Gender and Land Reforms Consumption, Production and Some Contradictions

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This paper attempts to apply sociological and feminist perspectives on consumption in a "third" world context - specifically, that of gender and land reform. Perspectives on consumption were, of course, developed as critiques (or sometimes, defenses) of consumer society/the culture of advanced capitalism (Kellner, 1983; Nava, 1990; see Hoggart, 1957; Marcuse, 1964). As such, analyses of consumption do not always travel easily. If free choice [of goods] came to symbolize the freedom of the "free"world (Nava, 1987), at least before the collapse of bureaucratic state socialism, then the "Third"and particularly the "Fourth"worlds are characterized in part by limited existence and/or availability of many types of consumer goods. Additionally, in many areas, and depending upon varying social norms and degrees of male control, the availability of goods may be particularly restricted for women. The question of the relevance of "consumption" in contexts of capitalist underdevelopment raises that of the generally validity of analyses of consumption. If these are of use only in advanced societies, or else in strictly limited contexts in pre-capitalist societies (Appadurai, 1986), then their theoretical robustness cannot be seen as great.

It should be noted that the land reforms discussed take place in the context, not of pre-capitalist but, of capitalist production, although in some cases a transition to capitalist production may be occurring. Some land reforms and resettlements, particularly from colonial governments, have been the result of authoritarian state action and have taken place as part of population "management" schemes. However, land reforms and redistributions more often take place as a result of revolutionary struggles, or else they take the form of state actions to pre-empt such struggles. Such land reforms are usually meant to benefit poorer peasants and to create a stratum of better-off "middle"or wealthier peasants. Usually they are enacted by welfarist governments in societies in which the main agrarian classes have been landlords/agrarian capitalists, a landless proletariat and an impoverished small peasantry.

The question implicit here is the (Marxist) problem of what, if any, priority should be given to the sphere of production. The contexts described are hardly similar to those of late capitalism, in which the process of production becomes "swallowed,"conveniently invisible to the consumer (Jameson, 1984). Land reforms involve, by definition, changes in control and/or ownership of land, one of the main means of production (the processes of production are painfully obvious). However, these are also contexts in which increased commoditization takes place (or is meant to take place) and in which the volume of goods and services increases, although to a lesser extent. Seeing land reforms as involving solely a change in production relations, as is common, gives an incomplete picture. An outline of the aims of land reform illustrates this: such programs (and those who implement them) seek to better the lives of small agricultural producers in various ways: by granting land or else land rights, by providing agricultural and welfare services by raising incomes and particularly by ensuring food security. The latter aims involve securing or raising standards of consumption in basic ways.

These two aspects of economic and social life are, of course, closely intertwined. This has been noted by various theorists, and particularly by feminists. Galbraith, for instance, questioned an over-heavy emphasis upon production as male-oriented (1974, cited in Nava, 1990), pointing out that women's labor in managing and administering consumption was just as important to capital as the labor involved in production. Feminists have noted that shopping (in the West, women's work) has been trivialized through its association with the feminine (Nava, 1990) as well as through its association with non-productive activity. Along other lines, feminists have criticized an exclusive
focus on women and "consumption" as obscuring women's contributions to production. I do not wish to sidestep the question of the relative "weight" of production and consumption - they are not entirely contiguous - and will return to this below. However, the suggestion that we deconstruct dichotomous views of production/consumption can be useful. A good example of such thinking is Alan Warde's suggestion (1990:3) that we take account of the cycle of production and consumption, thereby clarifying what is meant by "consumption." Warde distinguishes four elements in this cycle: the production process, the conditions of access, the manner of delivery and the environment of enjoyment. I use this schema, as it seems particularly fruitful for analyses of gender and land reforms.

Discussion of the effect of land reforms on either gendered production or consumption relations is constrained, simply because few studies of women and/or gender relations and land reforms exist. I have attempted to locate such studies and have found fourteen (including my own) in which landholdings were distributed to individual families. Most of the studies concern northern and sub-saharan African settlements, being located in Libya, Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and (separately) Rhodesia. Chambers (1969) compared several African schemes from the 1960s. The non-African works concern a Sri Lankan settlement, a study of China in the early stages of land reform, a study of Honduras, a detailed study of Peru and a comparison of Peru, Chile and Cuba. Rogers (1981) also compares several cases in order to make a general argument. Another piece is a hypothetical case study which is in part a composite of real cases (Palmer, 1985). In other papers, the topic of gender and land reform is mentioned (Mogadam, 1992; Mukta, 1992). Still other studies, or other sections of the studies mentioned above, discuss land reform in the context of production cooperatives or collectives (Davison, 1988; Deere, 1985; Stacey, 1982). I include the latter to provide some useful points of comparison; however, I concentrate upon studies discussing gender and individual family farming so that comparisons will be meaningful.

In this survey of empirical studies, I have attempted to identify aspects of reform/resettlement which have had a particular impact upon women. Of course, the effects of land reform vary with specific policies and circumstances. Programs normally contain features which are contradictory in gender terms, with some being beneficial to, and other detrimental to, women in the sense of enhancing/diminishing their power, autonomy, access to and control over material and other resources. Some studies also recognize that women are not a uniform category, so that effects of reforms may vary according to class and to other factors, not here studied in detail, such as ethnicity and age.

There is insufficient space here to discuss the structure of gender relations in the societies mentioned above, in any detail. However, I present a few notes on the background of gender divisions, gender ideologies, women's economic roles in order to provide a (minimal) context for the observations which follow. It can be stated as a general point that (with one possible exception), the societies discussed are heavily male-dominated although the exact forms and manifestations of that domination vary from society to society, historically, and, within societies, between national, tribal, religious, class and other groupings. I group the peoples and societies discussed geographically.

Libya (the Libyan Arab Jamahriya) is culturally fairly homogeneous, with the majority peoples descended from Berber Arabs, who are, of course Islamic and strictly patrilineal and patriarchal. Most resettled people came from scattered areas in the Sahara; women were engaged mainly in herding; water collecting, farmwork and housework (Allaghi, 1984:138). Burkina Faso (Upper Volta) is the only West African and (partially-) Francophone example given. It is located in the Sahel, the semi-arid southern rim of the Sahara. The area in which the resettlement study took place was one inhabited by the majority Mossi people. Mossi society was, before colonialism, an hierarchically-ordered kingdom; the Mossi now are patrilineal herders and agriculturalists. In common with other African societies, women have some degree of economic
independence, particularly in the sphere of trading.

Ethiopia is culturally diverse, with two/thirds of people being of Amharic or Galla descent (Third World Guide, 1992). Other smaller ethnic groups include the Tigreans and Niloti. Most Ethiopians are Coptic Christians. Britreans, who live along the Red Sea Coast, are a distinct people who are either Roman Catholic or Muslim. Britrea has successfully waged a liberation war against Ethiopia, having been recognized as an independent state on 24th May, 1993. Women's status varies between groups and religions. In the early years of Mengistu Mariam's military government, an agrarian reform was carried out. Before this time the country's agrarian relationships had been mainly feudal. Goody (1976) characterized highland Ethiopia as transitional between his two main models of pre-industrial society. The Eurasian model is one of strong class differentiation, monogamy, dowry and control of women primarily for their property rights and reproductive capacities. The second, sub-Saharan model is characterized by a low degree of class differentiation, prevalence of polygyny, bridewealth and control of women for their labor and their reproductive capacities. Tadesse (1982) notes that the status of women varied markedly according to their marital status, amount of (family) land owned and their class position. For instance, those in landless and poor peasant households assisted in most stages of agricultural production, while women in better-off households were excluded from production.

The other Sub-Saharan African cases discussed (Kenya, Tanzania, Mozambique, Shona-speaking areas of Southern Rhodesia/Zimbabwe) all conform broadly to Goody's model. Most of the peoples in the societies discussed were patrilineal and were engaged in agriculture and some herding activities. In some, few, cases such as the Tonga of Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, the kinship system was matrilineal but during colonial times patrilineal customs such as high bridewealth and increased rates of polygyny were adopted, possibly in emulation of neighbors (Weinrich, 1979). All of the societies discussed were drastically affected by colonialism; in particular, settlers appropriated great tracts of African land - sometimes the majority - and in the most fertile areas. Majority religions are either African traditional religion (Mozambique, Tanzania) or Christian (Kenya, Zimbabwe), although all the countries mentioned except Zimbabwe have large Muslim minorities (e.g., 30% in Kenya). Although these were heavily male-dominated societies, women had some limited spheres of independence and of influence, particularly as they gained in age and if they bore many children. In pre-colonial times land was held communally and allocated by headmen (and occasionally, headwomen) and by chiefs and this system was continued in British colonial territories in distorted form. Customarily husbands allocated wives plots of land on which to plant crops of their choice; the wives also controlled proceeds from these plots. However, since they were expected to feed their husband, themselves and their children, their choices were, in practice, limited. The practice of colonial law and colonial officials eroded women's land rights, their prestige and their ability to exert informal influence.

Sri Lanka has a modified form of caste system, although the majority religion is Buddhist, with a large Hindu minority. The majority people, 70% of the population, are Sinhalese, with one-fifth of the population belonging to the Tamil minority, descendants of Dravidian peoples (Third World Guide, 1992). Rogers (1981) speculates that prior to British colonialism there was some degree of recognition of female land rights. The land reform discussed nationalized ten British-owned plantations after independence. One unpublished paper (Mukta, 1992) mentions a land reform movement in one of the poorest Indian states, Bihar. The majority Indian population is, of course, Hindu. In caste systems, women's "purity" (and to some extent, men's) is controlled not only through individual spouses and families but also through the operation of the caste system itself. The kinship system usually operates through patrilineal extended families rather than through lineage groups. These societies conform, broadly, to Goody's Eurasian type, and women's visibility in agriculture and in other realms varies according to class and also caste position. China, particularly in pre-revolutionary times, was one of the more patriarchal societies in existence. It was (and largely remains) patrilineal; female
infanticide was (and is) common; wives have a low status and while young are subject to the authority of husbands and of in-laws. In all the Asian examples, women secure their family position only through the birth of sons (and not always then).

The Latin American cases discussed are, in the main, heavily influenced by Spanish colonial-derived culture and its religious manifestation, Roman Catholicism. In many areas early colonial processes entailed the death from either disease or genocide of the indigenous population, so that the remaining population is partly Spanish (or other European) descended and is Roman Catholic and Spanish-speaking. The dominant gender ideology is what is often termed the "machismo/Marianismo" complex, emphasizing male aggression and sexual prowess and female purity and vulnerability. Ideally, according to this ideology, women do not work outside the home except in cases of economic necessity. In practice, women contribute heavily to agricultural production but this is often overlooked (Dixon-Mueller, 1985). Among native American peoples who have survived, other gender systems may exist. An example discussed further below is that of Peru, where half of the population is of native American descent and where 30% of the population speak no Spanish. The Quechua of highland Peru have a more egalitarian system of gender relations than is common in Latin America. Women inherited land bilaterally, and a "complementary" system existed (Huber, 1991) in which women and men perform different tasks; women have a high degree of power and autonomy.

Two further notes are relevant here. Firstly, "indigenous,"colonial or world-religious ideologies are not the only ones relevant to gender relations in the cases discussed. "Western" (including socialist and feminist) ideas of gender equality are known in most societies and may have a strong impact. Secondly, many of the studies discussed took place at time of war or large-scale insurgency. A more thorough discussion of gender and land reforms would entail analysis of this contexts of violent upheavals, themselves often precipitating land reforms.

Given the cultural and regional variations in gender systems, it is notable that the ways in which land reforms have affected women and gender relations are similar in many, although not all, respects.

In discussing the case studies, I have kept Warde's useful framework in mind. I write "kept in mind" rather than "used" because in the field of "Third" World studies, much is written about the production process, somewhat less about conditions of access, and still less about manner of delivery and little at all about the environment of "enjoyment" (in many cases, hardly an appropriate word). In the case of gender and land reform, as noted, much of what is written focuses on productive resources and on the production process in the form of allocation of landholdings, the gender division of labor and women's work burdens. Less of a focus are features which relate more to the consumption process, such as women's access to their own holdings and crops; provision of services and access to incomes, both household incomes and women's own. Other factors, such as power/autonomy over decision-making, are important for both production and consumption. Still others such as the rise of the nuclear family model relate less directly to the production/consumption cycle but do have important repercussions for it.

In the comparison of studies of land reform and gender, I compare the above-mentioned aspects.

1. Allocation of landholdings:
This is a basic criterion, from which many effects and repercussions stem. The question of allocation of land holdings relates to "access to resources" in Warde's schema. In most programs, landholdings (or titles) are granted exclusively or mainly to men. Such allocation is not made explicitly through gender criteria. In general, only people deemed to be "household heads" are allotted land titles. Except in the case of widows or divorcees, "household heads" are implicitly assumed to be male. Widows/divorcees are not allowed to hold land in all cases, but even in the schemes in which they are (e.g., Honduras, Tanzania, Zimbabwe), in practice relatively few women benefit (McCall, 1987:205; Safilios-
Rothschild, 1988:217). Palmer (1985:30) notes that a married woman’s access is akin to that of a bonded laborer.

Two cases of reform along individual family lines were found in which married women were allocated land or titles on an individual basis. The first, mentioned in a paper by Mukra (1992), was that of a low-caste movement located in Bodhgaya village in Bihar, one of the poorest states in the country. Encouraged by socialist-feminist members, the movement demanded land redistribution in women’s names. At first, women themselves were not in favor of this demand. However, by 1979/80 the landlord (a religious institution) had been demoted and land was redistributed to women. It appears that women have benefited from this radical change. The second case is a much larger-scale one. In areas of China under Communist Party control after World War II, the CCP consolidated its social base through land reform to individual small peasant families. Although, as elsewhere, the land was initially allotted to household “heads.” In 1948, the Central Committee recognized the discrepancy between the promise of land rights to women and this practice, and instructed cadres to allocate land to women even where their lands were included in family holdings (whether in natal families or families of marriage). In practice, this policy was only rarely implemented, being easily circumvented both by male officials and family members. However, it was of symbolic importance and even de jure rights for women materially bettered their (lowly) positions within families (Stacey, 1982:262).

In other cases land has been redistributed on a collective or cooperative basis, so that no individual owns land or titles (e.g., Cuba, Mozambique; Zimbabwean “Model B” schemes; Peruvian cooperatives). In these, women usually have membership on an individual basis regardless of marital status. However, they may find it difficult to become accepted as full cooperative members since they are often regarded as being unable to work as hard as men. Where they are full members, they are formally granted the same rights as men. Despite granting of land rights, the various studies of collective land reforms indicate that these have not been of unambiguous benefit to women, for reasons discussed further below. However, these collectives do have the merit of not disenfranchising women from the outset.

Rogers (1981) argues forcefully that various reforms (except those along collective lines), in various cultures, whether implemented from the political “right” or the “left,” have eroded collective land rights, have assigned land to men on an individual basis and have thereby undermined women’s customary rights. Most writers agree with this assessment. However, one author, Huber (1991) argues (for the Peruvian case) that the effects of legal factors upon women have been overestimated. She writes that factors such as prior gender ideologies and the gender division of labor determined the ways in which women participated in reforms. In some cases, women were able to use strategies to compensate for any discrimination they suffered. However, Huber does not disagree with the point that the land reform tended to be disadvantageous for women. She merely argues that reforms were, in the end, weak and that these disadvantages could be overcome.

The aspect of allocation of landholdings, the main means of production in these agrarian settings, is crucial to the outcomes of such reforms for women, men and gender relations. The relatively favorable outcome (for women) of cases where women do receive land titles emphasizes this point. Wives “start out” structurally disadvantaged vis-a-vis husbands and other men. Other, potentially advantageous changes which occur, remain within this framework of female subordination.

2. Gender division(s) of labor:
This topic has to do with labor as a factor of production; that is, in most cases, women’s labor is one of men’s productive assets. Hypothetically, both male and female labor could contribute to a joint productive enterprise in which eventual consumption of goods and services was also joint, although this scenario does not usually occur in practice. Not all cases discuss this matter and evidence with regard to it appears contradictory. For instance, in the Sri Lankan case and in a scheme in Mwea, Kenya, women took over tasks previously allocated to men (De Silva, 1982: 137.
Hangar and Moris, 1973) although men did not reciprocate by taking on women's work. In my own study in northeastern areas of Zimbabwe, I found that the gender division of labor became "blurred" in favor of women: that is, husbands participated more in fieldwork than they had previously.

3. **Women's work burdens:**
The amount of work women perform relates both to relations of production ("the process of production") and of consumption. In general terms, women's burdens of work increased with land reform. This occurred for a variety of reasons. Women's labor as a force of production in fieldwork is nearly always used more intensively, even in cases where men also participate more, because households usually have more land to cultivate and because initial preparatory work (e.g., clearing land for homesteads and fields) is particularly arduous. Women may be expected to contribute more labor to (men's) cash crop gardens, as in the Mwea scheme. And women may work harder due to changes in the above-mentioned gender division of labor (Lund, 1978). Women's roles as biological reproducers may also become more taxing if they are expected to reproduce additional household labor in the form of children.

Another reason for the increase in women's work burdens is the increase associated with changes in provision of services (detailed below). For instance, Conti, writing of the Upper Volta scheme (1979), noted that it presupposed a greater burden on women's work than had been common. Wells were fewer in number and far away, so that women had to carry water for drinking, cooking and washing on their heads. Customarily, mills for grinding millet were available in villages but at the time of study were only at the planning stage, so women had to grind grain individually. In general, any "spare" time women had previously enjoyed disappeared.

4. **Provision of services:**
This criterion primarily has to do with the "manner of delivery" [of consumption]. However, service provision is a topic in which the link between consumption and production becomes apparent. Without roads, access to marketing points or outlets and so on, productive access cannot be translated into consumption via the cash nexus.

As noted above, provision of transport was a major problem in many programs and this served to increase the burden of work for peasants, particularly women. Access to shops and markets emerged as a problem; the former is commonly deemed to be a female sphere. Marketing services are commonly seen as a male sphere (although important exceptions exist, such as West African female market traders). There are exceptions to this role assignment in some societies, however. In Islamic societies men usually shop in order to preserve female seclusion and honor. In Honduras, Safilios-Rothschild (1989:225) found that poor peasant men shopped for food in order to preserve control over household decision-making. In Tanzania, where women are responsible for food provision, they had to purchase items such as sugar, salt, kerosene, clothing, cooking pots which were previously exchanged or made at home. Most other areas studied here had undergone a greater degree of commoditization at an earlier period, so that women's tasks were simply made more difficult rather than dramatically altered. An associated problem, the provision of clean, safe water supplies, was of major concern for women, who are seen as responsible for health issues in most societies.

More positively, government welfare services such as schools, clinics and agricultural extension were often available in land reform schemes (Geza, 1986; Hangar and Moris, 1973; McCall, 1987; Mogadam, 1992). In such cases (e.g., Zimbabwean resettlement) schools and clinics were provided but were located at a great distance away from scheme or from particular villages within schemes. Educational provision and access appears to be a matter of some gender conflict. In the Afghani example referred to by Mogadam (1992), the whole scheme faltered because the government included the teaching of female literacy as part of the program. Men revolted, seeing their hegemony (and women's "modesty") threatened and many turned to Islamist movements. In another example of the Frei, Christian Democratic reform in Chile (Deere,
1986), women were excluded from running the schemes. Male scheme leaders concentrated solely on technical and economic problems. Matters such as schooling, housing and health care, which are relevant economically and in which women might have assisted, were ignored. The whole scheme was weakened by women’s marginalization in "Centros de Madres."

Two points can be made concerning service provision and land reforms. Firstly, the record was somewhat contradictory although overall, lack of adequate service provision was detrimental for women. Secondly, provision of services, particularly welfare services, emerged as an important site of gender struggle.

5. Household income:
This criterion relates to "conditions of access" and to "the environment of enjoyment" of consumption. Most studies indicate that land reforms have raised overall "household" incomes (more accurately, seen as husbands' incomes); indeed this is one of the main aims of land reform policy.

In Zimbabwe, this strategy has been partly successful, at least until the droughts of the late 1980s/early 1990s. In the mid-1980s, there was a "boom" in peasant production, including that in Resettlement Areas, due to the improved provision of credit and extension, the provision of high-yielding seeds and the removal of price discrimination against black farmers. The benefits of such policies are uneven: they are most marked in fertile areas and go disproportionately to men. However, in my research I found that many men redistributed at least a share of their gains to wives. De Silva (1982:145) argues that for Sri Lanka, both sexes benefit from economic "success." Two other studies, generally critical of gender aspects of land reform policies also note some degree of economic betterment for women. Palmer's (1985:33) composite study indicates that women had improved diets, better clothing and more consumer goods, albeit at the expense of increased workloads. Tadesse (1982) reports that in Ethiopia, women felt freer to ask husbands for money for clothing and for household items. More importantly, they were greatly relieved that [at the time] they did not have to worry about food shortages. For many women, especially ones in drought-prone areas, this aspect of reform overrides all others: they feel more prosperous and less fearful of the prospects of hunger for their children and themselves.

Here a contrast between land reforms organized along collective and along individual family lines can be made. For a variety of reasons - undercapitalization; initial poverty of participants; (possibly) lack of incentives; corruption; lack of state support - collective farms and cooperatives often fail to raise peasant incomes and to "deliver the [consumption] goods." This phenomenon is particularly unfortunate for peasant women who are at least formally, entitled to income on an individual basis. However, in my 1984 research on six Zimbabwean state agricultural production cooperatives, I found two factors prevented women from realizing sufficient income. One was that women on five of the farms studied, like men, remained poor because of the cooperatives' poor production records. Women's disillusionment at the continued general poverty was compounded by the fact that husbands often appropriated wives' incomes even though they were not "entitled" to do so, and male cooperative leaders rarely intervened. Despite their anger about such matters, women cooperative members I interviewed experienced the right to individual entitlement as a positive feature. At a minimum, it constituted a focus for struggle. Likewise, Deere (1986) found that Cuban women benefitted as members of collectives because their membership was independent of men. However, the aspect of increased formal rights failed to compensate for lack of real "betterment," in terms of rights, of income and of food security.

6. Class differentiation:
Several studies pay attention to this important aspect, which straddles relations of production (an important basis of class) and of consumption, through which "markers" of class and of status can be asserted (Bourdieu, 1984). I have argued that women's labor is used most intensively in the "middle" peasant stratum (Jacobs, 1991). However, Tadesse (1982:207) argues that in Ethiopia, the "higher" a woman's class position, the less agricultural work she does. Regardless of disagreement concerning in which peasant stratum
women's labor is most essential, several studies find that wealthier women's labor is least essential to the household, since their husbands can afford to hire in labor. Here, withdrawal of female labor is used as a status marker, and women are pushed into the sphere of consumption. In terms of ability to consume, then, these women are better off than poor or "middle" peasant women. However, they may also lose a measure of power through their separation from production. Conversely, poor peasant women, who are worst off in consumption terms, may be more powerful within their own households.

This matter may vary according to gender norms as well as according to women's productive contribution. Safilios-Rothschild's Honduran study concentrates on class differentiation with regard to women's control over income. Because of the norm of machismo, it was found that poorer peasant women had to hide their own incomes; wealthier women's incomes posed less of a threat to husbands; women were allowed to be more open about the existence of income and they had more control over household income, including that of men.

7. Women's own landholdings:
This topic refers to land that women may have held as a customary right before land reform: the criterion relates to "access to resources" as well as to "manner of delivery" and to "environment of enjoyment." As noted earlier, in some areas (notably, southeast Asia and some sub-Saharan African peoples) women held land through a matrilineal system, but more commonly, husbands allocated plots of land to wives. In Africa, it was common for women to plant subsistence foodstuffs such as groundnuts rather than cash crops. Thus, women's autonomy over land operated within strict limits and according to prior gender expectations. Nevertheless, land rights constituted one of the few spheres of autonomy available for women and had great subjective importance as well as "objective"effects in improving women's and children's diets. In areas where such rights operated, they provided an opportunity for female control over production as well as consumption.

In many of the schemes surveyed, women lost any customary rights held previously through land reforms (Chambers, 1969; Colson, 1960; Conti, 1979; Deere, 1986; Hangar and Moris, 1973; McCall, 1987; Rogers, 1981). McCall mentions, for instance, with regard to Tanzanian ujamaa villages, that women considered the loss of land on which to grow their "own" crops to be their most serious problem. In the Mwea scheme, Kenya, and among the Tonga of Southern Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, women became completely dependent upon husbands due to loss of their own land and crops and had to rely upon the men's "generosity." In other societies no previous land rights existed for women, or else they had long been eroded or were no longer practiced, as in some areas of contemporary Zimbabwe (Pankhurst and Jacobs, 1988). In my research I found that a large minority of women, between 20%-33%, were allocated a small garden plot by husbands. However, no study mentions that women's access to land is actually bettered through land reform: at best, as in my study, the situation does not deteriorate.

8. Women's own incomes:
The situation with regard to women's own income parallels that of land rights. Married women commonly lose out while the husband/household head gains income (Colson, 1960; Deere, 1986; Hangar and Moris, 1973; McCall, 1987; Palmer, 1985; Rogers, 1981; Safilios-Rothschild, 1988). Colson noted that women often lose access to income sources in sub-Saharan African schemes, through loss of access to raw materials, through the move itself and through loss of opportunities for trading and marketing. In the Upper Volta example given, the effects upon women were dramatic. Through loss of such opportunities they were no longer able to exchange gifts. They were therefore not able to participate in ceremonies and lost contact with their own extended families (Conti, 1979:89). Husbands commonly acquire monopolies of new economic opportunities and so their power is enhanced. Similarly, Safilios-Rothschild (1988) found that in Honduras, land reform depressed women's incomes while raising men's. In the schemes I studied it does not seem that women lost access to income, since most previously lacked control over income in any case. Relatively high wives' incomes were reported; it
may be that the Zimbabwean case is unusual in this respect and that in purely financial terms women are better off than previously. Men's higher incomes appear to have "trickled down."

However, disposal of any income women do possess - the "enjoyment of consumption" is another matter. Husbands may refuse to allocate any "extra" income to wives, if they so choose (Dwyer and Bruce, 1988). Perhaps particularly in Africa, the enjoyment of consumption emerges as a male prerogative. Conti notes that in Upper Volta, goods such as radios and bicycles could be afforded by men after 4-5 years saving; however, no such goods were available for women, who were dependent upon "nice" husbands for gifts. In Tanzania, women had some limited marketing opportunities in ujamaa villages. However, as is common, they were expected to spend any cash on household reproduction. Men, on the other hand, were free to spend money on bicycles, beer and women (McCall, 1987:207). Likewise, men's expenditure patterns - again, on beer and women - are a common and bitter complaint of Zimbabwean women (Pankhurst and Jacobs, 1988), since needed resources are thereby diverted away from the household.

9. Power and autonomy: decision-making
This "political" factor relates to all points in the production/consumption cycle as well more widely. Few studies explicitly examine the area of decision-making, although this is mentioned in passing in several. The studies which did discuss this found women's scope for decision-making, particularly over decisions concerning production, to be unchanged or narrowed through land reform.

Allaghi (1984:139) who examines daughters rather than wives, found participation in family decision making not to be increased as a result of skills training received in the Libyan project. On the Mwea scheme, Kenya, Hangar and Moris (1973) found women's scope for decision-making, narrow in any case, reduced in a de facto sense since they could no longer rely upon their own resources to provide food. Additionally, men took all decisions over expenditure.

With regard to decisions over consumption of income, evidence is patchy. In Safilios-Rothschild's Honduran sample, as noted, women had to defer to their husbands' authority and machismo to the extent of making incomes "invisible" whenever they seemed to threaten male status. It is uncommon for wives to be able to make decisions about disposal of income without husbands' consent, even in societies with different gender norms. Where women are empowered to make decisions, even trivial ones such as about what food to buy (see section 4 above), they may be chastised if the husband does not agree with the decision (that is, if he does not "enjoy" his dinner!).

Often women have to resort to seeking to exert more influence upon husbands and other male household members since they lack effective power. In Sri Lanka, Lund (1978) reported that settler wives took little part in economic decisions, although they had gained more scope for assertiveness. Stacey (1982) implies that a similar process took place in the early Chinese reform. In Zimbabwe, many female settlers felt they had gained more say in decisions, although this phenomenon varied according to class position. One aspect of Zimbabwean settler women's increased influence was that men were seen as being "better husbands:" i.e., husbands who were less likely to spend money on the extra-household activities mentioned. Their behavior was also due to lack of proximity of beerhalls and to the influence of Resettlement Officers (Jacobs, 1989). Another way to view the latter phenomenon is that women approved of men's investment in production rather than consumption: perhaps this was partly in hope of future, shared consumption.

10. The nuclear family model:
Such contradictory effects are related to the predominance of the nuclear family in many schemes, either in reality or as a model, particularly for policy-makers of "ideal" life (Allaghi, 1984; Fapohunda, 1987; Lund, 1978). This may continue the same structure within which immediate production and consumption relations occur, or it may create a new context. Nuclear family life may give wives more say in the family and more influence over husbands (De Silva, 1982). This may be the result where
resettlement involves relocation to an unknown place with unfamiliar people, so that settler men may have to rely more heavily on wives for support. But even this "favorable" outcome can be double-edged. The decreased importance of kin and neighbors (which occurs for a variety of reasons) can be detrimental even while raising wives' status. Various studies mention that women suffer particularly from isolation due to loss of community. In Africa, if the official model is not only one of a nuclear family but is also of a monogamous type, this may have devastating effects. A man may register one wife, while leaving others without any access to land (Tadesse, 1982:214).

As frequently noted in feminist writings, a wife's dependence upon the husband is integral to the nuclear family. This feature emerges so often in the studies cited here that it hardly requires further emphasis. This seems to me to be the case, even where - as is common - women actively desire to lie in such units. There seems little reason to think that women have gained in personal or material autonomy as a result of family changes. Indeed, they may have lost a degree of autonomy for an increase in material well-being. It is possible that the inverse is also the case. Deere (cited in Huber, 1991:182) notes that in the Peruvian reform when nuclear family structure was weakened through male migration women gained in independence and prestige but at the cost of more work and of immiserisation. The nuclear family model can entail mutual interdependence and equal exchange within a household. Land reforms have encouraged a structure in which women's dependence upon men is emphasized. This one-sided and ideologically-construed dependence (which masks men's actual dependence upon women) may be one of the most important indirect effects of land reform, and one with far-reaching, ambiguous consequences for women.

CONCLUSION

What can be said about the general relationship between gender, production and consumption in land reform programs?

Here I consider briefly, some general themes with regard to gender and consumption. As noted, most early writers on consumption/consumerism regarded the phenomenon as a symptom of mass manipulation. Betty Friedan, in her analysis of the "housewife-consumer," continued this line of analysis. As Nava (1990) points out, it was for less well-known writers such as E. Willis to foreshadow later work in cultural studies. Willis (1974) questioned the prevailing view of women consumers as cultural dupes or victims, and emphasized the rational and rewarding aspect of consumerism. Both views are "correct" and contain insights.

I return to some of the questions posed earlier:

To what extent can production and consumption be viewed separately?

Should one sphere be privileged over the other?

Does a perspective taking gender and consumption into account, have any relevance for "Third"/"Fourth" World studies?

Would such a perspective be altered through feminist input?

Lastly, is the relation of women to the sphere of consumption different in the underdeveloped and advanced capitalist worlds?

Such a small study as this is cannot answer such broad questions. I pose them to draw tentative conclusions from the cases discussed and to indicate possible directions for further research.

Concerning the question of the separateness of production and consumption: the examples cited in this paper indicate the difficulty in making a sharp distinction between the two spheres. In many cases (examples?) these overlap so that it is not always clear what is "production" or "consumption." However, I would argue against collapsing the two concepts completely. Unlike in advanced capitalist societies, where productive activities tend to be hidden (they may, in any case, take place in Third World enclaves...) so that only
"consumption" is visible, in rural sectors of underdeveloped countries production is highly visible. Although I have used Warde's concept of the production/consumption cycle which emphasizes overlapping processes, it also acknowledges differences between the two.

The example of land reform underlines the predominance of "production" over "consumption." The fact that women have lost, or at least have not secured land rights is fundamental to their whole economic position. Where land reform has been along collective lines, women's status is often improved.

At the same time, women in "individual family" schemes have made gains (usually, alongside rather than instead of men) through many reforms, and these have tended to be in the sphere of consumption: improved service provision, higher incomes, food security and (at times) more consumer goods. For some women, such gains outweigh any negative effects. Conversely, most collective schemes have at best improved food security but have not usually improved incomes; for this reason many women become dissatisfied. These outcomes emphasize the relevance of taking consumption into account when analyzing the Third World processes.

What about the relevance of feminist perspectives to the relationship(s) between land reforms, consumption and production? Here I concentrate on the example of sub-Saharan Africa, as it contrasts with the "West." In the West, women do, of course, take part in productive activity, both inside and outside the home. Nevertheless, they are stereotyped as consumers and shopping may form a prime outlet - a sphere of "enjoyment" - as well as an important element of gender identities. In fact there is something curious about this, since in the West as in most societies women are poorer than men and so have less to "consume." Nevertheless, the stereotype remains. In much of Africa, women are clearly producers and are the main farmers. However, they are not in general seen as, or allowed to be, consumers. This is partly because women are concentrated in rural areas and there is more access to consumer goods in cities. But there is a more important reason: consumption is seen as a male prerogative.

Women are not debarred from purchasing goods but decision making over consumption usually rests with men. Women are often seen as entitled only to a narrow range of goods (cooking pots, clothing, blankets, perhaps a small number of livestock) on their own accounts. Hence gender struggles at both the social and personal levels are more likely to take place around the sphere of consumption - e.g., women's right to spend money, to make decisions, and to be seen to possess consumer goods.

This situation may account for the fact that women are often satisfied, on balance, with individual family schemes even though they are in some respects detrimental to them. Better consumption "prospects" seem to be a trade-off for lessened autonomy over production and decision-making, including that over the sphere of consumption itself. This may herald greater similarity to the contradictory position of Western women: consumerism both enhances women's power and influences and acts as an instrument of subordination (Nava, 1990).

Perhaps there is room for a note of optimism. Bauman (1983) traces the history of consumption as a compensation gained [by the lower-middle and working classes] for the encroachment of disciplinary power [of the state, at the point of production]. If any aspects of consumerism in the West can be seen as attempting to resist such disciplinary power (e.g., through the creation of counter-cultures, not all of which become incorporated), perhaps in some Third World contexts women's desire to become "consumers" is one attempt to resist patriarchy.

Women have lost out, in general, through land reform¹ and this remains fundamental. However, using a gender perspective highlights the importance of the sphere of consumption, where women have sometimes made gains. Taking both gender and consumption seriously yields a more nuanced view of land reform processes, and one which gives a fuller picture of contradictory outcomes.
NOTES

I. It should be said that I do not make these observations as part of any general argument against land reform. Writers such as El-Ghonemy (1990) have demonstrated that land reforms are beneficial to peasant producers in terms of increasing equity, even where it is also true that not all sectors of peasantry are benefitted equally in class terms (that is, where, better-off peasants benefit disproportionately). This observation is commonly made in terms of peasant class differentiation. However, "equity" must also apply to women, who are increasingly recognized as important (or the main) producers even in "non-female-farming" areas.

If land reforms are not to further increase gender differentiation among peasants and other rural producers, women's needs must be more specifically taken into account by policy-makers. In particular, without land titles held on the same basis as men (whatever that basis is: outright ownership; titles or deeds; allocation through communal authorities), women are likely to become increasingly subordinated to men in the name of household "unity."

REFERENCES


Jameson, F. (1984), "Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism," *New Left Review*, No. 146, July/August.


