and age lines.

Citing evidence from time allocation and budget studies, she notes the position of women within households is usually inferior with regard to bargaining power, property rights, health and nutrition, and labor requirements. In the discussion on social institutions and the state, Folbre comments that "the intersection and interaction between patriarchy and capitalism deserves far more systematic attention" (p. 45) taking a Marxist-feminist position which views patriarchy and capitalism as systems of oppression.

KEY WORDS: economic approaches; literature review

Folbre, Nancy.

1984. Household Production in the Philippines: A Non-neoclassical Approach. Economic Development and Cultural Change 32:303-30.

Folbre outlines an alternative approach to the neoclassical model of household decision making which assumes a family utility function under one sovereign power within the family. Folbre presents her approach and argues that it is consistent with the principle of economic rationality and is accessible to empirical analysis like the neoclassical model but without its faulty assumptions. Her approach is based on four propositions which, in summary, argue that a household member's share of family income is determined in part by individual bargaining power within the household. An individual's bargaining power changes over time and with access to different resources which causes a redistribution of goods and services or leisure time (among others) among household members. Such changes can lead to fertility decline when the cost of children rises relative to income-earning opportunities, for instance.

The author presents a case study of rural households in Laguna Province, Philippines. She reviews neoclassical analysis of the data; she documents the importance of income flows from older children to parents in Laguna households; she demonstrates the unequal distribution of goods and leisure time between men and women, showing that women bear a disproportionate share of the cost of rearing children.

Folbre concludes that a neoclassical approach to household production ignores inequalities or explains them as an incidental result of a collective quest for efficiency. It ignores nonmarket institutions, and gives an inadequate explanation of the demographic transition to lower fertility. The paper shows that a bargaining power approach is relevant to understanding household production and change over time. It explains how change in access to wealth, income, legal rights, and political power may change the nature of decision making in the household. She calls for more research into the specifics of bargaining power and for developing a model of the bargaining power approach.

KEY WORDS: bargaining power approach; household transformation; socioeconomic differentiation; intra-household dynamics; income transfers; decision making model

Fortmann, Louise.

1984. Economic Status and Women's Participation in Agriculture: A Botswana Case Study. Rural Sociology 49:3:452-64.

In this research note, Fortmann argues that "there appear to be greater similarities between farmers within the same economic stratum regardless of gender than between farmers of the same gender in different strata" (p. 452). She explores the degree to which economic status and gender explain the situation of female farmers in Botswana. Women-headed households are not uncommon in Botswana, where plow agriculture predominates. However, plows are male property and plowing is a man's job. Thus, Fortmann contends that Botswana is a 'worst case' test of women's participation in agriculture.

Fortmann reviews the literature on women in agriculture, Botswana agriculture, and pays specific attention to the issues of land, draft power, labor, and economic strata. She then turns to survey data collected from a random sample of 30 households in 12 sites in eastern Botswana; 358 usable interviews are analyzed. In the study, "female-headed households" were defined as those in which a woman was named as head of the house and there were no adult male residents year-round, such as a husband or father, who might be considered the head. The household's position in the economic stratum was defined by the number of cattle owned.

In conclusion, Fortmann finds that female farmers differ from their male counterparts primarily in access to resources. When access is

similar, their behavior and relationship with extension staff are also similar. She does not, however, discount the relevance of gender in government programs and policies. The author also finds that female-headed households are not homogeneous and that class may influence women's behavior and others' behavior toward women more than gender.

Fortmann calls for research that defines the difference between poor men and wealthier women farmers, as well as for research on the effects of gender in the life cycle and in the economic strata.

**KEY WORDS:** female-headed household; life cycle; socioeconomic differentiation; policy issues; resource access; gender differences

Foster, Brian.

1978. Socioeconomic Consequences of Stem Family Composition in a Thai Village. Ethnology 17:139-156.

Foster presents in this paper empirical data from Central Thailand to support his model for predicting proportions of stem families and mean family size. (Stem families are composed of lineal relatives.) The model is limited by its static and deterministic nature. It does not account for changes in availability of productive resources, which the author notes to be a major constraint.

Foster finds that the traditional system of keeping one married child resident in the parental home until the parents' death was a successful strategy in the past, yet is only partially successful now. His model assumes that families will follow basically the same course generationally, and provides a method for a diachronic view of a Thai community responding in a culturally sanctioned way to the combined pressures of land scarcity, population growth, and increased participation in wage labor.

The author observes an "elaboration of the basic cycle, incorporating the distinction between consumption and residence units" (p. 151). Consumption units are formed when parents become unable to work and last until the death of the senior members, or may be formed temporarily for a few years after marriage.

**KEY WORDS:** lineage/stem family; life-cycle approach

Freedman, Deborah, and Eva Mueller.  
1977. A Multi-Purpose Household Questionnaire: Basic Economic and Demographic Modules. Washington, DC: World Bank.

This paper, written for the World Bank and USAID, outlines a survey instrument to be used in less developed countries to collect household economic data. The authors have designed the questionnaire for economists unfamiliar with survey techniques as well as those researchers who may not be knowledgeable about the data requirements of economists.

Recognizing that the household serves as a meaningful analytical unit for a variety of research aims, Freedman and Mueller have presented their instrument in the form of 'sub-modules' which they suggest should be tailored to be topically and areally specific. These sub-modules are designed to be added on to surveys so that household data may be efficiently obtained. The five sub-modules are: (1) household roster, (2) occupation and employment, (3) fertility and child mortality, (4) migration, (5) household income and assets. The authors present each sub-module in sample form with descriptive and explanatory texts.

In the descriptive text, the authors cover many of the basic problems of household research (i.e., determining head of household, household membership) and offer suggestions for overcoming such problems. Freedman and Mueller include a section on interviews as well as two appendices which provide more detail on employment and fertility.

KEY WORDS: methodology; household composition

Friedman, Kathie.  
1984. Households as Income-Pooling Units. In Joan Smith, Immanuel Wallerstein, and Hans Dieter-Evers, eds., Households and the World-Economy. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, pp. 37-55.

This chapter tracks some of the household research conducted by members of the Fernand Braudel Center group. Friedman begins by discussing the debate over the distinctiveness of the terms 'household' and 'family.' She argues that these concepts are used to explain social organization without being explained themselves. In this chapter, Friedman focuses on the "relationship between household organization and the composition and structure of the labor force in the world-economy" (p. 37). Through this focus, she seeks to "unlock the 'secret' of capitalist social organization."

Friedman reviews three sets of literature that relate to one aspect or another of labor-force patterns and household organization that were highlighted by the research group: family/family history; women's studies; labor force formulation in the world economy. The following

section shows how the research group moved from this literature to a concern for households as income-pooling units and what they believe they can explain with this emerging conceptual tool. This includes definition and dimensions of households. The conclusion outlines internal debate within the research group over this new view of the household.

The Braudel group's definition of the household focuses on the set of relationships between people that impose sharing obligations. They look particularly at the kinds of income pooled by all members of the household. It is not a primordial definition, nor do they believe that households are definitive relationships shaped by industrialization or site; rather, households change over time and the Braudel group's definition looks at the household as deriving social meaning from its relationship to the world economy.

KEY WORDS: world system; income-pooling units; external influence; conceptualization; household model

Geiger, Susan.

1982. "Umoja Wa Wanawake Wa Tanzania and the Needs of the Rural Poor." African Studies Review 25:2,3:45-65.

Umoja Wa Wanawake Wa Tanzania (UWT) is a national, grass roots women's organization charged by the Tanzanian government with the responsibility to unite, mobilize, and liberate Tanzanian women to transform national and development rhetoric (integrating women into development) into reality. Based on data collected from newspapers and interviews from June to August, 1979, in Tanzania, Geiger analyzes the scope and effectiveness of UWT, women's projects in Tanzania (UWT's and others), and assesses the constraints involved in meeting the needs of poor rural women.

Geiger's central contention is that Tanzanian government policy has not seriously challenged the basic structure of gender relations, though it does emphasize the need to change women's roles. She draws on a theoretical framework which defines women's position as "structured by a double set of determinations arising from relations of gender and relations deriving from the economic organization of society" (p. 46). She identifies the household as the critical site for examining gender relations, the division of labor, and male power.

Geiger first discusses the roles women played in achieving independence and generating support for the 1950s nationalist movement. She then focuses on a UWT-sponsored survey of programs to help poor rural women who expressed dissatisfaction with their double duty and lack of control over resources. Geiger argues that this articulation of gender inequalities by rural women themselves draws the issue of the transformation of gender relations out of the ideological debate of western

feminists and puts it squarely into developing programs that define real development for women. She maintains that translating this knowledge into positive action is a difficult task.

The author concludes by saying that many have criticized the failure of UWT efforts, including poor leadership, elitism, and illiteracy of members. Geiger suggests that UWT's failure may result from an unwillingness of the Tanzanian government to deal with unequal gender relations, women's subordination in the household, and their lack of control over productive resources. As a result, many women resort to personal survival strategies -- short term prostitution, migration to towns, divorce, not marrying, or registering separate cooperatives for women. Geiger contends that most women do not benefit from development activities; strong sanctions exist to maintain the status quo.

KEY WORDS: policy issues; gender inequality; resource access; women's organizations; adaptive strategies; external influence

Gonzalez, Nancie L.

1983. Changing Sex Roles Among the Garifuna (Black Carib) and Their Implications for the Family. Journal of Comparative Family Studies 14:2:204-214. Summer 1983 Special Issue: The Family in the Latin New World. Alfred Mendez-Dominguez, ed.

Gonzalez, who has worked among the Garifuna (Black Carib) people of Guatemala for over twenty-five years, presents in this article recent findings which point to an increase in women's power and authority, and a shift away from a formerly reported egalitarian nature in Garifuna society.

Gonzalez attributes the shift to an increasing reliance upon wages and the expanded opportunities for women to obtain them. The most significant source of wage labor is migration to New York City. During the mid-1950s when Gonzalez conducted her original study, "women by necessity left alone for varying periods, often up to several years at a time, found numerous ways to manage their growing families and to provide sustenance for themselves and their children" (p. 204).

This was accomplished through gardening, marketing, simple commodity production and by establishing a series of relationships with men with whom they would bear children and from whom they could expect economic assistance. Garifuna household and family structure (best described in Gonzalez, 1969) allowed for (1) three generation households with grandmothers and aunts commonly rearing some of a woman's children, (2) men having multiple sex partners, (3) women involved in serial monogamous relationships, and (4) migrant remittances to the household, an expected and commonly observed practice. Within Garifuna society a basically egalitarian division of labor prevailed at the time of Gonzalez' first study.

As a social class Garifuna were and remain a low status and a minority population in Guatemala. In neighboring Belize, where they have begun to move into positions of political and economic power they have a higher status. Garifuna women in Guatemala have retained and even increased their authority and power within Garifuna society. In Belize, however, the egalitarian relationship is still predominant. Gonzalez observes that in Guatemala, Garifuna "women today often have extreme disdain and contempt for men in general . . ." and "do not defer to men in any detectable ways" (p. 210).

She also observes that in Guatemala "there is no domain above that of the household which is controlled by the Garifuna themselves" (p. 211). The household still manifests the fluid nature reported in her original study and household types are basically the same in form and number, suggesting "that the system has been and remains adaptive under migration and poverty conditions" (p. 212). For Gonzalez, however, there appear to be subtle changes whereby she relates increased female wage labor migration to increased female authority.

KEY WORDS: wage labor migration; women's authority; migration; intergenerational transfers

Gregory, Joel and Victor Piche.  
1979. The Demographic Regime of Peripheral Capitalism: Illustrated with African Examples. Montréal: Département de Démographie, Université de Montréal.

Gregory and Piche begin this paper by outlining the basic premises on which population policy in Third World countries is based -- high fertility is an obstacle to development and must be reduced, fertility will decline with modernization, and that in 'traditional' society high fertility is rational where children are economic assets.

The authors go on to show how current expansion of capitalist production in sub-Saharan Africa results in a double pressure on fertility as a household survival strategy in conditions of underdevelopment. The double pressure on family fertility is "one to supply labor for capitalist production and another to supply labor for domestic household production" (p. 10). Commercial production and modernization are often associated with industrialization, resulting in too much or too little rural to urban migration as labor moves to where it is needed (usually urban areas), only to be expelled (usually to the rural areas) when it is not.

Thus "the family in the non-capitalist sector of the economy bears the cost of reproduction of the labor force which is exploited at extremely low wages in the capitalist sector" (p. 10). Gregory and Piche observe that within each class and sector of the economy there are demographically specific laws which form a system peculiar to each of

these social groups through time and space. In the remainder of the article they explain what they call the demographic regime in peripheral capitalist societies.

The dynamics of African domestic economies are discussed, beginning with pre-colonial systems, to slavery and external trade within these economies. The authors observe high fertility to be normal and culturally valued, often legitimizing a woman's position within the family. Cultural traits and values for high fertility are explained by the economic organization of production and survival. These values are maintained in processes of capitalist penetration in Africa. "The family as a unit of economic production, for example, continues to produce for part of its own needs; the same family, however, is no longer able to provide for as great a proportion of its needs" (p. 24), and is forced to sell part of its labor power for wages.

Neither wage labor nor family farming (subsistence or cash crops) is sufficient to provide for household needs. Gregory and Piche discuss ways in which the African household has responded to the needs created and reformulated by capitalist penetration which has resulted in impoverishment for the domestic sector. "The household economy in peripheral capitalism, even with production restructured and dominated by the capitalist sector, still functions as the key to the reproduction of the labor force" (p. 36). Household members move in and out of different jobs and different geographical areas in a variety of situations, as migration has become part of the household's 'collective strategy' for survival. By focussing on individual behavior with articulating modes of production, one misses the more important functioning unit--the household, and its reaction to imperialism and the expansion of the capitalist system in Africa.

KEY WORDS: migration; survival strategies; fertility; capitalist penetration

Grootaert, Christiaan and K.F. Cheung.  
1985. Household Expenditure Surveys: Some Methodological Issues.  
Living Standards Measurement Study Working Paper No. 22.

This paper is divided into two parts. The first discusses three issues surrounding the use of daily expenditure records (DERs) in a household expenditure survey: (1) the impact of the duration of survey participation on reporting income and expenditure; (2) the determinants of decisions made by individual household members to participate in the survey; and (3) the estimates of benefits derived by having more than one household member keep a diary. Part two compares two methods of collecting household income and expenditure data: the personal interview (recall) method and the diary method (DER). The authors previously found no conclusive evidence to support one method over the other.

The paper draws on empirical evidence gathered from the 1979/80 Hong Kong Household Expenditure Survey conducted by the Hong Kong Census and Statistics Department. The survey used a stratified random sample of 4,294 households chosen by location and type of housing (public/private), among other variables. The survey questionnaire contained four parts (not fully discussed in this paper): household record and housing particulars; characteristics of individual household members and relation to household head; monthly income details; and DER forms.

The authors tentatively conclude that individual DER books are preferred for fuller recall. They do not find it useful for all household members over a certain age to keep diaries (not the aged, for example). They find that demographic and economic characteristics of household members influence the likelihood of survey participation. For instance, the head of household himself or herself was likely to complete the DER, unless they were wealthy. Parents of the household head and students were less likely to participate.

They conclude as well that there are tradeoffs between the two methodologies. DERs gather short-term expenditures, but not necessarily major expenditures; recall methods rely too heavily on memory. They tentatively suggest that the DER method is superior.

KEY WORDS: methodology; household expenditure survey; intra-household differentiation

Guyer, Jane.

1981. Household and Community in African Studies. African Studies Review 24:2/3:87-137.

The expansion of capitalism and development of nonpeasant forms of social organization have been occurring for a long time in Africa. This has led to two major shifts in the approach to dealing with African social organization. First is the consideration of local forms of social organization in regional, national and international terms rather than explanations from a local social and ecological perspective. Second is the understanding of local forms in terms of processes of change, rather than classifying them typologically as synchronic or evolutionary. The first shift is indicated by the increasing use of terms like household and community which imply "a local social structure and tradition of life within a wider stratified political and economic system under a state form of government" (p. 87).

The article is divided in three parts. Part One explores the analytical concepts of household and lineage and suggests that "they indicate problems to be explored and are not analytical concepts to be applied in a rigid fashion" (p. 104-105). Part Two explores, from a historical perspective, variations in local organizations as they are

"increasingly affected by apparently universal trends towards incorporation into state structures, differentiation, commoditization, and the development of new forms of social organization" (p. 89). Part Three is an example of "the interrelationship of these processes in the understanding of a classic problem in social analysis, bridewealth and marital stability" (p. 89).

KEY WORDS: household organization; lineages; community

Guyer, Jane.

1979. Household Budgets and Women's Incomes. African Studies Center Working Paper No. 28. Boston University, Boston, MA.

Guyer looks at household budget studies with the understanding that the household may not be an undifferentiated decision making unit. Traditional household budget studies were developed for use with wage earning populations dependent on market conditions, which presents difficulties with their use in peasant societies.

The economic models which have been developed for peasants are criticized for assuming the peasantry tends towards some form of equilibrium and for not recognizing an important consideration within the African context, that is, that "African households typically contain more than one decision-maker" (p. 4). This in turn has led to difficulties in defining African households and explaining the interdependence of household members.

Guyer presents data on women's income and expenditure among the Beti in South Cameroon. Stemming from traditional practices, production for the market has gradually become a male activity while subsistence production has remained a female activity, although urban consumers have recently created a demand for the food crops produced by women. Thus women are able to earn money through sale of food as well as through transfers from others, usually present or former residence members (including husbands).

Although transfers from husbands are significant, "the largest single source of cash in the women's economy comes from their own productive efforts" (p. 11). Guyer notes that household management is accomplished through the separate yet interdependent incomes of women and men. Women assume daily responsibilities to provide food and household needs with their income, and men's income is primarily used for major purchases.

KEY WORDS: household budgets; women's incomes

Hackenberg, Robert, Arthur D. Murphy, and Henry A. Selby.  
1984. The Urban Household in Dependent Development. In Robert McC.  
Netting, Richard Wilk, and Eric Arnould, eds., Households:  
Comparative and Historical Studies of the Domestic Group.  
Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, pp. 187-216.

The authors in this "essay on the dynamics of the household in confronting the state in independent development" (p. 189), consider that the interests of the state, the household and the individual are in conflict and cite evidence from two secondary cities in Mexico and the Philippines to demonstrate the conflict. This evidence is based on their surveys and national aggregate statistics. The authors define the household as being composed of those people "who regard themselves as living together such that their memberships are elicited by the census query 'who lives in the house?'" (p. 187). They present their findings as representative of a general pattern throughout the Third World.

The authors view national level programs to reduce fertility and promote investment in education as unsuccessful because households have no real incentive to do so. For marginal and poor households, as well as significant numbers of middle to upper economic classes, larger households often have better survival strategies. Employment in the informal sector, mostly at minimum wage or below is the largest source of work and is not improved by higher levels of education. The authors find that investments in education which sometimes do result in the landing of a higher level, better paying job often result in out-migration and separation of the individual from the household with little or no remittances.

In Davao City, Philippines, household composition is manipulated by combining birth control methods with incorporation of adults into the household. In Mexico there is no check on fertility and birthrates are high. Households, then, seek to control their dependency ratios, maintaining large numbers of employed members and achieving economies of scale. They may also "try out different household forms" (p. 200), a point the authors do not develop.

Hackenberg et al. conclude from their Mexican data that "the Mexican urban household is not sharing in poverty, but rather increased levels of material well-being generated by increased efficiencies in the organization of the domestic work force" (p. 208). This type of efficient household organization works best in large households with workers employed in the informal economy, and investing little in education.

KEY WORDS: household survival strategies; fertility; household composition; demography

Halperin, Rhoda and James Dow, eds.  
 1977. A.V. Chayanov's Theory of Non-Capitalist Economic Systems. In Peasant Livelihood. New York: St. Martin's Press, pp. 257-268.

This essay begins by discussing the inadequacies of capitalist economic theory for understanding peasant agricultural production because it is based on interdependent categories of price, capital, wages, interest, and rent. These categories do not apply to peasant economies because they are inseparable. For Chayanov, peasants budget qualitatively rather than quantitatively, as family economic units strive to achieve an "equilibrium between family demand satisfaction and the drudgery of labor itself" (p. 257).

Families, then, produce a labor product as determined by family labor force composition. The relative success of peasant families depends on family composition, the position of peasant family farms vis-à-vis the market and the size and quality of the holding.

Chayanov maintains that peasant family farms will attempt to make maximum use of family labor power, expanding the size of their farms as additional family labor is available and even producing with decreasing returns per labor unit. Thus the peasant economy will continue to produce in situations when capitalist production would not. The peasant economic system (when there is no market for wage labor) thus includes the following categories: family labor income, commodity prices, reproduction of the means of production, prices for capital in credit circulation and land prices. The peasant economy strives for employment of all family members, not profit, and a minimum drudgery of labor according to local customs.

KEY WORDS: peasant economy; household production

Hammel, E.A.  
 1961. The Family Cycle in a Coastal Peruvian Slum and Village. American Anthropologist 63:989-1005.

In this article, Hammel is primarily concerned with developing ways to measure the process of change in communities over time using the static census data available to historians. He designs a methodology using census data collected from mestizo communities in a city (Ica) and a village (SanJuan Bautista) in Peru. He asks whether or not the composition of an individual household changes in some direction during the span of its existence. To guide the measurement of change, Hammel concentrates on a female in the household to serve as the 'age-marker.' From this, he identifies six family types. These types include/exclude spouses, children, and extended family members.

Hammel next outlines the distribution of the family types in the two study populations over three and four decades. He then compares the two study groups by variables such as the number of each family type, the prevalence of spouse desertion, and emigration.

Through this study, Hammel formulates some hypotheses. One concerns the matricentric character of household organization. Hammel also finds that the solidarity of kin networks seems to be the strongest among mother and children or sometimes among siblings. He hypothesizes that the ability of a household to adapt to change and new opportunities is correlated with the access to resources and mobility.

**KEY WORDS:** household cycle; kin networks; matricentric households; household transformation

Hammel, E.A., and Peter Laslett.  
1974. Comparing Household Structures Over Time and Between Cultures. Comparative Studies in Society and History 16:73-109.

Hammel and Laslett contend that in order to comment on the extent to which the household is affected by social change, it is necessary to know how the structure of domestic groups differ by country over time. Their object in this article is to discuss ways of recording and analyzing household structure in such a way as to make such fine comparison possible.

They use the notational system of anthropologists to record kinship relations. They also make recommendations for adapting that system to record actual household membership retrievable from historical evidence. The difficulties of this task include language and translation of historical data. They expand the notational system to include non-kin (servants, boarders). They define several 'family households' (from simple to extended to multiple) and present a classificatory table to count the number of household types they have collected.

To take development issues into account, the authors recognize that their system would necessarily be more complicated; they discuss the use of computers to assist in coding and analysis.

They conclude that specificity in detailing the household will assist in comparing households over time. They feel the model they presented here is a fairly simple, flexible one.

**KEY WORDS:** household change; household structure; cross-cultural comparison; methodology

Handwerker, W. Penn.  
 1977. Family, Fertility, and Economics. Current Anthropology  
 18:2:259-287.

Handwerker in this piece looks at interdependencies among family, fertility and economics with particular interpretations of African patterns. Rejecting conventional modernization theories and decision making models, he argues that "familial structures emerge in adaptation to economic constraints and options established by technology" (p. 261). As a result, demographic transition theory cannot accurately predict a fall in fertility, for high fertility may be adaptive.

In societies with mixed economies, Handwerker expects to find mixed family structures and fertility patterns. In Africa he notes the emergence of six 'estates' which he defines as differentiated socioeconomic spheres which are "characterized by qualitatively different familial patterns" (p. 262); he discusses the characteristics of the first three.

Handwerker tests his hypotheses successfully with data collected among the Bassa of Liberia who manifest the extended family pattern and high fertility of the second estate, and the fragmented family pattern and low fertility of the third estate.

KEY WORDS: fertility; household organization

Handwerker, W. Penn.  
 1973a. Changing Household Organization in the Origins of Market Places in Liberia. Economic Development and Cultural Change 22:1:229-248.

In this article, Handwerker discusses the role of technological change and household organization in the origins of Liberia's domestic market system. He focuses on the market seller who creates marketplaces in response to changes brought by technology: roads, wage employment for men, urban migration, and education. As a result of these changes, women's household responsibilities and activities have been restructured. Handwerker's objective is to delineate the ways in which this restructuring is a function of technological change and its role in forming the market system.

The data for this article derive from a survey of 783 market sellers from five types of markets in Liberia. The data are supplemented by interviews with farmers, intermediaries, and consumers from three main settlement types: urban, concession (plantation), and rural. Women make up more than 90 percent of the foodstuff sellers in both urban and rural areas, and it is only within the last two decades that women have become involved to a significant degree in these activities.

Women have adjusted to technological change in ways which reflect their limited access to resources like education and employment. Male outmigration in search of wage labor often left women to provision for the household. Even when men return, they are often unwilling or unable to contribute to the subsistence needs of the household. To meet the household's needs, women have turned to selling crops which have traditionally been under their control. This has further altered the household organization, as Handwerker's case studies illustrate.

Handwerker concludes with an illustration of household restructuring that followed from the introduction of industrial technologies and links this to the creation of market sellers and aggregates of sellers which form a marketplace. He contends that these marketplaces originated from a change in household organization.

**KEY WORDS:** cash economy; market sellers; household organization; technological change; social organization; markets and marketing; household transformation; gender/generational roles

Handwerker, W. Penn.

1973b. Technology and Household Configuration in Urban Africa: The Bassa of Monrovia. American Sociological Review 38:1:182-197.

In this article, Handwerker argues that urban African households produce an array of household and kinship structures in response to technological change and cash economies. The evidence does not suggest a linear trend toward the formation of nuclear families. This paper discusses the interrelated change in technology and social organization among the migrant Bassa of Monrovia to "illustrate adjustments to industrial technologies which produce varied patterns of household and kinship in urban Africa" (p. 182). The study is based on a survey of 140 Bassa households conducted during September 1968 to September 1970. Handwerker contends that this analysis helps to explain the discrepancies between cross-cultural generalizations and phenomena of the contemporary world; it further suggests the primary link between technology and household/kinship structure.

The author first discusses the historical and ethnographic background of the agricultural Bassa who had loosely-structured kinship and mutual support groups; he also discusses Bassa migration patterns. Handwerker then identifies eight household types found among urban Bassa and presents a frequency distribution of each type, which range from single adults to many adults, parent-child, nuclear and extended families. He discusses three variations in nuclear family types and five variations in non-nuclear family types. The author argues that three variables are important indicators of household type: education (skill and occupation), income level, and age.

Handwerker raises questions concerning the relationship between technology, capital, and household change. While households adjust to technological change, he suggests that change may not be as sweeping as is sometimes believed. He argues that access to and reliability of income may be a more important factor.

KEY WORDS: household structure; family configuration; technological change; urbanization

Hareven, Tamara K., ed.  
1978. Transitions: The Family and the Life Course in Historical Perspective. New York: Academic Press, Inc.

In this volume, the contributors try to merge an analysis of family structure with the changes that occur in individual lives. They deal with three social units: the nuclear family, the household, and the individual. The essays draw on a common base of household schedules derived from the 1880 Essex County, Massachusetts census. The data allow the contributors to examine both individuals and households. The census data do not provide a picture of change over time; therefore, the authors frequently compare the characteristics of different age-groups at the same point in time.

The analyses show that despite the tendency of Europeans and Americans to form households based on a single nuclear family, the life cycle of a household varies from that of individuals within the household. Households consist of family members, boarders, servants, and extended kin. The authors examine the overlap and interdependence of the three social units and move from the use of "family cycle" to the idea of 'life course' which provides a richer picture of the range of nuclear family experiences. They trace change through significant events within the family: entering and leaving school, marriage and family formation, women's work, and old age.

One of the goals of this book is to develop a unified comparative perspective on the human life course for cross-cultural study. The last chapter discusses the assumptions for using this life course framework for comparative study. It also presents some comparative notes based on a study of the Gusii of Western Kenya.

KEY WORDS: family cycle; individual life cycle

Harris, Olivia.

1981. Households as Natural Units. In Kate Young, Carol Wolkowitz, and Roslyn McCullage, eds., Of Marriage and the Market: Women's Subordination Internationally and Its Lessons. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp. 136-156.

Harris explores some of the assumptions about "the domestic as a category" (p. 152) and finds this category has been misconceptualized because it is "identifiable in a multitude of different contexts" (p. 152). She challenges the naturalistic association of women with what she considers to be a poorly described domestic sphere.

Harris moves from a discussion of families as 'natural' units to a discussion of the organization of households under a household head as she questions the concept of a domestic mode of production. She notes that households are often thought to produce only use-values for intra-household consumption. Exchange-value, on the other hand, is found within household relations yet falls outside of domestic production. The household head, usually male, has control over distribution of exchange-value. Domestic units are, in general, identified with a male head endowed "with the ideology of paternal authority" (p. 147).

The tendency to treat the household as a universal category is related to the observation that reproduction of domestic labor is consistently viewed as a function of the domestic unit. Harris is critical of the literature which ignores the physiological aspects of reproduction while glossing over the activities ascribed to domestic work and separating it from productive work.

Women's activities are thus often rendered invisible and by extension, the household is not empirically understood. "The domestic as a category is then defined in relation to a set of other concepts which mutually reinforce each other as natural, universal, and not amenable to social analysis" (p. 150).

KEY WORDS: household definition; universals; gender roles

Harter, Carl L. and William E. Bertrand.

1977. A Methodology for Classifying Household Family Structures. Journal of Comparative Family Studies 8:3:401-413.

To develop realistic housing, health, education, and other social policies, there is a need to first document the variety of household structures. The goal of this study is to provide both a framework to determine 'household family structure' types and a methodological basis for 'comparative family structure' studies (p. 401). The authors find this classification to be particularly important for rapidly-growing urban households in the Third World.

Harter and Bertrand use a method which is designed to assess the prevalence of extended or nuclear family households and to classify family structure types. They maintain that this method makes order identifiable and leads to the meaningful analysis of available data. One of the keys to describing extended families is to identify the central person/couple who are the core. The authors cite three ways to determine that core: age, economic dependence or youngest ever-married. They use the latter.

Harter and Bertrand present the results of some initial descriptive tabulations based on data collected from 1,296 households in Cali, Colombia. In this study, a questionnaire was administered to randomly-selected heads of households.

In the Cali study, the authors identified 68 family structure types. They identified nine criteria to locate the central couple or person. They contend that extended families are created by adding relatives to a base of nine non-extended family types. To assist in coding extended family types, the authors identified six categories of relatives who comprised Cali extended households. After discussing the classification process, the authors diagram the 59 types of extended families and the frequency of occurrence of each.

In testing the frequency of family types, the authors' analysis reveals that people in Cali do not live in extended family households. However, 23 percent of the homes contain an extended family of some type; another 12 percent are broken nuclear families. The authors conclude that this analysis provides specific information for social service planners. They conclude that this method is a relatively quick way to code census, survey and other data into mutually-exclusive family types. The authors recognize the limitations of this approach with respect to theoretical considerations relevant to family structure criteria.

**KEY WORDS:** kinship networks; household classification; family structure types; conceptualization; methodology; policy issues; urbanization

Haugerud, Angelique.  
1984. Household Dynamics and Rural Political Economy Among Embu Farmers in the Kenya Highlands. Ph. D. Dissertation.  
Northwestern University, Chicago, IL.

(Author's Abstract)

This study focuses on the process of rural economic differentiation in the Kenya highlands. It considers both secular change and the cyclical differentiation posited by A. V. Chayanov, and relates economic processes to ecological variation, to the history of local social and political organization, and to extra-local influences. The Embu case is

used to demonstrate important complementarities among divergent theoretical approaches, particularly the individual actor, institutional, and processual emphases that characterize formalist, substantivist, and Marxist schools of economic anthropology. It also addresses the limitations of the familiar unitary conception of the household, and explores intra- and inter-household conflict, cooperation, and competition.

While Embu's land is fertile and rainfall high, the principal avenues to wealth accumulation lie outside of farming. Education, salaries, and businesses are the means of accumulating wealth in land, cash, and material possessions. Wage employment is tied to cycles of both impoverishment and enrichment, and is both primary agent and product of rural differentiation. Wealth differences owe less to domestic unit developmental cycles than to secular influences affecting households' links with the wider economy and policy.

Among all economic strata, relations defining access to land, labor and livestock are embedded in both monetary and nonmonetary economic spheres. The few households who consistently produce food surpluses are an elite with superior access to cooperative as well as hired labor. Individual competition and accumulation drive the rural economy, but the growth of a rural proletariat is slowed by the persistence of reciprocal and redistributive exchange grounded in relations of kinship, friendship, and clientage, and by the disinclination of the wealthy to invest in agricultural expansion and modernization.

KEY WORDS: stratification; human ecology; external effects on the household

Hay, Margaret Jean and Sharon Stichter, eds.  
1984. African Women South of the Sahara. New York: Longman Group Ltd.

This volume is divided into three parts: the first examines African women's economic roles; the second looks at their social roles; the third considers women in politics and policy. This introductory text provides a general overview of the topics and offers up-to-date scholarship on studies covering the pre-colonial period to the present.

While elaborating on the roles of women in traditional households run by men, the evidence in this volume suggests that women are not "mere pawns in the hands of 'patriarchs'" (p. x). Women have had important political and economic roles through their households and lineages; women have participated in voluntary associations and enforced social control in certain areas of their societies. The colonial period did not have a singular impact for all African women.

Various contributors to this volume look at women in households, in household decision making, in voluntary associations, and in rural and

urban economies. They also explore the problems in statistical measures of women's labor force participation, women and technological change, land tenure change, and development activities.

The editors conclude with the hope that African planners and international aid donors will make more extensive efforts to bring genuine benefits to African women.

KEY WORDS: household decision making; women and change; voluntary associations; status of women; urbanization; gender/generational roles; policy issues

Henn, Jeanne Koopman.

1983. Feeding the Cities and Feeding the Peasants: What Role for Africa's Women Farmers? World Development 11:2:1043-1055.

In this article, Henn argues that economists and development specialists, who have long ignored the problems of women farmers, must turn their attention to the role of African women farmers in producing food to feed both rural and urban dwellers.

After briefly summarizing some of the technological and socioeconomic factors that have constrained the expansion of food production and marketing, Henn describes two types of farming systems; women's extensive food farming systems among the Beti of Cameroon and the intensive food systems of men and women of the Haya people in Tanzania. Henn contrasts men's and women's access to land and labor, labor time, and earnings. She also argues that economic theory has been of little help in explaining women's farming behavior and the cultural constraints on women's decision making.

In the following section, Henn identifies situations and policies that could help women to expand production. She draws on two successful cases of women in Tanzania and Cameroon who overcame constraints and improved their quality of life. While Henn acknowledges women's need for the labor-saving devices often promoted by governments and donor agencies, she argues that the underlying constraint to women's expanded production is its conflict with men's traditional control over economic resources and 'family' incomes.

Henn concludes that the success cases cited in this article can encourage governments to look to traditional food producers to feed a nation's people. To devise workable policies, women farmers and professionals should be incorporated into the decision making process.

KEY WORDS: decision making; gender roles; policy issues; effects of the cash economy

Hunt, Diana.

1979. Chayanov's Model of Peasant Household Resource Allocation. Journal of Peasant Studies 6:3:247-285.

Hunt's purpose in this article is to identify the key factors in resource allocation decisions among households in Mbere, Kenya, a semi-arid area in eastern Kenya. The take-off point is Chayanov's theory of peasant household resource allocation. She focuses on the static nature of the Chayanov model and Chayanov's assumption that no wage labor is employed in peasant production. Hunt discusses certain critiques of the model and describes the study area. Mbere is not a prime agricultural area; it is characterized by high male out-migration. Land is largely communally owned and production is subsistence based.

As applied to the Mbere case, Hunt concludes that the model would not have the same results in other peasant economies. She does, however, note three variables that appear to be key factors in making the Chayanov model work: availability/access to land; education that can lead to off-farm work; social norms regarding the division of labor. She argues that the model is too simplistic, but it can be used as a base for more complex models of resource allocation which she outlines. Hunt argues that the important determinants of variations in household resource allocation and per capita income are education and access to off-farm income. Chayanov did not envision these.

Hunt finds that non-demographic variables influence resource allocation and suggests that they may also influence income and asset distribution. Household resource availability is a function of a range of variables including the size of the family labor force, producer, consumer ratios in the household, as well as access to land and credit, social restraints on the division of labor, and educational attainment. The relative importance of each varies over time and requires empirical study.

KEY WORDS: household model; resource allocation; Chayanovian model; socioeconomic differentiation; wage labor; gender roles

Johnson, G.E. and W.E. Whitelaw.

1974. Urban-Rural Income Transfers in Kenya: An Estimated-Remittance Function. Economic Development and Cultural Change 22:3:473-479.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the magnitude and empirical determinants of urban-rural remittances for Kenya. Johnson and Whitelaw use data on the average amount of money urban workers send to rural areas each month, and the distribution of several socioeconomic characteristics, such as extent of family land cultivated outside Nairobi, the number of wives and children inside and outside Nairobi,

educational attainment, and years in Nairobi. They contend that remitting some income to friends and relatives in rural area mitigates the effects of a non-market wage structure on the distribution of income in rural areas.

The authors rely on data collected in a household survey in Nairobi by the Institute for Development Studies of the University of Nairobi in 1971, which drew on interviews with 1,140 males sampled from low and middle-income areas of the city. The researchers found that 88.9 percent of the respondents said they regularly sent money to support family and friends in rural area. From the data Johnson and Whitelaw calculate an estimated remittances function.

Johnson and Whitelaw's findings suggest that one-fifth of the urban wage bill is transferred to rural areas. The amount transferred is systematically related to income and socioeconomic variables. They found that the proportion remitted decreases as income increases. The authors conclude that transfers have implications for increasing rural welfare and that the welfare of the individual depends on the number and closeness of relatives in the high-wage sector.

**KEY WORDS:** income-transfer theory; intra-household dynamics; wage labor; migration; socioeconomic differentiation

Kerr, Graham B.

1978. Voluntary Associations in West Africa: "Hidden" Agents of Social Change. African Studies Review 21:3:87-100.

One method encouraged by international aid agencies to spur rural development and local participation has been the establishment of cooperatives, which have often failed. In this article, Kerr seeks to offer information about group strategies for change which, when combined with culture-specific data, may be used to design effective programs for change, using existing structures, institutions, and roles.

Kerr summarizes a 'post-mortem' report of the failure of cooperatives prepared by Apthorpe (1977), examines relevant social research concerning group strategies for change, presents specific data concerning existing groups in West Africa, and evaluates the advantages of incorporating groups into programs for change.

The author discusses the role of groups and participation in decision making that can lead to attitudes acceptable to change, though he notes that some decisions may be riskier than individuals within the group might make. He next reviews some aspects of voluntary associations which contribute to their 'development potential': communication channels, access and control over resources, consensus decision making.

In conclusion, Kerr finds that the community-based decision making and communication networks offered by voluntary associations can contribute to successful rural development programs. He maintains that the role of the social scientist is to identify existing social institutions which may contribute to development and to find ways to incorporate groups into programs for social change.

KEY WORDS: voluntary associations; rural development; change agents; rural-urban linkages; decision making

Kerri, James Nwannukwu.

1976. Studying Voluntary Associations as Adaptive Mechanisms: A Review of Anthropological Perspectives. Current Anthropology 17:1:23-47.

Kerri's purpose in this review article is to show how anthropological studies since the 1940s have examined voluntary or common-interest associations as adaptive mechanisms in the context of social, cultural, ecological, and technological change, especially as manifest in large-scale rural-urban migration. He finds this review necessary since voluntary associations often replace kinship and territorial links as social groups, particularly in response to urbanization and modernization because voluntary associations are pliable and emerge from interests that extend beyond existing group boundaries.

Kerri discusses the problem of defining a "voluntary association." He emphasizes two conditions: common interest and entirely voluntary membership (p. 24). He divides the review into six parts: general and theoretical considerations; sections two to four cover voluntary associations in Africa, Asia, Western Europe and North America; rotating credit associations as a special form of common-interest association; strengths and weaknesses of an anthropological analysis of voluntary associations; and questions for future research.

Kerri finds new theoretical contributions by anthropologists and a few studies that offer a methodology or model useful for cross-cultural studies and the development of empirical evidence concerning the nature, causes, functions, consequences and range of structural variations of common-interest associations.

Kerri finds important descriptive studies from West Africa, in particular, that show voluntary associations as adaptive mechanisms to changing, often urban, environments. He finds that studies on voluntary associations from the West often focus on immigrant or native associations and that those conducted by sociologists are limited in coverage. Kerri views rotating-credit associations as "middle-rung" development techniques that are transitional or temporary in nature.

Generally, Kerri concludes that voluntary associations serve a number of functions, especially in adapting to change. They deal with problems for which existing methods are ineffective. Kerri points to three items which need resolution: What causes people to join voluntary associations to deal with problems of adaptation? What other choices are available? Are the interests and adaptations those of the individuals or of the groups they join? Kerri argues for strengthening a methodology that is problem oriented and capable of demonstrating the relationships among a number of factors. (A series of commentaries on this review plus a reply by Kerri follow the article [pp. 35-44].)

KEY WORDS: voluntary associations; adaptive mechanisms; inter- and intra-household dynamics; urbanization; migration

Koehn, Peter and Sidney R. Waldron.

1978. Afocha: A Link Between Community and Administration in Harar, Ethiopia. Syracuse, NY: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs.

In this monograph, the authors examine government attempts to use a traditional social institution, afocha, to mobilize urban residents to initiate self-help development projects. They also assess the potential of afocha as a vehicle for change in the ancient walled city of Harar, Ethiopia. The research was conducted primarily in the summer of 1975, soon after Haile Selassie was overthrown. The expansion of cooperative associations by the ensuing government underscored the importance of the study.

Koehn and Waldron discuss the study area, its social organization, the government administration, and the linkage between afocha and the government. Afocha are one of three key institutions in the City of Harar. They include persons from different families and friendship groups regardless of wealth and social status for the primary purpose of meeting social and ceremonial needs associated with weddings and funerals. There are both male and female afocha and every married adult is expected to belong to one. Afocha are conduits of information and communication (p. 8).

The authors conclude that it is not easy to transform a traditional voluntary association into a community development organization to provide services for the larger population. Afocha have become a refuge for traditionalists, but they have helped to maintain order in the community while the central government has instituted change, which has often occurred at the expense of the privileged members of afocha. Koehn and Waldron argue that the survival of afocha depends on the ability of Harari people to preserve their identity and social

cohesiveness in the face of growing political and economic pressures and internal turmoil.

KEY WORDS: voluntary association; community development; social change; urbanization; inter-household dynamics; external influence

Kossoudji, Sherrie and Eva Mueller.

1983. The Economic and Demographic Status of Female-headed Households in Rural Botswana. Economic Development and Cultural Change 31:4:831-859.

In this article, the authors examine the status of female-headed households in Botswana in an attempt to understand the pervasive poverty of such households and the reasons for it. Kossoudji and Mueller use data from 957 households collected in a rural income distribution survey supported by the government and the World Bank.

They believe a focus on women's economic status to be especially important in light of the trend for male outmigration and increasing numbers of female-headed households. Households are divided into four groups: male-headed, male present; male-headed, no male present; female-headed, male present; female-headed, no male present. The qualitative data are well illustrated by ethnographic descriptions of the household types studied.

The authors report the sources of household income which show that female-headed households are indeed poorer. The reasons for this are thought to lie in traditional male dominance, low level of asset ownership, cultural norms for the sexual division of labor, and the burden of child dependency. In addition, there is a tendency for female household heads to be from female-headed households that have no male kinship networks. Kossoudji and Mueller consider that the low incomes are due not to lack of education, a higher preference for leisure than men display, inefficiency, or incompetence in productive activities.

The authors feel that the customs which contribute to women's poverty may have been functional in the past, but are now in need of policy interventions. They conclude the article with recommendations for such interventions.

KEY WORDS: female-headed household; allocation of resources

Ladipo, Patricia.

1981. Developing Women's Cooperatives: An Experiment in Rural Nigeria. In Nici Nelson, ed., African Women in the Development Process. London: Frank Cass and Co., Ltd., pp. 123-136.

This study outlines the experience of two groups of rural Yoruba women who organized themselves into multi-purpose cooperatives. Women did this in an effort to regain income lost when an integrated rural development scheme introduced a maize variety that became dominated by men. The men's maize displaced the women's maize. The women were concerned about changing economic relations which made them subordinate to their husbands.

Ladipo compares the experience, problems and potentials of the two groups and discusses the implications for government cooperative policy. The first group focused its efforts on meeting government regulations; the second sought to meet its own needs first and then meet registration requirements. Ladipo suggests that the differences between the two groups were not critical to the final assessment, though the differences may have affected group progress. Women of both groups had belonged to other associations, but participation levels varied. The second, smaller, group was more homogeneous in age, residence, trade activities and adjustment to the maize project. In short, the second group, which focused on defining its own goals first, was more successful.

The author concludes that certain findings from this comparison are useful for government policy. They concern group size, bookkeeping skills, seasonal activities, cash available to women, men's attitudes, and the time and labor necessary to prepare groups for registration. Ladipo concludes that the process of developing the cooperative afforded the women opportunities for personal and group development, skill building, and attitudinal change.

KEY WORDS: policy issues; cooperatives; project impact; external influence; inter-household dynamics; women's roles

Linares, Olga F.

1984. Households Among the Diola of Senegal: Should Norms Enter by the Front or Back Door? In Robert McC. Netting, Richard Wilk, and Eric Arnould, eds., Households: Comparative and Historical Studies of the Domestic Group. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, pp. 407-445.

Following the general theme set out by Wilk and Netting in the introductory chapter to Households, Linares examines the changing forms and functions of households among the Diola of Senegal. She reports on

three villages where co-production has more significance for the conceptualization of households than co-residence. She then explains households in light of differences in regional history, village level social organization, marriage and inheritance rules, household production and consumption and forces of change associated with 'Mandingization' and Islam.

The three villages (here called village 1, 2, and 3) roughly represent a continuum from traditional (village 1) to more "modern" (village 3) with village 2 located geographically and socioeconomically between them.

All three villages recognize the importance of conjugal units, households and a larger group called the courtyard group, yet the rules regulating membership in each unit vary between villages. For example, in villages 1 and 2, new couples establish their own residence as soon after marriage as possible, while those in village 3 reside in the husband's parental home. Marriage in all three "brings into existence a new unit of production and consumption -- the conjugal family -- with its associated rice fields and reciprocal labor obligations" (p. 421), yet these obligations and transmission of property are handled differently. Linares notes in this context that co-production becomes a more consistently significant concept for studying households than co-residence.

Linares looks at the sexual division of agricultural labor, and observes the most cooperation between sexes in village 1. There are more strict divisions in village 3 where men produce export crops and women produce primarily subsistence foods. With the increasing use of the plow for males' crops, there has been a resultant shift from male reliance on cooperative work groups, although women continue to rely on female cooperative work groups.

Seasonal peak labor needs are met in the three villages not through a household extending strategy, but on the basis of kin or corporate groups. There are differences between the locations and control of hearths and granaries, with a less rigid division in village 1. Marriages within village 1 occur within a smaller geographical and kin group than village 3 and marital relations are grounded more on sexual equality.

The trend from village 1 to 3 is "toward increased role differentiation, complexity, asymmetry, and hierarchy" (p. 440), which Linares attributes more to attempts to emulate Manding ideology and practice than Islamic practices. Village 3, not surprisingly, is located closer to Manding territory and the most 'Mandinganized.'

KEY WORDS: household transformation and organization; modernization

Longhurst, Richard.

1982. Resource Allocation and the Sexual Division of Labor: A Case Study of A Moslem Hausa Village in Northern Nigeria. In Lourdes Beneria, ed., Women and Development: The Sexual Division of Labor in Rural Societies. New York: Praeger Publishers, pp. 95-117.

In the context of rural modernization, Longhurst examines women's work and their access to productive resources and analyzes the determinants of these in a Moslem Hausa village. To do so, the author notes the importance of looking at household members as distinct economic units to understand who decides what work is done and how resources are to be allocated. The study was compiled from interviews with 101 women in a village in which Longhurst was a resident.

In the introduction, Longhurst discusses the study site, methodology, and the social structure of the study area. He then examines women's seclusion in the area and their productive efforts in the rural economy as cultivators, owners of land, food processors and traders. He argues that women's seclusion is a barrier to their full access to jobs but they remain economically active. The final section analyzes the policy implications for rural modernization and women's roles.

The community under study is involved in the cash economy. Secluded women perform cash-remunerated work within their compounds. Cash transactions often take place between wives and husbands. Women contribute to household maintenance, mainly in the form of domestic labor, child care and food preparation. Women in this village are not involved in farming activities. Longhurst describes the tenuous way in which women hold land, often only through male patronage. He also discusses women's lack of access to formal credit facilities so that they rely heavily on informal networks (friends, relatives, savings groups) for resources.

Longhurst concludes that women's dependence on men is reinforced by seclusion. Women have few opportunities to work together cooperatively and to increase their earnings. He raises several questions concerning the relationship of seclusion to women's security, access to resources, productive roles, and relationship with children. Modernization, he concludes, affects men and women differently. Development activities can upset any economic balance between women and men. In considering women, specifics regarding their relative wealth, marital status, and seclusion are important variables.

KEY WORDS: resource allocation; seclusion; rural modernization; policy issues; intra-household dynamics; gender roles; land tenure

Mackintosh, Maureen.

1979. Domestic Labour and the Household. In Sandra Burman, ed., Fit Work for Women. New York: St. Martin's Press, pp. 173-191.

In this work, Mackintosh explores ways to answer the question: "What are the social relations of domestic production?" (p. 189). She begins by reviewing the domestic labor debate and discusses its limits, taking the position that housework in capitalist Western countries is production of use-values. She is critical of the work of Marxists for ignoring the importance of domestic work and the division of labor within the household.

Mackintosh then presents material on domestic labor in a Senegalese village economy in order to "examine the performance of tasks typical of domestic labor within capitalism -- child care, cooking, cleaning -- in a society which is as yet incompletely dominated by the law of value and where therefore a great deal of other production -- agriculture, fishing, craft work -- is still household-based" (p. 173). The variations in organization of household production is described to show how "the rigidity of the sexual division of labour in domestic tasks is visibly the source of women's greater oppression within the sphere of wage work" (p. 182).

This occurs because of women's recent participation in waged plantation labor. Women who work on the plantation are not relieved of their domestic duties unless another female within the household is available to assume the tasks. The double pressures of domestic work and waged work have tested women's endurance. Over time, as women worked more irregularly on the plantation in order to accomplish their other tasks (i.e., collecting firewood, child care, care of the sick), "a familiar pattern of sex-based hierarchy of pay and conditions in the labour force had been setup" (p. 182).

In the other village described by Mackintosh, there is a female sphere of exchange, reminiscent of that reported by Schildkrout for Hausa women (annotated). Here again, there is a sexual division of non-agricultural tasks in the household.

After presenting the narrative data from Senegal, Mackintosh returns to the Marxist-feminist domestic labor debate to look at the institution of the household both in capitalist society and other societies. She concludes that "the household, the location of women's domestic labour, is the mediating institution for these two sets of relations: women's position and work within the household traps her and forces her into a subordinate position also within the wider society" (p. 190).

KEY WORDS: Marxist-feminist theory; gender; wage labor; resource allocation

March, Kathryn S. and Rachele Taquu.  
1982. Women's Informal Associations and the Organizational Capacity  
for Development. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University.

In reviewing household economic and family studies approaches to studying women, March and Taquu argue that both offer incomplete and distorted pictures of women's position and experience. They find that an emphasis on the 'household' overlooks the extra-domestic and extra-familial relationships so vital to women's lives and community activities. The aim of this monograph is to explore informal organizations that enlarge and empower women. It is complementary to studies of households, families, and formal institutions. The authors assume that women in developing countries have been invisible because their associations and activities are informal.

The monograph is divided into three parts: The first puts women's informal associations into perspective, by contrasting informal associations with formal ones by legal recognition and organizational structure. In part two, they look at the dynamics of the informal sphere. They describe network strategies exemplified by economic, ritual and religious groups. In part three, they discuss leadership and links between informal and formal associations. The authors find that development planners are attracted to the flexibility of informal associations, but incorporating informal associations into rigid development intervention remains a problem.

In offering concluding guidelines, March and Taquu highlight the contradictions in women's informal activities. The groups may be powerful but they also perpetuate subordination, victimization, and exclusion. To gain some measure of the likelihood of success of project intervention, the authors offer a continuum on which to conceptually place the various characteristics of informal associations, such as strategies (active or defensive), purposes (economic, political, ritual, religious), structure and leadership. They advise caution in the use of mechanistic approaches to categorizing informal associations and predicting intervention outcomes; there are no easy answers. The guidelines can, however, offer ways to create formal programs that complement, respect, and build on the strengths women have found in their traditional, informal associations.

KEY WORDS: informal associations; network analysis; policy; women

McGuire, Randall and Lanny Thompson.

1985. Household Structures and the World Economy: The Case of Mexico. Paper presented at 1985 Annual Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association. Albuquerque, NM.

This paper presents a summary of recent conclusions of the Fernand Braudel Center's Research Working Group on Households, Labor Formation and the World Economy as it focuses on the "relationship between labor force patterns and processes of reproduction" (p. 2). The authors accept the view that wage labor, especially that of a single earner, is not sufficient to bear the costs of reproducing the labor force and that unmet needs are born by the household unit. The household is thus conceptualized as "that set of relationships that impose on their membership the immediate obligation to share the income from their labor and its product to enable the group to renew its capacity to labor on a daily basis and replenishing that labor generationally" (p. 5).

An additional conceptual tool is that of 'householding,' which describes the processes and social networks that link household resources. The authors are critical of literature on household income which they find too concerned with wage and money income, thus excluding other significant sources. Many sources of income (i.e., child care, cooking) derive value through their relationship to other household activities or income, as they combine to create a household consumption fund which enables the household to be sustained and reproduced.

The elucidation of householding practices is, however, conceded to be problematic since previous research and documents usually treat households solely as co-residential units. The authors present five sets of income-generating resources which include wages, unremunerated work outside the market, petty commodity production, contractual relationships that lead to rental income, and transfer payments. By considering all these types of incomes, McGuire and Thompson discuss how the Research Working Group hopes to understand and to explain how households respond to changes in the world economy.

The Research Working Group is concerned with examining labor relations within the world capitalist system at the household level of analysis and holds the view that "the processes of capitalism interact with existing social forms and relations to create capitalist households in the images of the past" (p. 5). In order to realize the variations in households through the world system and through time, the group is studying core as well as peripheral areas in the world capitalist system.

The remainder of this paper reports on the application of the above outlined concepts to the case of Mexico between 1873 and 1967, using the following five steps: "1. determining wage labor force characteristics, 2. evaluating sources of income, 3. identifying patterns of house-

holding, 4. analysis of householding and labor force variation,  
5. analysis of householding variation and the World-Economy" (p. 10).

KEY WORDS: household income; world system theory; household  
transformation

Meillassoux, Claude.

1972. From Production to Reproduction. Economy and Society 1:93-105.

(Author's Abstract)

The concepts of liberal economics, derived from the analysis of capitalist societies, are both inadequate and inappropriate for the analysis of pre-capitalist societies. Marx's analysis of primitive societies focused largely on the historical succession of modes of production rather than on their inner workings. What is needed is an analysis of the type which Marx made of capitalism.

The present analysis starts from Marx's distinction between land as subject of labor and land as instrument of production. Where the latter is the case (as in self-sustaining agricultural communities), the society is dominated by the production and reproduction of the material conditions of existence, of the community's members and of the structural organization; the relations of production and the organization of the community are based upon control of the means of reproduction (subsistence and women) rather than the means of production.

The article concludes with a brief discussion of the way in which capitalism utilizes agricultural communities to provide, in part, for the reproduction of labor-power in the modern wage-labor economy.

KEY WORDS: conceptualization; access to resources; wage labor

Merryman, Nancy Hawk.

1984. Economy and Ecological Stress: Household Strategies of Transitional Somali Pastoralists in Northern Kenya. Ph.D. Dissertation. Northwestern University, Chicago, IL.

(Author's Abstract)

The secessionist conflict and the Sahelian drought have shown the vulnerability of pastoral nomads to social and ecological crises. This study examines labor utilization, control of resources, risk-reduction strategies, and response to economic incentives among three population segments: pastoral nomads, destitute former nomads settled in towns, and

town women entrepreneurs in the miraa trade. The research was conducted among the Somali of northeastern Kenya for four years in four periods from 1972 to 1983.

The study challenges the concept of household as an adequate unit of analysis for understanding production strategies. The rational peasant approach is extended in splintering the household to examine competing or complementary economic interests of each member. The study suggests that the concept of household be replaced by a focus on economic linkages between household members, with non-household members, and changes in these linkages through time.

The Somali case is an exception to the feminist and development literature which sees economic development, settlement, and market integration as detrimental to women's economic participation. In the pastoral sector, women are confined to the domestic domain and have little control of productive resources. Settlement in town offers many cash-earning options compatible with domestic responsibilities. Women's entrance into the public domain is facilitated by settlement in a Somali-speaking area presenting no linguistic deterrent to women's participation. The town's expanding population is a market for goods and services provided by women in the informal sector.

The study follows the economic recovery of destitute former nomads who have few job skills, little education, and limited fluency in Swahili. Employment is marginal; several household members work to obtain basic subsistence. The process of integration into the settled economy involves: receiving famine relief, cash-earning in the informal sector, wage employment or prestige trading. The goal is diversification with investments in both the pastoral and settled economy. The town will continue to draw population from pastoral areas. Continued development and training are necessary to increase opportunities for the marginally employed former nomads.

KEY WORDS: resource allocation; human ecology; production systems

Mies, Maria.

1982. Rural Women and the World Market. In Lourdes Beneria, ed., Women and Development: The Sexual Division of Labor in Rural Societies. New York: Praeger Publishers, pp. 1-28.

In this article, Mies argues that definitions of male/female labor are dichotomized as human/productive, on the one hand, and natural/reproductive, on the other. She considers the following question: Why did the sexual division of labor also become one of dominance and exploitation that is asymmetrical and hierarchical?

Mies examines this question by looking at the change in a women's household industry -- lacemaking -- in Andhra Pradesh, India, begun by

women in the late 1800s. Her fieldwork was completed in 1978/79 as a part of an ILO study. By 1970, lacemaking had become a major export industry dominated by male middlemen in which women producers were defined as housewives and not workers (p. 11). At the same time, Kapu men lost status and income when they lost access to agricultural land. Women became the primary wage earners but male dominance within the household did not change.

Mies discusses the class relations in the area, the change in the division of labor between sexes and in the family, pauperization in the area, and capitalist relations between the sexes, especially in lacemaking. She argues that class polarization also polarized men and women. Mies summarizes three stages of change in the social and sexual division of labor: primary accumulation, 'takeoff' resulting from surplus-value production, and the increase of large merchants and export production.

The author offers six conclusions concerning increased class and gender differentiation where women became the main producers but were deliberately defined as housewives and not producers. This has allowed men to improve their class position while exploiting women's subsistence production.

KEY WORDS: gender division of labor; class differentiation; cash economy; external influences

Minge-Kalman, Wanda.

1977. On the Theory and Measurement of Domestic Labor Intensity. American Ethnologist 4:2:273-284.

Minge-Kalman challenges the work of Marshal Sahlins in this paper. She claims that Sahlins did not accurately measure labor intensity and, therefore, cannot claim that un-intensive labor characterizes domestic groups in primitive societies. She rejects Sahlins' method of measuring labor intensity by volume produced or surface area cultivated as unrepresentative of the variety of produced crops, activities and energy expenditure. Minge-Kalman presents data from the Swiss Alps in a "multi-dimensional measure of domestic labor intensity" (p. 275) to support the Chayanovian hypothesis of an increase in labor intensity among peasant households relative to the household's consumer/worker ratio.

The author feels this can best be accomplished by looking at the variety of productive activities in which families engage over an annual cycle. When Sahlins' measure is applied to the Alpine data, labor intensity, according to Minge-Kalman, is underestimated. Furthermore, she is critical of his approach for omitting "the major adaptive changes made by the domestic group as a producing unit" (p. 277). The Swiss data show that intensification of domestic production does occur,

and shifts to more labor-intensive products (i.e., fruits, cheese) allowing the family to adapt to competing capitalized agricultural enterprises.

The author states that: "(a)lthough through time the domestic group produces less of what it consumes and consumes less of what it produces, it does not cease to be a production unit" (p. 277).

KEY WORDS: agricultural production strategies; allocation of resources

Molyneaux, Maxine.

1979. Beyond the Domestic Labor Debate. New Left Review 116:3-27.

In this important article, Molyneaux takes a close look at current theories of women's domestic labor which attempt to "contribute to an understanding of women's subordination and to the formulation of a politics adequate to its supersession" (p. 3). In particular she questions the conclusions of such theories which link women's domestic labor functionally with the capitalist mode of production. For Molyneaux, the maintenance of a domestic sphere does not necessarily lower the value of labor.

Molyneaux discusses and rejects conceptualizations of the domestic mode of production as compared with the client mode of production. She examines the concept of family wages in depth within different contexts, which allows Molyneaux to raise doubts as to how much capitalist enterprises actually gain by maintaining a family wage. She considers that one must address "the specific political, historical and economic reasons which result in 'family' wages being paid to members of some classes and strata and not to others, to men and not to women and by some capitals and not others" (p. 19).

She concludes that women's involvement in domestic labor is not "essential to the reproduction of the capitalist mode of production" (p. 23), and suggests that more productive conclusions may be found by studying (1) the wage form, (2) the sexual division of labor, (3) high unemployment, especially high female unemployment, and (4) the premium placed by most societies on women's reproductive roles.

KEY WORDS: wage labor; gender; mode of production; household income

Mueller, Eva.

1983. Measuring Women's Poverty in Developing Countries. In Mayra Buvinic, Margaret A. Lycette, and William Paul McGreevey, eds., Women and Poverty in the Third World. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 272-285.

This article presents a framework for defining and measuring women's poverty. Mueller contends that basic human needs can be met through access to means of work, dependant upon capital, technological, and human capital inputs, and through public and private 'support systems.' These support systems include migrant remittances and familial-based income transfers. She observes that familial organizations may weaken before public support systems are developed, thus creating further problems.

Noting that good reliable information on women's status is needed, she suggests that to measure women's poverty one must look at women's employment problems, women's support systems and women's social attitudes. These data are not easily available from government census data. Mueller outlines problems associated with such data and presents suggestions for compensating for them by looking at women-headed households, young working women, and single urban women.

Mueller suggests research at the following levels:

1. Women's employment. Mueller presents common forms of women's work which are often overlooked, while outlining the nature of women's work in developing countries. There is a need for information of types of work, wages, and time allocation (which includes all household members), setting of work, and child care.
2. Women's support systems. Here she notes that most women have access to income through support systems, usually, but not always, through their husbands. Mueller discusses transfers (flows of goods and services outside work compensation), payments, and criteria for elucidating such data. There is also a need to document public support system inputs, where they exist.
3. Women's social attitudes. This section briefly considers that the relationship between women's poverty and their social attitudes needs to be carefully conceptualized.

In a call for adding the above insights to census-taking, she notes types of background data needed to measure household socio-economic and demographic composition, but adds that community-level variables may also have a significant effect on poverty studies.

KEY WORDS: women's poverty; census data; income transfers; inter household dynamics

Mueller, Eva.

1976. The Economic Value of Children in Peasant Agriculture. In Ronald G. Ridker, ed., Population and Development: The Search for Selective Interventions. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 98-153.

Acknowledging that the value of children to parents has a large social and psychological component, Mueller argues for a study of the economic value of children because it has a bearing on the pace of development. In this article, Mueller re-examines economists' findings that "high-parity children have a negative economic value" (p. 99). She distinguishes between the value of children in rural society as a whole ('aggregate model') and the perceived private value of children to peasant households ('life-cycle model').

Mueller first reviews a series of empirically-derived consumption and production data to clarify the contribution of male and female children to household expenses, earnings and savings by age group and in various family sizes; she then relates the findings to the economic position of women, men, and the aged.

From the above data and using aggregate and life-cycle models, Mueller develops consumption and production profiles by age and sex differentials over the life-cycle of the household. These profiles attempt to estimate consumption and production per unit of time over an individual's life-cycle. The individual profiles are then aggregated using algebraic equations. In the last section, the author discusses the policy implications of her findings.

In sum, Mueller states that the two models show a negative net worth of children in peasant societies. From birth to their own marriages, they consume more than they produce. The higher the birth rate, the lower the potential for savings and capital formation. She advocates several policy measures to address these findings, including old-age social security systems, life insurance, family planning programs, an increase in the marriage age, improved economic roles for women, labor-saving farm equipment, and prolonged education.

KEY WORDS: children's economic contribution; life-cycle model; aggregate model; policy issues; peasant households

Munroe, Ruth H., Robert L. Munroe, and Harold S. Shimmin.

1984. Children's Work in Cultures: Determinants and Consequences. American Anthropologist 86:2:369-379.

This article presents preliminary field results of research designed to gather cross-cultural data on the determinants and effects of children's work. The authors assume that children are expected to

work when it is of economic value and that the work experience will affect the children's character development. The initial findings rely in part on Chayanov's theory that labor productivity varies inversely with a household's productive capacity. 'Production' in this study means all instrumental activities that contribute to household maintenance and the well being of its members.

The study is based on the systematic observations of 48 children -- 12 in each age group of 3, 5, 7, and 9 -- for a total sample of 192 children plus their parents in four communities of varied cultural traditions. Each child was observed approximately 30 times over a 6-week period using the 'spot-observation' technique. The observations were then translated into time budgets and measures of work -- a difficult task.

The preliminary findings suggest that children work when they belong to domestic units that have a low proportion of workers and when there are infants needing care. The authors argue that children who work develop a work orientation that extends beyond the work experience itself to create nurturant/responsible behavior. The authors suggest that their findings tentatively confirm those of Beatrice Whiting's 1975 six-culture study which found a high correlation between work and nurturant/responsible behavior. The authors argue for research on the permanence of the behavior, what kinds of labor produce similar outcomes, age-dependent effects, among others.

**KEY WORDS:** Chayanovian model; children's labor; household structure; methodology; intra-household dynamics; inter-household dynamics

Nag, Moni, Benjamin N. White, and R. Creighton Peet.  
1978. An Anthropological Approach to the Study of the Economic Value of Children in Java and Nepal. Current Anthropology 19:2:293-306.

(Author's Abstract)

This paper seeks to test the assumption of the microeconomic theory of fertility that the economic value of children is a factor influencing fertility behavior of parents in peasant societies. On the basis of anthropological investigation in one village on Java in Indonesia and one in Nepal, the average amount of time spent by children in different types of activities -- both household-maintenance and directly productive -- is estimated directly. The support provided by the children to their elderly parents is assessed primarily by examining the pattern of residential arrangements. Anthropological techniques of repeated interviews and direct observation were used to collect the data.

Important findings include the following: (1) The work input of children under 15 in both villages is sufficiently substantial to suggest that, at the current rate of reproduction and under the present circumstances, they probably have net positive economic value to their parents, aside from the support they provide to parents during old age; (2) In both villages, girls do more work than boys in almost all age-groups; (3) The work input of children with two or more siblings is higher than that of children with 0-1 sibling; (4) The correlation coefficient between the total work input of children and the balance of income over food expenditure in households is significant; (5) Most elderly persons in both villages are living either with their children or near them; and (6) The pattern of actual reproductive behavior in the Javanese and Nepalese villages may be regarded as a mechanism which enables the parents to achieve a relatively large number of surviving children while avoiding the extreme pressure on the household economy that would result from uncontrolled fertility.

KEY WORDS: time allocation; economic value of children

Nelson, Nici.

1979. "Women Must Help Each Other": The Operation of Personal Networks Among Buzaa Beer Brewers in Mathare Valley, Kenya. In Patricia Caplan and Janet M. Bujra, eds., Women United, Women Divided. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, pp. 77-98.

Nelson's chapter describes the economic cooperation and solidarity of women who illegally brew beer in a squatter area outside Nairobi, Kenya. The study is based on fieldwork conducted during 1972. She relies on participant-observation and interviews primarily with female heads of households. Nelson contends that the women's networks help to solve the daily problems of individuals. Yet, women have infrequently used their networks to formulate and work for common goals. As such, Nelson defines the networks as defensive rather than offensive.

Nelson identifies and uses in her analysis two forms of networks in Mathare Valley: 'effective' in which members are all linked together and interact frequently; and 'extended' in which members do not necessarily know each other. She describes the brewing and selling operations, and women's segregation and solidarity in the Valley. Their solidarity results primarily from the women being defined as outcasts from 'respectable' society and their home villages because of their choice of lifestyle. Nelson noted the existence of some segregation among Mathare Valley women by marital status and economic position.

The author concludes that women beer brewers' networks actually take a defensive strategy to survive daily life in the shantytown. The networks operate in situations of illness, economic strife, police raids, beatings and insecurity. They have rarely taken an offensive

stance, though there has been some cooperation in building nursery schools, getting piped water and approaching local politicians. Nelson indicates that the women do not comprehend the broader political, economic, and social factors that contribute to their predicament. They do not formulate group goals directed toward social change; without those goals, Nelson predicts, the women of Mathare Valley will continue a struggle of survival.

KEY WORDS: personal networks; survival strategies; socioeconomic differentiation; migration; urbanization

Netting, Robert, McC.

1982. Some Home Truths on Household Size and Wealth. American Behavioral Scientist 25:641-661.

Netting here offers cross-cultural data which supports the view that family size is positively related to access to resources. Large families are able to make greater use of productive labor while maintaining societal esteem and accumulating wealth. Even "social stratification is reflected in average household size, and socioeconomic change through time can be expected to affect the proportions of different household sizes in the population" (p. 657).

Exceptions to this tendency are noted as reflective of particular labor needs. Recognizing the inherent difficulties and controversies surrounding household definitions, Netting uses for his purposes of associating wealth with family size, "the size tabulations and typological divisions used by the census taker" (p. 643). Netting views the determination of wealth as a problematic needing further research.

KEY WORDS: access to resources; methodologies; structure; stratification

Netting, Robert McC., Richard R. Wilk, and Eric J. Arnould, eds. 1984. Households: Comparative and Historical Studies of the Domestic Group. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Netting et al. introduce their volume by establishing the household as a significant unit for study. They trace the development of household studies from nineteenth century evolutionary theories through anthropological and historical research in the 1940s and 1950s to issues raised by contemporary scholars. The editors note that although much of social science data is collected at the household level, the household is not clearly understood.

The papers included in the volume focus on the dimensions of household form, function and meaning in various times and areas throughout the developed and developing world. They demonstrate how "household organization responds sensitively to changes in the environment while preserving certain formal similarities for long periods" (p. xx).

The volume is divided into four parts, beginning with theoretical and methodological works on household conceptualization. Part two consists of papers which explore "the interrelations between the morphology and activities of the household" (p. xxxii), written for the Wenner-Gren Foundation symposium, "Households: Changing Form and Function." The third section includes models of households and their morphology. Papers in part four are concerned with bringing together the three analytical dimensions (form, function, and meaning).

KEY WORDS: conceptualization; household form and function

Newman, Katherine.

1981. Women and Law: Land Tenure in Africa. In Naomi Black and Ann Baker Cottrell, eds., Women and World Change: Equity Issues in Development. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, pp. 120-138.

Newman writes on women's position relative to land tenure systems in Sub-Saharan Africa from the perspective that "colonialism institutionalized sexual inequalities in access to the most basic resource, land" (p. 137). She outlines indigenous land tenure systems, concurring with Boserup's twofold male and female farming systems. She views female farming systems as being more widespread prior to colonialism. Newman notes that although women had rights of access to land, it was most often gained only through their relationship with men (husbands, fathers, brothers, sons) even in matrilineal societies. This is not to say that women's position in relationship to land tenure was tenuous, for even though men controlled women's access to land, they were reliant on women to make the land productive.

This situation changed dramatically and differentially with colonialism. European policy in "white man's countries" (i.e., Kenya, South Africa, and Zimbabwe) differed from that in "indirect rule countries" (West Africa) (p. 125). Both resulted in a decline in women's position, either by creating land scarcity as the most productive land was drawn into commercial production for European markets or by creating labor scarcity as men were drawn into wage labor to pay taxes. In both general cases, women assumed traditional roles of subsistence production but without the support and assistance of men or traditional legal sanctions they had previously enjoyed as partners with men.

Newman then briefly outlines how this resultant shift has been facilitated through the twentieth century and offers a few suggestions for protecting women's access to land.

Key Words: land tenure; women's access to resources

Oboler, Regina Smith.

1985. Women, Power, and Economic Change: The Nandi of Kenya.  
Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

In this book, Oboler presents a case study of the impact of colonialism, capitalism and the cash economy on the sex and gender roles among the Nandi, a semi-pastoral and patrilineal people of western Kenya. She argues that economic relations among the Nandi changed as a result of outside forces, that this affected social relations which are rooted in the production process, and that relations between women and men changed. On the whole, Nandi women became disadvantaged. Oboler examines this process of change through a generational look at gender roles.

Oboler states that her perspective is feminist and leftist. She has three objectives: (1) an ethnographic description of the Nandi appropriate to analyzing gender roles, (2) sociohistorical analysis of the impact of colonialism, especially on gender roles, and (3) to offer a critique of recent sex and gender theory. She argues the conceptual tools to measure women's status or male dominance are inadequate. She uses the term 'sexual stratification' to mean differential access to resources, prestige, power, and rewards.

Colonialism and capitalism eroded some sources of women's power, but not all. Oboler argues that women's economic position has declined because they lack adequate access to resources and power, particularly cash from the production and sale of maize and tea, and land. She finds that the Swynnerton Plan (which gave land rights to men) had far-reaching consequences for social organization, sex, and gender roles. She contends that women's security in marriage and the ownership of household property are diminished by a shift in economic power to men. Nandi women have daily autonomy and are not powerless, but economic power is tipped in favor of men.

According to Oboler, Nandi women do not understand the full implications of changes in access to land and cash for their economic situation. Instead, they focus on the material well-being they enjoy: reduced infant mortality and abandonment of beliefs of feminine-child pollution. Oboler questions whether Nandi women will become cognizant

of their disadvantaged economic relations as resources become scarce and as population increases and creates land scarcity.

KEY WORDS: subsistence/cash economy; socioeconomic differentiation; policy issues; external influence; gender/generational roles; resource allocation

Okeyo, Achola Pala.

1980. Daughters of the Lakes and Rivers: Colonization and the Land Rights of Luo Women. In Mona Etienne and Eleanor Leacock, eds., Women and Colonization. New York: Praeger Publications, pp. 186-213.

Okeyo's chapter discusses the interrelationship between land tenure and social structure among the Luo in Western Kenya. She focuses on the individualization of land tenure and its impact on the position of women, who are the major producers. The change in land tenure is rooted in the colonial period; previously, land tenure was vested in the lineage.

Okeyo emphasizes the historic connections between socioeconomic and political factors as influencing change in land tenure. These include: pre-colonial change in the mode of livelihood among the Luo (from pastoral to agrarian), which enhanced women's economic position because of their central role in production. As household head, women's role became powerful because it became the point of transmission among male agnates. Control over land by the lineage increased with growing demographic pressure. Later, colonial policies and the institution of individualized land tenure nullified lineage landholdings that guaranteed women's usufructory rights, thereby abolishing women's rights in land.

These factors, Okeyo concludes, have resulted in the erosion of women's access to land that had previously been protected by lineage principles. She argues that this protection has been superseded by the nation-state because it now assumes authority over the allocation of resources. This could equally result in changing relations within the house (mother-son) and within the lineage (father-son).

KEY WORDS: land tenure; colonial policies; resource allocation; external influence

Pasternak, Burton, Carol R. Ember and Melvin Ember.  
1976. On the Conditions Favoring Extended Family Households.  
Journal of Anthropological Research 32:2:109-122.

This article is based on the premise that the extended family household will prevail in a society when there are activities required of mothers and fathers that cannot be met in a one conjugal family household. For instance, when a mother works far away and her 'caring' work cannot be replaced by hired or slave labor; or when a father's activities (war, trips, migration) make it difficult for him to perform subsistence work. From this, the authors derive an "incompatibility" hypothesis. They argue that in the absence of overriding demands on the time of household members, formation of an extended family household is inhibited by extended family dynamics (jealousy and problems of authority).

The authors define an 'extended family household' as a domestic unit including two or more related families. They review and critique research conducted on this topic by Nimkoff and Middleton (1960) who projected that extended family households are more likely to form when subsistence is derived mainly from agriculture or fishing.

The present authors then test the 'incompatibility' hypothesis from 60 sample societies drawn from the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) and the full Ethnographic Atlas. From the Atlas they derive ratings of prevailing household forms; from the HRAF, they collect activity data (differentiated by gender). From the original sample, they found 23 cases in the HRAF that provided sufficient information to predict the prevailing type of household as contained in the Atlas. From the sample, the authors found 13 extended households and 10 that were not extended. They contend that the incompatibility hypothesis strongly predicts the presence or absence of extended family households for both agricultural and non-agricultural households.

In conclusion, the authors explain their perception of why the incompatibility of activity requirements precedes the emergence of extended family households rather than vice-versa. They admit having no justification (based on correlational evidence), but argue that a reversal of the causal sequence is not plausible, and posit that households would not choose to engage in incompatible activities. Instead, they assert that overriding political and economic considerations force households to become an extended family household. They further conclude that decisions to engage in outside activities are not made on the basis of the existence of an extended family household.

KEY WORDS: extended family households; incompatibility hypothesis; conceptualization; household decision making; household structure

Pessar, Patricia.

1982. The Role of Households in International Migration and the Case of U.S.-Bound Migrants from the Dominican Republic. International Migration Review. 16:2:342-363.

Pessar provides information from the Dominican Republic in a study of migration, using the household as a unit of analysis. She conceptualizes household behavior "as a series of strategies designed to achieve a dynamic fit between the material and social resources at a household's disposal, the consumption needs of its members, and the alternatives for productive activity" (p. 350). When labor is available, migration is a household survival strategy, as Pessar observes among middle income farming households. For this group, constraints on land availability combine with strong social networks to facilitate migration to the U.S.

The process of migration, then, facilitates transformation in the structure, strategies, and incomes of these households as they become semi-proletarianized; the landless and small-holding households in turn become even more proletarianized. At the same time that migration becomes an ever more significant response to decreasing productive resources, agricultural production falls and wages become more crucial for the household as subsistence costs rise.

Pessar draws a distinction between the mid- and large-sized land-holding households which employ migration as a 'strategy,' and the small holding and landless households for whom migration is a much more circumscribed response. She briefly discusses other household survival strategies such as shifting to new agricultural crops.

The migration response is placed in the world-system perspective of unequal development. Migration is seen as allowing core areas to extract surplus labor from the periphery. As the number of household members reliant on migrant remittances increases, wages become insufficient and the semi-proletarian nature of the household shifts to fully proletariat.

KEY WORDS: migration; world economy; survival strategy

Radwan, Samir and Torkel Alfthan.

1979. Household Surveys for Poverty Studies: Some Guidelines. World Employment Programme Research Working Paper. Geneva: International Labor Organization.

In this ILO working paper, the authors explore the feasibility of using multi-purpose household surveys "for the appropriate conceptualization of poverty and . . . in order to evolve basic-needs oriented strategies of development" (p. 1).

After discussing the need for and problems of a basic-needs approach, the authors consider that the household is a meaningful level of analysis for basic-needs planning. They suggest that a household survey should include two 'modules,' one "comprising a number of sub-modules corresponding to conventional basic-needs, . . . and the second, the household characteristic module" (p. 9), which includes information on assets, income, and labor force participation.

They present a model questionnaire in the text with a discussion of modules. Appended is a more detailed basic-needs questionnaire.

KEY WORDS: methodology

Reyna, Stephen P.  
1976. The Extending Strategy: Regulation of Household Dependency Ratios. Journal of Anthropological Research 32:182-199.

This article discusses strategies for adding members to the household in order to arrive at greater potential economic performance. These strategies are referred to as extending strategies, whereby household composition is supplemented by the incorporation of married or divorced family members (sons, daughters, sisters, brothers), or new wives.

The Barma of Chad use such a strategy in a way which is economically beneficial. Reyna notes that 35 percent of households studied are extended households and are able to garner more kilograms per hour of work than nuclear households (using sorghum production as an example).

Dependency ratios are inversely related as a result of this greater productive capacity. Reyna considers children age 0-14, and adults over 65 to be 'dependents' in the calculations of dependency ratios. Lower dependency ratios are beneficial to the Barma who must engage in a variety of geographically dispersed activities. For example, households may not attempt to plant additional fields without a sufficient supply of labor to watch and care for the old field, sometimes located at a distance.

Since land is in plentiful supply and labor power the only real increasable asset, Reyna views the extending strategy as beneficial so long as there is no climatic change which could be detrimental to human population growth.

KEY WORDS: household composition; household agricultural production

Roe, Emery and Louise Fortmann.

1982. Season and Strategy: The Changing Organization of the Rural Water Sector in Botswana. Cornell University Special Series on Resource Management, Rural Development Committee, Center for International Studies, Ithaca, NY.

The purpose of this study of organization of the rural water sector in Botswana is to show how season and customary practices shape rural water sector strategies, even after the advent of active government intervention. The study sets out themes concerning the overall importance of seasonality with regard to water, the spatial configuration of economic and social life in the communal areas, and the different forms of national and local organization found in the rural water sector.

The authors focus attention on household strategies for water use over time and place. They investigate the structure of household strategies to obtain water with the least effort at the lowest cost throughout the year and to devise a satisfactory means to trade off the interrelated factors of reliability, convenience and cost. A key observation is that the choice to use certain water points depends on several variables: the time of year, the place, the primary production activities and to some extent the socioeconomic status of the user. Analysis of household strategies must focus on a system of use, assessing the available physical structures within their social context and the effects of seasonality.

There is a long history of community effort in the initiation, construction and management of dams and related structures in Botswana. Moreover, the government has attempted to utilize local institutions and people in the development and management of water points. Dam groups have been most useful in situations in which (1) there are enough water points in an area so that people can avoid conflicts with each other and can regulate their own dams, and (2) groups draw their legitimacy from a large number of residents of the locality and can depend on wider norms and sanctions for their actions than the members alone can provide.

Roe and Fortmann explore the central government perceptions of resource management in communal areas through a case study of the Ministry of Agriculture. They suggest five institutional biases which explain the divergence between ministry and local-level perceptions. The consequence is that government policy makers fail to see the differences in season and in location which frame the nature of water use and management in Botswana. The authors conclude that a number of major governmental interventions in this sector have failed to take into account three critical factors: the overall importance of seasonality, the spatial hierarchy of local-level water use and management systems, and the changing organizational base of the rural water sector.

KEY WORDS: resource management; inter-household linkages; water use systems; arid lands; seasonality

Rogers, Beatrice.

1983. The Internal Dynamics of Households: A Critical Factor in Development Policy. Nutrition and Development Project Paper No. 83-2. Washington: USAID.

This report calls for the formulation of household level research models which may be used by development agencies and planners. The author feels that many development projects have failed in part because they did not consider household level perspectives important or were unaware of them. This situation stems in part from the unavailability of research tools which can describe, define, and discuss household form and function within the normal time constraints associated with development projects.

Rogers notes that "the critical questions to be asked pertain to household time availability, task allocation, access to resources, and the effects of altering the form, period, and earner of household income" (p. v). She provides numerous examples from development projects in which negative responses or consequences have arisen from lack of understanding or appreciation for the household as a significant unit of social organization. For example, noting that many development projects aim to increase income levels of the target population but, since "income is often spent differently by different earners . . . one cannot predict the results of increasing household incomes without understanding that all income is not treated the same" (p. 25).

She goes on to state that households cannot be clearly and universally defined through time or space, and that the households, seen as "an important survival mechanism for individuals" (p. 25), are not homogenous, static units.

Problems in addressing household level analysis include the need for developing research agendas which elucidate the following issues: "1. defining the unit of analysis; 2. measuring individual income and expenditure -- that is, resource flows among and within households; 3. measuring time use and task allocation; 4. measuring individual access to household resources, including productive assets, food, education and other human capital investments; 5. measuring the distribution of power and decision making responsibility" (p. 28).

KEY WORDS: household research models; resource allocation

Rosenzweig, M.R.

1978. The Value of Children's Time, Family Size, and Non-household Activities in a Developing Country: Evidence From Household Data. In J.L. Simon, ed., Research in Population Economics Vol. 1. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, pp. 331-347.

This paper presents an econometric approach to the economic value of children in the Philippines. Drawing on the 1968 Philippines National Demographic Survey (NDS), the author concludes "that parents in developing countries respond to economic incentives in forming decisions related to a number of dimensions of child investment" (p. 332). He explores the relationships between the value of children's labor and fertility, schooling, and child employment. Where child wage rates are high, educational levels are low, fertility is high and children's participation in economic activities is high. Children from farm households also have less schooling and engage more in economic activities than those from non-farm households.

The bulk of the paper presents in mathematical form the data and variable measurement applied to the sample drawn from the NDS. However, the author found the NDS study of limited usefulness because "no data on the allocation of child time to household tasks, on the agricultural inputs used, or assets held (landholding, for example) by the family, or on the characteristics of offspring not living at home are reported" (p. 335).

KEY WORDS: value of children; children's labor

Rudie, Ingrid.

1969/70. Household Organization: Adaptive Process and Restrictive Form. A Viewpoint on Economic Change. Folk 11, 12:185-200.

In this article, Rudie seeks to apply 'domestic development theory' to study the readiness of households in a community to adopt economic innovations. She specifically looks at change in a farming and fishing community (51 households) in northern Norway as commercialization increased. Rudie's interest is twofold: (1) to show how the formation of different 'family-based economic units' can be interpreted by decisions to allocate labor and capital. Such decisions, she argues, lead to distinct development processes among various households; (2) to demonstrate how those decisions bind individuals and restrict their options for resource allocation so that the resulting organizational patterns influence people's responses to ecologic change.

Rudie first discusses the change in economic opportunities in fishing and farming in the study area and the ability of the households to respond to market opportunities. She finds extended families to be

less efficient in adopting innovation and expects to find significant differences in the distribution of ownership, authority, and asset pooling among household members.

She next discusses the formative process of domestic development. Rudie describes the household in its functional aspects as "an irregular conglomeration of units of residence, consumption, production, and common ownership" (p. 189). The demands for labor, the gender and age division of labor, and level of cooperation are important factors in household composition and change as activities move from subsistence to commercial production. Coordination within extended families may break down among brothers who gain their own land, boat, or capital.

In discussing the responses of households to economic change, Rudie focuses on the household's ability to efficiently use resources like labor and capital. She finds manpower to be particularly important in the development process. As labor becomes more specialized and committed, it limits the family's ability to make decisions to adapt to new opportunities and environmental change.

In conclusion, Rudie states that as families make specific decisions to adapt to ecologic conditions, it limits the general adaptability of the group. Stable environments create cyclic change, but changing environments break that cycle so that the developmental patterns of a single family vary by generation. She attributes the decline in adaptability of households in the study area to inheritance patterns and the economic marginality of the area.

KEY WORDS: domestic development theory; ecologic change; commercial/subsistence; external influence; markets and marketing; gender/generational roles; resource allocation

Sawhill, Isabel V.

1977. Economic Perspectives on the Family. Daedalus 106:1:115-25.

Sawhill discusses the field of 'new home economics' which examines topics like marriage, fertility, decision making as regards the allocation of time and goods within the household or family. This emphasis on internal processes of the household has arisen from two trends in economic thought: 'human capital' theory and time allocation theory. Sawhill discusses several reasons for economists' interest in the family: the applicability of economic thought to non-market phenomena and decisions reflecting the allocation of scarce resources, and the fact that the difference in earnings and economic well-being of families is not solely explainable by the operation of labor markets. It is only by looking within the household that answers might be found.

Sawhill reviews the specific contributions of economists to the analysis of fertility, marriage and divorce, and sex roles. She

assesses economists' contribution by asking whether they have done more than describe the status quo.

The author contends that economic analysis often obliterates most of the trees from the forest. She questions many of the assumptions underlying economic analysis -- are scarce resources the only constraint on people's choices? Economic analysis, she argues, pays no attention to the existence of power struggles within the family and assumes one household utility function. She argues further that economists' view of the family is not dynamic and does little to explain changes in the life cycle with existing models.

Sawhill argues for research which can help people make better choices -- policy questions. This includes the impact of individual decisions on personal and social well-being; the need for more information about social consequences (of childbearing, for instance); the need to know how the future will differ from the past (e.g., obsolete norms regarding sex roles). Sawhill concludes by suggesting that new home economics has not yet moved into the policy arena. She finds it to be most influential in the study of the value of human time. She predicts that decisions to marry and bear children will change as the value of human time (especially for women) increases.

KEY WORDS: new home economics; resource allocation; household decision making; gender roles; conceptualization; policy issues

Schildkrout, Enid.

1983. Dependence and Autonomy: The Economic Activities of Secluded Hausa Women in Kano, Nigeria. In Christine Oppong, ed., Female and Male in West Africa. London: George Allen and Unwin Publishers, Ltd.

Schildkrout offers in this chapter a view into the inner workings of households of women in purdah (seclusion). Although purdah supports the ideology of Nigerian Hausa women's dependence on men for providing all the needs of the household, in reality purdah could not be achieved without the economic activities of women and children. Thus Schildkrout argues that although women "are able to participate in selected areas of retail trade and petty commodity production, most married women remain basically dependent on manipulating the limited resources that men give them for subsistence" (p. 20).

These resources are manipulated in what is a "female sphere of exchange" (p. 9) where, for example, women cook meals in their home which their children then sell to other women. In this way women are able to receive some payment for the labor they expend in cooking. While cooking is the principal economic activity, Hausa women in purdah also earn money by trading, needleworking, hair-plaiting and through rotating credit societies.

Of the economic opportunities available, cooking most often involves children's labor, as they are the only members of Hausa society who may move through the homes of others without restriction. Children, then, carry messages and goods between houses, and perform services for which they are paid. Mothers invest the children's earnings in the their dowry.

The income that women receive from participating in the female sphere of exchange is also primarily channelled into a dowry fund, and thus ironically, women invest "in the very marriage system that defines their position in the first place" (p. 20).

Schildkrout doubts that many households could function without the economic activities of women and children. If the trend toward Western education continues, children may no longer be available to perform such services for their mothers. This is already affecting Hausa girls who are kept away from schools in order to work in the domestic economy. If women had to pay others for the labor performed by children, economic returns would probably not justify an investment in the production of cooked foods. This could upset the current function of an urban Hausa household which Schildkrout claims is not ideally a unit of production, yet is "in fact often more than a unit of consumption, for women are frequently able to subvert the idealized structure of the domestic economy though their control over domestic labor" (p. 6).

KEY WORDS: simple commodity production; women and children's work; resource allocation; household income

Schmink, Marianne.

1984. Household Economic Strategies: Review and Research Agenda. Latin American Research Review 19:3:87-97.

In this brief review of research on household strategies, Schmink concentrates on the contemporary industrial working class of Latin America. The cited literature, however, reflects the current themes and questions considered by those conducting household studies. Schmink sees the household as a potential analytical bridge between individual and community level focuses and as a meaningful unit for empirical studies.

She states: "As used here, the household (or domestic unit) refers to a co-resident group of persons who share most aspects of consumption, drawing on and allocating a common pool of resources (including labor) to ensure their material reproduction" (p. 89). Since the households she considers are incorporated into capitalist productive relationships in which wages do not fully cover the reproduction of the labor force, it is necessary for the household members (particularly women) to engage in multiple income-generating activities. Schmink feels that "the success of a given household in generating a sufficient monetary salary

will depend broadly on the fit between household composition . . . and existing opportunities in the labor market" (p. 91).

Warning against strictly economic or materially based conceptualizations of the household, Schmink argues that "in most cases the primary basis for the cohesion of the household unit is in fact a set of social relations and mutual obligations that are defined by kinship or other reciprocal relationships" (p. 93). She also warns against analyses which assume free choice and homogeneity and ignore the potential for intrafamilial conflicts, class manipulation and social differentiation.

KEY WORDS: literature review; household production; social differentiation

Schultz, Theodore W.

1972. The Increasing Economic Value of Human Time. American Journal of Agricultural Economics 54:1:843-850.

In this article, Schultz presents an economic approach to establishing the price of human time. He contends that human time is the most important cost component in modern production relative to land and interest rates. But, he argues, there is no satisfactory economic theory to explain the endurance and magnitude of the rise in price of human time in industrial economies. He finds the concept of investment in human capital and allocation of time applicable to household studies.

Schultz cites four advances in human capital theory that are applicable to the household; these include the application of time allocation theory to market and non-market activities; the household production function; the family as a decision making unit; and the family having one utility function. These theories help to explain the supply side of the equation. The demand side has not been fully explored.

In exploring the demand side, Schultz asks why the demand for human agents has increased so persistently in industrialized countries. In response, he argues that human capital has a larger rate of return than other factors and the rate of return remains high because the investment adds to a stock of useful information for the process of modernization. Schultz explores some of the implications for how women and men manage and allocate time and invest in themselves. Schultz further explores this idea in the modernization of American agriculture, in education for women and in reduced fertility patterns.

Schultz concludes that the increasing economic value of human time is one consequence of the specific forms of useful knowledge characterizing modernization. The supply response is to invest in the quality attributes of women and men. This results in an increase in the income

share of labor and a more equal distribution of income. As women's labor time becomes more valuable, their fertility declines and parents choose more quality per child than number of children.

KEY WORDS: human capital; household production function; resource allocation; decision making; fertility patterns

Scrimshaw, Susan, and Gretel Pelto.  
1979. Family Composition and Structure in Relation to Nutrition and Health Programs. In Robert E. Klein, et al., eds., Evaluating the Impact of Nutrition and Health Programs. New York: Plenum Publishing Corporation, pp. 183-218.

The authors state that this paper is written "to aid in conceptualizing and predicting outcome variables for studies of the impact of nutrition and nutrition-related health programs on family composition and structure" (p. 183). They begin by considering ways to determine the impact of health programs. They view evaluations as measuring the achievement of program goals and their impact, measuring the effectiveness of service deliver, or measuring the unintended consequences. They discuss each of three types of evaluations with examples of possible results.

Scrimshaw and Pelto feel that a broader type of evaluation, one that focuses on the household, is called for. They note that "(f)amily composition and structure are among the variables influencing and being influenced by health and nutrition programs . . . (and) they both affect health behavior and are affected by health programs" (p. 186). They see the household as a basic unit of adaptation, useful for theoretical and practical reasons.

They present a model for conceptualizing the impact of health and nutrition programs on family composition and structure. This model identifies dependent, independent, context, and intervening variables which are discussed with examples from case studies. They give careful consideration to conceptualizing household composition and structure. The authors show how family and household composition and structure become important for studies on health care, decision making, migration, care for elders, and dependency ratios.

Scrimshaw and Pelto conclude by presenting some methodological issues of impact studies. Here sample questions and research strategies are given and discussed with suggestions for operationalizing their model.

KEY WORDS: health and nutrition; methodologies; household structure

Smith, Joan.

1984a. The Paradox of Women's Poverty: Wage-Earning Women and Economic Transformation. Signs 10:2:291-310.

In this article Smith outlines the trends observed in the development of service sector jobs in the US and its effect on the marginalization of the value of women's labor. The simultaneous growth in female-headed households and female labor force participation is noted along with the paradox of women's economic dependency and the erosion of that dependency within the expansion of the world capitalist system. The phenomenal growth of the service sector within the past decade is compared with the growth of durable goods and other sectors of the US domestic economy. Service sector jobs pay consistently lower wages, employ higher percentages of women, have higher turnover rates, are highly competitive, and have a low capital-to-labor ratio.

Smith observes that women who accept these marginal jobs have "had to give up the idea that they were properly dependent on men for their sole support. And yet the nature of the jobs they were offered . . . was totally incompatible with the eradication of economic independence" (p. 304). This hits female-headed households particularly hard. In 1980 such households had a much higher poverty rate than husband-wife households, or households of men without wives. Most households must have more than one wage earner as the 'family-wage' does not reflect reality.

The trends Smith discusses are seen as "the dominant patterns in the 1980s" (p. 308), as the "ideology of domesticity previously used to support the nonwage roles of women must now be invoked to support the condition of their waged work" (p. 310).

KEY WORDS: female-headed households; women's labor

Smith, Joan.

1984b. Nonwage Labor and Subsistence. In Joan Smith, Immanuel Wallerstein, and Hans-Dieter Evers, eds., Households and the World-Economy. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, pp. 64-89.

In this article Smith explains critical differences between two forms of nonwaged work -- housework and informal sector work. She considers the household to be an important unit of analysis, and states that "household units have a more complex relationship to productive activities than had earlier been recognized" (p. 84). These productive relationships are important in both core and peripheral economies of the world capitalist system.

After noting growth in non-wage labor throughout the world, she observes that "housework and subsistence sector labor . . . (have) . . . totally different kinds of labor relations" (p. 66) with different kinds of values. Housework serves to enhance the value of a wage, where informal subsistence sector work may provide a substitute for wages. Housework has no value when not deployed within the sphere of commodity production.

She refers to the 'shadow economy' or waged work that occurs within the informal wage sector, which directly augments wages and therefore reduces the subsistence costs of capitalist production. Only by combining these forms of nonwage labor activities to create a household consumption fund can households survive. Smith considers this capacity "a hallmark of contemporary household structures" (p. 82).

KEY WORDS: gender; wage labor

Smith, Joan, Immanuel Wallerstein, and Hans-Dieter Evers, eds.  
1984. Households and The World-Economy. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

The authors of this volume assume that the forms of 'households' known today, whatever they are -- and this is central to their internal debate -- are not 'responses' to a capitalist world, but are part and parcel of that world. They treat households as the basic unit of an emerging world-system.

The chapters of this volume are the product of a collaborative venture between two institutions: Research Working Group on Households, Labor Force Formulation, and World-Economy of the Fernand Braudel Center at SUNY-Binghamton in the US, and the Sociology of Development Research Center at the University of Bielefeld in Germany. Each group started with different concerns, but both found the traditional descriptions and

explanations for household transformation empirically untrue and theoretically unsatisfactory, especially concerning gender relations.

The book is organized into three parts: Part I sets the theoretical framework and raises a series of questions for future research, such as the relationship between the processes of commodification, crisis, and the formation of households. Part II raises specific questions concerning the relationship between the household and the state using studies from Brazil, South Africa, China, and Philadelphia. Part III looks at the internal structure of households, using case studies from London, Puerto Rico, and West Africa. The authors argue that patriarchy is an entirely modern phenomenon and is one of the fundamental political components of the modern world-economy. Their reconceptualization of the household places the question of the subordination of women at the center of any account of accumulation on a world scale.

KEY WORDS: world system; patriarchy; gender/generational roles; socioeconomic differentiation; external influence

Stark, Oded.

1984. Rural-to-Urban Migration in LDCs: A Relative Deprivation Approach. Economic Development and Cultural Change 32:3:475-486.

The prime purpose of this paper is to model the relationships between phenomena observed by the author in village studies that are not predicted by conventional migration theory. This includes the observation that migration rates are higher from villages where the distribution of income by size is more unequal, and that from these villages, the very poor have the highest propensity to migrate. The author is concerned with the welfare implications of his observations.

Stark applies a relative deprivation approach to the study of migration. He argues that rural villagers may be motivated to migrate if they feel relatively deprived when comparing their income to that of other villagers. Stark contends that the element of choice, and conditions at the sending-end of the migration equation have been overlooked in migration theory with its overemphasis on 'pull factors.'

Stark's highly-abstract model is based on mathematical formulae and a series of assumptions concerning income distribution, determinations of relative deprivation, and reference groups, among others. He acknowledges the contributions of urban migrants to rural household/family decisions; he does not treat migrants as independent 'income-recipient units.'

Stark finds that this analysis offers alternative insights into the seemingly perpetual nature of migration from an individual village because he focuses on the sending-end and his assumption that a

migrant's primary reference group remains in the rural area. Stark makes some preliminary analyses about the improvement of social welfare which might result from migration. These analyses suggest that individuals motivated by self-betterment undertake actions to improve their own welfare as well as the community (society) at large, and that seeking an absolute increase in income may or may not be relevant to the decision to migrate. Stark calls for empirical testing of the relative-deprivation model.

**KEY WORDS:** relative-deprivation model; migration; intra-household exchange; inter-household dynamics; socioeconomic differentiation; household decision making

Swerdlow, Amy, Renate Bridenthal, Joan Kelly and Phyllis Vine.  
1981. Household and Kin. Old Westbury, NY: The Feminist Press.

In this collection, the authors examine the cultural and historical development of family and household forms. They discuss the idea that 'family' has many meanings depending not only on time and cultural setting, but also race, ethnicity and class background. They contend that households evolve to meet the broader economic, political and social conditions existing in society. They are particularly concerned with families and households in flux; changes in family form have implications for changes in society at large.

They adopt a definition of family as a "household of interdependent persons, sharing responsibilities and commitment to each other over time" (p. xvii). They focus especially on changing households in the U.S. (single parents, unmarried couples, and alternative communal arrangements). They use social historical analysis to examine the lives of people in the past to see the variety of familial structures human beings have devised.

Part one gives an historical perspective to family life - tribal forms, nuclear families, and changing sex roles. Part 2 looks at contemporary U.S. families and focuses on class and race issues and choices not to marry, among others. Part 3 looks at past, present, and future alternatives including socialism, kibbutzes, transformation of the nuclear family and communalism.

**KEY WORDS:** household and family form; alternative structures; household transformation; conceptualization

Swindell, K.  
1978. Family Farms and Migrant Labour: The Strange Farmers of the  
Gambia. Canadian Journal of African Studies 12:1:3-17.

This article examines migration primarily from the point of view of the small farmer and how migrant workers may replace or supplement family labor. Swindell focuses on an area of The Gambia which produces groundnuts for export. This region is characterized by a shortage of labor and a surplus of land. Strange farmers contribute their labor but are not paid by wages or by share of the crop; but by food and access to surplus land. Swindell finds the study important because government officials oppose the strange farmer system because they believe that it encourages the overuse of land, the settlement of non-Gambians, and food imports.

This article is based on a pilot study and Strange Farmer Survey conducted during the 1974-75 farming season. The pilot village, Sabusere, has 25 compounds of Tilibo settlers from Mali, many of whom arrived in The Gambia as strange farmers. They now both hire strange farmers and hire themselves out as strange farmers. Swindell looks at alternatives to the strange farmer system: reciprocal exchange groups, age set groups, and hiring local young men. He then discusses the reasons for hiring strange farmers, and the impact of this system on the home villages of strange farmers. He next outlines the contribution of strange farmers to groundnut production.

Swindell's survey raises several important points. The strange farmer system can overcome family labor shortages in agricultural production caused by outmigration of young men to the towns. The system assists farmers increase their farm size or to supplement their off-farm income because strange farmers are secured for an entire season. Swindell found adverse age/sex ratios in Sabusere. A shortage of eligible men of marrying age often creates a surplus of women in the 20-30 age category. Swindell also found that the home villages of the strange farmers benefit at the end of the growing season when the strange farmers receive extra compensation, food, plots of land, or carts.

Swindell concludes, in part, that the strange farmer system allows family farmers to acquire labor inputs without paying wages. The system affects only one-half of the family farmers surveyed. He also finds that social and demographic differentiation may affect the performance of family farms and their need/ability to increase labor inputs. Strange farmers represents one strategy.

KEY WORDS: family life-cycle; migration; resource allocation; reciprocal exchange; labor force

Tadesse, Zenebeworke.

1982. The Impact of Land Reform on Women: The Case of Ethiopia. In Lourdes Beneria, ed., Women and Development: The Sexual Division of Labor in Rural Societies. New York: Praeger Publishers, pp. 203-222.

In this chapter Tadesse addresses the issue of landholding as it relates to women's subordination before and after land reform in Ethiopia. While the specific proclamation is progressive, Tadesse argues that it has failed to transform women's subordinate position. Moreover, the law has reproduced patriarchal social relations and legal institutions that treat women in an inferior way.

The author discusses Ethiopia's historic integration into the world capitalist system and the feudal land system of the pre-1975 land reform. In this early period, land ownership was directly linked to power for men and powerlessness for women through a sexual division of labor and family relations that reinforced patriarchy and domination. Whereas women frequently had rights to land, they were often precluded from exercising those rights.

In exploring the impact of land reform on rural Ethiopian women, Tadesse focuses on three interrelated issues which reinforce each other with regards to women's status: access to the means of production, law/customs which uphold or deny women's rights to property, and the role of women's organizations. Despite the fact that the land reform laws intended to be egalitarian, Tadesse argues that it is internally contradictory to the Ethiopian family structure. Therefore, the law did not break down institutional barriers to women's equality and did not attack women's prevailing subordination.

Tadesse concludes that land reform cannot directly change women's condition unless there is a comprehensive struggle against patriarchal authority. The author offers a new marriage law provision as supplemental legislation to overcome the institutional barriers to women's equality that does not assume a male head of house, as well as acknowledging the gender division of labor and women's economic roles outside the home.

KEY WORDS: land reform; socioeconomic differentiation; gender roles; women's organizations; policy issues

Thomas, Barbara P.

1985. Politics, Participation and Poverty: Development Through Self-Help in Kenya. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Thomas examines the roles of self-help organizations and community projects in the political economy of Kenya. Locally organized, cooperative action on community projects, known as Harambee, has become an

integral part of Kenya's political and economic life. This study looks at the competition through self-help for power and scarce resources, at the ability of households to cooperate in group activities, at the impact of self-help on stratification among households within communities, and at the contribution of these organizations to building rural infrastructures. It focuses on the ideological role of self-help in state formation and addresses whether Harambee, as an approach to development, can lead to structural change, or if it simply encourages and strengthens existing regional, class, ethnic or gender differences.

In addition to archival material and government data, the study is based on field research in six locations in three districts: Embu, Kericho, and Murang'a. Survey data yield information across socio-economic groups on household contributions of cash, labor, and material to Harambee projects, as well as information on the various types of benefits derived from the existence of the projects. Leadership and management patterns are explored and are linked to household socio-economic status within the community. Comparisons across regions of Kenya are derived from the survey analysis and national level statistical data.

Thomas notes three trends: (1) for most projects, benefits are not easily captured by a few and tend to be shared broadly by most households within a community; (2) while coercion does occur and misuse of funds is not uncommon, communities are acquiring increasing sophistication both in assessment for contributions (along the lines of a graduated tax) and in management of the projects; and (3) a growing regional variation in the capacity of communities to mobilize resources for projects and in the type and complexity of projects undertaken. This all occurs within the context of Harambee's key role in the political process, a process based on a complex network of patron-client relationships.

KEY WORDS: community organization; inter-household linkages;  
rural stratification

Tripp, Robert B.

1982. Time Allocation in Northern Ghana: An Example of the Random Visit Method. Journal of Developing Areas 16:391-400.

In this article, Tripp addresses the findings of Cleave and Lele concerning the low allocation of labor to African agriculture. He is specifically concerned with exploring the importance of factors attributed by Lele to this phenomenon: seasonality, off-farm labor, and the role of women in agriculture. To understand the general applicability of these factors, Tripp argues that research be drawn from a wide range of locations and that data on household labor allocation include the entire range of productive activities. This paper discusses time

allocation in a farming settlement in northern Ghana and methodological alternatives for gathering necessary data.

The study was conducted between October 1975 and May 1977, using a sample of 64 farming units that produce primarily for subsistence. A farming unit is defined as "those men and their families who farm together" (p. 391). Tripp employs a random visit method rather than expensive, intensive time allocation studies. Under the method chosen by Tripp, a randomly-selected sample of households is visited by randomly-chosen days and hours throughout the survey year. During the visit, the activities of all household member are recorded. From the visits, a series of community observations are compiled and estimates of time spent in various activities are made. Tripp details the study method and activities over the dry and wet seasons.

Tripp's data confirm the importance of seasonality, nonfarm activities, and women's role in labor allocation in African agriculture. He found that in the dry season, for instance, women are involved in craft production and trading; in the wet season, they perform two-thirds of agricultural labor. Tripp also found a high level of male participation compared with other West Africa studies; the difference may in part be attributed to the study method.

Tripp concludes that the random method picks up more nonfarm activities among men than the time allocation method. For women's activities, this method compares favorably. This method brings the researcher in contact with all activities, not just those suspected of being important; it covers all household members (including women and children) not covered by male household head interviews. Time and personnel requirements are low for the random method. However, the investigator must be present throughout the year because direct observation is involved. This method generates only general categories of activities and it can miss short-term activities. Nevertheless, Tripp finds that the random visit method does afford a broad picture of yearly time allocation in a Ghanaian farming community.

KEY WORDS: random visit method; household labor allocation; intra-household dynamics; gender/generational roles; subsistence production

Vinovskis, M.

1977. From Household Size to the Life-Course. American Behavioral Scientist 21:263-87.

Vinovskis briefly discusses four approaches for studying the family -- the analysis of household size and composition, the study of generations, the use of a family-cycle model and the development of a life-course perspective.

Work which focuses on household size and composition is considered to be limited in utility, since it implies static and ethnocentric assumptions about the family, ignoring the fact that individual households change over time and that shifts in life expectancies of populations will result in shifts in household composition.

The study of generations is criticized, for the author sees generations as ambiguous categories for research. Vinovskis points out that inter-generational expectations do not remain constant, nor do historical circumstances have the same effect on different generations. The age composition of generations often overlaps, thus presenting methodological problems.

Typologies which have been developed for family-cycle models are based largely on "changes in family size due to the arrival and departure of children" (p. 270). This overlooks the economic contributions made by family members as producers and consumers, as well as changes in the age composition of the family. This approach also does not lend itself well to historical analysis.

Vinovskis prefers to work with a life-course analysis. In this approach "the age of individuals reflects at least three different aspects of their lives -- their approximate stage of biological development, their age-related social roles and their historical position" (p. 274). The use of census material and oral histories is discussed with reference to the problems and usefulness of such materials for life-course analysis. Particular emphasis is given to the importance of migration.

KEY WORDS: methodologies; generational roles; demography; life-cycles

Wallerstein, Immanuel.

1984. Household Structures and Labor-Force Formation in the Capitalist World-Economy. In Joan Smith, Hans-Deiter Evers and Immanuel Wallerstein, eds., Households and the World-Economy. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, pp. 17-22.

Wallerstein begins by pointing out the error of analyzing social institutions transhistorically since they are a product of historical systems even though they often bear the same nominal designation through time. Therefore Wallerstein argues that households should be viewed as part of a set of institutions that form the capitalist world economy.

The author characterizes the capitalist world economy as an endless accumulation of capital which "pushes towards the commodification of everything, the absolute increase of world production, and a complex and sophisticated social division of labor" (p. 17). This dictates a polarized world in which the majority of the people "serve as a labor force producing surplus value, which is somehow distributed among the

remaining minority of the population' (p. 18). The concerns of the production and reproduction of the world's labor force raises some contradictions between the interests of capital accumulators as individuals and as a class. The accumulators therefore search for labor force institutions that would optimally address their needs in their contradictory capacities as a set of competing individuals and as a collective class.

Wallerstein suggests that those contradictory needs can best be addressed by an institution which has "a molasses-like consistency: the institutions ooze (that is, they respond flexibly to various pressures of the 'market'), but they ooze slowly" (p. 19). He finds that the household as it has historically developed under capitalism seems to have precisely this character, since its boundaries are malleable but with a short-term firmness sustained by 'economic self-interest' and "the social psychology of its members." The tension associated with such variables as territoriality, wage labor and ethnic and gender stratification keeps household boundaries 'gently' malleable. Because of the existing tension, capital accumulators are able to manipulate the world labor force.

To argue for the efficacy of the household from the point of view of the accumulators as an income pooling unit and hence its evolution, Wallerstein contrasts it with what he terms two hypothetical alternatives -- the 'community' and 'an isolated very small unit' such as a single person. Wallerstein states that "it is empirically the case that actual income-pooling households have tended to be intermediate in size" (p. 20). He correlates the prevalence of intermediateness in size as well as composition to its superior ability to more efficiently reproduce the labor force for the accumulators. This is because wages required for sustaining the smaller unit was too high and the work output required for sustaining the larger unit was too low. From the point of view of members of the labor force the household gave them superior mobility which the community could not afford.

Wallerstein then discusses the two primary struggles that surround the household and the often conflicting interests of accumulators and household members -- the constant contradiction between accumulator's objectives regarding household structure, and the frequent need to undermine that structure. The increased commodification of everything under capitalism will, in the long run, guarantee the demise of the system itself. The short-term effect however, is the increased commodification of household activities which undermines co-residentiality and kinship. This, in Wallerstein's view, explains accumulators' efforts "to create an 'intermediate' household -- to break with the older 'community' forms of labor force organization to be sure, but still to retard the inexorable if slow pace of proletarianization" (p. 22).

KEY WORDS: world-system theory; household transformation

Watts, Michael.  
1983. Silent Violence. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

In this book, Watts is concerned with the interaction between nature and society in changing food systems and famine cycles in northern Nigeria. In chapter 5, he looks at the relationship between commoditization and household security, arguing that colonialism eroded both the social and physical environment of peasants that ensured subsistence, imposed new strains on peasant households, and altered the organization of agricultural production. Watts contends that peasant households were left with a low level of development and a high level of vulnerability to drought, disease, and insect infestation. The study is based on archival research and 15 months' fieldwork in northern Nigeria.

During the 19th century, the basic unit of production and reproduction in the study area was the household (gida). Two types of household structures could be distinguished from the patrilineal core of the gida: the nuclear household (monogamous/polygamous); the composite household (gandu) of two or more male adults plus their families, clients and slaves. Gandu formed the basic farming unit. Cooperative work groups were activated during peak work periods. Colonialism changed these household structures by forcing them to become more nuclear, thereby threatening subsistence production.

In Chapter 5, Watts traces the influence of British colonial administrators in advocating the production of cash crops which competed with food crop production and dramatically changed farm households. The chapter is divided into seven parts: household production; pastoral economy and agriculture; household sociology and reproduction; grain storage and trade; rural class differentiation; merchant capital; state crises and demands.

Watts relies on household budget data to guide a discussion of the results of the efforts of colonial administrators and the state to intensify cash crop production. Households experienced greater reliance on cash earnings as a proportion of total household income, but experienced no improvement in food production. Throughout the chapter, Watts highlights the impact of colonial policies on changing farming systems and famine cycles.

KEY WORDS: household structure; resource allocation; external influences; agricultural productivity; policy issues

Wilk, Richard R.

1984. Households in Process: Agricultural Change and Domestic Transformation Among the Kekchi Maya of Belize. In Robert McC. Netting, Richard Wilk and Eric Arnould, eds., Households: Comparative and Historical Studies of the Domestic Group. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, pp. 217-244.

Wilk here sets out to show that a strictly morphological and typological approach to the variation in household organization is insufficient and illustrates this view with data collected among the Kekchi Maya of Belize. He describes the organization of production as it is executed in three household types in three Kekchi villages: independent households, tight household clusters and loose household clusters. Within the three basic household types there are some variations (i.e., with regard to post-marital residence), but he observes the following tendencies:

independent-- single house nuclear unit, meals and work shared by all members  
 tight household cluster-- multiple dwellings in close proximity, generalized reciprocity, many meals shared  
 loose household cluster-- multiple dwellings spaced further apart than above, balanced reciprocity, only ritual meals shared

Wilk observes some correlation between the composition and relative tightness of household clusters with the tightest being patrilocal or patri-matrilocal, and also notes a pattern relating the formation of household clusters to the development cycle of independent households.

Wilk then discusses the strong association of low land availability, and more cash cropping with fewer independent households with regards to the organization of agricultural production. Among the three villages, representing three areas of Belize, differences in the labor requirements are very clearly described. Wet-season and dry-season corn which provide subsistence needs have overlapping labor requirements. The balance to be struck by household organization of production is between high-yield and low-risk strategies, best met in household clusters which can call on each other's labor frequently without serious scheduling problems. This ability to coordinate efforts also facilitates cash crop production. As reliance on purchased foodstuffs increases, Wilk observes a reduction in consumption pooling although the pooling of labor in production continues. This is characteristic of loose household clusters. Wilk then argues that labor scheduling has a greater influence on household organization than the particular type of production.

KEY WORDS: agricultural production; subsistence production and the cash economy; resource pooling

- Wong, Diana.  
1984. The Limits of Using the Household as a Unit of Analysis. In Joan Smith, Immanuel Wallerstein, and Hans-Dieter Evers, eds., Household and the World Economy. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, pp. 56-63.

In this chapter, Wong is "concerned with the conceptualization of the household as a unit of consumption and reproduction of the labor force" (p. 56) which she sees as the point of departure for models of the household as a unit of production. She argues against viewing the household as a single unit, of one class, and not as individuals. Treating the household as a unit assumes that the survival of the individual is assured through income-pooling within the household unit which, thus, attaches a premium to larger extended units for survival of economically weak individuals.

Wong briefly addresses such questions as income-pooling and intra-household labor force allocation (such as child labor, reproducing the family, and authority within the household). She argues that households are generally seen as a unit of reproduction -- isolated and without reference to other households. Studies which treat the household as a unit (e.g., budget, time allocation, size, mobility) do not clarify the issues of differentiation within the household and cloud the critical question: when and why does the locus for reproduction become centered on the household as an income-pooling unit?

KEY WORDS: income-pooling units; intra-household dynamics; gender/generational roles; socioeconomic differentiation; labor force allocation

- Wood, Charles.  
1981. Structural Change and Household Strategies: A Conceptual Framework for the Study of Rural Migration. Human Organization 40:338-344.

(Author's Abstract)

This study presents a conceptual framework that joins structural and behavioral approaches to the study of population movement. The framework identifies the economic mechanisms by which surplus is extracted from the peasantry and calls attention to the legal and political institutions that govern access to resources in the countryside. The impact of these structural constraints on the productive capacity of the rural population is traced through the analysis of the sustenance strategies that the household pursues for its maintenance and reproduction. Migration, in turn, is conceptualized as an integral part of the strategies formulated in response to the opportunities and the limitations imposed by the socioeconomic and physical environment. By placing the study of migration in the context of the interaction between the

household and the political economy of agricultural production, the conceptual framework identifies the structural and behavioral factors that propel population movement in rural areas.

KEY WORDS: migration; models

Yanagisako, Sylvia Junko.

1979. Family and Household: The Analysis of Domestic Groups.  
Annual Review of Anthropology 8:161-205.

This article is a review of literature on the family and households written primarily in the 1970s. The author notes that anthropologists distinguish between family and household by contrasting kinship with residency. Exploring the relationships between family, household, and property rights, households are most often viewed as residential units, yet the assumption is often made that they also share in activities of a "domestic" nature.

The author next discusses the meaning of 'domestic' which includes the dual functional activities of food production and consumption, and social reproductive activities. The literature on variations in domestic organization cross societally and intrasocietally as well as through time are presented with an emphasis on the following variables: demographic, economic, stratification, history of the family, and change in family and household.

The author finds that literature on the developmental cycle of domestic groups has helped in understanding how households adjust to changes in composition and needs of the household/family. Research has included the work on dependence ratios, labor exchanges, and the stages of household development. Yanagisako doesn't find them to be uniform through time and space, but "complexly shaped by a wide range of cultural, political, and economic processes" (p. 169).

Economic determinants most often focus on property rights and labor use, yet fail to account for variations in households. Yanagisako agrees that social stratification and the diversity of domestic groups have not received enough attention from scholars who have most typically viewed communities (and households) as homogenous groupings. Scholars have particularly observed peasant households as experiencing "random oscillation in social mobility" (p. 176).

She briefly discusses the history of the family approaches, noting the shift toward the "new social history" (p. 177), but is critical of the tendency for such work to be based upon "a rather odd grab-bag of conceptual tools and analytical strategies" (p. 100).

In general, Yanagisako faults the bulk of the research for resorting to geneological explanations in defining and studying the

household, and favors close examination of the activities in which household members engage. She also faults loose conceptualizations of "domestic" and the only cursory treatment of the "domestic" sphere often relegating it to the role of reproduction.

She then proceeds to consider new perspectives on domestic organization which she groups into three categories:

Gender and sex-role systems -- particular women's roles in domestic groups. The public/private domain dichotomy is considered unproductive. Reconsideration of the significance of "motherhood" is encouraged.

Kinship and family as symbolic systems -- the meanings which different cultures place on similar kinship systems are varied. Work now seeks to elucidate the domain of meaning for kinship systems which are not always isolable and discrete.

Social inequality studies -- previous research has failed "to focus on relations of inequality" (p. 193) themselves as determinants of the total configuration of domestic groups.

Yanagisako considers definitions of family and rejects those which are based ultimately on genealogy, reproduction and the domestic domain. She considers that it may be unproductive to attempt to find an irreducible core of the family and a universal definition and suggests rather than we look at the various ways in which families function in different societies.

KEY WORDS: literature review; household function

Yanagisako, Sylvia Junko.

1977. Women-Centered Kin Networks in Urban Bilateral Kinship.  
American Ethnologist 4:2:207-26.

The author's purpose in this article is to overcome the simplistic definition of 'kinship' found in studies on urban industrialized societies which tend to reduce women's roles in extra-household kinship relations to that of mother. Yanagisako argues that this simplicity fails to uncover the cultural and social processes which have led to this asymmetry and maintains that a more complex concept can offer greater explanation. Her analysis focuses on a structural feature of kinship found among Japanese-American women which is shared with women of other cultural backgrounds: close interpersonal relations among female kin. She argues against calling the relations 'matrifocal' because that term emphasizes the centrality and power of the mother; she prefers the term 'women-centered kin networks.'

Yanagisako first describes the women-centered networks which have evolved among primary women kin who live in separate households; she compares women's networks with male interactive relationships. Women's relations, she finds, form a frequently-used communication network. She then reviews previous explanations for female-centered networks, which center on the breakdown of the family as an economic unit of production caused by industrialization or women's greater dependency on families.

The author offers her interpretation. She investigates the current pressures on kinship systems at cultural and social levels. She concludes that the centrality of women in inter-household networks arises from the creation of new normative expectations of the role of female kin. She focuses on women's networks as a part of the jurial-political structure of the community. She argues that they are important to the women involved and to women's families. Studies of female centrality need to differentiate cultural constructs from social consequences of behavior to understand kinship in urban-industrial societies.

KEY WORDS: women-centered kin networks; domestic cycle; inter-household networks; inter-household dynamics; urbanization

Youseff, Nadia H. and Carol B. Hetter.  
1983. Women and Alternative Household Structures. In Mayra Buvinic, Margaret A. Lycette, and William Paul McGreevy, eds., Women and Poverty in the Third World. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 216-243.

In this article Youseff and Hetter are concerned that only four of the sixty-nine countries reviewed in a United Nations study provide data on household heads by age, sex, and urban/rural residence. The authors maintain that conceptual and methodological problems bias the determination and definition of head of household, with particular reference to female headed households. They consider that the numbers of female-headed households are increasing, and that these households may be 'invisible poor' households.

The UN recommends defining head of household according to family's acknowledgement or by determining the household individual with chief economic responsibility for the household, but the authors note that not many countries follow the UN's advice. This is in part due to the difficulty in determining who is the chief provider for the household. In fact, very few countries define heads of households, although the numbers are increasing.

The authors consider the following variables to be significant in defining household heads:

1. De jure and/or de facto female headship.
2. Social context of de facto female headship.
3. Marital status of female head of household.

4. Access to productive resources and income. 5. Household size and composition.

Youseff and Hetter outline considerations for each of these five areas, in order to arrive not only at an understanding of the existence of female-headed households, but also the variability in economic condition of them.

KEY WORDS: household heads; census

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ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

	Access to Resources	Child Labor	Decision Making	Gender/Generational	Interhousehold Markets	Land Use and Tenure	Methodologies/Concepts	Migration/Wage Economy	Nutrition/Health	Organization/Health	Policy Issues/Composition	Stratification	
Arizpe (1982)	X	X			X		X						Mexico
Baltzersen (1984)	X		X	X	X								Nigeria
Barlett (1980)			X							X	X		Costa Rica
Barlett (1977)	X	X		X									
Becker (1965)	X	X								X	X		
Beechy (1978)							X						
Bender (1967)						X		X					
Berk (1980)	X					X							
Berk & Berk (1979)			X		X		X						U.S.A.
Berry (1981)		X			X		X						
Birdsall (1980)					X								
Birdsall & McGreevey (1983)					X								
Bleiberg, et al. (1980)			X				X	X					Burkina Faso
Bryant, et al. (1978)			X	X			X		X				Botswana
Burfisher & Horenstein (1985)			X		X			X		X	X		Nigeria
Caldwell (1982)	X	X			X							X	Nigeria
Caplan (1984)			X							X			Tanzania
Chernichovsky (1979)					X		X						
Chibnix (1984)	X				X					X			
Clark (1985)	X	X		X									Kenya
Cleave (1977)			X			X				X			
Cloud (1985)	X	X	X			X			X				
Dahl & Hjort (1976)								X		X			Africa, Middle East
Deere & deJanvry (1981)								X			X		Peru
Deere & deJanvry (1979)	X							X					
Deere & Leal (1981)			X		X							X	Peru, Colombia
Dixon (1985)	X	X		X	X				X				
Dyson-Hudson & Dyson-Hudson (1980)	X	X						X		X			East Africa
Etienne (1980)	X		X		X							X	Ivory Coast
Fleuret (1985)	X							X		X			Kenya



	Access to Resources	Child Labor	Decision Making	Gender/Generational	Interhousehold	Land Use and Tenure	Markets/Cash Networks	Methodologies/Economy	Migration/Wage Concepts	Organization/Health	Policy Issues/Composition	Stratification/ Environ. Mgt.	
Kossoudji & Mueller (1983)								X	X				Botswana
Ladipo (1981)	X		X						X				Nigeria
Linares (1984)								X			X		Senegal
Longhurst (1982)	X	X	X							X			Nigeria
Mackintosh (1979)		X			X	X							Senegal
March & Taquq (1982)	X	X	X					X	X				
McGuire & Thompson (1985)					X	X							Mexico
Meillassoux (1972)	X	X			X								
Merryman (1984)	X	X								X			Kenya
Mies (1982)		X		X								X	India
Minge-Kalman (1977)					X						X		Switzerland
Molyneaux (1979)		X						X			X		
Mueller (1983)		X						X					
Mueller (1976)	X				X			X					
Munroe, et al. (1984)	X				X			X					
Nag, et al. (1978)	X				X								Nepal, Java
Nelson (1979)	X	X	X			X		X	X	X			Kenya
Netting (1982)	X				X								
Netting, et al. (1984)					X			X					
Newman (1981)	X	X											Sub-Saharan Africa
Oboler (1985)	X	X		X								X	Kenya
Okeyo (1980)	X	X	X						X	X			Kenya
Pasternak, et al. (1976)	X	X			X			X					
Pessar (1982)					X	X							Dominican Republic
Radwan & Alfthan (1979)					X			X					
Reyna (1976)								X			X		Chad
Roe & Fortmann (1982)			X							X			
Rogers (1983)	X				X			X					
Rosenzweig (1978)		X			X								Philippines
Rudie (1969/70)	X	X		X				X	X				Norway

- Sawhill (1977)
- Schildkrout (1983)
- Schmink (1984)
- Schultz (1972)
- Scrimshaw & Pelto (1979)
- Smith (1984a)
- Smith (1984b)
- Smith, et al. (1984)
- Stark (1984)
- Swerdlow, et al. (1981)
- Swindell (1978)
- Tadesse (1982)
- Thomas (1985)
- Tripp (1982)
- Vinovskis (1977)
- Wallerstein (1984)
- Watts (1983)
- Wilk (1984)
- Wong (1984)
- Wood (1981)
- Yanagisako (1979)
- Yanagisako (1977)
- Yousseff & Hetter (1983)

	Access to Resources	Child Labor	Decision Making	Gender/Generational	Interhousehold	Land Use and Tenure	Markets/Cash Networks	Methodologies/Economy	Nutrition/Wage Concepts	Organization/Health	Resource/Composition	Stratification	Environ. Mgt.
Sawhill (1977)	X	X				X				X	X		
Schildkrout (1983)		X			X								Nigeria
Schmink (1984)	X				X	X					X		
Schultz (1972)		X			X						X		
Scrimshaw & Pelto (1979)							X	X					
Smith (1984a)			X		X	X							U.S.A.
Smith (1984b)			X		X	X							U.S.A.
Smith, et al. (1984)			X		X								X
Stark (1984)		X					X						X
Swerdlow, et al. (1981)							X	X					
Swindell (1978)	X					X	X		X				Gambia
Tadesse (1982)	X		X	X	X				X				Ethiopia
Thomas (1985)				X					X				X
Tripp (1982)			X			X							X
Vinovskis (1977)			X			X							
Wallerstein (1984)						X		X					
Watts (1983)					X				X	X	X		Nigeria
Wilk (1984)	X					X		X	X				Belize
Wong (1984)	X	X			X								X
Wood (1981)							X	X					
Yanagisako (1979)							X						
Yanagisako (1977)			X	X									
Yousseff & Hetter (1983)						X							

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- DECISION MAKING MOSSI BURKINA FASO**
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This historical study examines migration patterns in two Mexican villages since the early part of this century in order to 1) ascertain the relationship between family composition among small landholding peasants and their survival in a market economy, and 2) the role of relay migration in enabling the peasant economy to persist despite unequal exchange vis-a-vis urban areas and the relentless pressures to become wage laborers.

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COSTA RICA**

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See James G. Ryan and R.D. Ghodski's "Labor Market Behavior in Rural Villages in South India: Effects of Season, Sex and Socio-Economic Status." Pranab K. Bardhan, "Determinants of Supply and Demand for Labor in a Poor Agrarian Economy: An Analysis of Household Survey Data from Rural West Bengal" which is based on a large-scale employment and unemployment survey of rural households in 1972-1973.

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43. Brown, Judith K. 1970. "A Note on the Division of Labor by Sex." American Anthropologist 72:1073-1078.

**SUBSISTENCE EMPLOYMENT TIME-USE/ALLOCATION**

44. Brush, S.B. 1977. "The Myth of the Idle Peasant: Employment in a Subsistence Economy." In R. Halperin and J. Dow, eds., Peasant Livelihood. New York: St. Martin's Press, pp. 60-78.

**MIGRATION-RURAL/URBAN LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES GABORONE  
BOTSWANA**

45. \*Bryant, Coralie, Betsy Stephens, and Sherry MacLiver. 1978. "Rural to Urban Migration: Some Data from Botswana." African Studies Review 21:2:85-99.

Based on interviews with 930 adults in Motswana households, this research ascertains characteristics of migrants coming to Gaborone, their motives for migrating, and the patterns of rural-urban linkages.

**COMMERCIALIZATION MIGRATION ORGANIZATION CASH CROPPING  
GHANA**

46. Bukh, Jette. 1979. The Village Woman in Ghana. Uppsala, Sweden: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies.

Cash cropping of cocoa and male migration to urban areas has led to major realignments in allocation of land and labor to household production. Consequences to nutrition, production strategies, and women's work load are discussed.

**FERTILITY CHILDREN THIRD WORLD**

47. Bulatao, Rodolfo and R.D. Lee. 1983. Determinants of Fertility in Developing Countries, Vol. 1, Supply and Demand for Children. New York: Academic Press.

**SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOR FARM HOUSEHOLD TIV NIGERIA**

48. \*Burfisher, Mary E. and Nadine R. Horenstein. 1985. Sex Roles in the Nigerian Tiv Farm Household. West Hartford, CT: Kumerian Press.

Both sexes have their own plots and significant crop specific complementary roles in field production in order to meet sex specific contributions in food and cash to the household needs.

**ORGANIZATION PRODUCTION CONSUMPTION**

49. Burns, S. 1975. The Household Economy: Its Shape, Origins & Future. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

**SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOR LABOR FARM HOUSEHOLD**

50. Buttel, F.H. and G.W. Gillespie. 1984. "The Sexual Division of Farm and Household Labor: An Exploratory Study of the Structure of On-Farm and Off-Farm Labor Allocation Among Farm Men and Women." Rural Sociology 49:183-209.

**POVERTY-WOMEN POLICY-DEVELOPMENT THIRD WORLD**

51. Buvinic, Mayra, Margaret A. Lycette, and William Paul McGreevey, eds. 1983. Women and Poverty in the Third World. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

**POLICY-DEVELOPMENT FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS MIGRATION**

52. Buvinic, Mayra and Nadia Youssef. 1978. "Women-Headed Households: The Ignored Factor in Development Planning." Report submitted to the Office of Women in Development. Washington, DC: USAID.

**LABOR-CHILDREN LAGUNA PHILIPPINES**

53. Cabanero, Theresa. 1978. "The 'Shadow Price' of Children in Laguna Households." Philippine Economic Journal 36:1,2:5-32.

**RISK LAND REFORM FERTILITY STRATIFICATION INDIA BANGLADESH**

54. Cain, Mead. 1981. "Risk and Insurance: Perspectives on Fertility and Agrarian Change in India and Bangladesh." Population and Development Review 7:3:435.

Analysis is based on household surveys in a flood-prone area of Bangladesh and a drought-prone, semi-arid region of India, focusing on the recent history of land transactions and patterns of household economic mobility. Risks considered are natural disasters and degradation. Sources of insurance investigated are capital markets, hoarding, and traditional, kin-based systems of support or patron-client networks.

**LIFE CYCLE FERTILITY STRATIFICATION BANGLADESH**

55. Cain, Mead, T. 1977. "The Household Life Cycle and Economic Mobility in Rural Bangladesh." Population and Development Review 4:4.

**CLASS TIME BUDGETS LABOR-WOMEN PATRIARCHY BANGLADESH**

56. Cain, Mead, S.R. Khanam, and S. Nahar. 1979. "Class, Patriarchy and Women's Work in Bangladesh." Population and Development Review 5:405-438.

Drawing on household data collected between 1976 and 1978 in the village of Char Gopalpar in Mymensingh District, the authors analyze women's roles in the rural economy. The methodology includes 24-hour time budgets from both male and female members (age 4 and above) of 144 households every 15 days throughout 1977. Class differences in time allocation for both men and women, according to season, are analyzed.

**FERTILITY LABOR-CHILDREN THEORY**

57. \*Caldwell, John. 1982. Theory of Fertility Decline. London: Academic Press.

**PROPERTY-WOMEN SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOR ISLAM MAFIA TANZANIA**

58. \*Caplan, Patricia. 1984. "Cognatic Descent, Islamic Law and Women's Property on the East African Coast." In Rene Hirschon, ed., Women and Property, Women as Property. London: Croom Helm, pp. 23-43.

**ROLE-STATE LAND TENURE POLICY-DEVELOPMENT/WOMEN TANZANIA**

59. \_\_\_\_\_ . 1981. "Development Policies in Tanzania—Some Implications for Women." In Nici Nelson, ed., African Women in the Development Process. London: Frank Cass and Co., Ltd., pp. 98-108.

**INSTITUTIONS POPULATION POLICY**

60. Carter, Anthony T. and Robert S. Merrill. 1979. "Household Institutions and Population Dynamics." Report prepared for the Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination. Washington, DC: USAID.

**STRATIFICATION INDICATORS AFRICA INDIA**

61. Castro, Alfonso P., Thomas Hakansson and David Brokensha. 1981. "Indicators of Rural Inequality." World Development 9:5:401-427.

Explores indicators that can be used to measure wealth differences between rural households in the same community. Case studies from India and Africa are included.

**COOPERATIVES-WOMEN MALI**

62. Caughman, Susan. 1981. "Women at Work in Mali: The Case of the Marakala Cooperative." Working Papers in African Studies. Boston, MA: Boston University.

**ENERGY POVERTY THIRD WORLD**

63. Ceculski, E., J. Dunkerley, W. Ramsey, and E. Mbi. 1979. "Household Energy and the Poor in the Third World." Research Paper R-15. Washington, DC: Resources for the Future.

**POVERTY-SEASONALITY ORGANIZATION-RURAL AFRICA ASIA**

64. Chambers, Robert, Richard Longhurst, and Arnold Pacey. 1981. Seasonal Dimensions to Rural Poverty. London: Frances Pinter Limited.

In-depth experiences in Africa and Asia (especially Kenya, Bangladesh, India, Gambia, Ghana, Tanzania and Nigeria) are used to discuss seasonal dimensions of disease, energy availability and use, nutrition, labor demands, and demographic patterns in the context of Third World rural poverty.

**RESETTLEMENT COMMERCIALIZATION IRRIGATION MWEA KENYA**

65. Chambers, Robert and Jon Moris, eds. 1973. Mwea: An Irrigated Rice Settlement in Kenya. Afrika Studien Munich No. 75. Munich: IFO.

**MIGRATION AGRICULTURE SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOR  
POLICY-GOVERNMENT**

66. Chaney, E. and M. Lewis. 1980. "Women, Migration, and the Decline of Smallholder Agriculture." Office of Women in Development, Washington, DC: USAID.

**THEORY-PEASANT ECONOMY**

67. Chayanov, A.V. Organizatsiya krest'yanskogo khozyaistv. 1925. Translated by D. Thorner, B. Kerblay, and R. Smith, eds. under the title The Theory of the Peasant Economy. Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin, 1966.

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**RURAL HOUSEHOLDS ACCESS TO RESOURCES POVERTY BOTSWANA**

68. Chernichovsky, D., R. Lucas, and Eva Mueller. 1985. The Household Economy of Rural Botswana. Staff Working Paper. Washington, DC: World Bank.

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69. \*Chernichovsky, Dan. 1979. "The Economic Theory of the Household and Impact Measurement of Nutrition and Related Health Programs." In Robert E. Klein, et al., eds., Evaluating the Impact of Nutrition and Health Programs. New York: Plenum Publishing Co., pp. 227-267.

**THEORY-CHAYANOV**

70. \*Chibnik, M. 1984. "A Cross-Cultural Examination of Chayanov's Theory." Current Anthropology 25:335-340.

**DECISION MAKING WAGE LABOR CASH CROPPING TIME-USE ALLOCATION  
BELIZE**

71. Chibnik, Michael. 1980. "Working Out or Working In: The Choice of Wage Labor and Cash Cropping in Rural Belize." American Ethnologist 7:86-105.

Based on data collected on income sources over the course of a year (1971-1972), the study provides an analysis of the way in which men in two villages of Belize allocate labor-time between wage labor and cash cropping.

**POVERTY STRUCTURE FARM HOUSEHOLD TAIWAN**

72. Chinn, D.L. 1979. "Rural Poverty and the Structure of Farm Household Income in the Developing Countries: Evidence from Taiwan." Economic Development and Culture Change 27:283-301.

**NETWORKS MIGRATION-RURAL/URBAN LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES  
FEMALE HEADED HOUSEHOLD POVERTY KENYA**

73. \*Clark, Mari H. 1985. Household Economic Strategies and Support Networks of the Poor in Kenya: A Literature Review. World Bank Report No. UDD-69. Washington, DC: World Bank.

**LAND TENURE STRUCTURE-FAMILY JAMAICA**

74. Clarke, Edith. 1953. "Land Tenure and the Family in Four Selected Communities in Jamaica." Social and Economic Studies 1:81-118.

**FARM HOUSEHOLD DECISION MAKING AFRICA**

75. \*Cleave, John H. 1977. "Decisionmaking on the African Farm." World Bank Reprint Series No. 92. I.A.A.E. Occasional Paper No. 1. Washington, DC: World Bank.

**MODEL-DECISION MAKING AGRICULTURE-SMALLHOLDER LABOR ALLOCATION  
PRODUCTION-SEASONALITY AFRICA**

76. \_\_\_\_\_ . 1974. African Farmers: Labor Use in the Development of Smallholder Agriculture. New York: Praeger Publishers.

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- POPULATION AGRICULTURE-SUBSISTENCE GHANA**
77. Cleveland, David A. 1980. "The Population Dynamics of Subsistence Agriculture in the West African Savanna: A Village in North-east Ghana." Ph.D. diss., University of Arizona, Tuscon, AZ.
- AGRICULTURE-WOMEN METHODOLOGY ROLES-WOMEN DECISION MAKING**
78. \*Cloud, Kathleen. 1985. "Women's Productivity in Agricultural Households. How Can We Think About It? What Do We Know?" In Jamie Monson and Manon Kalb, eds., Women as Food Producers in Developing Countries. Los Angeles: African Studies Association and OEF International, pp. 11-18.
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79. Cohen, Yehudi A. 1981. "Shrinking Household." Society 48:52.
- ECOLOGY COOPERATIVES MIGRATION-SEASONAL PERU**
80. Collins, Jane. 1984. "The Maintenance of Peasant Coffee Production in a Peruvian Valley." American Ethnologist 11:3:413-436.
- INDUSTRY-RURAL CAPITALISM PEASANT ECONOMY OAXACA VALLEY MEXICO**
81. Cook, Scott. 1984. "Peasant Economy, Rural Industry and Capitalist Development in the Oaxaca Valley, Mexico." Journal of Peasant Studies 12:1:3-40.
- INDUSTRY-RURAL STRATIFICATION CAPITALISM MEXICO**
82. \_\_\_\_\_. 1984. "Rural Industry, Social Differentiation and the Contradictions of Provincial Mexican Capitalism." Latin American Perspectives 11:4:60-85.
- ENERGY PASTORALISTS**
83. Coughenour, M.B. et al. 1985. "Energy Extraction and Use in a Nomadic Pastoral Ecosystem." Science 230:4726:619-625.
- FAMILY PROPERTY INTRAHOUSEHOLD RELATIONS**
84. Creighton, C. 1980. "Family, Property, and Relations of Production." Economy and Society 9:2.
- PASTORALISTS INTRAHOUSEHOLD RELATIONS ECOLOGY AFRICA**
85. \*Dahl, Gudrun, and Anders Hjort. 1976. Having Herds: Pastoral Herd Growth, and Household Economy. Stockholm: University of Stockholm.

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86. Deere, Carmen Diana. 1983. "The Allocation of Familial Labor and the Formation of Peasant Household Income in the Peruvian Sierra." In Mayra Buvinic, Margaret Lycette and William Paul McGreevey, eds., Women and Poverty in the Third World. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
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87. \_\_\_\_\_. 1982. "The Division of Labor by Sex in Agriculture: A Peruvian Case Study." Economic Development and Cultural Change 30:79-812.
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88. \_\_\_\_\_. 1979. "Rural Women's Subsistence Production in the Capitalist Periphery." In R. Cohen, P. Gutkind, and P. Brazier, eds., Peasants and Proletarians. New York: Monthly Review Press, pp. 133-148.
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90. \* \_\_\_\_\_. 1979. "A Conceptual Framework for the Empirical Analysis of Peasants." American Journal of Agricultural Economics 61:4:601-611.
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91. \*Deere, Carmen Diana and Magdalena Leon de Leal. 1981. "Peasant Production, Proletarianization, and the Sexual Division of Labor in the Andes." Signs 7:21:338-360.
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92. DeTray, Dennis. 1977. "Household Studies Workshop." New York: Agricultural Development Council.
- STRATIFICATION TECHNOLOGY MEXICO**
93. DeWalt, Billie. 1975. "Inequalities in Wealth, Adoption of Technology, and Production in a Mexican Ejido." American Ethnologist 2:1:149-168.

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 95. Dey, Jennie. 1981. "Gambian Women: Unequal Partners in Rice Development Projects?" Journal of Development Studies 17:109-122.

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 96. Diamond, Norma. 1975. "Collectivization, Kinship, and the Status of Women in Rural China." Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars 7:25-32.

- FERTILITY LABOR-CHILDREN TIME COSTS SUDAN**  
 97. Din, M.E. and Galal el Awad. 1975. "The Economic Value of Children in Rural Sudan." In J.C. Caldwell, ed., The Persistence of High Fertility Population Prospects in the Third World, Vol. 1, Part 2, Changing American Family -- Family and Fertility Change Series, No. 1. Canberra, Australia: Department of Demography, University of Canberra, pp. 617-632.

- LABOR FARMERS-WOMEN METHODOLOGY SURVEYS POLICY AFRICA**  
 98. \*Dixon, Ruth. 1985. "Seeing the Invisible Women Farmers in Africa: Improving Research and Data Collection Methods." In Jamie Monson and Manon Kalb, eds., Women as Food Producers in Developing Countries. Los Angeles, CA: African Studies Association and OEF International, pp. 19-35.

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 ASIA**  
 99. Dixon, Ruth. 1978. Rural Women at Work. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

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- STRUCTURE SEX ROLES FAMILY**  
 100. Dube, Leela. 1978. "Sex Roles in Contrasting Family Systems." Paper presented to the World Congress of Sociology, Uppsala, Sweden.

**BUDGET-TIME**

101. DuFour, Darna Lee. 1981. "Household Variation in Energy Flow in a Population of Tropical Forest Horticulturalists." Ph.D. diss., State University of New York, Binghamton, NY.

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**CHAYANOV STRUCTURE DIVISION OF LABOR**

103. Durrenberger, P. 1984. Chayanov, Peasants and Economic Anthropology. New York: Harcourt Brace Janovitch.

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104. \*Dyson-Hudson, Rada and Neville Dyson-Hudson. 1980. "Nomadic Pastoralism." Annual Review of Anthropology 9:15-61.

**MODELS-PATRON/CLIENT**

105. Eisenstadt, S.N. and Louis Roniger. 1980. "Patron-Client Relations as a Model of Structuring Social Exchange." Comparative Studies in Society and History 22:1:42-77.

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106. Elson, D. and R. Pearson. 1980. "The Latest Phase of the Internationalisation of Capital and Its Implications for Women in the Third World." Discussion Paper No. 150. Sussex, England: Institute for Development Studies, University of Sussex.

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107. Elwert, George and Diana Wong. 1980. "Subsistence Production and Commodity Production in the Third World." Review 3:3:501-522.

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108. Ennew, J., P. Hirst, and K. Tribe. 1977. "On the New Household Economics." Journal of Agricultural Economics and Development 6:87-103.

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109. Ennew, Judith. 1982. "Family Structure, Unemployment and Child Labour in Jamaica." Development and Change 13:4.

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110. \*Etienne, Mona. 1980. "Women and Men, Cloth and Colonization: The Transformation of Production - Distribution Relations Among the Baule (Ivory Coast)." In Mona Etienne and Eleanor Leacock, eds., Women and Colonization. New York: Praeger Publishers, pp. 214-238.

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111. Evenson, R.F. 1981. "Food Policy and the New Home Economics." Food Policy 3:180-183.

**TIME-USE/ALLOCATION PHILIPPINES**

112. Evenson, Robert. 1979. "Time Allocation in Rural Philippine Households." American Journal of Agricultural Economics 60:322-330.

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113. Evenson, Robert. 1976. "On the New Household Economics." Journal of Agricultural Economics and Development. 6:87-103.

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114. Evenson, Robert, Barry Popkin, and Elizabeth King-Quizon. 1979. "Nutrition, Work, and Demographic Behavior in Rural Philippine Households." Economic Growth Center Discussion Paper No. 308. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

**RESIDENCE RULES METHODOLOGY**

115. Fischer, J.L. 1958. "The Classification of Residence in Censuses." American Anthropologist 60:508-517.

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KENYA**
116. \*Fleuret, Patrick. 1985. "The Social Organization of Water Control in the Taita Hills, Kenya." American Ethnologist, 12:103-118.
- PROJECTS-DEVELOPMENT    DIVISION OF LABOR    AGRICULTURE    NUTRITION**
117. Fleuret, Patrick and Anne Fleuret. 1980. "Nutrition, Consumption, and Agricultural Change." Human Organization 39:2:250-60.
- Fleuret and Fleuret argue that nearly all agricultural development projects cause major realignments of household labor allocation. These can have serious negative repercussions on patterns of production and consumption and the nutritional status of the households involved.
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118. \*Folbre, Nancy. 1985. "Cleaning House: New Perspectives of Households and Economic Development." Unpublished manuscript. Department of Economics, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA.
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PHILIPPINES**
119. \*\_\_\_\_\_. 1984. "Household Production in the Philippines: A Non-neoclassical Approach." Economic Development and Cultural Change 32:303-330.
- FOOD PRODUCTION-WOMEN    NUTRITION    AFRICA**
120. Food and Agricultural Organization. 1979. "Women in Food Production, Food Handling, and Nutrition with Special Emphasis on Africa." Rome: FAO.
- AGRICULTURE-WOMEN    SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOR    ACCESS TO RESOURCES  
BOTSWANA**
121. \*Fortmann, Louise. 1984. "Economic Status and Women's Participation in Agriculture: A Botswana Case Study." Rural Sociology 49:3:452-464.
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122. \*Foster, Brian. 1978. "Socioeconomic Consequences of Stem Family Composition in a Thai Village." Ethnology 17:139-156.

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123. Foster, Brian L. and Stephen B. Seidman. 1981. "Network Analysis and Kinship Structure." American Ethnologist 8:329-355.

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125. Fox, Bonnie, ed. 1980. Hidden in the Household: Women's Domestic Labor Under Capitalism. Toronto, ONT: Women's Educational Press.

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126. Franklin, David L. 1984. "Resource Allocation Decisions of Low-Income Rural Households." Nutrition and Development Project Paper No. 83-4. Washington, DC: USAID.

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127. \*Freedman, Deborah and Eva Mueller. 1977. "A Multi-Purpose Household Questionnaire: Basic Economic and Demographic Modules." Washington, DC: World Bank.

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128. Friedman, Harriet. 1978. "World Market, State and Family Farm: Social Bases of Household Production in the Era of Wage Labor." Comparative Studies in Society and History 20:4:545-586.

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129. \*Friedman, Kathie. 1984. "Households as Income-Pooling Units." In Joan Smith, Immanuel Wallerstein, and Hans-Dieter Evers, eds., Households and the World Economy. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, pp. 37-55.

- LABOR-WOMEN NETWORK-WOMEN COOPERATIVES ORGANIZATION**
130. Gallin, Rita S. and Anita Spring, eds. 1985. "Women Creating Wealth: Transforming Economic Development." Selected Papers and Speeches from the Association for Women in Development Conference. 25-27 April, 1985. Washington, DC.
- See in particular, Cathy Small's "The Powers and Limitations of Women's Cooperative Organizations in Tonga," Joan Mencher, "The Forgotten Ones - Female Landless Laborers in Southern India," and Maureen Martella, "The Rise of Industrial Homework in the Third World: An Analysis of Its International Context and Conceptual Issues."
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131. Geertz, Clifford. 1963. Agricultural Involution: The Processes of Ecological Change in Indonesia. Berkeley, CA: California University Press.
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132. \*Geiger, Susan. 1982. "Umoja Wa Wanawake Wa Tanzania and the Needs of the Rural Poor." African Studies Review 25:2,3:45-65.
- IMPACT OF CAPITALISM PRODUCTION DAKAR SENEGAL**
133. Gerry, Chris. 1978. "Petty Production and Capitalist Production in Dakar: The Crises of the Self-Employed." World Development 6:9,10:114-160.
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134. Gilbert, E.H., D.W. Norman and F.E. Winch. 1980. Farming Systems Research: A Critical Appraisal. Rural Development Paper No. 6. Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI.
- INHERITANCE ROLE-STATE FAMILY-PEASANT EURASIA**
135. Goldschmidt, Walter and Evelyn J. Kunkel. 1971. "The Structure of the Peasant Family." American Anthropologist 73:1058-1076.
- ORGANIZATION DOMESTIC WORK AFRICA ASIA LATIN AMERICA**
136. Goldschmidt-Clermont, L. 1985. Domestic Activities in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Geneva: ILO.
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138. Gonzales, Nancie L. 1984. "Rethinking the Consanguineal Household and Matrilocality." Ethnology 23:1.
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139. \* \_\_\_\_\_ . 1983. "Changing Sex Roles Among the Garifuna (Black Carib) and Their Implications for the Family." Journal of Comparative Family Studies 14:2:204-214. Summer 1983 Special Issue: "The Family in the Latin New World." Alfred Mendez-Dominguez, ed.
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143. Goody, Jack. 1976. Production and Reproduction. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
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144. Goody, Jack., ed. 1969. The Developmental Cycle in Domestic Groups. Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology. New York: Cambridge University Press.
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145. Gough, Kathleen. 1975. "The Origin of the Family." In Rayna R. Reiter, ed., Toward an Anthropology of Women. New York: Monthly Review Press, pp. 51-76.

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146. Greenhalgh, Susan. 1982. "Income Units: The Ethnographic Alternative to Standardization." Population and Development Review 8:70-91.

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147. \*Gregory, Joel W. and Victor Piche. 1979. The Demographic Regime of Peripheral Capitalism: Illustrated with African Examples. Departement de Demographie, Universite de Montreal, Montreal.

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148. Griffith, David. 1985. "Women, Remittances, and Reproduction." American Ethnologist 12:4:676-690.

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149. Gronav, Reuben. 1973. "The Intrafamily Allocation of Time: The Value of Housewives' Time." American Economic Review 63:634-651.

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150. Grootaert, Christiaan and K.F. Cheung. 1985. "Household Expenditure Surveys: Some Methodological Issues." Living Standards Measurement Study. Working Paper No. 22.

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151. Gutkind, P.C.W. 1962. "African Urban Family Life." Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines, No. 10.

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152. Guyer, J. and P. Peters, eds. 1986. Conceptualizing the Household. New York: Social Science Research Council.

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153. \*Guyer, Jane. 1981. "Household and Community in African Studies." African Studies Review 24:2,3:87-137.

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154. \_\_\_\_\_. 1980. "Food, Cocoa, and the Division of Labor by Sex in Two African Societies." Comparative Studies in Society and History 22:3:355-373.

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