

## Book Reviews

**Anthropology of Development and Change in East Africa.** Edited by David W. Brokensha and Peter D. Little. Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1988, IDA Monographs in Development Anthropology, ix + 258 pp., illustrations, references, index, soft cover, \$29.95.

A subdiscipline called "the anthropology of development" has come of age, bringing together advocates of the Third World, theorists of Polanyi's "great transformation," and practitioners of an applied social science. Although the term is both presumptuous and archaic, especially in a "postmodern" world, "modernization," an intertwined set of pervasive shifts in the organization of economy and society, remains the business of "development"; it includes increasing monetization, dependency on markets, regional integration and specialization, the "rationalization" of both agriculture and industry, and pursuit of technological innovation and increased productivity, and the bureaucratization of economic regulation and services. The expectation of the average citizen is that this pervasive shift in the organization of production will enhance *human* development, that is, will bring improvement in the standard and quality of life, through higher incomes, access to a wider range of commodities, higher quality nutrition, better health and other social services, access to education, higher degrees of political and social security, and even more leisure.

The notion of "development" has another usage: that intentional *process* of intervention that aims to stimulate change in the social and economic sphere in order to enhance the quality of life. Projects are conceived by agencies and carried out by government or non-governmental institutions (NGOs) within a given sector or a community in order to achieve a set of both proximal and distal goals. But while the machinery of development in the third sense grinds forward, so also does that pervasive process of change, making it difficult to predict or even assess after the fact whether the "project" achieved its goals.

The development anthropologist can analyze and describe, or can prescribe and design, but his or her role is best defined by the contradictions in the process. What happens when "modernization" does not seem to bring "development," or when project machinery doesn't seem to work, or works too well to the wrong ends? For the peasant or pastoralist, the paradox of development is often that you're damned if you do (participate) and damned if you don't. The anthropologist was once the provider of "deep background," and was later called for "social analysis" or "project assessment." But a weakening of faith in the power of technology alone to define solutions successfully has introduced another, perhaps more satisfying, role for anthropology, that of relating local knowledge, goals and aspirations to the subject matter of modernization, and as an interlocutor between agencies and communities in the design and pursuit of projects.

The volume under review is a compilation of excellent case studies from East Africa that illustrate this multilateral relation between an outside agency, a local community (district, or even country), and the anthropologist as both student and agent of change (but agent of whom?), with respect to a project or an aspect of the "pervasive process" of change. The chapters are primarily focused on peasant communities and on agrarian questions: agricultural policy, the role of farming cooperatives, the contribution of women to agriculture, the impact of food aid, rural responses to drought and famine, household nutrition and health, technological questions of weed control, tool provisioning, and research and development on potato cultigens. Two chapters consider social dimensions of rural communities, population control, and women's cooperatives. The chapters are of high standard in relating observations to development theory and in drawing out implications for program design and policy. I will try briefly to summarize a few of their insights and recommendations.

Two chapters were concerned with more general effects of agrarian policies: first, the response of peasant communities to Tanzania's Ujamaa policy of socialist development, and second, Kenya's rangeland policy concerning its pastoralist communities, especially in Turkana District. B. Nindi illustrates the economic costs of using state coercion to enforce "ill-informed" agrarian policies. Although Iringa District had been transformed by capitalist (Hehe) farmers into the most important maize-growing district in Tanzania, producing one-fifth of the national supply in 1969, in the 1970s market output dramatically declined when private large holdings were turned over to Ujamaa villages, production based on seasonal labor migration was prohibited, and agricultural inputs were channeled to communal plots. "Villagization," pursued without proper technical planning, contributed to serious food shortages, decreased productivity, underutilization of labor,

and environmental degradation and loss of soil fertility. R. Hogg describes for Kenya how the “mainstream” assumption, that the major problem of semiarid areas was bad forms of land use through traditional animal husbandry practices and overgrazing, led to an indiscriminate emphasis on reducing stock numbers and developing non-pastoral economic alternatives for “excess” population. Much effort has gone into developing an ill-fated fishing industry for impoverished Turkana herders. The dramatic decline in fish-yields has meant that a large fish-freezing plant installed in the middle of the desert has never been used, and what incomes have been generated have been reinvested in livestock. Similarly, the encouragement of irrigation agriculture, which offered only a marginal existence, has exacerbated desertification through sedentarization. Recently, policy has appropriately shifted toward development within the pastoral sector, including restocking (since under- rather than overstocking is the problem!), encouraging herder associations, and discouraging permanent settlement.

The cases just reviewed reflect the cost of ignoring local needs and aims in development, while other chapters also reflect growing attention given to indigenous knowledge and participation in development planning. Spring describes how agricultural projects in Malawi have suffered by the failure to offer women in Malawi full participation. Conelly recommends that in developing improved crop varieties, research should not focus on insect resistance to the exclusion of other characteristics farmers value, such as yields, low rainfall tolerance, taste, cooking qualities, and response to other pests, and should consider that intercropping has served farmers in the past to limit insect pests. Regarding the development of strains of potatoes in Rwanda, Haugerud illustrates how farmers seek for reasons of food security to maintain cultigen diversity, planting several species of potatoes with different growing cycles within the same field, and combining short and long-cycle cultivars. Greeley demonstrates for the Merru of Kenya how a local nongovernmental organization, with a reputation for community involvement over several generations, known as an introducer of Western technology and for improving the status of women, can often be more effective in promoting fertility control than the government.

What role, then, does and should the anthropologist play in the development process, and who is anthropology’s constituency? Despite their disciplinary tradition of long-term field research, anthropologists are often used in “quick-and-dirty” short-term development assignments, for evaluation or assessment; knowing too much about an area was even cited as a drawback in development work. However, contributions to this volume were all based on longer-term study, and in many cases “projects” were incidental to or formed only one part of research carried out in communities.

While it is gratifying that authors invariably stated explicitly what recommendations they, on the basis of their work, would make, Hogg makes a telling remark, that "relevancy has its price" (p. 194), that research addressed to the problems of development planning may lose the breadth and scope, and "the complexity and range of social and economic interconnections that go to make up a society and its economy" (p. 194), the vision around which anthropology has been fashioned.

The editors, each of whom has long field experience in applied research, maintain that anthropological knowledge can improve our understanding of development problems and of how policies and programs will affect local people, and can help in designing and implementing solutions (p. 11). Some such self-confident assertion of positivistic faith in our "science" is perhaps needed in constructing a subdiscipline. But another contributor, P. Fleuret, sounds a note of restraint in recommending "a certain humility in the application of anthropological knowledge," since complex systems may be "relatively impervious to conscious efforts at planning and direction" (p. 72). This is a caution not just for anthropology but for development in general as a mode of intervention. More *apropos* is the tentative yet insightful suggestion by the editors that anthropologists emerge as "brokers, or interpreters, acting between local people and the various agencies and institutions that affect their lives" (p. 11), and, we might add, whose primary constituencies encounter not just projects but more pervasive forces of development and change.

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**L'arbre Nourricier en Pays Sahélien.** *By Anne Bergeret, with the collaboration of Jesse C. Ribot.* Ministère de la Coopération et du Développement, Paris, Editions de la maison des sciences de l'homme, 1990, 237 pp.

This book covers more material than the title implies. An ethnobotany study of Sahelian ecology, it is based on the authors' independent field work in the western part of Senegal during the 1980s. One of their main findings is that the post-draught recovery of the Sahelian forest is being endangered more by the felling of the trees by coal-burners to meet urban demand than by local use. In their introduction, the authors discuss theoretical issues in a somewhat redundant manner, emphasizing the importance they will give to the villagers' point of view. The main author is not

exempt from ethnocentrism, however. For example, two pages out of context on the history of the French forest might have been profitably replaced by some background on the Sahelian forest itself, which can be described presently as an "arborescent savanna," with trees concentrated in damp depressions.

The six chapters of Part One discuss the importance of gathered plants which balance staple foods, mostly millet; here arboreal products are essential. These are either prepared as a "sauce" to accompany the cereal dish, or are eaten as snacks. This section is sprinkled with numerous lists, tables, and charts providing valuable data on the various plant species and on their nutrition content. However, one would have wished more detailed comments on plants and a better organization of the material to obviate the unnecessary repetitions. This first part of the book also covers other related aspects of the problem, such as food-gathering strategies employed by three ethnic groups: the Socé, the Peuls, and the Wolof.

As well as a source of food, the trees are necessary to the villagers for other uses: shade, by-products, water-conservation, and habitat for game. The book presents a strong defense of local gathering strategies; this is based on the presumed "fit" between ecological balance and the villagers' time-tested practices. While useful, this equivalence model could have been discussed in greater and more convincing detail. The second part of the book, however, amply justifies the authors decision for brevity here.

The five chapters of Part Two are an original study on the devastating effects of coal-burning on the Sahelian forest. This section of the study emphasizes the sociological, economical, and political aspect of the problem, as well as its ecological aspect. The coal-burners, who are Guinean Peuls, not only cut down dead trees, but also living ones; moreover, their techniques kill even more trees. While the villagers use dead wood for their kitchen needs, the city dwellers, particularly in Dakar, use charcoal for cooking because local charcoal is the cheapest source of fuel available. Part of the problem is a widespread failure to observe quotas for tree-cutting. The responsibility is also shared by the local government which is said to favor the city population over the villagers due to their greater political weight. The authors provide a detailed picture of the view of the villagers, who are presented as the natural defenders of the Sahelian trees, as well as victims of ecological pillage in their own territory.

An interesting point in all this is the question of reforestation. In theory, reforestation is the counterpart of tree-cutting: when some planting is actually conducted, it is done with commercial rentability in mind. Consequently, fast-growing species, like eucalyptus, are favored by the

international or governmental agencies over traditional species, without regard to the villagers's needs and ecological benefits. Given the complexities, one would have liked more comparisons with the situation in other Sahelian countries. Also, no alternatives are proposed to charcoal use, e.g., solar ovens (cf. *Nature*, Nov. 30, 1990).

The book's copious appendices provide a wealth of important data. The bibliography is divided into two parts, so as to reflect the individual research of the joint authors. An index would have been desirable. To summarize, this valuable book raises important and urgent issues about the post-drought situation in the Sahel.

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**A Simple Matter of Salt: An Ethnography of Nutritional Deficiency in Spain.** *By Renate Lellep Fernandez.* University of California Press, 1990, xiv + 266 pp, illustrations, \$37.50.

This book is a useful case study in what cultural anthropology can contribute to epidemiological and nutritional studies. The subject is endemic goiterism and mental retardation (with other symptoms, lumped as iodine deficiency disorders, or IDD) in Asturias, an isolated mountain region in Northeastern Spain. The author notes that prevention is a "simple matter" of iodized salt, a cure known to Western Medicine for decades, yet this relatively cheap and easy solution was never implemented here as a matter of policy until 1984—a shocking history of neglect and passivity, its human costs quite appalling, as the photographs show. She asks: why the neglect of such an effective and cost-efficient prophylaxis?

The answers lead the author to a detailed socio-political and cultural study of local, regional, and national institutions that conspired to prevent iodine prophylaxis until 1984, when democratic Spain granted political autonomy to its regions, including Asturias. The author takes a self-declared "materialist" approach in which she seeks answers to medical policies within a broader system of political and class relations. This approach works very well up to a point, revealing the embeddedness of Spanish epidemiology within institutionalized hierarchies. For example, the author shows quite clearly how the Spanish elite (including doctors, many otherwise eminent) continued to hold the villagers responsible for their plight, laying the blame on rustic immorality and inbreeding, rather than on dietary deficiencies brought on by poverty. The author shows

brilliantly how such attitudes reflected typical urban notions about marginal peasants and their irredeemable bestiality: forms of institutionalized “ethnic” stereotyping not confined to Asturias or Spain. The author is strongest on this point.

Other contributing factors, however, are more ambiguous, and some ideological presumptions creep into the book that mar an otherwise impartial account. Unspecified “class interests” (p. 189) are blamed for preventing iodination, as well as “excessive” loyalties of most Spanish physicians under Franco and (unnamed) unscrupulous drug companies that may or may not have promoted false cures. In addition, one has to note some of the unhappy internal contradictions that develop from the author’s approach. For example, her materialist (political economy) interpretations were disputed by her own informants, who noted that the wealthiest people also had goiters (how then can IDD be linked to class war?). But the author dismisses such objections as false consciousness stemming from a distorting “egalitarian ethic” (p. 122). The author may be right about all this, but the interpretive tergiversations detract from the book’s otherwise linear narrative logic.

At a deeper level there is the problem of personal sympathies and epistemological consistency. Taking a cue from fashionable postmodernist criticism, the author continually notes the dangers of appearing ethnocentric—even “racist”—(p. 8) for addressing deficiencies, medical or otherwise, in other cultures (that is, being patronizing by stressing “flaws” that may not perceptually exist according to the host culture). Yet she herself, without the slightest self-awareness, excoriates the entire Spanish medical profession for its willful ignorance of “Western” medical advances, even impugning the motives of many of Spain’s most renowned physicians (p. 172). So one has to ask: when is it appropriate to point out the “other’s” defects, and when not? Only when the “other” is an educated elite? How are one’s own postmodern “egalitarian” sympathies engaged by a distaste for all social hierarchies and what is the effect of this upon perception of ranked systems such as medicine?

These are problems of interpretation; in sum they are minor and do not detract from the many and solid achievements of this fine monograph. The author has demonstrated how deeply linked are epidemics, medical practice, and cultural institutions. Her main accomplishment is to show that epidemiological studies are incomplete without accompanying social and anthropological studies of context. Her arguments are backed with carefully documented statistics, exquisitely reconstructed genealogies, and exhaustive medical histories. In documenting the plight of these Spanish villagers, she has given their past suffering new meaning and a heightened poignancy.

One hopes that the book will have extensive readership in related fields: its practical implications are many and important.

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**The Unquiet Woods: Ecological Change and Peasant Resistance in the Himalaya.** By *Ramachandra Guha*. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1989, \$34.95 (cloth).

This succinct volume is the first important monograph on social change and ecological degradation in colonial India. The heart of the story in the Indian subcontinent is forestry, centering on the conflict between forest departments and villagers. In *The Unquiet Woods*, Guha anchors his analysis in the structure and consciousness of peasant society, and views the state and its policies from the perspective of villagers' traditional attitudes in Uttarakhand, the hill districts of the central Himalayas which now lie within India's largest state, Uttar Pradesh. Peasant society in the hills was far more egalitarian, homogeneous, and cooperative than in the north Indian plains below, where the stratified land tenures and exploitative social structure precluded community solidarity and effective resource management.

Guha stands solidly in today's stream of scholarship which argues that villagers have understood their natural resource base better than scientific specialists from outside, whose information is less intimate and whose priorities do not center on sustaining local human and natural communities. Hill traditions, he argues, constituted "a sophisticated system of conservancy" (p. 29), including community monitoring of common property and awareness of the processes of environmental stress. Prior to the colonial regime's alienation of their rights of access to subsistence resources, village communities maintained inviolable sacred groves, seasonal bans on gathering of many forest products, and collective restraints on wood gathering and grazing whenever unrestrained use would endanger the human habitat. The available record is scattered, and in India as elsewhere there is a danger of romanticizing the pre-modern village. Students of common property management systems would want to know more about how villages actually managed those allocations and restraints. But Guha gives enough examples of a "reservoir of local ecological knowledge" (p. 151) to set a provisionally convincing paradigm.



Guha interprets modern forestry as the cutting edge of the bureaucratic state's extension of power into realms traditionally left to local society. This inherent alienation between centralized state and peasant society he sees as having been heightened in British imperial India, where the regime was foreign to local culture in every way. Guha briefly narrates the evolution of British forestry practice in the Himalayan districts, emphasizing the foresters' efforts to maximize timber production for distant markets. He argues that silviculture in this setting meant gradual transformation of mountain forests from their natural biological variety and richness of oak and other broadleaved species (which had many uses in village life), into coniferous stands dominated by marketable species such as chir pine and deodar cedar.

Whereas, other authors have explored the technical aspects of colonial "scientific" forestry. Guha gives new insights into the social policy imbedded in colonial silviculture. For example, the strategy of controlled annual burning of the forest floor has been an ancient practice among peasants and tribal peoples, and also a perennial controversy among professional foresters. Foresters in British India began by strictly prohibiting these fires, but gradually found that this policy was both ecologically debatable and socially unenforceable. In the 1920s, official policy shifted toward a more flexible approach to the burnings, both for silvicultural reasons and to accommodate village practices.

Guha then seizes an unusual opportunity to assess the colonial state comparatively, by the fact that an immediately adjacent region of the Ganges watershed was ruled until 1947 by an autonomous king, the Raja of Tehri Garhwal, whose dynasty dated back 1000 years. Guha argues that in Tehri State the Agrarian social structure was essentially similar to adjacent British territory in its high degree of social equality and cohesion. But in traditional Tehri, the peasants perceived that corrupt and racious officers of the raja were their antagonists, not the raja himself, who was the personification of a just social and spiritual order; he could be relied upon to guarantee universal access to resources and subsistence. Yet despite this central difference between colonial and princely states, when the raja could profit from the sale of timber to markets in British India, peasants resisted his regime as well. Tension culminated in 1930 in violent confrontations and the deaths of peasant protestors. The traditional state was losing its legitimacy primarily because of modern forestry law, and villagers' alienation simmered until the early 1970s, when it combined with former British districts in the internationally known Chipko movement.

In the early 1970s, the Chipko movement arose from the political past of both British India and the princely state, and in response to unprecedented ecological disasters of mountainside erosion and upper Ganges floods. Many accounts of the Chipko struggle against timber harvesters are now available, but this book puts the movement in a broader historical perspective than any other. In line with his strategy throughout the book, Guha does not present a full historical narrative, but rather a selection of details to illustrate the movement's world-view and the strategic styles of its leaders. He describes Chipko as being three-dimensional: combining the Gandhian nonviolent resistance tradition and environmentalist idiom of Sunderlal Bahuguna, Chandi Prasad Bhatt's effort to ensure that forests can be sustained as an important economic basis of hill villagers' lives, and the Marxist social radicalism of the militant USV organization.

Enriching these three elements are two others: first, the particularly prominent role of village women in the protest, and second, the use of Hindu religious traditions to legitimize resistance against incursions from the outside. Guha is rightly ambivalent about whether the women's leadership (which has been crucial in some villages but not in others) reflects their traditional importance in the subsistence economy of the hills, or the great economic stress which modern times have put on hill households. He is also sensitive to the religious basis of much of the movement, from Sunderlal Bahuguna's saintly style of politics and readings from the Bhagavad Gita at rallies, to women's folksongs rooted in the mountain tradition of goddess worship, sung as women's networks are extended from one district to another.

Guha's account ends in 1984, shortly after Chipko's success in convincing the state government to ban all commercial logging for 15 years. In a tantalizing postscript he suggests that the movement has recently broadened to a defense of the entire mountain ecosystem against three elements of destructive development: high dams, mining concessions, and alcoholism (the last largely a women's struggle). Although the anti-alcohol campaign is indeed important in the Uttarakhand hills, its relation to the other confrontations needs further clarification.

Finally, in occasional references throughout the book and then in a brief final section, the author suggests comparisons between the forest history of Uttarakhand and its parallels in early modern Europe and elsewhere, especially in mountain settings. The rich literature on forest history in the temperate zone, and the recently growing literature on the tropics and subtropics, have not yet been given serious comparative analysis. Guha's theoretical framework on the sociology of rural resistance against

the capitalist state provides an important setting in which that comparative study might be done.

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**Dance Civet Cat: Child Labour in the Zambesi Valley.** *By Pamela Reynolds.*  
Ohio University Press, Athens, 1990, 208 pp., \$24.95.

Ideas about the dependency status of children and their relative value or costs to their parents and kin form an important component of hypotheses regarding continuing high fertility in Africa. Questions are often posed regarding children's participation in agriculture and other subsistence and market-oriented activities. As the author of this study contends however, there are still precious few data on agricultural communities in southern Africa from which to seek confirmation.

This study is precisely about this topic: child labor. It is set in the Zambesi Valley on the southern bank of Lake Kariba among a community which suffers the fate of a minority group living in one of the poorest and most neglected areas of the country. It was carried out by a fellow of the Faculty of Agriculture of the University of Zimbabwe, who has worked with Tonga children for more than 3 years. Her study of children's work in the context of subsistence agriculture sets out not only to discover whether children work, but how much they work, what value their work is to their community, how work constrains their opportunities of various kinds, and how it may foster growth and accumulation of knowledge. Simultaneously, she is concerned with the impacts of age and gender on the life cycle and with individuals, their relationships and strategies. She first describes the 12 families studied and then looks at the children as individuals within their contexts of kin and community.

Although the author's stated aim is to describe the work of children, it does not set out to be simply descriptive. Rather, the writer attempts to draw on the techniques of anthropology in focusing upon the lives of children. She realizes at the outset that given the known difficulties in measuring economic activity and the nature of children, her task is not an easy one and that perforce she will have to experiment with method. Her problems are legion and enormous and those which beset recorders of economic activity worldwide when it is not a question of wage or salaried employment.

She uses a varied battery of techniques for data collection and analysis. They include full-day observations, weekly time budget records, 24 hour recall sessions and routine spot observations, as well as recording the labor of other family members, their use of casual labor, sharing of labor with kin across households, and the use of work parties. During the course of her fieldwork a detailed picture of 12 families was gradually developed, which incorporated household accounts, health, water use, sanitation habits, genealogies, life histories, farming patterns, and labor use. This was associated with the detailed usage patterns of 35 fields.

The Tonga people are described as having felt the imperatives of a cash economy since the British colonial government imposed a hut tax in 1898. They have a kinship system based on matrilineal descent and have for the past century suffered many calamities—military, environmental, fiscal, and logistical—suffering traumas of resettlement, resulting in the deprivation of their major resources in land water and wild game. Currently, land hunger and constraints on traditional economic practices, including hunting, fishing, and trading, as well as lack of modern training, mean that malnutrition is chronic and interventions are required to prevent further catastrophe. Pressures for cash to pay for school fees and to buy inputs for cotton crops have grown since independence.

An important goal of Reynolds is to examine labor constraints to the increase in food or cash crop production. In particular, she is interested in examining the agricultural burdens faced by women and the strategies they devise to overcome them. Thus, the distribution of labor within and between families is a prime concern of her research and within that context the crucial labor of children, a phenomenon both notably difficult to document and measure, as well as being determined by a variety of factors, including matrilineal descent.

Of particular interest among the Tonga is the recognized right of children to direct their own lives, in particular their right to choose which parent or relative to live with. Reynold's focus is children whose mother's households contain 101 people and who together with six husbands feed 88 people from the produce of 25 fields. In addition, remittances are received from migrant household members. The 12 households are situated within the context of kin group clusters and within the village of Chitenge.

In a chapter entitled "Families, Farms and Other Resources she indicates how survival, economic success, and security are intertwined with familial roles and relationships. *Inter alia*, she notes that new myths are replacing old ones among those who govern. While the colonial regime believed there was a surplus of labor in communal areas, her study shows

an important labor deficit. Moreover, while there is currently a myth that "traditional" society in communal areas caters adequately to the needs of female-headed households, her enquiries demonstrate that in terms of their access to resources and male labor, such women are severely deprived and the life chances of their children diminished.

Reynold's study shows that two adult farmers can produce enough grain to feed a family in a year, if there are not untoward circumstances such as ill health, drought, or disturbances by wild animals. It is the amount of manual labor which can be provided which limits the amount of land cultivated and there is no labor market or fixed price for labor. Everybody has a right to land and so works on their own fields, Surplus labor is sometimes obtained for payments of grain or through the organization of work parties.

Labor demands vary over the year and children help to supply the extra labor needed at peak periods. Women depend heavily on their children's assistance. Older children provide important labor inputs both on farms in a variety of tasks and in transporting harvests. Children under 10 are also kept busy attending to infants and toddlers, while their mothers work in the fields. According to her detailed calculations based on data collected by a variety of means, the help received from children ranged between 28–51% of all labor on a particular task. Women did not expect help from their relatives outside the nuclear family on any task other than carrying the harvest home. Reynold's findings demonstrate that for women farmers, membership of a secure kin group and a position of wife in a strong household unit ensure access to labor at peak periods. Other forms of assistance are strikingly lacking. Children provide the adjustable labor force.

Significantly, data on agricultural activities showed that women and girls devote more time to these than men or boys. The evidence shows that girls spend almost as great a percentage of their time working as do their mothers and more than their fathers and much more than their brothers. Thus, Reynolds contends that by the age of 10, girls already shoulder a full burden of labor, and they can anticipate continuing working until prevented by old age or ill health.

Childcare is almost invisible in the records. It is children aged 4–8 who are most preoccupied by childcare and the extent of this preoccupation is underestimated by adults. Women are observed to be occupied with care of infants and little children for only 20% of their observed time, girls for 33% and boys for 4%. Little girls under 10 spend 56% of their time caring for infants and children younger than themselves. The results of the spot checks of activities demonstrate that boys and men spend more time away from home than girls and women. Girls, like women, are observed to spend

most of their time working. Furthermore, there is evidence that the imperatives of gender and birth order are felt more keenly by girls and reflected in their labor. Boys under 10 spend most of their time playing, and boys 10–16 are at leisure for 41% of the time.

Comparison of findings from the several data collection and analysis techniques shows that the orders of magnitude between types of activity remain similar across all three techniques (observation, instant, and 24-hour records). Meanwhile, each population group recalls far fewer economic activities than they were actually observed to perform. As Reynolds notes, these findings have very significant implications. Data on agricultural labor at the University of Zimbabwe and elsewhere is usually obtained using survey methods that rely on recall of labor, even recall by the household head about other household members. These results indicate that such survey recall data should be treated with utmost caution.

Having established that females work for far longer hours than males, the author goes on to examine how for most of the year women and their daughters keep working and their lives are restricted by that work, whereas they control hardly any surplus time or cash. The only real control women can exercise is over their children's time, especially that of their daughters. Moreover, in a context of conjugal mobility and fragility, even ambiguity, women depend heavily upon kin support for security, matrilineal ties ensuring a "fall-back" position.

Children in Mola have very different lives from their counterparts in northern industrialized societies. They are not isolated in closed homes or entirely dependent upon adults. They are not separated from the world of adults, and they readily establish relationships with people outside their nuclear family. Moreover, they are granted reasonable equality with adults, for example, in the value placed on their labor. Rebellion and anxiety find various forms of culturally acceptable expression. Their security depends primarily upon their mothers' farming efforts and on the support their mothers receive from husbands and/or kin. Those without the latter are typically in situations of deprivation and insecurity and may accordingly take the initiative to search strategically for patrons among more distant matrikin. For as Reynolds demonstrates, children partly shape the kind of support they receive. By active negotiation, they nurture alliances with those linked by kinship into a network of obligations and responsibility. But children are certainly vulnerable, especially since the adults in their families have suffered from separation from their traditional resources.

Reynolds succeeds admirably in her attempt to depict the labor of the children of Mola. She gives evidence that they contribute 57% of their families' productive labor, at least in the most intensive periods of farm

work. She demonstrates the symbolic linkages with the rules concerning gender, age, kinship, and spiritual relations. She also demonstrates the disciplinary function of labor that has differential impacts on boys and girls, drawing them into the activities which will be their lot in adulthood. She also succeeds in her avowed attempt to move beyond the studies of childhood, which try to view it sealed off from the wider analysis of the social, economic, and political forces affecting their lives. Her work is also a confrontation with the pervasive survey methodology still widely used in attempts to analyze agricultural change and development in Africa and elsewhere.

This work is accordingly of potential value to scholars in a range of disciplines and fields including agriculture, anthropology, demography, economics, and sociology. It holds important messages for development specialists and government planners not only in Zimbabwe but elsewhere in Sub-Saharan Africa. At the same time, it once more provides evidence for those concerned with the roles played by mothers and children in economies of the south, of their important labor contributions to family subsistence, and their ultimate dependence upon kinship and marriage given the lack of security from extra-familial institutions.

It is a pity that sources are sometimes not cited, making it difficult for the reader to follow up important contentions. For example, she refers to a recent study of the International Labor Organization in which over 170 farmers were interviewed, among whom there were twice as many women as men. This study is purported to have concluded that men were principally involved in agriculture with assistance from their wives, but there is no citation allowing the reader to follow up this study.

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