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WOMEN IN THE AFRICAN ECONOMY

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

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INTRODUCTION

In the fall of 1988, the A.I.D. Center for Development Information and Evaluation (CDIE) was asked by the Africa Bureau's task force on Women in Development to do an assessment of the research done and literature available on women in their productive roles in the African economy -- to assess which areas had been covered, how well they had been covered, and where there are gaps. A similar study was done in 1976 by a PhD candidate in Anthropology at Harvard that was described by its author as "an historical analysis of existing literature... to point out the evolving role of women in rural economies of Africa and to indicate existing gaps in knowledge." (Achola O. Pala, "African Women in Rural Development: Research Trends and Priorities," PN-AAE-750) To Pala, the largest need was for work that assessed the role of women in rural economies in Africa. This work would assess needed technical skills, specific structures of rural households and domestic groups, and household task allocation. It should also discuss development strategies (credit, technology) and their differential impact on men and women. She indicated that there was a need for an historical perspective. After reviewing the literature that already existed in this field, she outlined several basic areas where she felt there was a need for further research. They included: land tenure changes and women's rights; labor allocation; time budgeting and constraints; decision making in the household; male outmigration; agricultural training available to women; women's participation in marketing and cooperative societies; women's self-help and work groups; women in pastoral societies and marginal areas; and the role of women in resource management under conditions of prolonged food scarcity, famine, and drought.

In researching the topic, we found that Pala's outline is a relevant breakdown of where research has been done; we did find at least one study, and often more on each of her suggested topics. Much of the research that has been done tends to be of the "social snapshot" variety -- a study of a society in a particular village or a nation and women's roles within the society. The other major genre of research was of an historical, political economy nature -- the evolution of socio-political and economic conditions from "traditional" societies through colonization and on into the present "modernization." Much of A.I.D.'s research has been done in the context of a specific development project. In these papers, women are addressed as a specific project target, or their roles are examined as part of a social soundness analysis. Because of these foci in the literature, many of the different "sectoral" areas into which this paper is divided overlap considerably. There are some strong regional variations indicated within these categories; often they are contradictory.

This paper is divided into thirteen overlapping categories in three major theme areas. It will begin with a discussion of the literature on women's traditional roles in african society, and the change agents affecting them. The topics will then expand to encompass women's roles in the african economy in general, and the factors influencing them. Finally, the paper will finish with some of the roles developing in the more "modern" african economy.

It is difficult to assess whether these subjects have been covered "well;" they certainly have been covered. However, because so much of the literature is made up of micro-studies, and because there are so many different regional and cultural variations among african societies, no topical area can be said to be completely researched. In considering women in the economy, however, it is possible to break down the topics another way, reflecting the building blocks of economic theory. If one looks at the three major factors of economic production, land, labor and capital, it becomes evident that the literature reflects considerably more research in the first two, and more in the second than the first. While land ownership in Africa is different from the western concept, there could be more research on how and when women have control over productive resources. Similarly, while modern ideas of capital are only now beginning to predominate in Africa, much research could be done (in conjunction with the recent emphasis on private enterprise in development circles) on women's access to, and control of, capital resources.

This paper draws heavily on A.I.D.-funded or produced documents as contained in CDIE's Development Information System; A.I.D.'s office of Women in Development was also consulted. Non-A.I.D. sources used include other existing bibliographies on women in africa, and a few relevant commercial sources, including the Commonwealth Agricultural Bureaux database, the Foreign Trade and Economics Abstracts database, the Economics Literature Index database and the Sociology Abstracts database.

I.

AFRICAN WOMEN IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Much of the literature on women in Africa centers around their roles in the agricultural economy. For this reason, many of the more specific categories following deal with women in a primarily agricultural role. However, there are several studies that deal exclusively with women's productive role in agriculture.

Many of the studies start from the position of discussing, clarifying, or simply assuming a gender based division of labor in agriculture -- from the roles women play (weeding and harvesting v. clearing) to the types of crop cultivated (cash v. subsistence/food), to the specific crops grown. Most studies assume or conclude that women are primarily involved in subsistance, food based crops, and by extension the processing and preparation of the food. One study claimed that the gender based division of labor has led to inefficiencies, and concluded that the productivity of labor could be improved by 15 percent, and the productivity of capital by 44 percent, if the traditional division of labor were replaced by a non gender related, generalized regime (Tibaijuka 1986). One or two studies really delved into the question of female participation in decision making in the agricultural economy, though many discuss it in relation to other topics. Several studies deal with the impact on women's decision making after male migration away from the farm. One or two works look at the overlap in women's agricultural roles with their roles in the household economy, with child care, and with their reproductive roles, though again, many hit on this peripherally.

There were one or two works on the factors influencing the choice of particular crops by women. One cited time, land, labor and capital constraints as reasons southern african women go into aquaculture (Woodford-Berger 1987). Another concluded that women farmers are more likely to choose tree crops that are better suited for conservation efforts and are more likely to contribute to food, nutrition, fuel, and health needs (Owusu-Bempah 1986).

A common theme in much of the literature concerns the impact of development inputs into traditionally male-dominated cash crops. The result is often found to be a change in women's status with respect to those crops; they are brought in as labor to the detriment of food and subsistence crops, increasing women's work load but not their access to the product of their labor, and consequently affecting their nutritional and health status.

There were a few studies that pointed to regional variations in women's role in the agricultural economy. One claimed that women play a less important role in agriculture in Sierra Leone that in East Africa, where a majority of the studies are done. In contrast to the "norm" of women's dominance over subsistence crops, in Sierra Leone women dominate only the groundnut and

vegetable crops, and play a minor role in the (cash) tree crop. No task is exclusively assigned to men or women (with the exception of clearing, which men do), and each sex contributes at least one-third of the labour input in all tasks (Spencer 1979).

There has been a good deal of work done on women's access to agricultural inputs, specifically credit, research and extension, technology, and access to markets and the monetary benefit of their labour. Many studies conclude that women are not reached by extension and many claim that governments and research institutions are not concerned with women, despite their knowledge that women are large actors in the agricultural sector. Many studies discount the opinion that men reached by extension will accurately pass their knowledge to women. There was one study of female extension agents (animatrices) in West Africa (Fresco 1982), and a few on how research centers can target women more effectively. Some studies examine and compare female adoption of technical information to increase production. Access to schooling, extension, and credit are heavy factors here. One study, however, concludes that women farmers differ from men primarily in their access to resources. When access is similar, behaviour is similar. This study claims that class may often have a greater impact than gender on women's behaviour and others' behaviour toward women (Fortmann 1984).

Many studies examined land tenure issues: the effect of tenure change on women; and the effect of land insecurity on women's product of labour and their role in development. One study claimed that land is not always a factor in determining women's activity. In Ivory Coast, women "choose" to process cassava rather than to grow it, but have plenty of access to land for their chosen activities in cassava and rice, despite their difficulties in owning and inheriting land outright (Traore 1986). Finally, one or two studies deal with the ability of women to manage economic stress in agriculture due to drought, famine, and crop failure.

Most of the studies found in this area were country-specific studies. Most of the variations in findings were regional: between East and West Africa with respect to division of labor and crop cultivation; between Southern Africa and the rest of the continent in women's control over the agricultural economy (due largely to the much larger degree of male absence there).

WOMEN AND THE HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY IN AFRICA

The literature in this area is fairly evenly divided between research which focuses on women's economic roles within the household economy, and that which examines the household as a productive unit, within the sphere of female control. As with other topics, there is considerable overlap between this topic (especially where it discusses the woman as a productive unit within the household) and several other topics as they are broken down in this paper (see especially women and small scale enterprise, women's roles, agriculture, and women's sources of income).

In discussing the woman's productive role within the household, several subjects have been touched upon. Some of these include: the woman's role in the production and marketing of basic food crops (perhaps the most thoroughly covered topic), and the implications this has on the design, implementation and evaluation of agriculture projects; the conflict in women's roles between agricultural production for the monetized sector and production for immediate household consumption; the adverse effects of agricultural mechanisation in increasing women's agricultural duties, taking them away from the household; and explorations of various female roles in the household including food production and preparation, crafts, small (cottage) industries, and the reproduction and nurturing of children. Most of these areas are regularly dealt with in the literature, but should probably always be kept in mind in any research on women's economic roles. To these topics, Evans (1986) adds several that should be treated: household and family forms and composition; the degree of flexibility and sustainability between women's labor and capital and that of other household members; strategies women use to meet household needs; the distribution of male and female labor over the production cycle; and the technological and economic needs of women in their household roles.

In considering the household as an economic unit within the woman's sphere of control, the literature hits on several different topics. These include: comparing intrahousehold differences in production; the effect of technology and improved methods on household production; extension services to households; differences between male and female headed households; and the impact of development projects targeted on households. There are also a few studies, such as Cloud (1985) which attempt to measure total household output including the measurement of female productivity, and again, the woman's ability in the household economy to reproduce human capital.

DEVELOPMENT INTERVENTIONS AND AFRICAN WOMEN

The literature in this area focussed around three major themes. The most common of the three examined the participation of rural women in development projects, and how they benefit from the development process. There was one study in this group that discussed how the failure of development policies in West and Central Africa influenced women farmers' reactions to development interventions (Droy 1985). A second major theme centers around the impact and effects of alternate development policies on the roles and activities, as well as the work loads and productivity, of women. The third area of focus in the literature looked at the ability of governments and development organizations to target women with their projects. In this area, there was some investigation into the bureaucratic attitudes and misconceptions about women that influence the inclusion of women in the planning of development projects (see Hirschmann 1984).

The consensus among the literature was that the areas of agriculture and health were most important in terms of increasing women's productivity, and should be more consciously targetted toward women by development interventions.

One major sub-theme in the literature involved women's perceptions of development needs (Due, 1984). One study claimed that women's passive attitudes toward development were reinforced by custom and the policies and complacency of government and urban elites (Hagan 1984).

There was one study which refuted the claim that was common among the literature that development projects often place an uneven burden on women (Spencer 1976).

IMPACT OF TECHNOLOGY ON AFRICAN WOMEN

A number of studies look into the impact of technology transfer on women's productivity and labor. The adverse effect of new, labor-saving technologies in agriculture has been examined most thoroughly. Many studies find that technology usually saves labor in activities commonly dominated by men, which inadvertantly increases women's workloads in planting, weeding and harvesting lands newly brought into production. One study of Sierra Leone, however contradicted this consensus by finding that biological and chemical technology improvement can increase the labour inputs necessary in male dominated activities, especially in early years (Spencer 1979).

A few of the agricultural extension studies examined the question of technology acceptance: is it gender related; and does the lesser or poorer agronomic training of women make them less likely to use new technologies? This question was extended in several cases to ask whether the greater extension and acceptance of technology by men affects the participation of women in the development process.

Finally, there were some studies that looked into the effect of "appropriate technologies" targeted to women on women's work and productivity. One study even explored how the "released" time was used by women, and questioned whether it resulted in increased productivity. It was thought that the "social content" of the activities that had been abbreviated by the technology was still necessary, and was more likely to carry over into the released time than new productive activities (Roberts 1981).

This subject has not been as well covered as it should be, although elements of the topic occur in agricultural extension research, in particular. The subject could probably be filled out with much more research, chiefly in the areas of the impact of technologies on women, looking for appropriate technologies to target to women, the use of "released" time by women, and the demand among women for labor saving and other technologies.

MALE MIGRATION AND WOMEN'S PRODUCTIVITY IN AFRICA

There was enough literature on the effects of male out-migration on women's productive roles to deal briefly with it here. Most often, the literature discussed the impact on women's agricultural and household roles -- the situation where women become heads-of-household despite legal and traditional customs that dictate otherwise. The change in division-of-labour on the farm and in the household with the man absent, increased opportunity and scope for female decision making, and access of lone women farmers to credit, markets, and technological inputs have all been examined. Remittances from men in urban or other capitalist employment also was discussed, especially insofar as it gave women control over monetised resources, perhaps for the first time.

While there was not an abundance of literature in this area, I believe it does a good job in addressing the specific impact it has on women in their economic roles. Again, literature was mainly restricted to individual country case studies -- mainly in Southern Africa where the pull of the South African economy on men exerts its effect, the Sahelian zone where drought has driven men to seek alternative employment, and East Africa where the presence of major urban areas (e.g. Nairobi) offer the opportunity of wage employment to migratory men.

II.

WOMEN'S ROLES IN AFRICAN ECONOMY AND SOCIETY IN GENERAL

This is a very large category generally, and many of the other subjects discussed in this paper include more depth on its sub-themes. This section covers research and studies which discuss women's roles as they exist at the present time. The literature in this field is very varied; it includes specific studies of individual ethnic or national groups as well as larger, more theoretical studies. The topics covered range from the woman's role in controlling the production and marketing of foodstuffs to her role in the reproduction of the labor force. They also range from the evolution of women's roles to historical changes made intentionally by development interventions (see Wily 1981) and unintentionally through changes in economic, social and cultural interactions. Some specific change agents studied include male migration, drought, colonization and the introduction of the wage economy (see especially Savane 1986, Mikell 1985, Njiiri 1975, Dwight 1986-7, Parpart 1986, Checchi & Co. et al. 1980, and Society for African Studies and Development 1978). The Research indicates different effects on the different societies studied, indicating a need to research the possible effects of change agents on women's roles on a case-by-case basis.

Another topic covered in the research is the origin of role descrimination. Reyna (1985) looks into the socialization of young men, and Longwe (1985) looks at customs, laws, and the social practices behind role descrimination.

Many studies outlined here and under other sections in this review look at factors which shape women's roles. Chief among these are women's education, access to the factors of production, and legal position in society (see Diallo & Nagy 1986, Montgomery 1977, and Pala 1975). The interaction between women's social and economic roles is also studied in a few cases (e.g. Bryson 1979); the interaction between women's productive and reporductive roles is a subject of much of the research. Women's economic status and their attitudes toward family planning (McCormack Walsh and Nelson 1986), the interaction between employment and fertility (Lewis 1979), child care for working mothers (Fapohunda 1979), and the need for socio-economic research on single women with children (Syson 1973) have all been highlighted in the literature. Finally, studies on the roles for which women seem to be especially receptive, such a natural resource management (Stock Force and Ehrenreich 1982) also exist in the literature.

Other sections in this work should be examined for more specific detail on some of these themes. The themes themselves, however, seem to be universally in need of study for each individual development situation affecting women in Africa.

IMPACT OF MODERNIZATION ON WOMEN'S ECONOMIC ROLES IN AFRICA

Most of the literature in this sub-category was of the political-economy variety, and even when it was based on a single-country case study, it was quite general in nature and used specific, local examples to reinforce a more theoretical supposition. The most commonly discussed topic was the "underdevelopment" of women by the encroachment of a modern, capitalist, international economic system on traditional African agricultural systems. As male activities are replaced by the cash economy or transferred to women and children, male inputs into the traditional agricultural economy are eliminated, while women's workloads increase, both in productive roles (farming) and in reproductive roles (biologically, and in the feeding, clothing and socialising of the coming labor force). Similarly, with the integration of the primary production of raw materials (a male activity) into the international capitalist economy, the local sexual division of labor is reinforced. Another theme was the impact of the "modern state" differentially on the public (male) and private (female) spheres, splitting new economic activities from the traditional, female activities and roles. Finally, western education was seen in one study to reinforce the underdevelopment and marginalization of women in the modern economy. Wage employment created a production gap between the sexes which decreased the economic import of women and increased their dependence on men. Modern education, it is claimed, is structured to maintain this gap.

THE IMPACT OF EDUCATION ON WOMEN'S ECONOMIC ROLES IN AFRICA

This has been one of the more thoroughly covered topics in the literature. There are case studies from across Africa, and each study is more likely than studies in other topics to generalize from a selection of cases. The more extensively covered subjects include: women's access to education; the comparison of the values of formal and non-formal education; the assessment of the preparation education gives women for the labor force; and the links between education and fertility.

It is general consensus in the literature that women have less access to education than men. One study of Tanzania (Kerner, 1986) showed that education opportunities for women are directly related to their financial leverage within the household -- the more money they control, the more likely they are to invest it in education, both for boys and girls. Many studies look at the effect of education on male and female entry into the modern sector, and the limits a lack of education places on women in terms of their modern economic roles and productivity. One study (Kinyanjui, 1975) looks at women's education and women's recruitment into formal sector employment in Kenya. This study found that women who do exceptionally well in education compete equally with men in obtaining formal sector employment. Women with any lower level of performance, however, face descrimination based on their gender in the labor market. It is primarily in promotions that biases are displayed towards all women and income gaps between the sexes widen.

Several studies compared formal with non-formal education for women: which increases better the woman's ability to function more effectively in society; which increases per capita income more quickly; and which gives better access to the long-term market economy and employment. Derryck (1978) looks further at whether education increases the likelihood of migration among women. Smock (1977) questions whether formal education gives women the same earning potential and status mobility as it does for men, and posits that the lesser economic return for educated women may direct them away from rural economic activities and decrease their participation in the formal sector. Robertson (1984), in a study of Ghanaian women, found that formal education does not significantly help trading knowledge, nor does it provide skills for woman to find jobs. Furthermore, it takes away the benefit of full-time apprenticeships without providing full-time wage employement or alternative self employment as a substitute. There were also studies examining issues from the other side -- looking for educational factors underlying inadequacies observed in the job acquisition and performanc of women (see May-Parker, 1984). There were a few studies which look into whether, in historical perspective, western style eduction promotes gender-specific class formation, creating for women an underpriveleged status and poor access to resources (see especially Robertson, 1985).

There were some studies that tried to link education with fertility and productivity. Two such studies include: Mosley, Werner and Becker (1982), who find that education and participation in the work force may decrease the incidences of breast feeding, habitual abstinence, and polygamy, thus increasing fertility; and Youssef (1977) who concludes that in the muslim world, a change in the educational position of women reflects modernizing developments generally, and could have a further impact on marriage fertility, work participation, and the labor supply.

Other sub-topics touched upon in the research are: the link between enrollment levels and general economic development (Adams, 1987), and national education systems and their link to extension and vocational education and training (ICRW 1978, and Spring 1980).

POLITICAL AND LEGAL IMPACTS ON WOMEN'S PRODUCTIVITY IN AFRICA

While there are relatively few works done in this area, the few that have been done add a new perspective or slant to the work done in some of the other sub-categories described in this paper. Perhaps this issue, the systematic treatment of women by official society, encoded in legal customs and government practice, is one that should be examined in any study of women's productivity in Africa.

Besides a few studies which look at women's status legally in African societies, there are one or two works that examine the role of government in creating and perpetuating productivity gaps between the sexes. Staudt (1976 & 1978) discovered that woman-managed farms in Kenya had less access to government extensions and loans than farms managed jointly by women and men, despite the high level of technical adaptability of these farms. She concludes that the systematic neglect of women affects their ability to sustain innovative behavior, and will therefor negatively affect the agricultural productivity of society.

The other main vein of research done in this category involved the effect of legislation on women workers. Lisk & Stevens (1987) examine government policies in employment and income generation, agricultural and rural development, industry, the informal sector, and the household economy with an eye for weaknesses in their approaches to planning, policy formulation, and implementation. They then discuss possible reforms that would make governments more effective in promoting economic goals among the female population.

III.

WOMEN'S INCOME AND EXPENDITURES IN AFRICA

This area has been investigated, but I would not say it has been covered well. Most of the topics within the area seem to have been looked at at least once, if not in and of themselves, then in the context of another topic (see especially the Small Scale Enterprise and Household Economy sections). However, due to the fact that most of these topics are examined within an individual national or ethnic context, generalizations are difficult to make.

Some of the topics that came up most clearly were: women's labor substitution between income generating activities, household activities, and leisure time; women's role in asset ownership, income earning, and spending; and women's access to the factors of production (Lele, 1986). Due, Madenda et al. (1985) studied the amount of income generated by women in Zambia, and found that 55% of the total national income (both on and off - farm income) were generated by women. Wages earned by women, compared to those earned by men, were also examined. They were found to be slightly lower in Sierra Leone, although it was unclear whether this was due to the relative productivity of women, or to descrimination on the wage market. Makhetha and Bastian (1980) posit that the expansion of the modern production sector has led to a decrease in women's incomes, due to the devaluation of women's activities and their roles in agriculture in the modern economy.

Reining, Camara et al. (1977) studied the effect of income on the relative status of women. They studied several cases across cultures (african as well as non-african), linking income with status and family size. Mc Cormack, Walsh & Nelson (1986) took this line one step further in determining that income generation projects do not automatically enhance women's status or attitudes toward family planning, when channelled through women's groups.

There were also some studies of how natural disasters affect women's status. Smale (1980) studied different ethnic groups within Mauritania and found that the ability and willingness of women to engage in income-generating activities varied with the mores of their ethnic society. With drought, and the increased and extended absence of men, the adaptability of these women as providers of family income was made more starkly apparent.

One area that was not touched upon to any great extent was the amount and use of women's discretionary income. How much of their income do women have control over, and how do they spend it? Some studies have indicated that women are more likely to spend on education for their children (see education section), but more needs to be done on this topic.

WOMEN'S GROUPS IN THE AFRICAN ECONOMY

The studies done in this area have been, for the large part, studies of specific national, ethnic, or sub-regional populations; there are not many studies looking at the topic in an Africa-wide perspective. Because women's groups are so widespread a phenomenon in Africa, however, this is an area for which research should be ongoing with all project interactions. This subject overlaps with others in this paper, most specifically, the sections on Small Scale Enterprises and Women's Income.

One major theme in this subject area is the genesis of women's groups from the economic conditions affecting women. Slattery (1981) estimates that women make up eighty percent (80%) of the self-help labor force in Africa; therefore, women's groups are an important form of mutual aid. However, these groups do evolve into other functions as well. Reveyrand (1986/7) notes that in Senegal, while the groups have an economic base in land allocation and food production, a major purpose is to provide cultural and social cohesion among women. Thus, while providing for a strong work force, women's cooperative groups also prepare women to cope with social and economic problems. A similar evolution was noted by Baltzersen (1984), who notes that women's groups are empowering. Informal groups that have been set up around domestic chores can become formal networks, used to gain visibility and access to resources. Other research exposes the limits to this empowerment, however. In Kenya, beer brewing and selling networks take a defensive strategy against hardships such as illness, economic strife and police raids. However, they have less frequently taken an offensive stance; cooperation to build a nursery school and in approaching local politicians to get piped water are a few examples of this more positive force. Thus, while groups in Kenya are empowering, they are not used specifically to promote social change (Nelson, 1979). The economic and political empowerment deriving to women from cooperation might be one major area for further research.

There were some studies that examined the use of womens groups to generate capital, through investment groups or rotating savings mechanisms, and for marketing and acquiring access to community resources (Wachtel & Wachtel 1974, Belloncle 1982). There were also some studies looking at women's groups in historical perspecitve. Coughman (1980) sees women's cooperatives as rising out of a change in traditional income-generating activities. Schuster (1982) concurrs, and claims that with modernization, kinship networks become less important as women become employed (and therefor independent). Kinship groups are replaced by female interdependence in women's groups and societies. Staudt (1978) begins to look at the emergence of female leaders from women's groups, although this area is very thinly covered in the research.

AFRICAN WOMEN IN SMALL ENTERPRISE AND TRADE

This topic has been well studied, but much remains to be done. The most heavily covered areas geographically have been Kenya and the West African states of Liberia, Ghana, and Sierra Leone. The most heavily covered topics have been women-owned or dominated industries (Gara cloth, Beer-brewing) and women's marketing activities (mostly processed foods). Women in the informal sector have also been studied (see section on the urban sector), as have women's group activities and group savings mechanisms (see section on women's groups).

Reports on the actual involvement of women in small scale enterprises vary. Liedholm and Mead (1986) claim that the majority of small enterprises in sub-saharan Africa are owned by women. However, Chuta (1978) and others claim that in Sierra Leone, only the Gara (tie-die) industry is dominated by women, who provide seventy percent (70%) of the total input, and comprise eighty percent (80%) of the proprietors. Milimo and Fisseha (1986) report that in Zambia, women are sixty percent (60%) of the owners of small enterprises, and fifty-four percent (54%) of the labor force involved.

Much of the literature on urbanization reports that lack of education and other opportunities force women particularly into the informal sector -- dominated by small enterprises, petty trading, and crafts (see Jules-Rosette 1982). Wachtel (1974) studies the background, work experience, and motives of women operating individually owned small businesses in the informal sector.

The types of entrepreneurial activities taken up by women have also been heavily studied. Food processing of one sort or another leads the list. Simmons (1975) reports that of the 95% of women employed in Nigeria, 90% are involved in food processing. Cohen (1984) looks into women's roles as street food processors and sellers, and the income - generating capacity of this activity. Women appear to be particularly involved in beer brewing; much of the literature focusses on these activities. Nelson (1979) looks at beer brewing networks in Kenya and their role in lending economic security and affecting social change (see women's groups section). Women's groups are also studied in this context in Mali, in a case study of women's cooperative business in the cloth and soap industries (Caughman and Thiam 1982).

Women's roles in the marketplace, particularly as an outgrowth of their household responsibilities and a reaction to the needs of the modern economy, have also been researched. The roles played by women in food markets and the constraints on their entry into the cash economy are also explored (see especially Kaba, Smith et al. 1982).

One interesting topic briefly examined in the literature is the economic role of women who are in Purdah or otherwise secluded. Schildkrout (1983) is an interesting study of the small enterprise and food processing activities of secluded women who use their children as links with the marketplace. They also are heavily involved in rotating credit societies -- all behind the veil.

The effect of industrialization on women and their involvement in small firms has also been covered in the research. Some literature has indicated that as manufacturing employment has increased, women's participation inthe labor force has also increased. The expanding demand for products of small industries has therefore led to a greater inegration of women into the modernizing economy, partially offsetting the greater bias against women in the transition to modern industrial economies. One study (Watts 1985) takes this further by looking into the factors that prevent an even greater adaptibility of women's entrepreneurial talents and experience to the modern economy. He finds that appropriate education and greater access to capital would help by freeing up women's natural adaptibility. Women's access to capital has also been touched upon more specifically, though perhaps less than it should be. Freidman (in Terrel 1979) looks at credit availability to women in the Entente States of West Africa. Reno, Duvall et al. (1981) are exemplary of the literature that looks into women's involvement in Credit Unions.

WOMEN'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE URBAN SECTOR IN AFRICA

This topic seemed to be well covered, particularly in the southern Africa region (Botswana, Lesotho, Zimbabwe). The issues outlined by the research, however, could probably be explored and expanded upon in the rest of Africa, where increasing urbanization is becoming an economic factor. Within the southern African literature, there was much on the causes and effects of female migration to cities, and on the influence this has on the woman's role in the family, her participation in decision making, and her autonomy. Female headed households in the urban setting received a good share of attention. Izzard (1979 #2) outlines several of the topics within this broad category. She focusses on the matrifocality of the family group in southern africa in general and the interdependence of female headed households, as well as: the decision making process leading up to urban migration; the degree of permanence in migration; and the social and economic problems recently migrant women encounter. Some other issues prominent in the literature include women's urban employment, housing and shelter issues, the adjustment to town life, the relation to the village life left behind, and the potential for back-migration (see Bryant, 1977).

Women's urban employment was explored in some depth, and this sub-category overlaps considerably with the category I am presenting on women in small-scale enterprises. The type of employment and the wages women receive compared to those received by men were the most common topics. Bryant, Stephens and MacLiver (1978) find that 55% of the women migrants in Botswana migrate in response to perceived job opportunities in domestic service, though many eventually end up in the informal sector. They claim that urban life is better for unmarried mothers than village life. Johnson (1986) finds that women tend to be involved in activities which are less capital intensive, due to their difficulty in getting credit (see also sections on SSE and Women's Groups), plus their low level of education and the marriage specificity of their skills (as opposed to skills being geared to the labor market). This results in an economic status among migrant women that is lower than that among migrant men. Jules-Rosette is typical of the research that has concluded that this exclusion of women from education specific employment alternatives leads to their predominant occupation in the informal sector as self-employed petty traders, crafts persons, or small entrepreneurs. Schuster (83) was the only work which specifically spoke of a female white-collar class and the impact on this class of employment opportunities created by government manpower training policies in Zambia.

On a related topic, there were a few studies which examined the impact on women of migration stemming from a refugee status. Stein (1981) looks at the impact refugee status has on women's tasks and family productivity, and concludes that the resulting marginalization of women results in their low profile and apathy.

APPENDIX A
BIBLIOGRAPHY -- AFRICAN WOMEN IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

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