

Zaire

AID/W

WORKING PAPERS

PNABG403
ISN=68842



MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

THE "WILD," THE "LAZY" AND THE "MATRIARCHAL":
NUTRITION AND CULTURAL SURVIVAL IN THE
ZAIRIAN COPPERBELT

by
Brooke Grundfest Schoepf
Woods Hole, MA

Working Paper #96
September 1985

Abstract: The Lemba of southeastern Shaba in Zaire have retained a distinctive form of matrilineal social organization that emphasizes the social value of women. Although they are not full equals of men in the present period, women continue to control important resources and retain considerable autonomy. The high status of Lemba women is correlated with greater nutritional equality among men and women than among neighboring groups with different social organization and lower relative status of women. Changes taking place in the present, however, cast doubt upon the continuing survival of the distinctive Lemba culture.

About the Author: Dr. Brooke Grundfest Schoepf is an economic and medical anthropologist with ten years of research, teaching and development planning experience in Africa--mainly in Zaire, but also in Zimbabwe, Mali, Liberia and Kenya. Her current interest lies in interrelationships between agricultural policy, women's status and family nutrition.

- / -

THE "WILD," THE "LAZY" AND THE "MATRIARCHAL":
NUTRITION AND CULTURAL SURVIVAL IN THE ZAIRIAN COPPERBELT¹

Introduction

Social scientists concerned with health and nutritional status in cross cultural perspective have come to regard the socio-political and economic context of food production, distribution and consumption as powerful explanatory tools for analyzing the causes of nutritional stress and disease. This paper reports a study undertaken in this perspective by Claude Schoepf and myself from 1975 to 1978 in the southeastern Shaba region of Zaire in a Lemba village 96 kilometers from Lubumbashi. The ethnohistorical account offered here seeks to understand relationships between land, labor, diet, and women's status among a people who are neighbors of the Bemba studied by Audrey Richards in the 1930s (Richards 1939, 1940, 1950, 1956).

The Lemba, who trace their origins to the Lunda kingdom, speak a language understood by Bemba speakers. Their pre-colonial social structure, however, was quite different from that of either of these states, as is the quality of the land upon which they settled. The persistence of this structure, despite the rigors of the nineteenth century slave trade and the early colonial period with its attendant population loss and male labor migration, appears to have affected the distribution of both productive resources and of food within the rural household and the extended family.

The Lemba are stigmatized by people from other groups--as are Lamba, Lala, Seba and other closely related peoples on the Zaire-Zambia copperbelt--as "wild," "lazy," and "individualistic" (Siegel 1984) and also as "matriarchal." We suggest that Lemba matriarchy and their refusal to collaborate in deepening their own exploitation have contributed to their stigmatized reputation. These characteristics have also helped the Lemba of Katanga--and particularly Lemba women--to avoid the severe nutritional deprivation encountered among poor cash cropping peasants elsewhere.

Plan for Agricultural Development

Agricultural development, resulting in the increasing commoditization of rural household production, has been a goal of both colonial and post-colonial states in Africa. Export production of both food and industrial crops offers a means of garnering foreign exchange and, not incidentally, increases the resource base of local politico-commercial ruling classes. This policy currently finds favor with the World Bank (1981) and other international agencies. Nevertheless, production for domestic consumption continues to be a focus of concern for agencies involved in staple food crop research. In this context, CIMMYT² and the government of Zaire in 1972 established a National Maize Program (PNM) to develop new high-yielding varieties adapted to local conditions and a package of cultivation practices appropriate for peasant cultivators using hoes and working with family labor (PNM 1973)

The plan was to make the Shaba region virtually self-sufficient in maize, the locally preferred carbohydrate staple, and, thus, reduce foreign exchange expenditures being used to import grain from Southern Africa. The program offered two attractive goals. First, it proposed to approach food self-sufficiency; second, it proposed to raise the incomes of small cultivators who had been oppressed and "underdeveloped" by the state both before and following independence (cf. Jewsiewicki 1977, 1979; Mukenge 1981; B.G. Schoepf 1975a and b; B.G. Schoepf and C. Schoepf 1981, 1984). If the PNM succeeded, documenting its success could be useful to generalizing its methods. Alternatively, if it failed to realize its objectives, sociocultural and economic analysis would show what had gone wrong with the attempt to develop and transfer new food production technology.

As we accompanied PNM scientists and extension workers on visits to the villages, some problems appeared. The recommended package required inputs to be purchased on credit and called for two weeding during the growing season, where previously one had been the rule. If yields increased from the then current average of 1-2 tons per hectare (1 hectare = approx. 2.47 acres) to the 5-7 tons envisaged by the PNM, additional labor would be needed to harvest, transport, store, and prepare the crop for sale. Cultivators were skeptical of the promised yield increases, particularly in view of locally erratic weather patterns (cf. B.G. Schoepf and C. Schoepf 1984 for a 1983 example). They voiced concern about incurring debts should the harvest fail to live up to PNM expectations. Men asked the PNM to supply tractors for land preparation while women grumbled that they could not possibly supply labor for growing more maize and also tend the family gardens. The women's gardens--viewed by the US-trained agronomists as higgledy-piggledy patches that should give way to neat rows of maize--were not recognized as an integral element in the local farming system. The gardens are essential in supplying balanced nutrition, thus providing health and energy to the workforce.

Observing the two sides talking past one another, we became concerned. We hypothesized that if cash cropping took hold, women would be pressed into furnishing additional labor on the maize fields which would take away time and energy from the gardens and, thus, lower the nutritional quality of family diets. This had been the case in other areas of Zaire during the colonial period as families were forced first to gather rubber and then to grow cotton. The scant cash returns were paid over to male household heads who tended to purchase consumer durables, build houses and, especially, to invest in additional wives--a source not only of prestige but also of additional labor used in extending cotton fields (Malira 1974).

Cash Cropping and Nutrition

Studies of the Sahel famine then beginning to emerge implicated expanding cash crop production in the vulnerability of families to drought-reduced grain harvests (CIS 1975). Apart from the drought-prone areas, however, there was scant literature on the nutritional effects of cash cropping on diets within African households (see Lele 1975:28-33 for a review). The few studies available showed a positive correlation between

the nutritional status of children and the relatively high cash crop incomes of their families. The results were not uniformly positive, however. Increasing social differentiation accompanied cash cropping; poorer households with fewer productive resources and less cash often had poorer diets. Among the latter, nutrition tended to decline with increases in cash cropping since less land and time were devoted to food production and/or collecting. With more cash resources available, households already producing sufficient food were in a position to purchase supplemental items and sometimes did.

Although the National Maize Program promised benefits to all participants, the planners' confidence was insufficient to dispell our uneasiness. We were particularly unhappy with their misconstruing the household as a resource-pooling unit. In this part of Central Africa, the family food supply is provided by women. An earlier study conducted in eight zones across the mining hinterland indicated that households with cash garnered from produce or fish sales rarely used it to purchase nutritionally valuable foods. Furthermore, the researchers discovered that women, on the average, were less likely than men to get adequate proteins, fats, and calories (Lambrechts and Bernier 1961). A growth study showed the familiar pattern of toddler protein-calorie malnutrition and stunting (Parent 1961).³ Nearly two decades later the picture remained the same despite a nutrition education program (Cassiers 1973; de Graeve 1975).⁴ Health workers at a nearby mission hospital reported protein-calorie malnutrition to be common even among the children of fishermen along Lake Changalele (de Graeve 1975). In these villages settled by immigrant groups, women had only small gardens and little access to the cash realized by their husbands.

If, as a result of the maize program, women were brought to spend more time on maize cropping for sale and if the cash were controlled by men and used to buy beer or consumer durables (a result envisaged by one of the PNM scientists), we might find nutritional deficits in these households despite an increase in the amount of cash inflow. For these reasons, we proposed to see if changes in family nutrition were occurring among the households participating in the PNM scheme of intensive maize cropping when compared with a sample of non-PNM households in 1975-76, the third year of the program (B.G. Schoepf 1975c). We chose the central community of the Katanga chiefdom as our study site, comparing 21 participating households with 56 non-participating ones.

As it turned out, our concern was not well founded. Observations and 24-hour recall interviews on diet discerned no great variations among the PNM households and the control sample.⁵ The PNM-participating households had proceeded with caution. They incorporated the new maize growing technology only within the narrow limits allowed by the local farming system and on a much lesser scale than envisaged by the project planners. This limited acceptance was due partly to labor bottlenecks but also to government pricing policy and input supply problems, the peasants' fear of indebtedness, and the existence of an alternative cropping strategy that produced small amounts of cash income throughout the year.

Furthermore, we had been misled by reports indicating low status of peasant women and by the planners' assumption that male household heads made the agricultural decisions. The Lemba did not fit the general pattern of patriarchal control. The continuing autonomy of Lemba women in production, in domestic life, and in community affairs and the esteem they enjoy in the local culture preclude their being relegated to the status of subordinate actors less well fed than male partners. When we reexamined the earlier nutrition study, we found that the Lemba Bena Bowa village of Mangombo, now incorporated in the Katanga community, showed the least difference in dietary standards between men and women (Lambrechts and Bernier 1961:84 T.21). In most households, women ate a slightly higher proportion of proteins and fats than men when these amounts were calculated as a percentage of body weight. The investigators concluded that, while protein and fat intake was low, it probably met the minimum levels determined by FAO and its distribution was fairly egalitarian among adults. Most adults were, however, getting too little food energy for their needs, and children's diets were seriously deficient. To discover why the Lemba were different, we studied their history of the status of women among them.⁶

Historical Perspective

The Katanga chiefs of the Lemba Bena Bows clan claim descent from followers of the Lunda Kazembe of the Luapula who, they say, departed eastward at the time of Rweej.⁷ Moving as a clan segment under a woman chief named Muyange Mwelewa, they eventually crossed the Lualaba and entered the Lufira Valley and the territory now called Kilemba. Muyange married the Lamha chief Kaponda and died soon after under mysterious circumstances. The Bena Bowa obtained Kilemba in compensation (Chief Katanga IX Kianana 1969:6-9; interview April 1976; Chief Katanga X Pepengwe, interviews August 1978 and August 1981). The origin myth serves to legitimate the connection between women and the land, as we shall see presently.

In 1700 the Lemba people remained well beyond the southeastern marches of the Lunda kingdom, but their autonomous villages were not insulated from outside influence. Their copper was widely traded and the names of Katanga and the Sanga chief Mpande became known in the Lunda capital. Soon after 1710, expeditions were sent against them (Vansina 1966:164). By 1800 the Lemba, Northern Lamba, Seba and Sanga had been incorporated into the most powerful of the Lunda states, that of the Luapula. The autonomy of the clans ended. The chiefs organized tribute payments in copper, ivory, and slaves; they re-organized the politico-juridical system, ritual, and historical traditions. Chief Katanga VI Kapuluru is also credited with re-organizing copper production, greatly increasing output by attracting migrants to the dry-season workings. Lemba women, who formerly obtained a share of smelted copper from the ore they mined (De Hemptine 1926:384), expanded their fields and were compensated with metal for food supplied to the migrant copper workers (Marchal 1939).

Although some captive women and their offspring were incorporated into the kin and production systems, a slave mode of production did not develop

among the Lemba. Both agriculture and mining were basically the work of free women and men. Slavery did not degrade the status of free women relative to men as it did in western Zaire. Furthermore the price of women was twice as high as that of men. Nevertheless, the trade did bring extensive warfare, famine, depopulation and demoralization. Subsequent incorporation into the Yeke kingdom and then the Belgian colony brought further changes.

Cultural Persistence

A great deal has changed in production systems and social relations since the Lemba ancestors settled in the Lufira Valley some fifteen generations ago. Nevertheless, as the persistence of the origin myth suggests, the link between women ancestors and land continues to be regarded as vital. Grevisse, a colonial administrator, describes his discussions with the great-grandmother of the present Chief Katanga. The Inamfumu (a title given throughout the area to mothers/sisters of chiefs) was the principal spokesperson in matters of land rights and chiefly succession (Grevisse 1957:65). She led the Lemba defense of their territorial integrity against administration attempts to consolidate villages and to relegate the people to "native reserves," thereby opening the land to settlement by white farmers.

The role of women chiefs was disparaged and downgraded during the colonial period. In at least one case of chiefly succession, a competent woman was passed over by the administration in favor of an incompetent man. Nevertheless, Lemba women have not become an underclass subordinate to men within the family and the rural economy. As the incumbent Chief Katang X said: Ikyalo ikya musene mwanakashi, "This is a region which was discovered by a woman" (interview 8 August, 1978).

Both male and female informants describe their social structure as not only matrilineal and matrilocal (we would say uxorilocal) but also "matriarchal." Whether expressed in French, Kilemba or Swahili, their descriptions give meaning to the terms. Men say: we live at the homes of the women; the land here belongs to women; women have a say in everything we do; we listen to the opinions of the women, and so on. Lemba informants who employ the term "matriarchal" do not mean that women dominate men as women are dominated in other cultures with which the Lemba are familiar. Rather, they use the term as did Richards (1950:246) to signify that women have economic and political rights, in both public and private domains, that men are bound to respect. Most important among these are the right to land for themselves, their husbands, and their dependents.

The ideology of descent and settlement helps to support these rights. Recent visits found the Banyamfumu--grandmother and mother of the Chief--vitaly interested in and participating at meeting of leaders discussing strategy to meet new alienation threats (fieldnotes August 1981, May 1983). Where clans retain the use of a landed estate, kinship traced through women continues to legitimate access to scarce, highly fertile, and

well watered fields. Women residents maintain use rights to land and are able to pass these rights to children who reside or return to the village. Land rights legitimated through women contribute to the recruitment of people to the labor force and the support networks of lineage heads and chiefs. Thus, as sisters, wives, and mothers, women continue to be nodal points in the local social tapestry. The frequently-renewed emphasis on matri-centered links in ideology and practice contribute to maintaining the relatively high status of Lemba women as a whole.

The focus of this paper--food and nutrition--makes it crucial to differentiate between women chiefs and ordinary women. Although female rulers have been noted throughout the "matrilineal belt" of Central Africa in the pre-colonial states, the status of commoner women in the Kongo, Luda, and Bemba kingdoms, for example, was apparently markedly subordinate to mothers' brothers, fathers, husbands and, especially, brothers (Richards 1950) while slaves had few rights whatever their sex. Fried (1967) proposed that women in ranked horticultural societies would be most equal to men in status. In a survey of cross-cultural files, Schlegel (1972) identified matrilineal ranked societies in which women were not subject to the dominance of either fathers or uncles as those in which women were most likely to achieve autonomy from male control. The Central African society in her HRAF sample, however, was the Bemba, who did not fit the model despite divided authority. Neighboring areas that were home to non-state societies at the marches of the savanna kingdoms in the pre-colonial era today exhibit features of persistent women's autonomy which, reasoning theoretically, we should expect to have been present prior to the slave trade and colonization (Schoepf and Mariotti 1973). These include the Lala (Long 1968), the Lemba, and even the state-incorporated groups on the Luapula River (Poewe 1981).

Colonial Change

Just as the pre-colonial pattern of socioeconomic relations helps us to understand the distribution of resources today, so also colonial patterns of labor mobilization and political control help in understanding the underdevelopment process. The Lufira valley was transformed into a labor reserve and, to achieve this, the colonial administration had to create powerful "customary" chiefs, thereby transforming the pre-colonial organization.

In the clan communities, chiefly authority was based on redistributive generosity and personal ties rather than coercive power. Neither the expansion of their involvement in the copper trade nor their incorporation in tributary states seems to have made a permanent change in Lemba concepts of political legitimacy. Political organization remained ranked rather than stratified in Fried's terms (Fried 1967).

Early in the twentieth century, Lemba who fled to the high plateaux before the slave raiders returned to the Lufira Valley where they settled in dispersed hamlets along the small streams. The Lemba tendency to fission

and their lack of regard for chiefly authority were noted (with despair and disparagement) by Belgian officials (Delcommune 1922, II:312; Frevisse 1957:60; Wilmet 1963b). Even today, Lemba warn that "a greedy chief will be chief of the trees." Commenting on this proverb, the young Chief Katanga X said:

Here the land is thinly settled. Land is worth nothing without people to work it. And if they don't like the chief they can leave. If you are a bad chief, you can rule over the trees (interview 8 August, 1978).

The administration attempted to resettle the population in large villages along roads to give greater cohesion to the dwindling population, making it easier to tax and control. Regroupment was ecologically unsound and was politically unpopular with elder male and female family heads as well as with the young. Living in proximity to chiefs whose power was bolstered by the administration, people found themselves subjected to labor drafts--porterage, work on roads and on chiefs' fields, and, of course, work in the mines where death and disease rates were high. Many escaped over the border to Zambia (Wilmet 1963b; Siegel 1984); young men fled to urban jobs to avoid being dragooned for mine labor. There were no jobs for women in the cities; even domestic service was reserved for men. Men's wages were extremely low, and women, even when they sold beer, cooked food, and sold sexual services, had great difficulty prospering in towns. In the villages, women's role was to reproduce the labor force, to provide for the elderly, and to support the survivors returned from wage labor.

With more than half the young men absent and those remaining subjected to labor corvees, the work of clearing new fields faltered, reciprocal forms of collective labor declined, fallows shortened, millet and sorghum yields declined, and staple food security was jeopardized. Women had little time to collect the forest foods that had enriched the diet. Rather than transferring new types of labor-saving technology to increase productivity of high quality crops, the administration introduced compulsory cassava cultivation as a famine reserve. The combined result was degradation of nutritional quality with attendant health problems, particularly for weaning youngsters. As it was relegated to supplying wage labor for the urban sector, the capacity of the rural community to reproduce and sustain itself was undermined. Population continued to decline until the 1950s. In 1952 the local mine closed and the slowing of the post-war economic boom limited alternative employment. Even so, in 1957 Mangombo, like other villages in the area, was home to a high proportion of elderly people and children.

Although the 1957-58 study pointed to egalitarian consumption patterns, it also noted overall shortages. Both men and women had caloric shortfalls and probably had experienced stunting during their early years--without which their underconsumption would have been greater still.⁸ Furthermore, the diet was deficient in many important elements, and frequent diarrhea, malaria, and a high worm burden contributed to loss of nutrients, resulting in vulnerability to disease.

Yields per hectare were relatively high for the region, because of the good alluvial soils. The area under cultivation was small, however, and unable to provide sufficient food for the entire year. Dependent as it was upon human energy, the production system suffered from chronic labor shortage (Wilmet 1963a). This was particularly critical at the beginning of the rainy season when malaria and anemia reduced vitality and limited the amount of land that could be cleared and planted.

Informants reported that, by the late 1950s and even more in 1975, families with grown children in urban areas relied on cash remittances and gifts in kind to sustain the rural households. Some people also returned to rural areas to help with the harvest. Mother-son and mother-daughter ties were particularly significant links in the support networks, which were rendered tangible by the proximity of the copperbelt cities, regular lorry transport, and attendance at funerals. Put more abstractly, rural households furnished produce to the urban sector on distinctly disadvantageous and declining terms. They met their tax payments and reproduced the labor force and, in return, obtained some indispensable consumption items (salt, oil, tools, cloth and clothing). Urban proximity also led them to spend cash on such things as industrially-produced beer, cigarettes, sugar, coffee, and soft drinks. The chronic low level of nutrition, indicated by stunting, is symptomatic of the unequal development of the Copperbelt where a highly developed industrial and extractive sector drains an underdeveloped rural hinterland, resulting in its slow but constant decline. In this perspective, malnutrition is a result of the development strategy followed, or put another way, rural underdevelopment is part of what Bennett (1981) terms "the process of malnourishing."

Contemporary Adaptation

The Katanga chiefs of the Bena Bowa clan claim authority over some 23,000 Lemba inhabiting the Upper Lufira Valley in Zaire. Other Lemba communities are interspersed with those of other ethnic groups on both sides of the border. As the seat of the Katanga Chiefdom established by colonial authorities and the Lufira Collectivity today, Katanga village is home to a variety of civil servants, many of non-Lemba origin. In addition, nine formerly separate Lemba hamlets have been consolidated as neighborhoods within the village, making a total of some 2,500 people. All adult residents can obtain land to use from the chief. The lands allotted to newcomers, however, are generally not among the most fertile lands close to the village. These are held by core members of the Bena Bowa and related clans. Members of the hamlet lineages (except for those whose lands have been expropriated) also continue to use the valleys of small streams in their former locations.

As noted above, Katanga cultivators prefer their own adaptive strategies to that proposed by the PNM. Given the number of non-cultivator households in the consolidated village and the proximity of the Lubumbashi-Likasi road 6 km. distant, there is a ready market for garden produce. Most women have not, however, expanded their gardens nor are they prepared to sacrifice the

family's nutritional status for cash sales. Instead, they depend mainly upon sales of cassava leaves.

Cassava is a government-imposed crop, meaning that each married couple must plant .60 hectares, while each adult woman living without a husband must plant .30 hectares on newly cleared land. Non-compliance is punishable by fines and jail terms. Agricultural agents are charged with enforcement of planting obligations and are members of the rural police force rather than extension workers. Although colonial agents (and researchers) assumed that cassava fields belong to men "because it is an imposed crop" (Lambrechts and Bernier 1961), among the Lemba the produce belongs to women who harvest as required for family consumption and also pick the leaves for sale.⁹

The labor required to clear, ridge, and plant a new cassava field each year severely limits the amount of maize that can be given a second weeding and a side-dressing of urea according to PNM requirements (Schoepf and Schoepf 1980). Land preparation for cassava also interferes with the planting of sorghum and millet, formerly planted in December. As a result, these grains, although of superior storage and nutritional properties, have virtually disappeared from the diet. Both sexes are overworked during the planting season. Given the Lemba social organization, there is no question of men obliging women to work beyond their capacity. Women remain in control of their own and their children's labor.¹⁰

Post-harvest storage losses are too great for people to attempt to conserve maize until the new crop ripens. If they can count on seeds being available, some prefer to sell their excess maize and purchase seed corn the next year. When the PNM distribution ended in 1981, village cooperative leaders made an agreement with CEPSE, the parastatal mining company's agricultural subsidiary based at Mangombo on some of Kilemba's prime alluvial lands, to purchase SR52 hybrid seed, along with fertilizer, on credit.

Since land "comes through women" and the crop belongs to those who produce it, the cash from maize sales accrues to both men and women. Both women and men are members of the local cooperatives where this division is institutionalized. In other areas of Zaire, where patriarchal norms are reinforced by co-ops and grain marketing boards, men receive the cash payments even if they are absent. Lemba cultivators, however, maintain their distinctive economic egalitarianism. Moreover, this egalitarianism extends to both sex and age. Young people set up their own household production units soon after marriage; their cooperatives are separate from those of the elders. Lineage elders cannot command the labor of kin for agricultural production over any length of time.¹¹

The major portion of peasant women's cash is spent on supplemental foods, particularly salt, cooking oil, and fish, as well as on mechanical milling. Katanga village has two mills, one operated by the co-op at the behest of women members eager to reduce their energy expenditure at affordable cost.¹²

Until 1983 maize prices were held down by government-imposed ceilings. Thus, cultivators considered maize, not only too demanding in labor time, but also cultivators not worth the effort considering its price. As noted above, instead of increasing the area devoted to maize production, most cultivators, substituted improved maize technology on existing maize fields and concentrated their cash cropping efforts on other products. These are foods with higher prices for volume. Cassava leaves have already been mentioned. Men also grow sugar cane, pili-pili peppers, and tomatoes. Recently, male co-op members have drained 40 hectares of marsh to create irrigated dry season market gardens, using the co-op tractor. Leaders explained that "this is a men's project because women have too much work to do." They expressed pride in the development of a collectivity-oriented consciousness in the ten years since the co-op's difficult beginnings and intend to use the proceeds from gardening to further community development rather than individual consumption. Whether the leaders can implement their Christian socialist strategy remains to be seen. The institutions of the wider society are unfavorable to such a project. If they cannot, then increased market gardening could result in more cash under individual male control while women fall behind.

What this might mean in terms of future family nutrition and cash flows within households is not clear. The impacts of rural petty capitalism, evangelical Christianity, and differential political participation have diminished women's autonomy among the Lala and the Luapula groups. In contrast, Lemba women have succeeded in retaining a significant degree of autonomy and leadership. Despite both Protestant and Catholic proselytism which, during the colonial period, relegated women to a subservient place serving both men and God, women's solidarity in connection with land and family have thus far prevailed. Despite strong support for female autonomy and high status in the Lemba ideology, however, the village is hardly impervious to the male chauvinist ideology and practice common throughout Zaire. Our impression is that many young men, participants in the bar sub-culture, are absorbing denigrating attitudes toward women, viewing them as sex objects and labor. It is not clear whether Lemba traditions, women's solidarity, and the more egalitarian Christian tenets now common among older adults will be able to overcome these influences, particularly in view of economic forces at work in the wider society.

An Uncertain Future

Earlier we indicated that poor, labor-depleted households depended on cash remittances for survival. By 1983, Zaire's deep economic crisis had impaired the ability of even regularly-employed urban workers to remit a portion of their earnings to rural relatives. In Lubambashi, maize flour sold for Z350 per 45 kilogram bag, nearly twice the monthly wage of an unskilled worker (Z180), and retail prices for small quantities were higher still.¹³ Even skilled workers and the middle class found it impossible to maintain consumption levels. Despite the removal of government price control, the peasants' share of maize prices remained stable (and unfavorable) relative to prices of other commodities, while the profits of

the trader-transporters who assembled bulk quantities for sale to the mills increased (Schoepf and Schoepf 1984).

When an unfavorable weather pattern and plant diseases reduced yields of both maize and cassava that year, cultivator households without other resources suffered severe deprivation. Young children, the elderly, and pregnant/lactating women are most at risk, particularly when social support networks become attenuated during crisis periods. Until 1975-76, the Lemba had not followed this pattern, probably for reasons which we indicated above. The future, however, is less certain. Both the status of women and of the matriarchal peasant household as an economic unit based on the parallel control of separate resources by individuals and on redistribution rather than concentration of wealth, are under attack from forces operating in the wider political economy.

Forces that work against community control of resources and extensive redistribution also undermine the high status of women, as Poewe (1981:120) finds to be the case along the Luapula. Thus there is "... contradiction between the increasingly individual or private nature of the forces of production and the still communal or social character of appropriation" as local entrepreneurs attempt to counteract the dispersion of resources by, for example, having their sons inherit land that they have appropriated as private property. The Zambian state, Poewe notes, has facilitated such transfers, despite its professed humanistic socialism.

The Zairian state makes no profession of democratic socialism. On the contrary, its ethic is that of rampant capitalism in a neo-colonial setting where the major means of production are multinationally controlled. President Mobutu's advice to civil servants in 1974 included the propositions: enrich yourselves; steal cleverly and do not get caught. The public domain is privately appropriated, and openly so, by people at the highest levels (Gould 1980). All land is now property of the State by virtue of eminent domain; accessible, fertile land is highly sought-after by the emergent bourgeoisie (Mac Gaffey 1982). Large land holdings serve as collateral for bank loans which in Shaba fuel the irregular economy rather than contributing to agricultural development (Schoepf 1984b). Capital accumulation remains extroverted and disarticulated.

In the Lufira Valley land is being granted by the State for use by large scale enterprises, private individuals and an ecological research reserve without regard for peasant occupancy (B. Schoepf 1983, 1984a). With a shortage of good land and its increasing commoditization, poorer families may find themselves on less fertile lands and still less able than they are today to get by without outside help. Given the patriarchal bias in government, women especially may find themselves without productive land. There are few opportunities for salaried employment for men or women in the capital-intensive modern sector which, for the past decade, has been working far below capacity. Even the "informal" and "irregular" economic sectors require capital in amounts available to only a few rural Lemba. Few Lemba are in the corridors of power and political clientship. Village leaders are

concerned because they see proletarianization in a labor surplus economy as tantamount to pauperization; they are probably correct.

Lemba women fear that land loss would have especially serious consequences for them. The new family code undermines the juridical basis of the matrilineal extended family which Lemba women view as the basis of their continuing social support networks. In the emergent national culture, supported as part of the government's cultural engineering project, polygyny, strong patriarchal authority, and female subordination are lauded as "authentic," "traditional" social forms, while independent women are sometimes made scapegoats for economic ills (Schoepf 1978, 1981, 1982; Wilson 1982); this latter practice is common in other countries as well (see Obbo 1981; Robertson 1984). In these and other ways, the cultural autonomy of the Lemba may be undermined at the same time that their economic base can no longer support them. If this happens, the majority of Lemba village cultivators would decline once more into sub-subsistence agriculture and the "crisis of reproduction" already obtaining over wide areas of Africa.

The status of the poor in Zaire is grim; the future looks grimmer still (Ilunga 1984). Nevertheless we cannot assume that the outcome is already determined. Although the struggle is a highly unequal one, the Katanga peasants are aided by two powerful institutions that have helped to develop a collective consciousness among them. The first is the Catholic Church, which, during the past decade, has emerged as the primary locus of opposition to the Mobutist regime. In Katanga Church-sponsored cooperatives are not merely concerned with input supplies and marketing. With Church encouragement, elders and juniors have gained experience in participatory leadership and decision-making, deriving both moral and material support for collective development. At the same time, local entrepreneurs are held in check, first by the very real limits to the wealth available for accumulation--including the general lawlessness which diverts part of their profits--and, second, by moral pressures emanating from "traditional" ideology and reinforced by the ethic of Christian socialism. Thus, while differences in wealth exist within the village, neither agrarian nor entrepreneurial capitalism encounters much sympathy.

The second institution that aids in crystallizing Lemba collective consciousness is the government of Zaire itself. Thus far, projects have failed because the government has not directed sufficient resources toward co-optation and control in the villages. Instead, its constant drain of rural resources undermines its claim to legitimacy. As its agents make repeated heavy-handed attempts to direct new resources to the political-commercial bourgeoisie, the Lemba gain a renewed sense of the worth of their distinctive adaptation and men, as well as women, come to its defense. If political and economic change were to occur in Zaire in the near future and if the new leaders were to grasp the significance of Lemba "matriarchy"--that is, of women as full and equal partners in development--then the institution might survive.

Conclusion

The Lemba of the Southeastern Shaba copperbelt have retained a distinctive form of matrilineal social organization. This is supported by ideology emphasizing the social value of female autonomy. While Lemba women today are not the full equals of men in the public domain--for historical reasons, some of which are noted in this paper--they, nevertheless, control important family and community resources. These include land, crops, stored food and cash. This control and the social power conferred on women by virtue of a "matriarchal" ideology have enabled women to avoid much of the nutritional inequality experienced by women of neighboring groups with different social organization. Because of the impact of the class formation processes now taking place, however, the relative equality of Lemba women and men cannot be assumed to be assured in the future. Increasing participation in commodity production with constantly declining terms of trade is likely to alter social relations in ways that will make it more difficult to maintain community egalitarianism and, with it, the valued status of women.

NOTES

1. This is a revised version of a paper presented at the symposium "Nutritional and Health Effects of Agricultural Policy" held at the 83rd Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Denver, November 17, 1984. Research in 1975-1978 was supported by the Social Science Division of the Rockefeller Foundation. Tuskegee Institute, USAID, USDA, and a Fulbright grant made additional research possible in 1979, 1981 and 1983. Grateful acknowledgement is made to these institutions which are in no way responsible for the conclusions. The title is adapted from a paper by Brian Siegel (1983).
2. CIMMYT is the acronym for the Centro Internacional de Mejoramiento de Mais y Trigo, an international agricultural research organization with headquarters in Mexico.
3. Parent and Cassiers collected weight-for-age measurements for children in copperbelt communities in 1946, 1958, and 1972. Although the reported mean figures do not permit statistical treatment, they suggest the influence of economic status and point to stunting throughout the rural area. At 24 months the mean weight of 106 rural children in the 1972 sample was 81% of the American standard and 87% of the African standard used for comparison (Cassiers 1973).
4. Although health planners still tend to regard nutrition education for mothers as an important, or even a primary, determinant of children's nutritional status, a 1974 study made in Kinshasa "revealed no significant relationship between mothers' attendance at nutrition education classes and child's weight" (Lashman 1975:73). Analyzing the impact of a legume project, C. Schoepf (1982:11-12) finds that "many mothers can identify the visible symptoms of a Bwaki child [with Kwashiorkor] and they can also recite the list of foods necessary to restore the child's health. The difficulty is one of available resources ..." De Graeve, a lay missionary based at Kopolowe Mission, continues to weigh infants and toddlers at the village social service center each month during the study period with the intent of publishing her findings.
5. We decided against food weighing not only as too time consuming but also as too intrusive, an imposition unjustifiable by the use that might be made of the data.
6. We seek to explain the differences in the nutritional status of women and children relative to men in the area around Likasi. In the Lambrechts study, other villages in the area contain populations of Sanga market gardeners, Luba, Sanga and Bemba fishermen, all of which had higher incomes than did the Lemba of Mangombo. Maize is the preferred staple but generally gives way to cassava during 4-5 months of the rainy season. Rural villages around Kolwezi are particularly poor;

their poor soils make cassava the staple, and diets are the worst in the Zairian copperbelt (Lambrechts and Bernier 1961; Cassiers 1973).

Malnutrition in Zaire has both geographical and economic correlates; it is associated with areas in which cassava is the primary source of carbohydrates. This includes areas of poor soils and sparse population, for example, the Kalahari sands of the Kwango, but also areas of rich soils and dense population. In southeastern Kivu (see note 4) where plantations and large farms producing for export have taken much prime farm land, protein-calorie malnutrition (PCM) is severe and endemic. Urban malnutrition is also extremely widespread--not only among the casually employed and unskilled but among skilled workers and civil servants as well. The children of railway workers in Lubumbashi, for example, were increasingly prone to PCM from 1975, as inflation rates of 80 to 100 percent annually caused a sharp decline in real wages.

7. The Lemba version of their history appears to be doubtful for the following reasons. Some four generations separate the Kazembe's departure from the time of Rweej. Furthermore, the Kazembe version has K. Kanyembo crossing the Lualaba, then warring first against the Sanga and then against the Lamba and the Lemba (Vansina 1966:85). Several authors (Capello and Ivens 1886; Cuvelier 1945:273; Waldecker 1965:30) state that the Lemba were conquered by the Lunda Kazembe; Cuvelier writes that Kazembe placed the chiefs Katanga, Mpoyo and N'Tenke over them. Delcommune (1922 (11):312) writes that N'Tenke was a slave follower of M'siri who placed him near Katanga as chief of the entire Lamba (including Lamba, Lemba and Seba) territory. In 1978 Mpoyo told us that he is the legitimate senior chief of the area. Thus, it appears likely that many Lemba ancestors were earlier settlers incorporated into the Lunda political system late in the eighteenth century (a suggestion made by Grevisse)--perhaps by co-optation of their chiefs, whose power over other Lemba was increased thereby. Even so, autonomous villages or village clusters appear to have continued without strong allegiance to paramount chiefs or commitment to chiefdom organization.
8. Zairians apply the phrase "economy size" to slim people of small stature. In the folk perception, such people require less food to remain healthy than those whose growth has not been stunted. Caloric shortfalls in rural areas throughout the Congo were noted by Bigwood and Trolli (1937).
9. Guyer (1984) proposes that the food crisis in much of Africa is less serious than reports by the World Bank (1981) and the U.S. Department of Agriculture (1981) would suggest. These reports underestimate production of root and tuber crops, many of which are the work of women. Cassava, particularly, is underestimated. Guyer points to the need to improve the productivity of cassava processing which outstrips labor requirements in cultivation by 3 or 4 to 1. If this condition is met, she proposes that increases in cassava production would decrease food deficits faster than would chasing after elusive increases in grain

production. Data presented here with respect to the role of cassava in farming systems and family nutrition suggest the need for caution when reverting to the panaceas of another era. In any event, Katanga women find it more worthwhile to harvest cassava leaves than to harvest roots and carry and process them, even with a mill in the village. Toward Kinshasa both men and women plant, harvest, and ship cassava roots to the city by truck. Some cassava flour is also processed locally, and prices vary with the quality of the processing (Claude Schoepf, personal communication).

10. Several colleagues have enquired whether Lemba "matriarchy" might not be responsible for the area's low level of agricultural development. We found, however, that both men and women were unwilling to increase their self-exploitation. Furthermore, reviewing a number of studies to assess the impact of development projects on women, Dixon (1980:51) finds that "as men gain control over the economic returns of their wives' labor, the women lose their incentive to produce and output falls." Several studies indicate that this was the case in colonial East Africa as well (Strobel 1982:112). If they are to increase their efforts, both women and men must derive benefits from their production.
11. Sufficient data have been presented to indicate that the Lemba did not fit the model of a lineage mode of production in which male elders exchanged women and acquired control over their offspring and the products of their labor. We do not mean that there is no social differentiation among the Lemba. In Katanga village, however, economic differences between cultivator households are slight and relate largely to incomes derived from sources other than farming. Both these points will be the subject of another paper. For a general critique of the model, see Leacock (1983), Schoepf (1976), and Schoepf and Mariotti (1973).
12. Women informants said that they "get more food" from mill-ground than from parched and pounded maize meal. Their perception is confirmed by a study comparing the nutritional value of meal made by each method (Schlage 1968). In addition to the loss of dry matter, about half of the protein, more than one-third of the carbohydrates and most of the fat, vitamins and minerals are lost through leaching.
13. In mid-1983 the Zaire (Z) was pegged at 30 to the U.S. dollar. A skilled worker earned Z400 to 600 per month and a university professor Z6000.

REFERENCES

- Bennett, John
1981 The Process of Malnourishing. Review of S. Schofield, Development and the Problems of Village Nutrition. Reviews in Anthropology (Winter):33-37.
- Bigwood, E. and G. Trolli
1937 Probleme de l'Alimentation au Congo Belge. Brussels: Imp. des Travaux Publics.
- Capello, H. and R. Ivens
1886 De Angola a Contra-Costo. 2 vols. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional.
- Cassiers, D.
1973 Courbe de Poids des Enfants 0 and 2 Ans dans les Regions Rurales Entourant les Villes du Haut-Shaba (Zaire). Problemes Sociaux Zairois (Lubumbashi) 102-103 (Sept.-Dec.):41-45.
- Comite Information Sahel
1975 Qui se Nourrit de la Famine en Afrique? Paris: Maspero.
- Cuvelier, G.
1932 La Vie Sociale des Balamba Orientaux. Congo 1(1):1-21.
- De Graeve, G.
1975 La Consultation des Petits Enfants a Kapolowe. Problemes Sociaux Zairois (Lubumbashi):45-54.
- De Hemptine, Morseigneur
1926 Les "Mangeurs de Cuivre" du Katanga. Congo 1(3) March:317-403.
- Delcommune, A.
1922 Vingt Annees de Vie Africaine, Recits de Voyage, d'Aventures et d'Exploration au Congo Belge, 1874-1893. 2 Vols. Brussels: Vve. Ferdinand Larcier.
- Dixon, Ruth B.
1980 Assessing the Impact of Development Projects on Women. Washington, D.C.:USAID.
- Fried, Morton H.
1967 The Evolution of Political Society: An Essay in Political Anthropology. New York: Random House.
- Gould, David J.
1980 Bureaucratic Corruption and Underdevelopment in the Third World: The Case of Zaire. New York: Pergamon.

Grevisse, F.

- 1956 Notes Ethnographiques Relatives a Quelques Populations Autochtones du Haut-Katanga Industriel. Bulletin Trimestriel du Centre d'Etude des Problemes Sociaux Indigenes CEPSI (Elisabethville) 32 (March):65-207.

Guyer, Jane

- 1984 Women's Work and Production Systems: A Review of Two Reports on the Agricultural Crisis. Review of African Political Economy, 27-28:186-192.

Ilunga, Kabongo

- 1984 Deroutante Afrique ou la Syncope d'un Discours. Canadian Journal of African Studies 18(1):13-22.

Jewsiewicki, Bogumil

- 1977 Unequal Development: Capitalism and the Katanga Economy, 1919-1960. In: The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa, ed. by R. Palmer and N. Parsons. pp. 317-345. London: Heinemann.
- 1979 Zaire Enters the World System: Its Colonial Incorporation as the Belgian Congo, 1885-1960. In: Zaire, the Political Economy of Underdevelopment, ed. by Guy Gran. pp. 29-63. New York: Praeger.
- 1980 African Peasants in the Totalitarian Colonial Society of the Belgian Congo. In: Peasants in Africa: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives, ed. by Martin A. Klein. pp. 45-76. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- 1981 Lineage Mode of Production, Social Inequalities in Equatorial Central Africa. In: Modes of Production in Africa: The Precolonial Era, ed. by D. Crummev and C.C. Stewart. pp. 93-113. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Katanga IX, Kianana

- 1969 Kilemba. (mimeo)

Lambrechts, A. and G. Bernier

- 1961 Enquete Alimentaire et Agricole dans les Populations Rurales du Haut-Katanga. Lubumbashi: Centre d'Etude des Problemes Sociaux Indigenes, Memoires II.

Lashman, Karen

- 1975 Syncrisis: The Dynamics of Health. XIV:Zaire. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of International Health.

Leacock, Eleanor B.

- 1983 Interpreting the Origins of Gender Inequality: Conceptual and Historical Problems. Dialectical Anthropology 7(4):263-284.

Lele, Uma

1975 Design for Rural Development: Lessons from Africa. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Long, Norman

1968 Social Change and the Individual. Manchester: University of Manchester Press.

MacGaffey, Wyatt

1982 The Policy of National Integration in Zaire. Journal of Modern Africa Studies 20(1) March:87-105.

Malira, K.

1974 Regard sur la Situation Sociale de la Citoyenne Luchoise d'avant 1950. Likundoli, Enquetes d'Histoire Zairoise. Lubambashi: CERDAC 2(1):63-71.

Marchal, R.

1939 Renseignements Historiques Relatifs a l'Exploitation des Mines de Cuivre par les Indigenes de la Luishia. Bulletin des Juridictions Indigenes du Congo Belge VII:10-17.

Meillassoux, Claude

1975 Femmes, Greniers et Capitaux. Paris: Maspero.

Obbo, Christine

1981 African Women, their Struggle for Economic Independence. London: Zed Press.

Parent, M.

1961 La Courbe de Croissance des Enfants Katangais Entre 1 An et 3 1/2 Ans. CEPSI Bulletin Trimestriel (Elisabethville) 50:27-38.

Poewe, Karla

1981 Matrilineal Ideology: Male-Female Dynamics in Luapula, Zambia. New York: Academic Press.

Programme National Mais

1973 Premier Rapport Annuel. Republique du Zaire, Departement de l'Agriculture.

Richards, Audrey I.

1939 Land, Labor and Diet in Northern Rhodesia. London: Oxford University Press.

1940 The Political System of the Bemba Tribe of Northern Rhodesia. In: African Political Systems, ed. by M. Fortes and E.E. Evans-Pritchard. pp. 83-120. London: Oxford University Press for IAI.

- 1950 Some Types of Family Structure Amongst the Central Bantu. In: African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, ed. by A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and D. Forde. pp. 207-251. London: Oxford University Press for IAI.
- 1956 Chisungu: A Girls' Initiation Ceremony among the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia. London: Faber and Faber.

Robertson, C.

- 1984 Sharing the Same Bowl: A Socioeconomic History of Women and Class in Accra. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press.

Schlage, C.

- 1968 Polished versus Whole Maize: Some Nutritional and Economic Implications of the Traditional Processing of Maize in Northeastern Tanzania. Research Paper No. 2, BRALUP, University of Dar es Salaam.

Schlegel, A.

- 1972 Male Dominance and Female Autonomy: Domestic Authority in Matrilineal Societies. New Haven: HRAF Press.

Schoepf, Brooke G.

- 1975a Villes et Campagnes dan le Haut-Shaba: Perspective sur le Development Inegal au Zaire. Colloquium, History Department, National University of Zaire, Lubumbashi, February.
- 1975b Rural Development in Zaire: Conceptual Models and Historical Perspective. Paper presented at Society for Applied Anthropology, U.S. and Netherlands joint meeting. Amsterdam, April.
- 1975c Family Farming and Green Revolution in the Lufira Valley. Research Proposal submitted to Rockefeller Foundation, Social Science Division.
- 1980 Macrosystem Factors in Farming Systems Research. Discussion Paper. In: Proceedings of the Second Workshop on Sahelian Agriculture, ed. by R. Morris and P. White. Purdue University: Department of Agriculture Economics.
- 1982a Technology Transfer, Values and Social Relations in Health. In: Proceedings of the Tuskegee Institute Inaugural Conference, ed. by Paul L. Wall. Tuskegee Institute: Carver Research Foundation.
- 1982b Zaire's Agricultural Development: Projects, Problems and Prospects. Paper presented at Canadian Association of African Studies. Toronto, May.
- 1982c Rural Development, Bureaucracy and Class Formation in Zaire: A View from Southeastern Shaba. In: Proceedings of the 1982 Annual Meeting of the U.S. Association of African Studies. Washington.

- 1983 Unintended Consequences and Structural Predictability: Man and Biosphere in the Lufira Valley. Human Organization 42(4) Winter:361-367.
- 1984 The Political Economy of Agrarian Research in Zaire: Man and Biosphere in the Lufira Valley. In: The Politics of Agriculture in Tropical Africa: Transnational and Local Perspectives, ed. by Jonathan Barker. pp. 269-290. Beverly Hills: Sage-Publishers.
- Schoepf, Brooke and Amelia Mariotti
1973 Female Subordination, Harbinger, Epiphenomenon or What? Paper presented at the 72nd Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, November.
- Schoepf, Brooke and Claude Schoepf
1980 Beyond Farming Systems Research. American Anthropological Association, Washington, D.C.
- 1981 Zaire's Rural Development in Perspective. In: The Role of U.S. Universities in Rural and Agricultural Development, ed. by B.G. Schoepf. pp. 228-247. Tuskegee Institute: Center for Rural Development.
- 1984 State, Bureaucracy and Peasants in the Lufira Valley. Reprinted in: Canadian Journal of African Studies, ed. by B. Jewsiewicki 18(1):89-93.
- Siegel, Brian
1983 The "Wild" and "Lazy" Lamba: Ethnic Stereotypes on the Central African Copperbelt. Revised version of a paper presented at the International Conference on the History of Ethnic Awareness in Southern Africa, University of Virginia, April 1983.
- 1984 Comments on Schoepf's Unintended Consequences and Structural Predictability: Man and Biosphere in Zaire's Lufira Valley. Human Organization 42(2) Summer:185-187.
- Strobel, M.
1982 African Women (Review Essay). Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 8(1):109-113.
- United States Department of Agriculture
1981 Food Problems and Prospects in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Decade of the 1980s. Washington, D.C.:USDA.
- Verdick, Edouard
1952 Les Premiers Jours au Katanga. Elisabethville: Comite Special du Katanga.
- Waldecker, B.
1965 Bulletin CEPSI 70 Supplement.

Wilmet, J.

1963a La Repartition de la Population dans la Depression des Rivieres Mufuvya et Lufira (Haut-Katanga). Brussels: Academie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer.

1963b Systemes Agraires et Techniques Agricoles au Katanga. Brussels: Academie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer.

Wilson, Francille R.

1982 Reinventing the Past and Circumscribing the Future: Authenticity and the Negative Image of Women's Work in Zaire. In: Women and Work in Africa, ed. by Edna G. Bay. pp. 153-170. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

World Bank

1981 Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Agenda for Action. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

PUBLICATIONS
OFFICE OF WOMEN IN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

The WOMEN IN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PUBLICATION SERIES were founded in 1981 to disseminate information rapidly to national and international specialists in universities, government, and private institutions concerned with development issues affecting women. The two series, WORKING PAPERS ON WOMEN IN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT and the WID FORUM, publish reports of empirical studies and projects, theoretical analyses, and policy discussions that illuminate the processes of change in the broadest sense and encourage manuscripts that bridge the gap between research, policy, and practice. Publications in the series address women's historical and changing participation in economic, political, and religious spheres, intra- and inter-family role relationships, gender identity, women's health and health care, and the sexual division of labor.

EDITOR: Rita S. Gallin

MANAGING EDITOR: Patricia Hubbard-Garcia

EDITORIAL ASSOCIATE: Patricia Whittier

EDITORIAL BOARD: Marilyn Aronoff, Sociology; Anne Ferguson, Anthropology; Ada Finifter, Political Science; Peter Gladhart, Family & Child Ecology; John Hinnant, Anthropology; Susan Irwin, Anthropology; Akbar Mahdi, Sociology; Anne Meyering, History; Ann Millard, Anthropology; Nalini Malhotra Quraeshi, Sociology; Barbara Rylko-Bauer, Anthropology; Judith Stallmann, Agricultural Economics; Paul Strassmann, Economics

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS: To provide an opportunity for the work of those concerned with development issues affecting women to be critiqued and refined, all manuscripts submitted to the series are peer-reviewed. The review process averages two months and accepted manuscripts are published within five to six weeks. Authors receive ten free copies, retain copyrights to their works, and are encouraged to submit them to the journal of their choice.

Manuscripts submitted should be double-spaced, sent in duplicate, and include the following: (1) title page bearing the name, address and institutional affiliation of the author; (2) one-paragraph abstract; (3) text; (4) notes; (5) references cited; and (6) tables and figures. The format of the article may follow any journal of the author's choice. Submit manuscripts to Rita Gallin, Editor, WID Publication Series, Office of WID, 202 International Center, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824-1035.

TO ORDER PUBLICATIONS: Publications are available at a nominal cost and cost-equivalent exchange relationships are encouraged. To order publications or receive a listing of them, write to Office of WID, 202 International Center, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824-1035, USA.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT: The Women in International Development Publication Series are partially funded by a Title XII Strengthening Grant.

MSU is an Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity Institution

A.I.D.
73-