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**A REPORT ON WOMEN'S PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITIES
AND FAMILY FOOD CONSUMPTION IN
BURKINA FASO**

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Overview

Like other countries in the Sahel Burkina Faso has been devastated by drought, declining food production, poverty, and illness. In the drought of 1968-1974 "crops were destroyed, wells ran dry, and...severe food shortages were alleviated by large inputs of... food [aid]" (AID, 1977, p. 1). Food production declined 3.6% from 1970 to 1978 (Ames, 1983).

In 1984 rains were rare and the crops largely failed (Cowell, 1984). One relief worker in the northern and most affected part of the country said the current drought is worse than 1973. That region requires 20,000 tons of grain, but only 5,500 tons were harvested. The country as a whole will require 200,000 tons of emergency food aid (Cowell, 1984).

Various projects have been undertaken in Burkina to identify food-related patterns and the extent of problems and resources. Emphasis has been placed on grain consumption, production, distribution, and marketing; child and maternal nutrition; and food scarcity and foreign aid. United States projects have been sponsored by private agencies and universities, private research groups and nonprofit relief organizations, and U. S. agencies. The government of Burkina and the University of Ouagadougou have implemented research projects to guide food-related policy and planning. Certainly the breadth

of content and sponsorship indicates a strong movement to identify "innovative approaches" (Ames, 1983) to increase the availability of food.

Women as actors in farming and marketing systems are seldom included in development plans and research (Lewis, 1981), and projects in Burkina are no exception. None of the projects mentioned above recognized women's unique roles and vital contributions to farming and marketing systems, despite the fact that women are responsible for or integrally involved in virtually every aspect of food production, preparation, and consumption. African women in general are responsible for 70% of agricultural production, 50% of food storage, 90% of water supply, 80% of fuel supply, and 100% of cooking, as well as 60% of marketing (Blumberg, 1981).

This paper reports the results of field work examining women's productive activities in farming and marketing in Burkina Faso. The Purpose is outlined below and followed by an important Introductory Background about the country, family farming systems, and women's work. The third section is the Field Report, which is followed by Conclusions.

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Purpose and Rationale

The primary purpose of this study is to examine women's productive roles within the context of familial, cultural, economic, and environmental circumstances in geographically and culturally diverse regions of Burkina Faso.

Until recently other work examining women's roles worldwide has tended to be concentrated on food preparation and nutrition (Lewis, 1984, p. 171). Few studies have recognized the independence of production and consumption and as a result women's contribution to farms and households has been ignored (Buvinic, 1983, p. 18). In this study women are assumed to be agents of production as well as reproduction, engaging in independent productive activities.

"Women's work" has been receiving a great deal of attention in the literature; controversial issues about biases in conceptualization and measurement have been raised (International

Center for Research on Women, 1980). Specific examples from Burkina of women at work and of measurement problems will be used to illustrate and to further explore some of the issues.

A secondary aim of this study is to generate hypotheses about the the linkages between women's productive activities and family food production and consumption. Although we are familiar with women's roles at various points in the food cycle, their role in production and its relation to food is only beginning to be understood (Charlton, 1984).

The exploratory nature of the project must be emphasized. It constitutes preliminary work in this area and has been used to identify existing patterns and potential areas for further research, which are suggested in the conclusion section.

Introductory Background

Attention to several aspects of life in Burkina Faso are essential to a thorough understanding of this study. These include; 1.) the people and land, including population trends and agricultural characteristics; 2.) the household level farming system, where one can observe the impact of recent changes; and 3.) women's roles in farm production. This discussion will clarify the importance to survival of women's productive activities obstacles against them as the economic system is transformed from a subsistence to cash-based economy.

Burkina Faso: Population and Land Use

Burkina Faso is a landlocked country about the size of Colorado in the Sahel region of West Africa (see Appendix A). The population is 7.9 million. With 45% of the population under age 15, the rapid growth rate of 2.7% per year is likely to continue (U. N. Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, 1982), despite an infant mortality rate that is the highest in the world (167/1000 live births on the whole or 263/1000 in rural areas) and a life expectancy that is one of the lowest, 32 years at birth (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1984).

The Mossi, the predominant ethnic group, comprise about 48% of the population (see Appendix B). The nomadic Fulani make up the second largest group, at 10.4%. Up to 60 other ethnic groups inhabit the country, speaking about 14 different languages and a number of dialects (Peron & Zalacain, 1975).

Most people, 90-93% of the country's population, are subsistence farmers living in rural areas. Agriculture accounts for 40% of the GNP and nearly all exports. The per capita gross national product is the lowest in Africa and the per capita income, \$110 per year, one of the lowest in the world (McFarland, 1978).

The population is concentrated in the central plateau, also known as the Mossi plateau for the dominant ethnic group inhabiting the region. The area's population varies from 30 to as many as 80 inhabitants per km². Fewer people reside in the extreme north and west. (see Appendix C) (Institute National

d'Education de Haute-Volta, 1981). Less than 10% of the population resides in cities, primarily the capital, Ouagadougou, and Bobo-Djioulaso (Institute National D'Education de Haute-Volta, 1981; U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1983.)

Over the course of the last 20 years migration has acted as a safety valve to ease the increasing population pressure. From 10 to 20% of Burkina's citizens migrate at least temporarily for work on plantations in the Ivory Coast or Ghana (deWilde, 1967b; Peron & Zalacain, 1975). Young people continue to migrate to cities for jobs and to escape from the constraints of tradition (de Wilde, 1967; Institute National d'Education de Haute Volta, 1981). Internal migration from one rural area to another is also taking place, particularly toward the more fertile areas of the south and west (see Appendix D).

In the late 1960s the availability of area for cultivation was less than one hectare per inhabitant for Burkina as a whole, with as little as 1/2 a hectare in the central region (de Wilde, 1967b). Although current figures have not been located, one would expect availability of arable land to be even less.

The country is divided into three diverse agroclimatic zones with varying terrains and climates (see Appendices E and F). The semitropical guinean zone (also called subsudan) in the southwest has the most rainfall, from 1000 to 1800 mm per year and is lush with rolling hills and dense vegetation. At the extreme north is the Sahel, where rain is scarce (as little as 400mm), the air is hot and dry almost yearround; land is flat

vegetation sparse. The center sudan, which forms a plateau, is heterogenous, including forests, savannas, and prairies. It is more densely vegetated than the Sahel, but less so than the guinean zone (Peron & Zalacain, 1975).

Appendix G provides more detailed information about the rainfall, temperature, and agriculture of each zone. These maps have been included to portray the country's diversity and to acquaint the reader with environmental conditions of each of the areas the author visited, because these are part of the study's context.

Agricultural conditions in Burkina are conducive to growing millet and sorghum, which require little water, can grow in poor soil, and can survive drought, dry heat, and a short rainy season. Sixty to ninety percent of the land is devoted to these crops. Corn is common as a secondary crop. Minor crops, such as beans, peanuts, and sorrel, are often grown in margins of fields or in smaller sectors. The southwest can support fruit, sugar cane, tobacco and rice, which cannot grow in the drier areas of the country (Hammond, 1965)

Historically, Burkina has been self-sufficient in food production, with considerable variation from year to year (International Science and Technology Institute, 1981); in the early 1900s there were famines, but in the post World War II period rainfall was adequate. During the 1960s a declining rainfall was again indicated. These conditions were described as "extremely unfavorable natural, economic, and human factors" with a limited cultivatable area and "poor and brittle soils on the

whole not very well-suited to agriculture" (de Wilde, 1967, pp. 390; 369-70). Burkina's agricultural outlook in the 1960s was grim, and by the drought of the 1970s, food deficits had reached 23% of domestic requirements. During 1972-74, consumption fell 20% below trend levels, reducing caloric intake to 70% of nutritional standards (Haggblade, 1984).

The mid 1970s were better crop years, but the trend has generally been toward declining food production and increasing imports, especially food aid (International Science and Technology Institute, 1981). Studies of two regions of the country indicated food production could not meet people's needs in 1982. In 1981, even with fair rains, people purchased more grain than they sold, which is an increasingly common trend (Matton & Vierich, 1983).

There may be a longer term potential for self-sufficiency if certain conditions are met. First, food could be redistributed from the "well-endowed" areas of the southwest to the deficit regions; success, however, is threatened by poor transportation and communication and lack of proper storage (Guerin, 1984; Haggblade, 1984). Second, improved varieties of crops could be incorporated into existing farming and marketing systems (International Science and Technology Institute, 1981, p. 6). No matter what steps are taken, women must be considered in plans for food self-sufficiency because they (a) are involved in almost every aspect of agricultural production; (b) virtually control food preparation, and (c) are heavily involved in marketing (Blumberg, 1981; Konter, 1980).

Family Farming Systems and Marketing Practices

Family farming in West Africa depends on an exchange of labor between the sexes in which men clear the land for women's food crops, while women weed and transplant men's crops (Lewis, 1984, p. 172). Men and women work together to cultivate men's crops, of which women receive a portion for their consumption. Women also often have access to their own plots of land, and may market their surplus for cash.

Although the division of labor is based on an exchange, the terms are not equal. Women are helped by men to develop their own land resources, but men can more easily recruit family labor, particularly their wives, to assist them. Men are privileged by positions of authority, their fewer numbers, and larger holdings requiring cultivation. Women spend more time assisting their husbands than in cultivating their own crops (Beneria, 1979), yet rarely control the profits of cash crops (Lewis, 1984). Furthermore, a woman may not have control over the profits from her own sales (see Henn, 1984, p. 17). The inequality inherent in this system of exchange has been exacerbated by families' increasing dependence on cash to purchase food and other goods. The consequences are particularly devastating for women.

In Burkina men control production of grains consumed nationally while women control truck gardening (Lewis, 1984). Because garden crops are more difficult to store, transport, and

market, they are likely to be distributed in the local market, limiting women's income-generating capacity and contribution to local and national development plans (Huntington, 1975).

Furthermore (based on West Africa generally), with population pressure and the resultant trend toward privatization of land, men have greater access to land for commercial cultivation, as well as to agricultural inputs. Women, on the other hand, are unable to get land to start cash crop production (Boserup, 1980). They have little cash income and no access to credit. While men reinvest their profits into commercial farming women are left with poorer land and increasing financial dependence on their husbands (Boserup, 1980).

As food production changes from family-based subsistence production to production for sale, women "may become unpaid family aid in their husband's food producing enterprises, they may lose the little economic independence they now have, because they supply themselves and their children with food and can sell whatever food surplus they produce" (Boserup, 1980, p. 16).

In addition, as men migrate to urban areas or to neighboring states in search of jobs (Songre, 1973) agricultural output and productivity decline, if the man stays away for very long (Miracle & Berry, 1970). Women become overburdened by household and subsistence agricultural production as well as cash cropping.

The critical variable in women's positions in family farming systems and the emerging market economy is their control of resources and the products of their labor. Access to and control of resources is becoming increasingly determined by women's work.

Women's Roles in Production and Marketing

Conventional measurements of women's work have been criticized for conceptual inaccuracies and cultural biases. These weaknesses have led to both an underenumeration of the economically active female population and distortions in our understanding of women's productive roles in the Third World (Youssef, 1984).

Recently published data (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1984) has been structured to remove some of the usual biases by including unemployed persons and homemakers in its statistics of economically active women. In Burkina Faso 79% of all women (74% urban and 80% rural) are economically active. These figures indicate that from 92 to 97% of women ages 20 to 49 are active in the economy. Homemakers account for 76% of the total, indicating the sizeable proportion of women who would not have been counted if conventional measures had been used. These general statistics do not, however, provide a qualitative picture of women's work. The qualitative dimension emerges from the areas outlined below.

Subsistence farming is the chief occupation for many African women (Stichter, 1984). Yet this category has for some time been addressed in terms of women's roles in food preparation for family use, excluding food preparation and livestock production for cash sales. Women's marketing of agricultural and nonagricultural products is only beginning to be explored, and this study is part of that preliminary effort.

The informal sector, also called the "extensive shadow economy" (Youssef, 1984, pp. 4-9) and the "periphery of the formal sector" (Stichter, 1984, p. 189), includes beer brewing, prostitution, and sales of prepared foods and agricultural produce (Jules-Rosette, 1982). These jobs are not integrated into industry coding or occupational breakdowns; they fall outside institutional and tax structures and business locations (Youssef, 1984). They are, however, flexible enough to fit in with childcare responsibilities (International Center for Research on Women, 1980) and can be done irregularly or along with other activities.

These jobs are not often translated into modern employment because low levels of literacy prevent most women from establishing and regulating extensive, profitable business transactions. In reality, these jobs mean only the "barest survival" and may only act as a "sponge disguising unemployment" (Songre, 1973, p. 209).

Census figures, which are based on questions about a principle economic activity, do not accurately represent the multiplicity of simultaneous roles many women play at various

times. For instance, child care and marketing roles might coincide; milk selling may be interspersed with housework; or women may work at gardening during the rainy season and hair-plaiting during the dry season. This study serves to illustrate the combination of productive activities in which women are involved.

Whatever work women do it is essential for individual and family well being. Women are responsible for feeding their children but subsistence activities no longer fully provide for their needs. Women must have some way to obtain cash independently; only then will they control its use.

The International Center for Research on Women (1980) summarizes: "Women's ability to meet the subsistence needs of their families is inextricably tied to the extent of control they exert over the intrahousehold allocation of money. It has been reported that where women remain in control of their individual income, as in sub-Saharan Africa..., increased income tends to improve both the quantity and quality of the food available to their families. Increased income of men, who are often not required to help meet family subsistence needs, goes into the purchase of consumer goods and entertainment, and only in case of emergencies into buying food items" (p. 6). Here we begin to see the important linkage between women's work and food availability.

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Field Report

This study took place during 8 weeks in July, August, and September, 1984. Preliminary field work in Piéla in the eastern part of the country, north of Fada-Ngourma and on the Mossi plateau, provided background information about women's work and food consumption and shaped subsequent questioning. Consultation with others involved in consumption and marketing studies provided additional information and clarification. The final phase of the project was undertaken in cooperation with a grain marketing project conducted by the University of Michigan's Center for Reserch on Economic Development (CRED).

Three of the 5 villages in the CRED village studies were selected for varying ethnic, environmental, and socioeconomic circumstances. Specific households were recommended by members of the CRED team for women's involvement in various productive activities, including both marketing and cultivation. The sample was not intended to be purely random, but was meant to capture diversity in women's activities, ethnicity, and economic circumstances, while remaining general enough to represent a cross-section of villagers.

Eight families in each village were selected for a total of 24 families; this discussion concerns 26 women in 21 households. The families excluded are those for whom data is redundant or insufficient. A list of families included in this report is presented in Appendix H.

Initial interviews were conducted in homes or fields, with women only whenever possible, about 72% of the cases. Husbands or children were present in about 28% of initial interviews; usually these were terminated prematurely because of the woman's discomfort. In all cases second interviews the following day or later in the week were conducted for additional questions, clarification, giftgiving, and goodbyes.

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One French-speaking person in each village was chosen as an informant, contact person, and interpreter of the local language. In approximately 80% of the cases interpreters were women. In two villages 100% of the interviews were conducted with a woman's assistance. The third village, unlike the other two, was composed of several ethnic groups and it was impossible to find a woman who spoke the necessary two languages as well as French. Although a female interpreter was available for three of those cases, for the remainder we relied on 2 African male interviewers who lived in the village to conduct the CRED study and were already acquainted with the sample families. An English translator accompanied me to each village and worked closely with me in the process of choosing and interviewing subjects and culling information that emerged serendipitously.

The questionnaire used is presented in Appendix I. The questionnaire was used as a guide rather than a strict format to allow for variations in individual circumstances and what was occurring at that time, i. e., to provide both flexibility and structure. Three issues were addressed: 1.) the women's cultivation responsibilities; 2.) her independent economic

activities; and 3.) family consumption patterns. In keeping with the purpose of the study, information requested was of a general nature rather than of the time-use or weights and measures variety.

The description of the study begins with the Sahel area of the Mossi plateau in the village of Méné. This area and its people represent the overall character of the country, including its social, economic, and environmental problems. The plateau is the home of the predominant ethnic group, the Mossi. It is the most densely populated area of the country and faces the most serious droughts and grain deficits. The information about women's economic activities that is presented provides the conceptual foundation for the study by describing types of work, the seasonal or complementary nature of work activities, and the factors that most influence women's ability to cope with such a harsh environment. In addition, two other coping strategies, migration to other countries for jobs and the adoption of Islam, are discussed.

In stark contrast to the Sahel area is the grain surplus region, the Volta Noire district, where the village of Dankui was the subject of this study. Current government emphasis is on redistributing the surplus from this area to deficit regions, particularly to the Sahel and other areas of the Mossi plateau. Actual conditions in the area are illustrated in descriptions of economic activities. Most of the discussion revolves around a

comparison of women in three ethnic groups. In addition the Dankui section illustrates the potential impact of social and economic change on women's roles in the economy and household decisionmaking about food distribution.

The third region is located in the southwest, also lush and known for vegetable and fruit cultivation. Here, in the village of Baré, the Bobofine is the predominant ethnic group. Bobo-Djioulasso, the second largest city in Burkina, is the hub of the area and is not far from Bare. The conditions in Bare reflect the dramatic impact of cash economy and urban access on village life.

Each region is discussed separately to identify environmental and ethnic differences. The common theme is women's independent economic activities, i. e., their access to and control over their resources, and the impact on individual and family life. Within each region different themes develop. In Méne women's successful and less successful strategies for living in a harsh environment are discussed. In Dankui the emphasis is on the impact of economic change on women's roles. And in Baré the focus is on urban influence on women's activities. From the discussion of individual cases emerges a continuum of women's autonomy ranging from very dependent to very independent, and an "average," a profile of the common woman of Burkina Faso.

~~Mens~~

Méné

Méné is a village of about 500 located in northern Burkina in the southernmost portion of the Sahel region on the Mossi plateau. The village is about 40 km north of Ouahigouya, the fourth largest city with a population of about 33,000. Shortly outside of Ouahigouya the paved road drops off to a dusty and craggy route that is difficult to travel. Villagers do not come and go easily between Méné and Ouahigouya; one sees few visitors and trips to the city are rare.

The land is poor and the drought has severely affected productivity. Fields were barren or sprouting only nubs of millet. A riverbend was dry. Rain registered on an agriculture extension worker's gauge was minuscule. One villager compared this to Mene 30 years ago: trees and streams gave way to barren land and parched riverbeds.

Méné has an active market. Trade is primarily on a small scale, with women selling soap, cakes, spices and occasionally some grain. Larger sales of grain in bulk, for instance, are generally conducted by traders from Ouahigouya or by villagers or other local people who have been able to transport a larger quantity of goods.

This area is among the country's most threatened environmentally as the Sahel pushes southward and drought continues to devastate crops. In addition, overpopulation puts an even greater strain on fragile resources and makes it difficult for people to meet their needs for food, water, fuel, and land. Families with a history of self-sufficiency have become increasingly dependent on food aid and cash to purchase

grain. These deficit conditions are complicated by poor roads and lack of transportation. In addition, although Méné has an active market, without an income from other sales survival is difficult.

In combination environmental and economic pressures pose serious threats and force families to find a variety of means for securing food and money. Under these circumstances traditions may be adapted to allow people to meet their needs. Islam, for instance, which allows individual greater economic and social freedom than traditional animism, has made inroads in Méné; virtually every family in the sample was Muslim, a sharp contrast with other parts of the country where animism still predominates. Similarly, a large proportion of men migrate seasonally for work in the Ivory Coast, leaving their land in the care of wives and brothers. (These two strategies are discussed in the Conclusions section.)

In this harsh context women's ability to function autonomously is critical to survival. They can no longer depend on their husbands to provide for them; indeed, their husbands, with poor harvests and little money to purchase grain, count on wives to provide for themselves. In some instances women rely on conventional sales of cakes, peanuts, and pottery for a few pennies for condiments; some women remain farmers, cultivating only in the hopes of filling their granaries. In contrast, those women who have been willing to risk family criticism or to step outside or modify traditional or accepted roles have been most successful at functioning independently, without relying on their

husbands for support. Money in particular gives these women independent decisionmaking power and assures them of being able to feed their children.

It is important to note that although some women have greater economic power, their power is used in the interest of their children and husbands. They do not, however, depend on husbands to care for them and, unlike the petty traders and farmers, if their husbands could not support them the women would have some means for surviving independently.

In short, the economic activities women pursue influence their status, independent decisionmaking power, and family survival. Five cases presented here illustrate this theme. 1.) Three farmers who, in their discussion of their crops, animals, cash, and money, brought out the relative importance of these types of resources. 2.) Two industrious vendeuses (market women) have profitable grain sales and explain the perceived rewards for both husbands and wives. 3.) The Islamic leader speaks for his wife while she quietly sells her animals for a tidy profit. 4.) The poor potter and her resentful husband have little tolerance for intruders. 5.) A migrant's wife has virtually no crops because of lack of rain but does not pursue independent economic activities and depends on her husband's brother for support; the brother-in-law resents intruders.

Farmers. Porgo Amadé, farmer and herder, is the oldest of three brothers and the chief of the concession. In addition to he and his wife Zoemboe there were Porgo Boucaré, farmer, and his wife Alizeta; and Porgo Tasseré, farmer, small merchant and

herder, and his wife Alizeta. The wives were each active as farmers and in their own small trading, although existing records report farming as their only economic activities.

The women work in their husband's fields in the morning and early afternoon, then they are free to cultivate their own. Each wife has her own fields of peanuts, sorrel, sesame, or beans. In addition, Zoemboe has her own fields of millet and white sorghum. Alizeta, Boucaré's wife, grows okra. Zoemboe's more prestigious and economically productive crops may reflect her status as the chief's wife. Certainly her grains give her greater access to important resources--the food staple or money if she sells some. In comparison, Alizeta's okra provides only sauce for t^ot, the porridge-like cooked grain staple, or a few pennies if sold. The harvest from all the wives' fields is stored in their granaries and remains there for consumption, or is sold a little at a time as money is needed.

During the rainy season the women's energy is channeled completely into the fields and the forthcoming harvest. During and immediately after the harvest, beans and millet are made into cakes which are sold from the home or in the market, sometimes hawked by the children, depending on the women's other obligations. These sales are intermittent, second to the harvest, and gains are small but just enough to purchase salt and condiments for cooking.

Both of the Alizetas buy cotton and spin it into thread. Boucaré's wife gives the thread to her husband to weave and sell; they share the profits, although Alizeta was reluctant to discuss the terms. Tasseré's wife gives her thread to someone else whom she pays to make into cloth.

The families use the cloth as they have done traditionally, as shrouds. Then they may sell the remainder to pay for funeral expenses. Tasseré's wife reported that she had spent money from the cloth for clothes for the children and a scarf, cloth, and shoes for herself, as well as for grain for her family. Members of the concession seemed to disapprove of Alizeta's Tasseré's use of her money, implying that she used money that should have gone to the funeral for her own needs instead.

Perhaps the cloth's ritualistic symbolism is the issue. Or, perhaps Alizeta is a renegade, deliberately having someone else make her cloth so she can remove it from her husband's control and sell the cloth herself or engage him to sell it but with greater profit for herself, since it is not his cloth. I see the traditional arrangement, in which women spin and men weave and sell, as an example of the unequal exchange that was discussed in the section on family farming systems. If Alizeta spins the cloth and gives it to her husband he may sell it in the market without guaranteeing Alizeta a profit. If, however, Alizeta gives her thread to someone else she bypasses her husband's control over her resource and may be able to sell the cloth herself. In this instance, Alizeta seems to have chosen to meet her own needs rather than family obligations; paradoxically

the family obligations may be designed to insure the continuation of the unequal exchange whereby the woven cloth and profits remain in the male's control.

This issue poses several questions. First, does having someone else make their cloth indeed give women greater control over profits, and if so, are women pursuing this option more frequently? Second, men have traditionally sold their cloth in the market; will women sell their own cloth from their homes or gradually make their way to the market? These questions are particularly relevant given the interest in cotton for domestic textile production and for export markets, and men's comparative advantage over women in the production of that cash crop.

Whatever the answers to these questions, Alizeta recognizes the power of money and ownership. For instance, when she uses her own money to buy cereal she keeps it in her own room, not her husband's gran[^]ery. If she has the money, she keeps the grain; she is not required to share it with others, nor is she dependent on her husband for food: "It's who has the money [that matters]."

Market women. Although women frequently sell cakes and condiments in markets, there are fewer who sell cereals. Hammond (1966) suggests that women prefer to avoid market competition or being seen selling their husband's grain. Purchases may be made from sellers' homes or alongside roads in an arrangement that benefits everyone involved, including husbands, producers, and the women themselves. Men[^] avoid spending too much time selling small amounts of grain for which they receive little profit;

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producers avoid coming to market without the necessary government papers, and also avoid government regulation of the market; women sellers keep their husbands from finding out they are selling grain that has been subtracted from what has been given by their husbands for meals (C. Dejou, unpublished manuscript, 1984).

That no ~~one~~ wants to sell their grain is clear; they do so out of necessity, only in small quantities, and with some embarrassment and secrecy.

Changing economic conditions ^{however,} may favor women's active participation in grain sales if they have the capital from animal sales, husbands' contributions, or loans to invest in purchases from commercants (merchants, traders), which would allow them to keep their own grain. [Women who lack ~~such~~ capital, ~~however,~~ ^{are} likely ^{to} perpetuate the current "alternative" market activities.]

Some women in urban areas have become large-scale commercants. In rural areas, however, women have been purchasing grain in smaller quantities and selling it in local markets. Several women have established such small-scale trade in the Mene market. Usually with some initial capital from their husbands they have purchased grain, which they sell for a small but greater profit than they would make by selling the more traditional leaves or cakes.

For instance, Ganamé Ousamé has been selling grain for six years. It just "came to her" to do this, primarily because during the dry season she wanted something to keep her busy; during the rainy season her priority is working in the fields.

Her husband matched half of the startup money and is pleased with the success of his wife's sales because now he does not have to provide her with everything. His support is noteworthy and will be discussed in more detail later.

Ousamé purchases grain from a commerçant in Mene. She decides what to buy based on how much profit she can make, but, her family's grain needs are an important motivation. She buys what her family will eat and uses what she cannot sell for them. All her profits are hers to keep. Although she uses some money for food, which means her husband reaps the benefits of her work indirectly, she does not rely on him for cash.

Yabow Salhiata combines her marketing with animal sales. At the time of the interview grain shortages had curtailed her marketing activity, and the potential importance of the woman's animals for continued economic security became more apparent. She has six sheep, which she can sell for \$8 to \$25, depending on their size and reproductive potential. Profits from these sales go for sugar, coffee, shorts for children and clothes for herself.

Salhiata has been selling grain for 10 years. She had grown tired of asking her husband for money for condiments and other things and decided to "find something else to do to make money." Her choice to trade in grains was made because she could realize a profit without needing to invest in preparation materials like oil or flour for cooked items. If she wants just a little money Sahiata can sell less profitable peanuts and legumes; these are purchased and resold rather than drawn from

her own stock. She gave up growing and spinning cotton three years ago, finding it an expensive and time-consuming process without much profit.

Islamic "housewife". Nacambo Issa did not grow up a Moslem, but adopted Islam in his young adulthood and has travelled to Mecca, spending 4 years at various jobs along the way. His first wife apparently stayed in France on the way back from Mecca and planned to return to Mecca, but she encouraged her husband to return to Méné to care for their parents.

Issa's second wife, he notes, "says she's Moslem but doesn't know God, doesn't pray from the heart. Ganamé Fatimata, who has been married to Issa for several decades, has had plenty of time to adopt Moslem customs, but leaves the house with her head uncovered, something a devout woman would never do.

Although Fatimata does not cultivate a garden, she is, nevertheless, economically active. Like other women, she spins cotton thread, which her husband weaves into shrouds. She makes a more substantial investment in animals, a particularly profitable one in the traditional economy, a source of prestige as well as a means of storing wealth. During hard times they may be sold. While men most often hold cattle, women own and tend smaller animals such as goats and sheep, which may be part of a bridewealth payment, as they were with Fatimata.

Even small animals make a significant contribution to the household economy. For instance, Fatimata has sold several sheep in the last year. Because her husband or sons are responsible for buying grain, a portion of the money is always given to her

husband. Most recently Fatimata gave him about 1000 francs (a little over \$2) of a 5500 Franc (about \$12) sale. The rest she kept for cloth, sorrel, or to send to her family (1000 francs). Thus, her control over these animals has also given her control over the income they produce.

At the same time, Fatimata reported she uses some money from her animal sales to buy grain. Issa commented, "In the old days you never bought food in the market." According to Islam it was men's work to cultivate, harvest, and provide for the family and animals. In the old days Fatimata's income from her animals was probably not important to family survival but would have been solely for Fatimata's own benefit.

he is to collect

Issa's approach to the distribution of grain also reflects the amalgam of Mossi custom, Islam, and economic necessity common to the area. According to Mossi custom, a wife never enters her husband's granary, for fear of illness or death. Although Islam does not ban women from going there, Issa adamantly denied that his wife would ever see the inside of his granary. Again, it is his responsibility to provide for the family and he, like other Mossi men, probably does not want Fatimata to see his depleted stock.

Similarly, Issa at once talked heartily about himself and his wife, but kept control over what and how much information was shared. Discussion about his wife and her activities took place primarily through him; although she was present for all of our first visit and most of our second it was difficult to determine how much he edited of his own accord. Fortunately, he and my

translator spoke a common Ghanaian dialect so translation problems were minimized and we learned quite a bit about Islam and this particular man's history.

Potter. Yalgo Mariam, the first wife of Kindo Boureima, is a farmer and a potter. As a farmer, she works in her husband's millet fields and cultivates her own peanuts, sorghum, and legumes. With a good harvest she is able to use everything for consumption. Recent harvests have been poor, however, and it has been necessary for the family to purchase grain. Mariam is unable to purchase her own grain and relies on her husband for food. She leaves these purchases completely to him; he buys cereal but she "doesn't know anything about it."

During the dry season Mariam makes pottery, pounding local sand or old pot shards with water and firing it with wood collected from the bush. Pots can be sold daily in Mene for pennies for the smallest to a little over a dollar for the largest. Profits go for buying cloth.

During the interview Mariam's husband came into the compound, obviously not pleased to see us. He refused to answer some questions about the source of grain and, along with his ill and frail mother who also lived in the compound, made several angry comments the informant would not translate. Mariam grew even more withdrawn, having been reticent in some of her answers to begin with. I left with the impression that the family was caught in a terrible bind: Kindo Boureima, who is trying to meet traditional obligations in the face of the reality of poor harvests, is unable to provide food from his own crops and must

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buy grain at now steep prices. Mariam has few valuable resources of her own: more legumes than grains, no animals, and a small trade that brings little profit and is subject to environmental changes that are making wood and water even more precious, particularly during the dry season when Mariam makes her pottery. With virtually no harvest of her own and little independent income, Mariam depends completely on her husband for food.

Migrant's family. Porgo Boucaré has been working at a coffee plantation in the Ivory Coast for 5 months. The migration is considered a temporary but necessary moneymaking strategy. Boucaré migrated with his second wife and their children, leaving behind his first wife and her children, in the care of Boucaré's brother, Raogo. Raogo predicts that if this harvest is bad, he too will migrate "because there is no food here. I will have to go to work to get money."

The year's crop looked wilted and was barely calf-high; the family anticipates an unsuccessful harvest. Previous poor harvests have forced them to buy grain from the local Gouvernement Villageois (Villager's Government); at this preharvest "hungry season" prices are steepest. With young children, grain goes fast.

Although the women can grow their own peanuts, sorrel, sesame and legumes, they've had "nothing to do" in the fields because of the drought. None of the harvest is used for sale; only a little is saved for the following year's planting. The women are not involved in other moneymaking activities.

In Méné I was twice threatened, by the potter's husband and his mother and by the migrant's brother, individuals in families that were particularly poor. These people understandably were angry with my inquiries about food and money. Both of these families had at least one member working in the Ivory Coast because they could not provide for their families. Agricultural productivity was reduced and the responsibility for additional family members was left to another adult male, who in turn might also leave for the Ivory Coast. One remaining wife was not only dependent on her brother in law, but because of the drought, unable to meet her subsistence needs, thus further increasing her dependency.

A large proportion of families in Méné have a family member working in the Ivory Coast. Whether their outlook and experiences parallel those of the families I visited and they would be equally angry is open to question. Perhaps the critical variable is the availability of a variety of other resources, such as animals or cotton, that gives them some flexibility in moneymaking and greater economic power. On the other hand, sole dependence on an unreliable harvest and on migration for wages weakens families' control and ability to survive.

Conclusions. There are several patterns to women's productive activities that have been illustrated here. Most activities complement women's farming and family obligations and are scheduled around farming activities. Cake sales are made during and after the harvest as legumes and millet become

available and pottery is made during the dry season when field work is not done; children may help in the preparation and sale of these goods.

Some activities, such as spinning cotton, can be done yearround and the cloth stored and sold at any time; this is one resource that allows the owner some flexibility in determining when and how to use it since it does not have to be prepared or stored or sold immediately. Presently there appears to be an overlap between using cloth for traditional shrouds or selling it for a little money; it would be informative to know what historical changes in these patterns are taking place, what significance is attached to sales of shrouds, and what potential there is for women to make money from sales of cotton and cloth.

Substantial resources, particularly animals and purchased grain, are means of storing wealth and providing women with fairly substantial incomes if sold. The women who have invested in these "goods" seem to be relatively secure, particularly in their ability to feed their families; furthermore, their independence may in fact strengthen families ties by preventing migration and assuring that all family members' need are met. Those women who rely on informal and intermittent sales while depending solely on their husbands for food, often purchased, seem particularly poor. In these families one might expect more desperate strategies such as selling family grain. In addition, in these families husbands tend to maintain control over food production and distribution, leaving women even more vulnerable to environmental and economic circumstances. This may, however

be a case of the rich get richer and the poor get poorer as women with resources to begin with are better able to make investments on their own and to develop their own interests independent of their husbands.

Clearly the ability to bring in cash is what gives women some independence and freedom. In this destitute region cash may indeed be the quintessential bottom line, surpassing food and animals as resources giving women decisionmaking power. Alizeta said that having money is what's important (or who has the money is the one who is important). Yet her sisters-in-law also have resources. For example, Zoembo has her own fields of millet and sorghum; her own granary was empty after 10 days and she had to purchase grain. The second Alizeta had animals, sources of milk and meat and status symbols. She sold the goats during the rainy season to have money for grain.

Family members are becoming forced to respond to declining food production and increasing cash needs by hiring themselves out for wages, rather than continuing to work the land. This pattern has emerged in Indonesia, where families traditionally have farmed together and now hire themselves out for plantation work (Palmer, 1983). In Latin America and the Caribbean, women frequently migrate to cities for employment as domestics (Buvinic & Youssef, 1978).

In West Africa able bodied men are migrating to cities and plantations, leaving behind older men, wives, and young children. In Burkina such migrations are often seasonal,

further complicating the situation. Environmental and economic threats continue. Family roles and responsibilities are reorganized.

One final social change that may in fact be a coping strategy for the Mossi is the acceptanceⁿ of Islam; there has been some speculation in the literature about the impact of Islam on Mossi life, particularly economic life. Hammond (1966) notes that "with the...growth in importance of market exchange, the importance of Islam has increased" (p. 180) by allowing converts greater flexibility in traditional economic and social cooperation with kin, and thus more opportunity to pursue other activities outside traditional confines. Converts can at the same time maintain security in the indigenous ancestral religious order through a sister's son by asking her to make sacrifices in the convert's name. Because the Mossi recognize a variety of supernatural forces and the efficacy of other religious systems, accepting Islam does not require the total rejection of traditional beliefs. Even an accelerated rate of change is less disruptive (Hammond, 1966, p. 182). Finally, for Mossi migrants abroad, Islam provides a common denominator, a source of social security and religious identity outside the traditional and local kinship network.

Hammond (1966) summarizes:"

[Traditional religion] could presumably continue to function well, but the result of contact beyond their own frontiers is leading the Mossi to economic opportunities which weaken

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the authority of the elders by providing young people with alternative sources of economic satisfaction based on a more individually orientated pattern of economic endeavor. Islamization provides a rationalization for defection from the traditional kinship structure and its system of rights and obligations. In addition it can provide...freedom from traditional economic responsibilities...[and] a lucrative alternative source of economic and social status (p.184).

single space

The acceptance of Islam in this community and its combination with traditional Mossi practices appears to favor men over women. It is true that whereas in Islamic tradition a woman is fundamentally subordinate to men and her freedom of movement and production are strictly controlled, Mossi women have always been entitled to their own land and its products. In Méné all but one woman I interviewed called themselves Moslem, and all had also maintained traditional economic activities. Unlike Mossi men who are able to pursue economic activities that require greater freedom from traditional ties, however, it is unlikely that the women will have as much freedom, given their family obligations and choice of activities that complement family life. For women, the more important factor seems to be the ability to generate cash.

Dankui

Dankui is a small village of about 500 located in the sudan zone in western Burkina. With ample rainfall (600-1000 mm), varied soils, and groundwater resources (C. McCorkle, personal communication, August 11, 1984), this area is the grain surplus region. Three ethnic groups make up more than 90% of the total population: the Bwa, Mossi, and Fulani. The Bwa, the indigenous and predominant group, control the land, although granting access to Mossi and Fulani is only a matter of formality. The latter groups maintain their rights with yearly ritual offerings to the Bwa chief of the land (C. McCorkle, personal communication, August 11, 1984).

The Mossi and Fulani reflect internal migration patterns, movements west from the Mossi plateau and southwest from the Sahel. Migrants from the Mossi plateau have been in the area for about 15 years. The Fulani, typically a nomadic tribe, began settling here in the 1970s.

Women's activities, status, and food-related patterns among the three ethnic groups of Danqui are compared here. Particular attention is given to the impact of women's economic assets on traditional food distribution practices. This section also illustrates the weaknesses of the housework classification in studies of women's work in the Third World, as well as compares reproductive and productive activities. Women's involvement in cash cropping is also noted and further research suggested.

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The following cases are included. 1.) Wives from two Bwa households present different attitudes toward women's roles. 2.) A composite picture of Fulani women's activities represents what is known as "reproduction." 3.) A Mossi migrant describes food consumption practices when her husband is absent. 4.) Poor and wealthy Mossi men present their attitudes toward women's roles and their opinions about women's contribution to family farming or financial stability; the women reflect the impact of differences in access to resources on economic autonomy.

Bwa: dependent and independent women. Mossi men are obligated by duty to provide land for their wives, for the women's own cultivation, consumption, and sale. The Bwa, however, do not give land to their wives; women simply look for land near their husband's fields and farm it. Because their husbands don't give them money without some pressure, women usually plant condiments for sauces so these do not have to be purchased (I. Traore, personal communication, August 28, 1984). Unlike the Mossi, Bwa women may enter their husband's graneries. The wives do, however, ask their husband for grain because "he's the chief;" they must also report how much they've used.

Although male dominance in decisionmaking is traditional among the Bwa and fear of their husbands is attributed to Bwa women (I. Traore, personal communication, August 28, 1984), this pattern is not universal in Dankui and it was interesting to attempt to account for differences. In Bagnoaua Ouro's traditional family, the husband is strong and the women do everything for him, are threatened by him and his authority (I.

Traore, personal communication, August 28, 1984). The women were very reluctant to discuss their activities, perhaps fearing the children would report their answers to Ouro.

The women do not have their own fields, so they cultivate only their husband's cotton and grain. The family does not sell their cereal but must purchase some from a local market or OFNACER, the government-run grain distribution office. Ouro owns animals; his wives do not.

Both of Ouro's wives have moneymaking activities, however. Tamini Mousanhan makes dolo, a dark and pungent sorghum beer, once or twice a week, at about \$1.25 profit per batch. She makes the brew year round but during the dry season, when sorghum to brew the beer is more expensive, her profit on the unchanging price per calabash diminishes. She buys the grain on credit because her husband doesn't want to give her money for dolo brewing. This makes her financial status precarious. She also sells potash for sauce in Dankui and a nearby village, but only during the dry season and only when she's not brewing dolo.

The second wife, Séeni Siwemawé, also brews dolo. In the past she has sold potash, but this year she has been cultivating a portion of her husband's tobacco fields and work has been particularly demanding. Her husband pays Tene about \$1.20 to take the tobacco to market, or about 10% of the total profit on a \$12 a bag.

A contrast comes from the household of Tamini Biobo, who offered no resistance while we were there and appeared delighted that we wanted to talk to his wives and not him. His parting words were, "Good, now I can get back to work."

Both wives, Bikaba Bierroma and Nana Téné, have their own tobacco fields and sell their harvest in Dankui or a nearby village. One wife makes about \$12 a harvest, the other about \$16, depending on the quality of the leaves and the demand. Both use their profits to purchase cloth and plates. Bierroma sells grain or bean cakes in the village, and occasionally dolo from her home. She purchases the sorghum and sells the brew all in one day for a profit of about \$1.50.

In addition to grain the husband cultivates cotton. The wives commented that he was "supposed to put the money back into the family," implying he did not, but without clarifying where it went. This situation, where the husband maintains control over profit from cash crops, has been documented elsewhere (Boserup, 1980b).

Nana Téné remarked, "Women should have some economic independence or they will suffer." These two women have reported to CRED that their work was housework, although they maintain their independent sources of income. In ironic contrast, however, Ouro's wives identify their activities as fieldwork and dolobrewing although they have little freedom in amassing an independent income.

Fulani: reproducers. Both Fulani concessions we visited revealed remarkably similar economic and consumption patterns, and will be discussed together here. Unlike the Mossi, Fulani women are not restricted when it comes to using their husband's grain, except by availability. As one man said, "After I put it in the granery I never look at it again." Older women in particular make decisions about what and how much grain to use or buy, and often are in charge of meal preparation.

Similarly, the women do not cultivate their own fields, nor do they cultivate with their husbands, who are responsible for meeting family food needs. Bary Mahamoudou, chief of his concession, explained his people's customs. "If you see a Fulani woman cultivating, her husband is Mossi." It's against traditional law for a Fulani women to raise a daba [hoe], whether for weeding or for working alongside her husband in the fields. A kitchen garden is acceptable, however. One woman, for instance, cultivates her kitchen garden on a portion of her husband's land and uses the produce for family consumption, not for sale. There appears to be some age difference in the choice to cultivate, with higher status older women, even those who are middle aged, claiming they are "too old" to garden. In addition, the younger women are responsible for meal preparation, so there is less need for older women to grow their own vegetables.

Women's moneymaking strategies are intermittent and render only pennies of profit, if pursued at all. During the dry season the women make mats from savannah grass, primarily for the family's use. Occasionally colorfully woven platters are sold. One woman sometimes plaits hair for a little money.

Perhaps the most profitable activity is selling milk, an efficient complement to the mens' herding. Mahamoudou's daughter-in-law, Tal Alarba, milks several times a week during the rainy season, bringing in a few pennies for each louche, (gourd containers) ~~of varying sizes~~ she sells.

In good years milk can be traded for grain but in drought ridden years like this people prefer to pay cash for milk (C. McCorkle, personal communication, August 11, 1984), which is not as profitable a trade for the Fulani. Furthermore, cash purchases of grain, which are conducted in markets, are made by men and take some control out of women's hands.

Fulani women perceive their money as belonging to their families. For example, in one household a woman used money from milk sales to buy cola nuts and condiments. She remarked that although the money doesn't go directly to her husband, he still reaps the profits by consuming the purchases!

Mossi: immigrants. Mossi Guira Amidou and his family migrated to Dankui about 10 years ago, after leaving their birthplace in the northern part of the country and living for several years in the Ivory Coast. The family's land was given by the Bwa chief of the land for a request, 1000 francs, and a chicken. The family gives the Bwa chief a yearly gift of 2 tines

of grain (16.2 kg or 18 kg with the traditional "cap") to maintain their rights and good standing. Recent poor harvests have made this gift difficult for some families to release from their meager storage, creating bitterness and confusion in the traditional system (C. McCorkle, personal communication, August 11, 1984).

The family maintains a residence in Ouarkoye, a nearby village larger than Dankui, but spends most of the rainy season in the bush near Dankui. This pattern is common among the Mossi who have settled here.

Once a Mossi has received land he may give some of it to his wives. Bibata's land is near the house, allowing her to remain close to home. There she cultivates peanuts, okra, and beans for consumption only and for next year's planting. Like her husband, she is Muslim, and identifies her domestic work as her primary role.

Bibata works in her husband's cotton fields and spends some of the money he gives her for clothes for the children, cloth, and other small items. Although she sells prepared cakes, grain sales are more profitable. To reduce costs she sends her children by bicycle to purchase grain at a distant market and resells it for a \$5 profit. She also sells collected or purchased karite nuts from the karite tree in season for about 2500 francs per 50k bag or for a total profit of about \$12.

Bibata remarked that she gets not only money but pleasure out of these activities because her time is occupied in the evening. She would like another wife to join the household to help with the heavy work load and make life more interesting.

After the harvest, Amidou visits relatives in the Ivory Coast for a month. I was curious about how the family handled the Mossi rule forbidding a wife to enter her husband's granary if he were absent. During Amidou's leave Bibata sends her children into the granary in Dankui. In Ouarkoye, however, she has free access to a bag of purchased grain her husband has left to last until his return. This presents more evidence of family adaptation to changing economic circumstances, even when it means modifying long-accepted traditions about food distribution. In addition, that bag of grain is likely to have been purchased from OFNACER at the cheapest time of the year; it seems to be more *utilitarian*, and less controlled by ritualistic prescriptions about granary storage and access.

Mossi gentry. The chief of the Mossi quartier, Niata Seydou, provided a contemporary interpretation of the centuries-old tradition enforcing male control over access to the granary and the natural penalty of illness or death for women who disobey. Seydou said, "The wife will run away if she sees [how little] is there!" Clearly men are dependent on their wives for virtually every aspect of agricultural subsistence production, food preparation, and now assistance with cash cropping. They cannot afford to lose their wives.

Seydou's first wife, Belem Bibata, is timid and quiet and defers to her husband, but controls her own assets in several forms. Bibata has her own fields of millet and corn, as well as peanuts and beans, all of which she cultivates for family consumption. She has her own granary as well, which she stocks with beans and bags of grain she has from her fields or which she has purchased. When her stock is depleted (about 3-4 months after the harvest) she goes to her husband and follows the traditional pattern of requesting grain and, in his absence, relying on a child to secure the grain from her husband's granary.

When her husband has no more grain to lend Bibata, she sells one of her own animals to buy cereal. Children cart the animals to a nearby market then buy the needed grain with profit from the sale.

Belem Bibata has land, animals, and money. She carefully maintains an independent food supply. She can rely on her own means to feed her family rather than counting on her husband for what he may not be able to provide, as he too admits.

Her economic independence is beneficial for the family, rather than threatening to family ties. As long as Bibata and her children can rely on her means, family stability can be preserved. If such a delicate balance between people and resources were shifted, the family would be forced to consider new alternatives, such as male migration.

Mossi lower class. For Porgho Bourema the tradition keeping women out of the granary has become not just something to joke about, as it was for Niata Sedou, but an unrealistic pretense. Porgho, a Mossi, has two wives and 14 other family members. They were one of the poorest and least healthy families I saw. Although the wives should ask their husband for grain, they go ahead and help themselves to it.

Both wives have individual fields of grains and legumes, although the produce, which lasts about three months, is not enough to eat for the year, and certainly not enough to sell. Last year the family purchased 14 100k sacks at one time, which lasted the rest of the year. Perhaps the grain the women have of their own gives them greater power relative to their husband in times of scarcity, and the collectively purchased grain erases some of the traditional boundaries separating one person's grain from another's.

Individual and family moneymaking strategies are limited. The chief grows cotton and sells it for an agreed-upon amount to the government-subsidized textile manufacturing company, as he has for 14 years. His wives spin the leftover cotton into thread and he weaves it into cloth, which is only occasionally sold to neighbors. Practically every family spins, weaves, and sells at the same price, so demand is low.

Conclusions. Dankui offered the opportunity to clarify some important points about women's work, including differences between production and reproduction and changes in women's work

in response to changes in the economy. Changes in women's roles have a potentially powerful affect on family life, and this situation has been met with mixed results.

Although feminist materialist theory proposes that the emergence of the "housewife" is associated with male domination and women's confinement to the home, in Dankui the term "housework," if used to label an individual's primary productive activity, does not accurately represent women's work, and provides no measure of the meaning the word implies to the women who use it. Bwa and Mossi women who say their primary productive activity is housework are in fact involved in a variety of moneymaking activities.

Relative to the Bwa and Mossi, however, Fulani women are much less active in production, have little economic independence, and might more accurately be called housewives. Their activities can best be described as reproductive in the sense that they feed back into household and family maintenance but confine women to particular roles and duties within the household and limit their economic freedom.

If anything, it appears that women's roles in the economy are becoming diversified and more important, and that tranformations in traditional roles are taking place. Because of population pressure male outmigration, and poor harvests, women, who are responsible for feeding their children, have and increasingly important role in household food production and distribution, and must combine traditional and preferred farming with income-generating strategies. Belem Bibata, wife of the

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Mossi chief, represents this subtle shift in women's place in the economy as she harvests her own grain and sells animals to buy her own bags of grain as she needs it, over which she maintains control. Her access to resources gives Bibata greater control over decisions that affect her life--and money--and her children's lives, including their health. It is also noteworthy that her husband pokes fun at the Mossi tradition limiting women's access to grain, and recognizes the importance of Bibata's contribution to the household. In a sense he is approving of her autonomy; we will return to this issue later.

A second change is a new balance of power between husbands and wives that may be emerging as a result of cash cropping. Women's work is becoming increasingly vital and they may be negotiating the terms by which they will contribute their labor. On the other hand, they may be giving up their own subsistence production and relying even more on their husbands' generosity in providing grain or cash. Changes in husband-wife decisionmaking strategies as the result of the introduction of cash crops has been observed in rice paddies in Cameroon (Jones, 1983). This subject bears further investigation among the Mossi in Burkina, who have adopted cash cropping, particularly of cotton, and are thus entwined in the textile industry's wholehearted campaign to produce cotton for export and domestic manufacturing. In particular, the influence of cash cropping on women's access to grain for consumption and sale should be considered.

An additional and somewhat less optimistic observation about the impact of socioeconomic changes on family life can be made. Traditionally marriages are arranged among similar groups with common family interests. The woman moves to her husband's family's home; as long as he is a villager from Dankui or a nearby village, family ties can remain fairly secure and family obligations maintained. Most villagers who were asked about plans for their daughters' futures said they prefer for their daughters to marry farmers rather than commerçants or other more urbanized males. A commerçant who travels and perhaps lives in a town or city would be more likely to threaten traditional family ties and take the daughter to a strange and distant urban setting. In addition, the commerçant is removed from the land, the very source of traditional roles and spiritual life. Bourema, however, from his notably poverty-stricken household said, "Whoever comes first is OK to marry, a farmer or a commerçant." Perhaps traditional cultural patterns have become economic liabilities for his family, and the most pressing concern is that the women marry so he can be free of the responsibility for their care.

There are, however, limits the work a marrying daughter would be permitted to do; Bourema's daughter would continue to cultivate. Like other villagers, Bourema saw his daughter working in the fields, planting, weeding, harvesting, collecting water and fuel, assisting with cash crops, and selling a few goods for money for condiments. Because women do all this work, it is in any male's best interest for women to continue in this

traditional role, particularly as the men assume greater profit-making activities like cash cropping and do not have the time for subsistence farming. With few resources at his disposal Bourema, like Niata Seydou, recognizes a wife's contribution to production. Unlike Bibata, however, Bourema's wives and daughters have few resources of their own and thus little way to establish economic autonomy.

Baré

Baré, a village of 1000 in southwest Burkina can be located on the map, near Bobo-Djioulou. About 25 km from the city, Baré is relatively accessible. Traveling from Bobo, about half the trip is made on a paved road running from Bobo toward Ouagadougou (see the map in Appendix B). Small commercial traders must travel through Baré to reach an established market nearby. In the last year Baré has begun its own market and traders now reach the village on a regular, planned basis.

The Bobo-Djoula and Bobo-Fing, both part of the more general Bobo ethnic group, predominate. Some Fulani live in the area on a more or less permanent basis. Baré is home to a surprising proportion of war veterans who fought with the French. They have returned not only with knowledge of and ties with the West, but with military service pensions.

This interchange between Baré and contemporary urban life and trade gives the village a unique character. Villagers with means have the opportunity to engage in their own commerce in

Bobo or to sell urban goods in Bare. It is the effect of this rural-urban exchange that is the focus of discussion. The cases provide a contrast between traditional and urban life. 1.) Two businesswomen have extraordinary resources in Baré and urban Bobo; one in particular illustrates the powerful impact of assets on household decisionmaking. 2.) A young dolo brewer reflects enduring traditions. 3.) A widow and subsistence farmer with little or no independent income depends almost completely on her son. 4.) Three wives combine traditional farming and occasional sales of agricultural produce.

Small businesswomen. The first two women I will describe have their own businesses, with transactions taking place in Bobo and Baré. These women reflect the contemporary, urban influence on village life.

^kYonté Bintou is the fourth and oldest (age 55) wife of Sanou Dramané. Although all Sanou's wives are economically active, Bintou is the most enterprising. She has a history of small trade in Bobo, where she sold bean and baobab leaves, produce, and Maggi boullion for sauce before she moved to Bare after her first husband's death. She has continued these sales in Bare, but has added bottled beer and soda, more profitable items. In addition, Bintou prepares and sells peanut butter balls for sauce and other condiments when they are available.

Bintou buys beer and soda once a week from a truck that travels the route from Bobo. She sells about 5 cases a week at 350 CFAs per case profit, or about \$4 profit per week. At a penny a piece, peanut balls are not a big money-maker, yet only 2 or 3 women sell this staple ingredient for sauces and it may be a quick way to bring in some additional change.

Bintou travels to Bobo 2-3 times a week to purchase the produce she sells in Baré. Undoubtedly Bintou knows her profit, but was inhibited by her son's unexpected presence; she declined to discuss any other details of her moneymaking activities after his arrival. Clearly there is a demand, however, as several villagers made purchases from Bintou's home during one interview.

Konoté Doussou is one of Bintou's competitors. The wife of a sedentary Fulani, who is a successful farmer and a war veteran, Doussou was unlike any other women I met, in Baré or elsewhere. With 250 cattle of her own, she possesses the most highly valuable assets available. Livestock is a short term moneymaker and long term investment; milk can be sold on a regular basis; if crops fail or extra money is needed the animals themselves bring a sizeable cash return.

Doussou employs three men to milk, then sends the milk to Bobo, where her sister sells it for 125 CFAs per calabash. Occasionally the bulls are sold when they are sick, or they are used for food.

Doussou has the only working grain mill in Baré; the other two, which are broken, are owned by men. She has had the mill for about 5 years and has seen that business grow. Village women grind grain for 35, 45, or 50 CFAs per container, bringing Dossou about 3500 CFAs per day, a steady \$7-\$8 year round.

The last 5 years Doussou has had a magazine, which allows her to buy grain immediately after the harvest when it is cheapest, to store it, and to resell it at a profit throughout the year. She buys up to five sacks of red and white sorghum and millet, which she sells in September, October, and November. After that she buys smaller amounts of grain, about 1000 CFAs worth at a time, and resells it for 1500. This is also stored in grain sacks in the magazine. Doussou also owns a magazine in Bobo.

The family's consumption patterns were unique. Dossou is completely in charge. She chooses from bags of grain from her husband's fields that have been stored in the magazine. Dossou then gives the grain to a resident in their home who prepares the meals, a wife of one of the guardians of the cattle. Because Dossou prefers corn meal to other types of grains, that is the substance of their tot.

Several nonrelatives live with Dossou and Salif (they have no children) and care for the animals for the couple, drawing some salary. There is also a young woman who prepares meals and does not receive a salary, but perhaps her work is considered her contribution. With many villagers related by generations of marriages among kin, these residents may be

considered part of the family. The young woman's contribution to domestic chores may be expected, while the men's income-generating work with the animals may require financial compensation.

Doussou's household is an interesting blend of old and new. Although she is Bobo, her husband is Fulani. Like Fulani women who do not cultivate, Doussou limits her cultivation to gardens near the house, and her family's livelihood is based on livestock.

Although Doussou's freedom may come from her mixed ethnic and religious status, it is her money that gives her power. Doussou has her own small business, one that could be considered more formal than informal, more consistent than intermittent, and shaped by careful decisions rather than the needs of the season. She has free access to grain and is responsible for decisions involving its use; she invests and reinvests her money into various income-generating activities.

Dolo brewer. A traditional and important part of village life is dolo drinking, which is typically done at a dolo brewer's home and is a social event. Most people drink the thick, pungent brew, and each quartier (neighborhood) has its own brewers.

Sanou Koliya is a dolo brewer. She purchases red sorghum from local produce sales in small amounts at a time (it is too expensive for her to buy in bags). Each batch of brew takes 4 tines of grain. Three batches are made each month, so Koliya uses 12 tines, or about 2 bags of sorghum.

Koliya, like other brewers, sells the dolo by calabash, which is priced according to size and the price of grain. There is, however, little variation in price; each dolo brewer charges the same amount. Koliya was evasive about her profit, but she spends it on cloth and spices.

As the youngest wife and a recent mother, Koliya is responsible for preparing daily meals for her husband. She steadfastly insisted that because she is forbidden to see her husband's granary, she must ask him for the grain for his meals. When the husband is absent, he appoints a young child to go into the granary, where the child crawls in through the small opening at the top. Koliya asked a young girl to demonstrate this process, and it became apparent that physical reality as well as custom prevented her from retrieving the grain herself. The hole, which is at the top of the granary to minimize access by scavengers, is an unseemly entrance for wives and mothers.

Farmers. Unlike Koliya, who has a baby at home, 64 year old Serewouro works in the fields every day. Although she has brewed dolo in the past, because of a shortage of grain she has not done so this year. She reports that people are buying the grain along the road before it gets to Bare and there is little left by the time it gets to town. She doesn't have time to go look for it. Serewouro is a recent widow, however, and an expensive funeral has probably limited her financial resources. It is common for funerals to go on for weeks, with the family entertaining the entire village.

Serewouro reported no additional moneymaking activities. While we were there, however, she spread a cloth with handfuls of peanuts, which she sold for 5 CFAs to children who stopped by, probably taking the nuts to their mothers for the upcoming noon meal. This illustrates an additional observation about measuring women's work. Activities which are intricately connected with subsistence production may not be considered "economic activities" in women's minds, nor in the eyes of the community. This was clearly the case with Serewouro's peanut sales. That these activities are productive as well as domestic or reproductive has been recognized (Lewis, 1984), but if women themselves are unaware of the meaning of the question, such information may be lost. This may be further complicated when the profit is returned to the head of household; in this case Serewouro gives the money to her son Ardjuma, who has assumed family responsibility since his father's death.

Dafra, Sin, and Soukab, the wives of Sanou Sopoossira, are farmers. Each has a field of peanuts for consumption, not sales. Although they worry about this year's lack of rain, they have been able to hold over a reserve from last year's harvest. In the past these women have sold karite nuts in the market but this has been a poor year and not many nuts have been available. Each wife does make regular trips to the market to sell spices and leaves for sauces. One trip will bring 300 to 400 CFAs, less than one dollar.

Both this family and Serewouro's represent the traditional economic exchanges between men and women, whether husbands and wives or mothers and sons. Sopossira's wives are financially dependent on him and return a large amount of farm labor for grain and other necessary support. Following her husband's death, Serewouro's son Ardjuma became head of the household; he is responsible for his mother and has final decisionmaking authority. Serewouro's labor and occasional income from peanut sales go directly to Ardjuma.

Conclusions. Baré's unique location influences its social fabric and the activities of women who live and work there. A curious combination--of bottled beer and dolo, hand weeding and machine milling, French and Djoula languages, and radios and drums--exists side by side. The relative richness of the land provides natural resources that do not exist in Méné. The wealth of some villagers has provided financial, mechanical, and commercial resources not available in Mene or Danqui.

In Baré the Groupement Villageous, which is an innovative government-sponsored community farmer's group, takes on various projects villagers agree to support, including buying and selling local grain, an enterprise the government is eager to promote in this region because it is a potential source of grain and produce for other parts of the country. Because of time limitations I was not able to explore women's involvement in the organization, either directly or indirectly through their husbands.

I was, however, able to meet with members of a women's community group in Méné. Its purpose is to develop farm and village improvement projects and to provide assistance to villagers who need help with labor or money. Originally formed as a sort of auxiliary to a men's organization that started some 19 years ago, the women's group began about 16 years ago. First a political group organized around dolo drinking and ties to the village chief, the men's group developed humanitarian and agricultural conservation interests. The membership now includes about 75 men and women primarily from one quartier in Méné, although anyone may join.

The men and women work together to plant trees, build an experimental water filtration system, gather and lay gravel in fields and along roads to stop erosion, and buy a mill for the group. Other projects follow the more traditional patterns of male and female division of labor, with men constructing of houses and wells and women helping villagers with their fields. The women have developed projects of their own that have been quite successful, particularly with the help of the local extension agent, Marcel. Marcel loaned the group some peanuts to plant that eventually brought in enough money to buy a donkey. Later he loaned them money to purchase a cart, which they now make available to other villagers for a trade of grain or for a small fee. During our discussion, the women indicated that they worked with the men's group when the project was something they could do together. They have, however, developed their own organization--and treasury--which offers them some independence,

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particularly in access to resources they have purchased themselves, such as the donkey and cart, and to loans and credit when needed.

With this in mind, it is to the government's benefit to identify and develop women's participation in village groups such as the GV. From the discussion in Mene it seems that women are important to a group's success, particularly as the work involved in many activities is organized along the traditional division of labor. In addition, excluding women from village groups deprives them of important resources that could give them greater economic freedom and productive capacities. Seperate groups for women, however, as long as they are awarded equal input from experts and financial contribution, would probably allow women the maximum freedom and control over their own resources.

Conclusions

Three regions of Burkina Faso were visited and women's productive activities in each region were investigated. Variations among ethnic groups were explored. Of particular interest was the linkage between economic activities and family food consumption, within the environmental context of each region.

The three regions varied in terms of the level of desperation families felt with regard to their futures, and in the coping strategies they used. The Mossi plateau, where Méné

is located, is generally known as the grain deficit area for the imbalance between food productivity and availability and population needs. In Méné the situation is grim, and outmigration is a common strategy for balancing people and resources.

The surplus region, the Volta Noire district where Dankui is located, allegedly produces more grain than it needs, and the government grain redistribution program is based in part on the assumption that if food can be moved from grain surplus to deficit areas the population's food needs could be better met. Although the area is indeed quite lush, the gradual effects of desertification and immigration are being felt; like villagers in Méné, those in Dankui are hungry and fear a poor harvest; some have admitted that they have, for the first time, eaten the seed stored for the next planting. As one strategy for dealing with their circumstances families in Dankui appear to be accepting cotton cultivation as a means to produce income to purchase grain.

The southwestern part of the country where Baré is located is agriculturally diverse and productive. Some villagers market goods in nearby Bobo; others are involved in the Groupement Villageois and pool their resources for financial security. The norm, however, appears to be a concentration by farmers on continuing to produce enough to meet their own food needs.

The obvious difference among ethnic groups was Mossi acceptance of Islam, while other ethnic groups continued to practice animism (or, infrequently, Catholicism, and that again in Bobo). This was true in Méne, where the village is almost entirely Mossi, and in Danqui, where Mossi had migrated from the Mossi plateau. For those who live or were raised in deficit areas, Islam may provide needed relief from traditions that limit Mossi movement, income generation, and food consumption practices. Under Islam Mossi become freer to adapt by migrating to cities or plantations and by recognizing women's increasingly more important contribution to food supplies.

Interviews with women about their independent economic activities have indicated that women are producers as well as reproducers. They are involved in a range of activities, from farming and selling a few peanuts or gourds of okra or sorrel when a little cash is needed, to raising a large herd of livestock and maintaining a small business. Their activities are directly related to their autonomy in the household in terms of dependence on husbands for cash, and degree of control over decisions about food consumption. Two women who have already been discussed, Doussou and Serewouro, represent the extreme ends of this continuum; an "average" woman in Burkina can be drawn as a composite from the trends that emerged across interviews.

Doussou has (a) property in the form of a mill in Bare and magazines in Bobo and Bare; (b) longterm investments in livestock; and (c) a regular means of earning an income from her retail sales of produce, grain, condiments, and milk. The fact

only irregularly. Her children often assist in the preparation or collection of items for sale and accompany her or make the sales for her while she continues her other responsibilities and return the money to her at the end of the day.

The "average" woman is gradually becoming more aware of the importance of her sales as an independent, autonomous means for purchasing food for her children, particularly as the changing environment makes agricultural production unreliable and the family inevitably has to purchase grain. In the deficit areas or in poor families a woman's independent economic contribution already has been particularly functional for the family, as she often has provided the means to maintain the delicate balance between resources on the one hand and environmental and economic pressures on the other, in effect short circuiting the need for alternative. In short, women's resources seemed to be an important factor in family decisionmaking about survival strategies.

Women who maintain their own fields appear to have greater economic power because they have some independent means of providing food for themselves and their children. However, environmental problems and economic fluctuations leave women whose only resource is land in a precarious position. Furthermore, as population pressure and commercial farming increase men gain control over land; older women lose their land and young women are never given access.

Women who are presently involved in cash cropping may already have been divested of their land. At this time in Burkina, however, it is more likely that out of economic necessity women have found it necessary to shift more and more of their energy from cultivating their own land to helping their husbands with cash cropping. Again, if women lose their land or other independent means in the process, they become particularly vulnerable, relying on their husbands for support within the context of an unpredictable environment and economy.

Indeed, the critical factor in establishing independence and an ability to care for children appears to be the ability to generate an income. Only fairly substantial incomes, however, are helpful. Pennies earned through sales of cakes, milk, pottery, dolo, or cloth, the most common strategies for women, are insufficient to provide economic independence. Such sales may make an "invaluable contribution to the household economy, [but] they hold little potential for increased economic autonomy among women. Quite to the contrary, home trades reflect women's increasing dependence on marginally employed men to make household ends meet" (Jules-Rossette, 1982, p. 8). On the other hand, sales of animals, grain, and commercial items such as bottled beer provide women with enough cash for the freedom to make independent decisions and give them more power in the family.

This is the impact of women's economic independence on food consumption: When women have enough money to purchase grain they control its consumption. They don't need to ask for money

to buy grain for their children and they have more control over its use. They also bypass their husband's decisionmaking authority because they do not have to ask whether they can take the grain from his granary.²

Women who have established some degree of economic independence and decisionmaking autonomy have at least recognized if not fully accepted a shift from subsistence agriculture to a cash-based economy that has made income-generation so important to women's and children's welfare and the entire family's stability. At the most effective and autonomous end of the continuum the woman becomes active in the larger economy outside her household and perhaps outside her village, at least in terms of making contact with commerçants from urban markets. At the other end, she is dependent on a marginally productive husband for financial support, and is herself makes only pennies from petty trade. Doussou and Serewouro illustrate differences in integration into the larger economy. Although both have lived in Bobo, only Doussou maintains contacts and business there. She is integrated into the larger market economy, while Serewouro confines herself to her fields and village as she traditionally has done. This is not to say that Serewouro is wrong for maintaining what her family and ancestors expect of her, but rather that Doussou has recognized and predicted the consequences of the changes that are occurring and how she might control her own place in those changes.

The difficult and frightening aspect of this social change for older women, for those whose husbands refuse to allow their wives some freedom, or for the women themselves who fear change, is that women are in a fundamental sense challenging traditions that have regulated their behavior and the relations between the sexes. Women with any resources and control over them--Doussou and her business competitor Bintou in Baré; Bibata in Dankui; and market women and women's group in Méné--were reluctant to discuss their endeavors with their husbands or older children nearby, suspecting their intrusion into their affairs and the consequences--their resources usurped by the men. At the same time, the women who were most controlled by their husbands--Ouro's wives in Dankui; the migrant's family in Mene; Serewouro in Baré--were most reluctant to talk to me, probably feeling threatened by my interest in their wives and my own independence.

The task at hand is to identify the factors that explain variations in women's integration into the larger economy and economic independence. I discuss here the relative impact of religion, age, husband's support, and access to resources on integration into the market economy and ultimately on economic independence and power in household decisionmaking. Doussou and Serewouro again provide an illustrative contrast.

Both Doussou and Serewouro are from the same village and the same ethnic group. Their religious beliefs and ages differ: Doussou is 44 and Moslem; Serewouro is 64 and animist. Doussou's religion of Islam, in its surprising combination with Africa's

strong tradition of women's involvement in marketing and animal care, allows her greater freedom to pursue her business. A word of caution, however, regarding the impact of religion. As was discussed in the section on Méné, it could be predicted that although Islam gives people greater economic freedom than animism and weakens traditions controlling access to grain, women still have less freedom than men simply because they are women; other sets of constraints limit their autonomy.

Although some differences between the women might be attributed to age or generation, it is unlikely that these explain much in the long run, as one could identify the same differences across age groups and within the same generation. For example, Bintou, who sells bottled beer and "retail" items ^{and} is Doussou's business competitor, is Serewouro's age.

More important than either religion or age may be husband's attitude toward women's roles and his financial support of her endeavors, as has been documented in research about women's work in the U. S. In Burkina the pivotal nature of husbands' support was apparent in several cases; in Méné the market women in Méné who had started their businesses with their husbands' assistance; in Méné the tacit though reluctant recognition given by the Iman to Fatimata, who made major financial contributions to the household with her animal sales; and in Danqui Niata Seydou's acceptance of the importance of his wife's resources relative to his questionable supply of grain.³ In

^A contrast to these instances of approval was in Dankui, where ^A Ouro's disapproval of his wife's dolobrewing had a damaging affect on her financial stability.

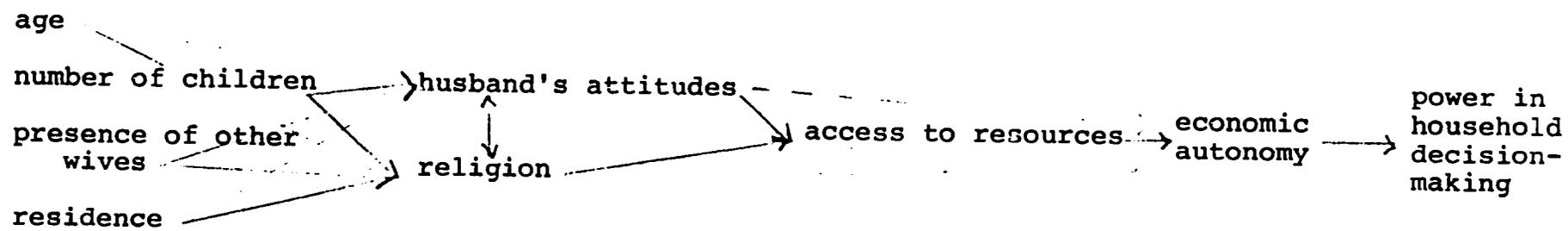
Based on the results of this re⁰prt ^A the following model is suggested. The reader will note that age and other demographic factors such as family size and structure (e. g., how many children are present; whether there are other wives who share household tasks;) operate through religion, husband's support, and access to resources to affect economic autonomy and control over decisionmaking about family food consumption. The ability to use resources to generate an income is the ultimate determinant of economic control and influence on household decisions, including the distribution and consumption of grain. This model is hypothetical, drawn from the results of the field work; further research should clarify aspects of its structure and dynamics.

Insert Figure 1. here

This work has several policy implications for development planners working in the areas of credit; cash cropping and land distribution reforms; agricultural extension; and grain distribtion and consumption. Each of these areas are discussed here.

Women's independent activities, particularly in trade, are important and should be encouraged; strategies enhancing economic resources, such as loans and credit for small

Figure 1. Women's Economic Autonomy



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businesses, should be developed. As it is now, women with some resources to begin with are the ones who can invest and reinvest in animals and other products for profit. Those without money are at an immediate disadvantage, although they may be most in need. For them, credit is an important resource. Tamini Mousanhan in Dankui, for instance, buys her sorghum for dolo on credit. Her husband will not loan her money for her business so she cannot rely on his assistance; if credit were unavailable she would not be able to continue. The village women's group in Méné makes loans available to members, enabling some women to purchase larger quantities of grain, small animals, or even simple but necessary goods that are from time to time unaffordable.

Cash cropping has already altered the traditional exchange of labor between men and women; the particular situation in Burkina should be explored further so that those who are promoting cash cropping can make informed decisions about land use, prices, labor, and food availability. One major reason families change their land to cash crops is to make money to purchase food; the income they receive for cotton, however, must be quite substantial to make up for the loss of subsistence crops, and the scramble for food and money catches them in a vicious cycle where their needs for each are inadequately met. In addition, men adopt cash crops while women remain responsible for feeding their children, leaving women even more dependent on men for cash to purchase food; with primary control over resources, however, men hold the primary decisionmaking power regarding the distribution of profits and subsequent purchases. Removing

subsistence land from women, either for cash crops or for land reform schemes, has a potentially devastating effect on family productivity and the ability to meet food needs, depriving them of not only food crops but an additional source of income from peanuts, sorrel, vegetables, or ^ofoods prepared from ~~produce~~.

Extension agents must recognize the power of community organizations, such as the Groupement Villageois and the neighborhood group in Méné, to make improvements in agriculture and conservation practices. The traditional division of labor that determines the types of activities carried out by men and women should be considered in planning certain activities (e. g., construction or planting). In addition, because as groups men and women are often segregated, care should be taken to identify existing women's groups or to develop new ones that, because they are women, can specialize in important productive activities.

The impact of women's economic autonomy on family food consumption, particularly during poor harvests, is a neglected aspect of development projects, which tend to limit work to narrowly defined grain production, consumption, and distribution projects. In this report work and food are part of a larger productive system, and women's access to moneymaking resources enhances their ability to feed their families. From this perspective women's activities are directly linked to individual and family welfare.

Based on the conclusions the following questions for further research are suggested.

1. Do women who own animals and/or small "businesses" from which they sell substantial amounts of grain or modern items (e. g., bottled beer) have greater independent access to grain?
2. How do women's independent means influence household decisionmaking processes, particularly with regard to grain use?
3. What impact has cash cropping had on women's farming, particularly use of her own land and time spent on her land and on collective land. Do women in Burkina work for wages paid by their husbands or do they simply assist him? What is the impact of the arrangement on household decisionmaking?
4. What supports do women need, particularly those who have little access to land, credit, agricultural inputs, or animals?

Burkina, like other countries in the Sahel, challenges researchers and service providers to understand and intervene in the unique and difficult problems it faces. In particular, the ways in which people are able to secure money and food are vital to meeting basic human needs, and these two activities, generating food and money, are linked. One important issue that those involved in development projects face is understanding women's changing position in the economy, their responsibility for family welfare, and their access to resources that enable them to meet their needs.

FOOTNOTES

1. The informant in Bare was related to Serewouro and advised us to approach the subject of her husbands' death gingerly. Thus we were judicious in our questioning, particularly because she was already somewhat reluctant to talk with us.
2. They may also determine what type of grain is consumed, how much, and to whom it is given. Although a preference for feeding males has been suggested in some literature, the dynamics of that decisional process, such as variability in women's access to resources that enable her to generate enough food for all her children, have yet to be explored. Susan Kahn, formerly of Catholic Relief Services' Maternal and Infant Feeding Program in Burkina, also suggested that the greater dependence on cash and women's ability to purchase grain was changing traditional food distribution patterns.
3. There is no question in my mind that Seydou recognized the importance of his wife's contribution, particularly because he readily explained the practices limiting access to grain. He did not, however, want to reveal the extent of her importance to family security, and grew quite angry about questions regarding the details of her income, I suspect because he did not wish us to know the extent of his dependence on her.

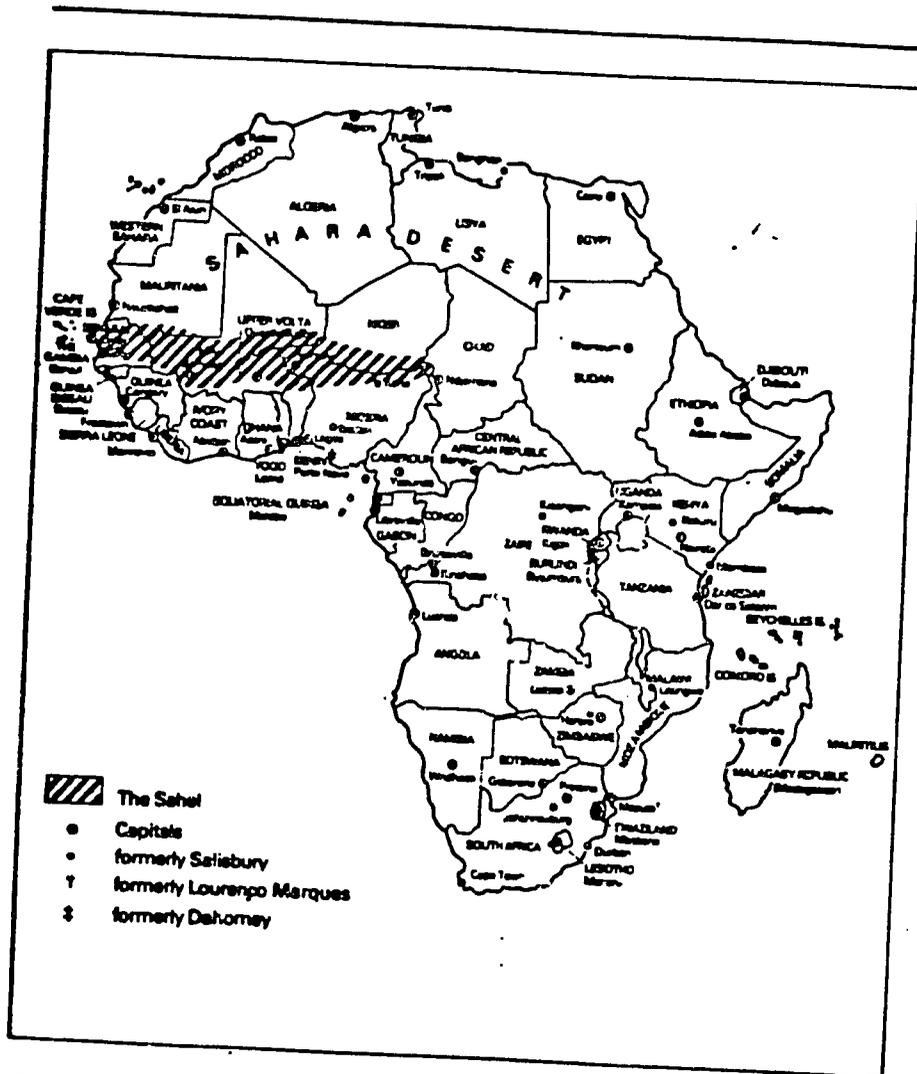
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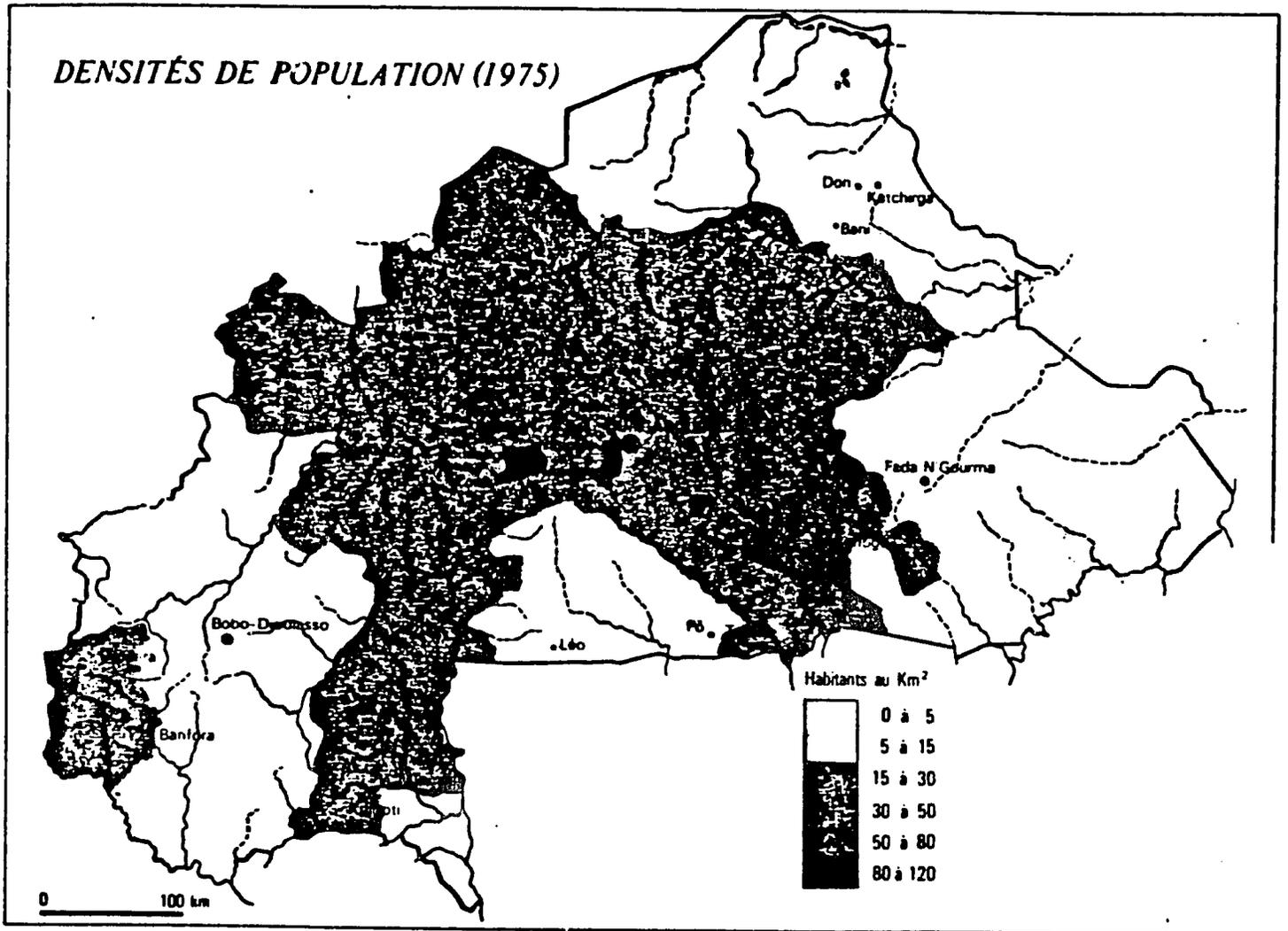
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APPENDIX A



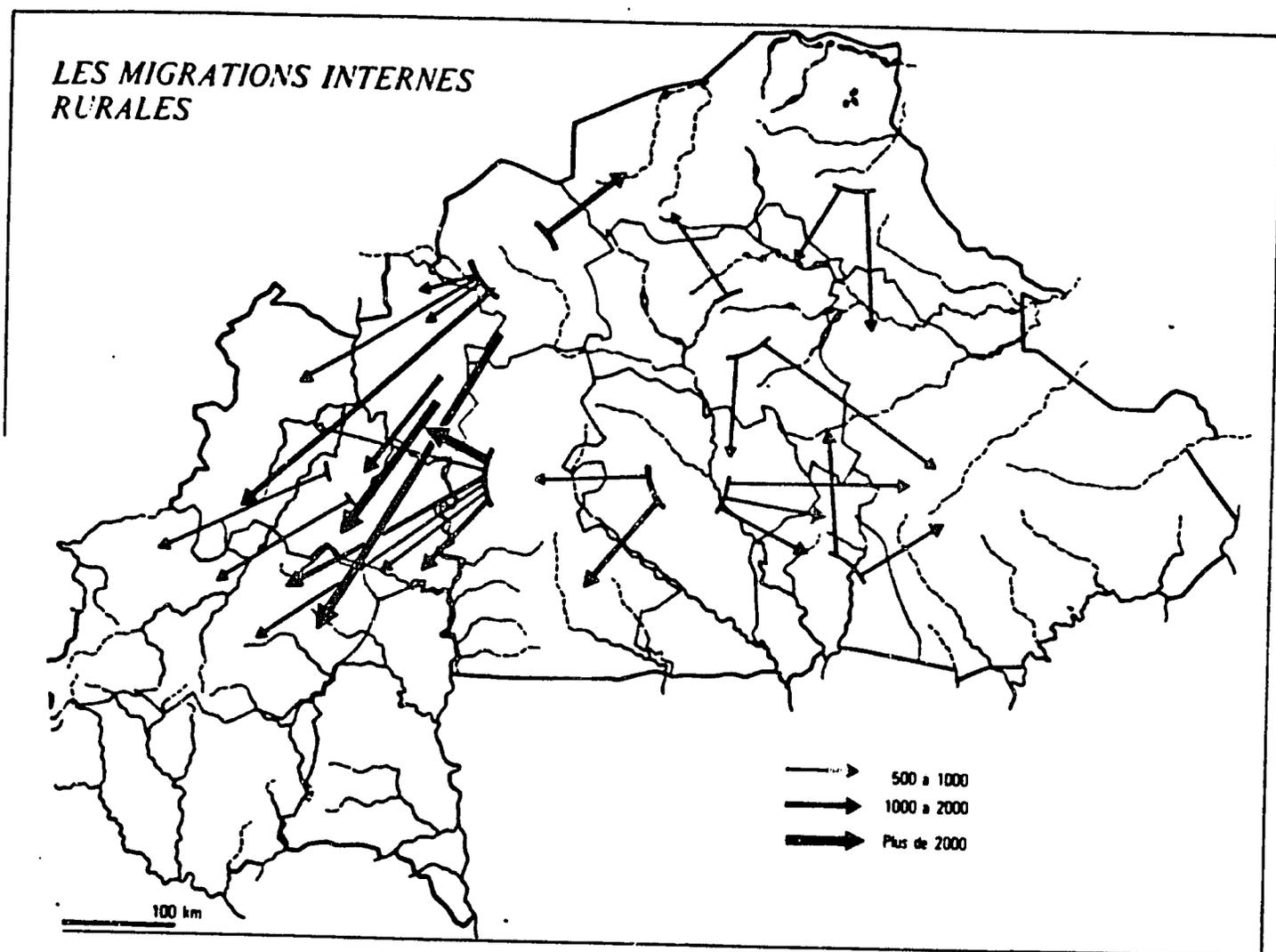
Contemporary Africa
 Source: Africa Report Magazine, publication of the African-American
 Institute, updated in Jan. 1980 by M. Wiley, Michigan State University.

APPENDIX C



Source: Y. Peron & V Salacain, Atlas de la Haute-Volta.
Paris: Editions Jeune Afrique, 1975.

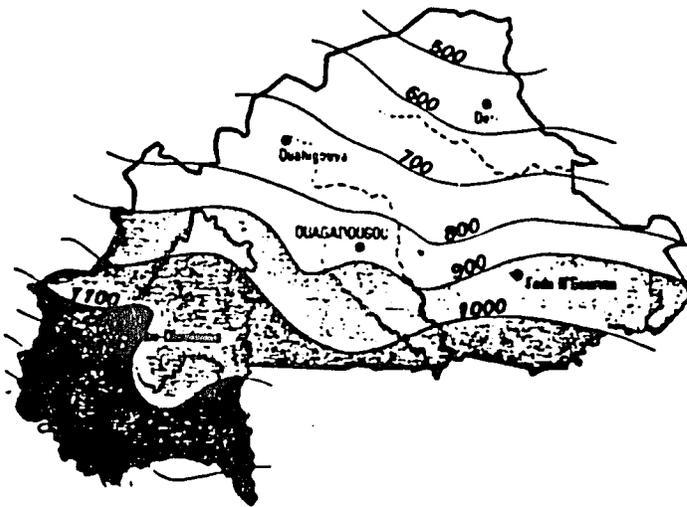
APPENDIX D



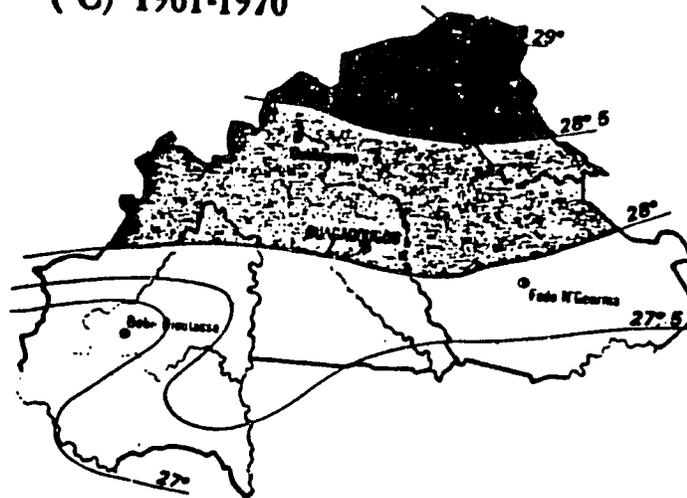
Source: Y. Peron & V Salacain, Atlas de la Haute-Volta.
Paris: Editions Jeune Afrique, 1975.

APPENDIX G

Précipitations moyennes annuelles
(en mm) sur une période
de 25 ans



Températures moyennes annuelles
de l'air
(°C) 1961-1970



Source: Institute National d'Education de Haute-Volta, Géographie de la Haute-Volta. Paris: Edicef.

APPENDIX H

Opening: What have you done today? or What are you doing right now?

Cultivation

What crops of your own do you cultivate? Is this your own land?
How did you get it?

Do you sell what you grow? Something made from what you grow?

If sold: during what season?
how often?
for what price?
in what quantity?
where?
about how much profit do you make?
what do you do with the money you make?

Economic Activities

What (else) do you do to make money?

during what season?
how often?
for what price?
in what quantity?
where?
about how much profit do you make?
what do you do with the money you make?
how long have you been doing this?

Consumption

What do you usually eat?

What do you prefer to eat?

How many times a day do you eat?

Who eats with whom?

Who decides what to prepare? Why?

Where does the grain come from?

Who prepares the food?

Do you have your own granery?

How long does your harvest and storage last?

Did you have to buy grain this past year? Where?

Other Questions, depending on location and situation

Do you spin cotton into thread? What do you do with it?

If given to someone to weave, do you pay for the weaving?

If husband weaves, what does he do with the cloth?

If cloth is sold, for how much? how often?
what is done with the money?

Where do you get the cotton?

Do you yourself have animals?

Do you buy or collect firewood?

Where?

If bought, How much (quantity)? How long does it last?
How much did you pay?

Do you think your daughter will be a farmer? Do you want
her to be a farmer?

Do you think women should have their own source of income?

APPENDIX I

Subjects by Household
Husband and Wife/Wives*

I. Meñe

A. Farmers

1. Porgo Amade (chief of concession)
Belen Zoembo (wife)

Porgo Boucaré (brother of chief)
Porgo Alizeta (wife)

Porgo Tasseré (brother of chief)
Porgo Alizeta (wife)

B. Market Women

1. Ganamé Ousamé (missing data, fiche not obtained
by oversight)

2. Nacambo Yarouna (brother of chief)
Yabow Salhiata (wife)

C. Islamic Housewife

Nacambo Issa (chief)
Ganame Fatimata (wife)

D. Potter

Kindo Bouriema (chief)
Yalgo Mariam (wife)

E. Migrant's Family

Porgo Boucaré/Raogo (son of chief/brother)
Gouname Minata (wife)

*Plural wives are only reported when they were interviewed

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II. Dankui

A. Bwa

1. Bagnoaua Ouro (chief)
Tamini Mousanhan (1st wife)
Seeni Siwemawé (2nd wife)
2. Tamini Biobo (chief)
Eikaba Bierroma (1st wife)
Nana Téné (2nd wife)

B. Fulani

1. Bary Mahamoudou (chief)
Bary Djougnoma (wife)

Bary Adou (chief's son)
Tal Alarba (wife)
2. Tal Aruna (chief)
Tal Binta (wife)

C. Mossi

1. Guira Amidou (chief)
Mandé Bibata (wife)
2. Niata Seydou (chief of quartier)
Belem Bibata (wife)
3. Porgho Bourema (chief)
Nakambo Azeto (1st wife)
Beleme Djeneba (2nd wife)

III. Baré

A. Business Women

1. Sanou Dramane (chief)
Konaté Bintou (3rd wife)
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2. Sangare Salif (chief)
Konoté Doussou (wife)

B. Dolo Brewer

1. Sanou Bernard (chief)
Sanou Marcel (chief's son)
Sanou Koliya (son's wife)

C. Farmers

1. Ardjuma (chief)
Serewouro (mother)
2. Sanou Sopossira (chief)
Sanou Dafra (1st wife)
Sanou Sin (2nd wife)
Sanou Sokab (3rd wife)

DEFINITIONS

commerçant (Fr.): merchant, trader

daba: short-handled hoe

dolo: traditional sorghum beer

quartier (Fr.): neighborhood

t^ot: porridge-like cooked grain served with sauce

vendeuse (Fr.): female merchant, trader

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- Street, M. Mennonite Church. July 28, 1984, Ouagadougou.
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(translation & consultation)

III. GÉOGRAPHIE ÉCONOMIQUE

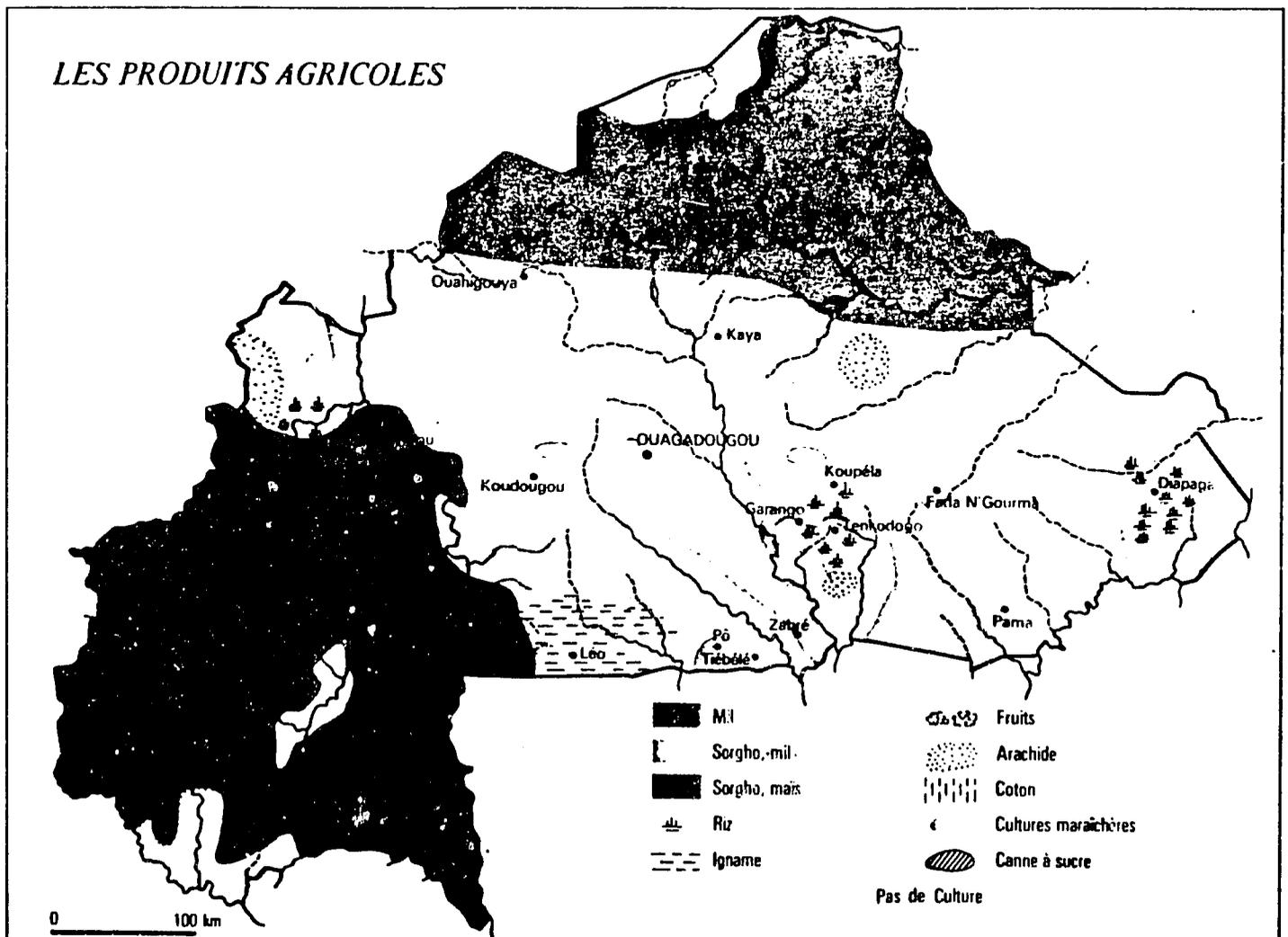
Chapitre 8 : L'agriculture

Enquête à mener par les élèves.

Avant d'aborder ce chapitre, nous conseillons au maître d'ouvrir une enquête sur les produits agricoles de la région. Le marché de la région, les concessions des élèves, la station agricole sont autant de références pour une moisson suffisante d'informations.

Exemple de questionnaire :

- Quelles sont les principales cultures de ta région ?
- Classe ces cultures selon leur importance.
- Cultive-t-on plus ou moins de coton aujourd'hui ? Pourquoi ?
- Classons par analogie ou ressemblance les échantillons que nous avons apportés en classe.



I. GÉOGRAPHIE PHYSIQUE

Chapitre 4 : Climat et végétation

Observe la position de la Haute-Volta sur la carte physique de l'Afrique.

Que remarques-tu? La Haute-Volta est située juste au sud du Tropique nord et juste au nord de l'Équateur. Son climat et sa végétation dépendent de cette position.

I. LE CLIMAT

Le climat de la Haute-Volta est **tropical**. Il est caractérisé par deux saisons :

- une **saison pluvieuse** appelée hivernage, de mai à octobre, ou novembre,
- et une **saison sèche** de décembre à fin avril.

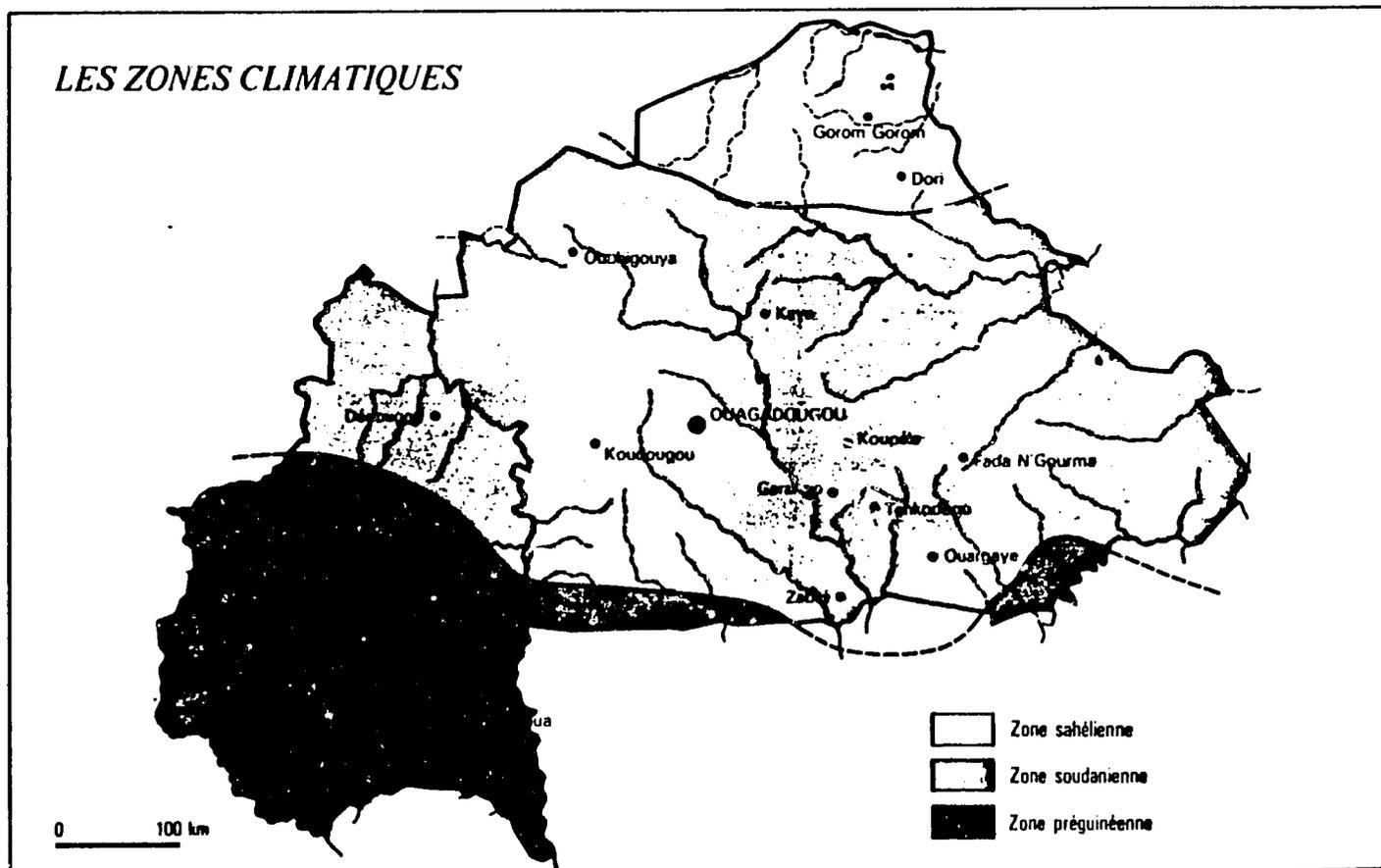
1. La pluviométrie

La pluviométrie est dans son ensemble irrégulière. Du sud au nord la durée de la saison sèche croît un peu parce qu'on s'éloigne progressivement de la mer : de 7 mois environ dans les départements des Hauts-Bassins et de la Komoé. Elle atteint 9 mois dans certains endroits du Sahel.

La pluviométrie influence la végétation qui se trouve assez abondante au sud, clairsemée au centre et presque inexistante au nord dans le Sahel.

L'abondance des pluies et partant la répartition de la végétation, permet de distinguer trois zones :

- la zone préguinéenne, la mieux arrosée;
- la zone soudanienne, moyennement arrosée;
- la zone sahélienne où les pluies sont rares.

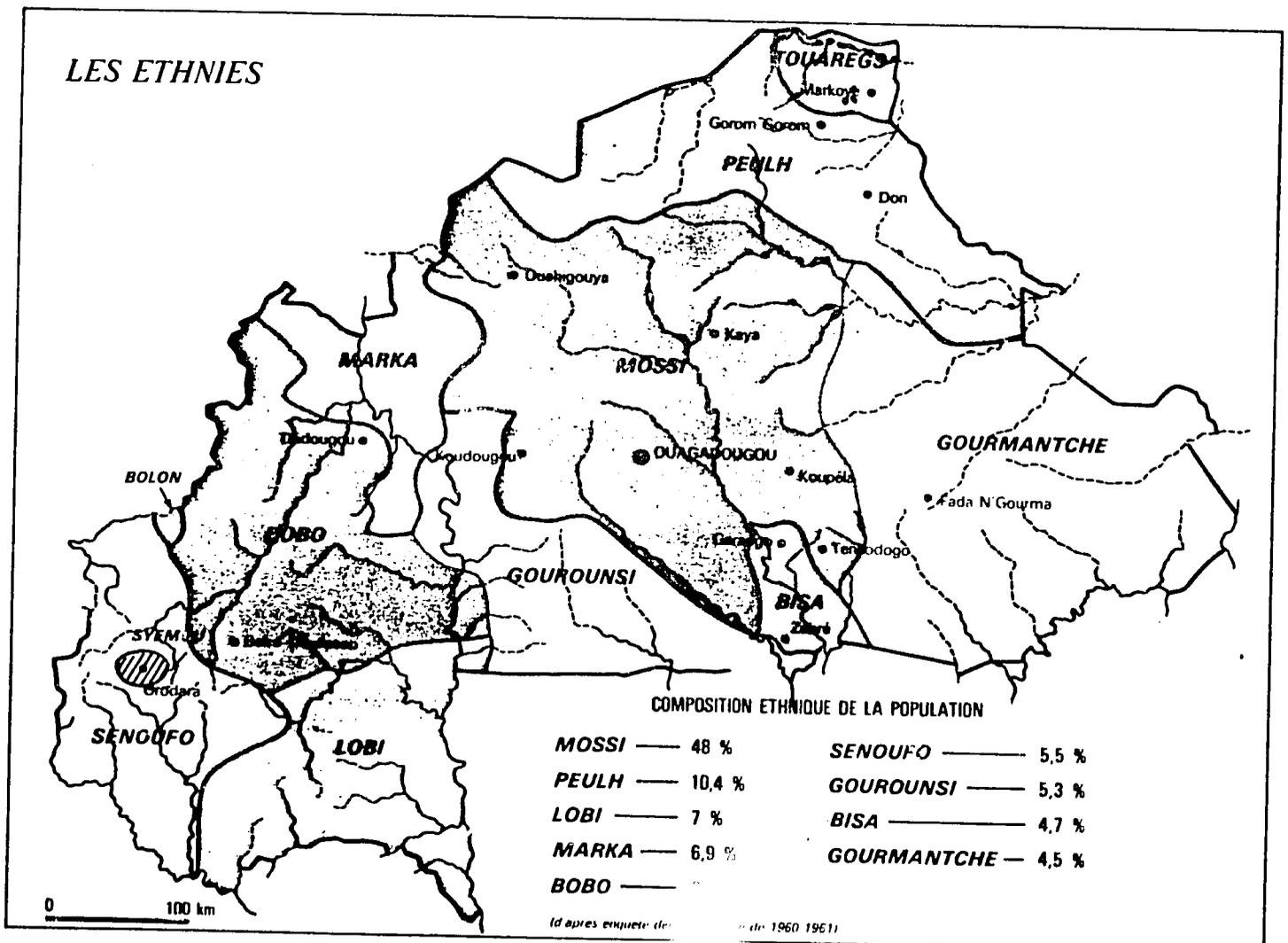


II. GÉOGRAPHIE HUMAINE ET POLITIQUE

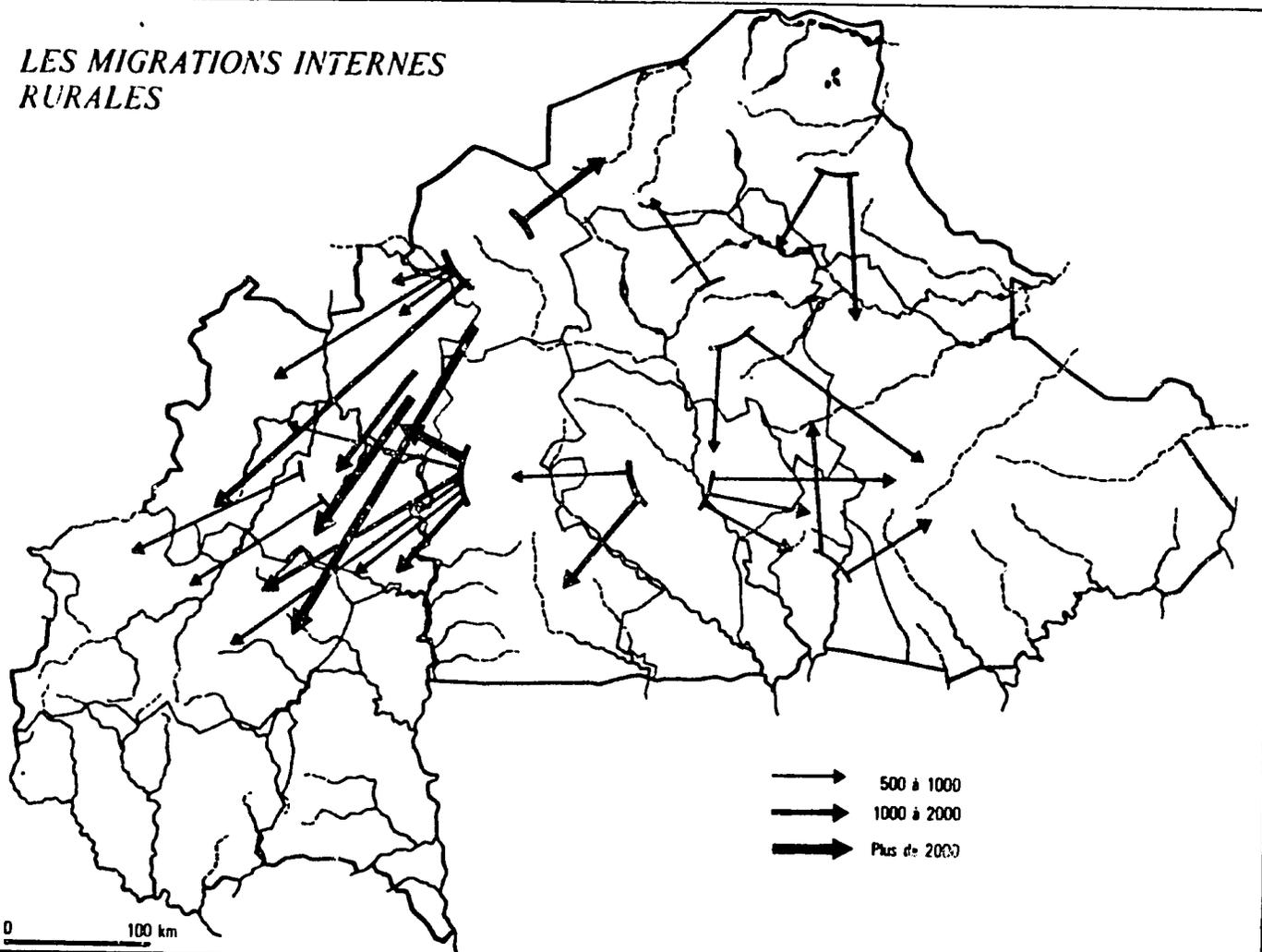
Chapitre 6 : La population de la Haute-Volta

La Haute-Volta est l'un des États francophones de l'Ouest africain les plus peuplés. Sur 274 300 kilomètres carrés vivent environ 6 320 000 habitants, soit une densité moyenne de 23 habitants au kilo-

mètre carré. Cette population se compose de Mossi, de Bobo, de Peuls, de Samo, de Gourounsi, de Gourmantchés, de Sonraï, de Touareg, de Dagara, etc.



LES MIGRATIONS INTERNES RURALES



Scène de battage. ►

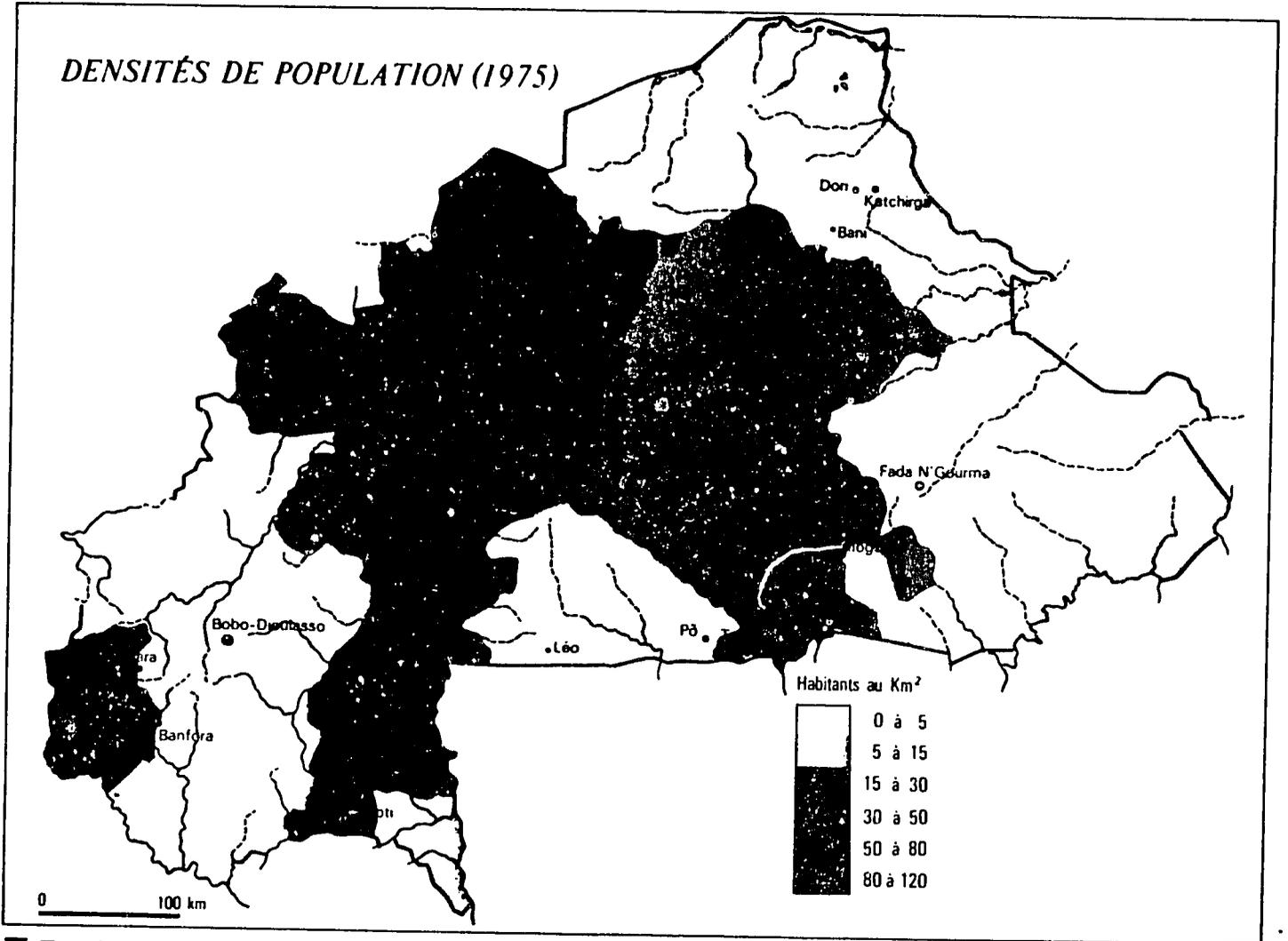
REVENONS

La Haute-Volta a une population de plus de 6 000 000 d'habitants et une densité d'environ 23 habitants au km², ce qui est important pour l'Ouest africain.

Cette population est composée de nombreux jeunes qui émigrent facilement :

1. A l'intérieur, vers les villes et les terres plus riches de l'ouest;
2. Vers les États voisins, pour des emplois saisonniers ou permanents.

DENSITÉS DE POPULATION (1975)

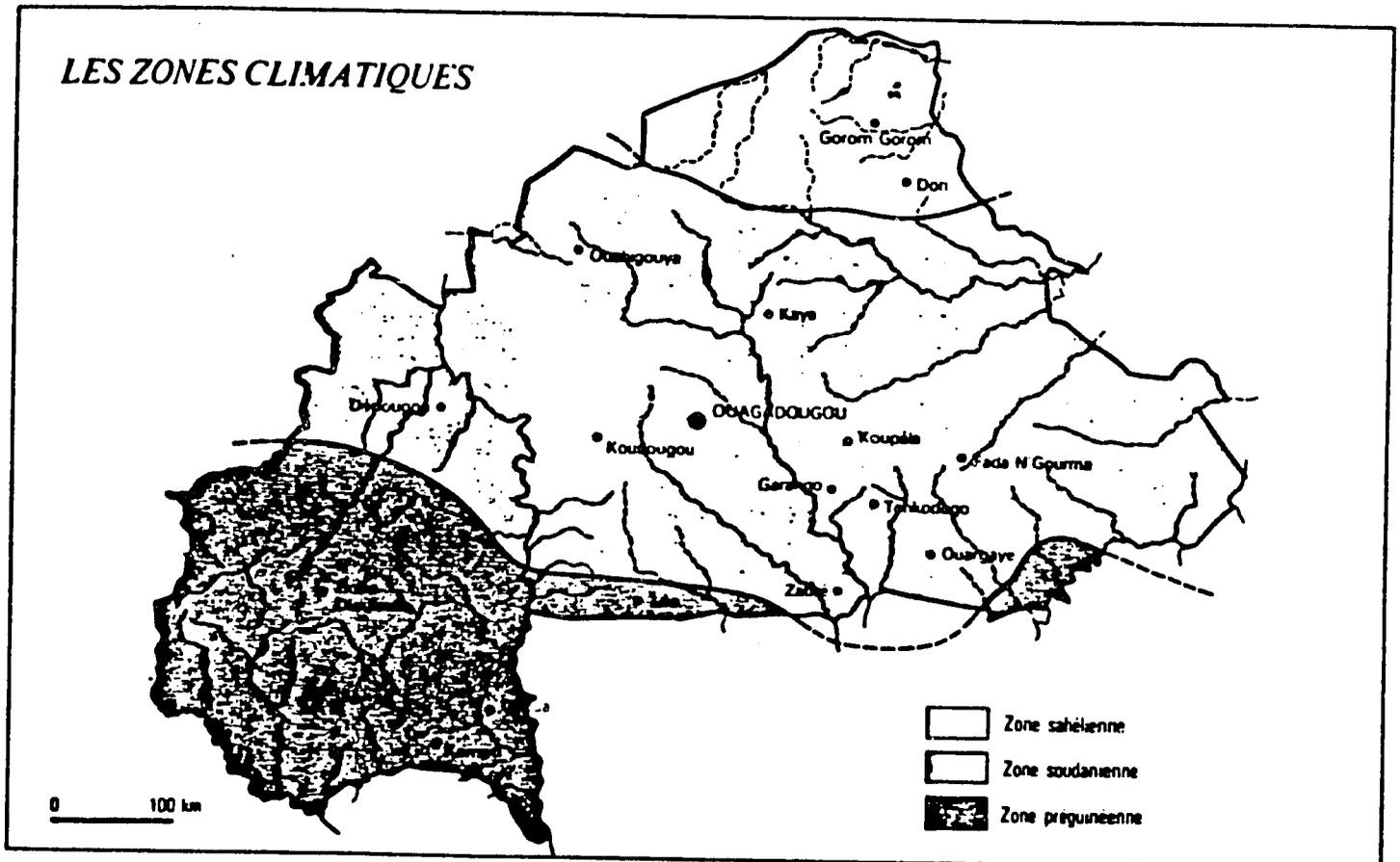


▼ Type Mossi.

▼ Type Bobo.

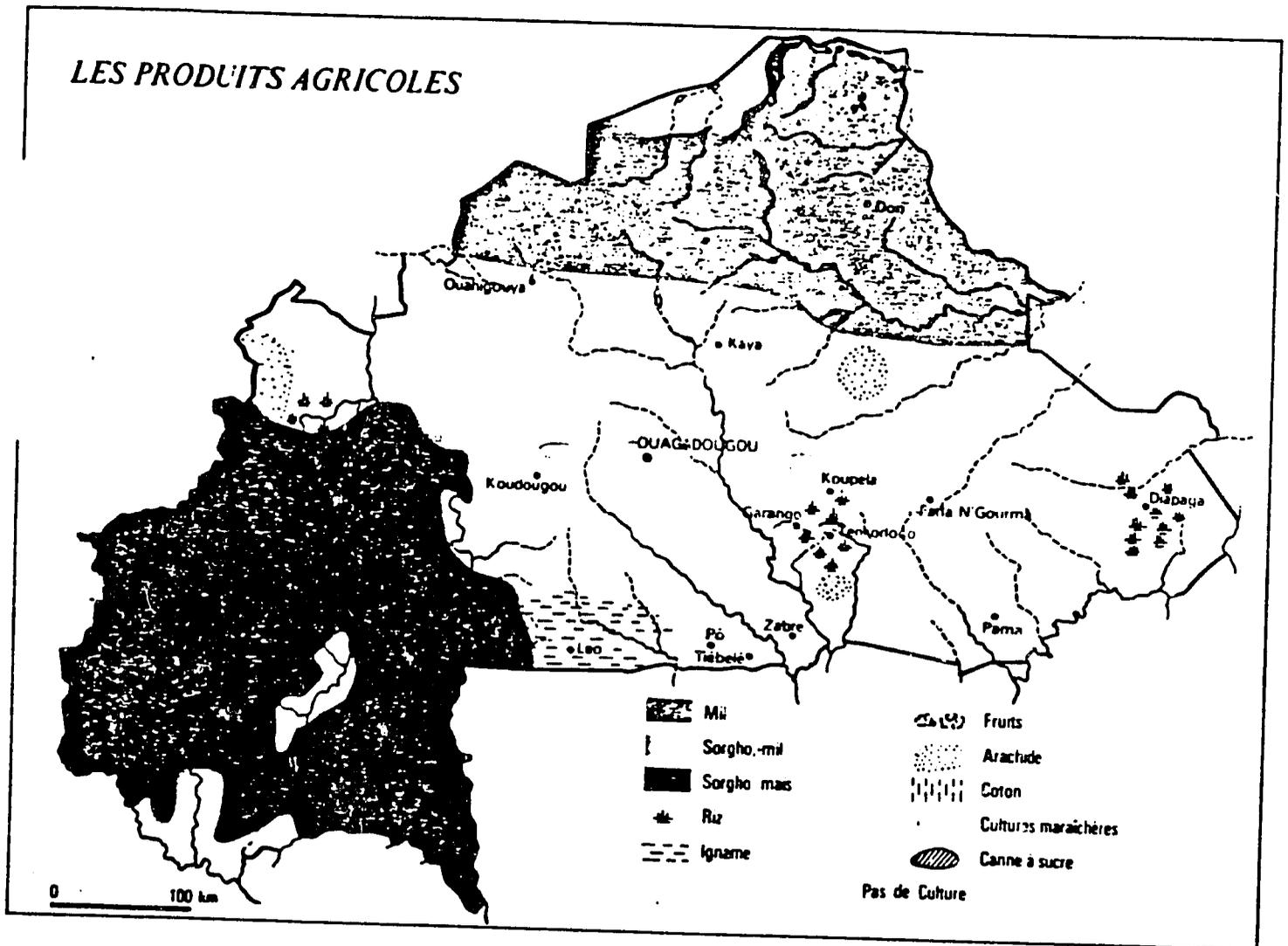


APPENDIX E



Source: Y. Peron & V Salacain, Atlas de la Haute-Volta.
Paris: Editions Jeune Afrique, 1975.

APPENDIX F



Source: Y. Peron & V Salacain, Atlas de la Haute-Volta.
Paris: Editions Jeune Afrique, 1975.