

sector" spheres of the neo-colonial economy. The analysis has demonstrated that the phenomenal increase of women in salt-production has not transformed their socio-economic conditions, rather the majority of women have instead been pushed into a worse situation, having lost a social base in the countryside and not being able to accumulate beyond mere subsistence levels through participating in salt-production. The explanation for this is manifold: in the first place the salt industry itself has not transformed; salt-production has remained labour intensive, but also using traditional methods of producing salt. Secondly, the wages paid to women salt-winning labourers have remained very low. Besides, thirdly, the salt-winning women (and men) labourers could not organise to struggle for better wages.

GLOSSARY

- Abarusura** refers to the soldiers of the Kingdom of Bunyoro during the time of King Kabalega.
- Ankole** one of the kingdom states which existed in western Uganda before and after British colonialism in Uganda. It is among the monarchical establishments which were abolished in 1967 when a republican constitution was introduced. It was ruled over by a Mugabe, the title of the King in that kingdom.
- Banyankore** a nationality inhabiting Ankole. Banyankore (plural), Munyankore (singular); Runyankore (language of Banyankore).
- Baganda** a nationality inhabiting the territory which formed the kingdom of Buganda. Muganda (singular); Luganda (language of the Baganda).
- Buganda** a kingdom state which existed in south central Uganda until 1967. It was ruled over by a Kabaka, title of the king.
- Basongora** a minority group of cattle-keeping people found in Busongora. Musongora (singular).
- Busongora** territory inhabited by the Basongora people, an immigrant group from Bunyoro who came to settle in the region during the 17th and 18th century. It is found on the southern plains of the Rwenzori mountains areas. In it is found the Katwe and Kasenyi salt deposits. Busongora was designated a county of Toro Kingdom during the colonial period; it was subdivided into Busongora and Bukonzo counties of former Toro Kingdom in 1964. It is also a cotton-producing zone. Also found in Busongora are two lakes - George and Edward - and Kilemb Mines. A large part of Busongora was alienated in 1952 and forms part of the Queen Elizabeth National Park. Busongora was hit by a rinderpest epidemic in the 1940s, which cleared it of most of its cattle, thereby paving the way for the region to be developed as a peasant cotton cultivation area.
- Bakonzo** a nationality inhabiting the foothills and slopes of the Rwenzori Mountains - all round the mountains. They are known as Bandande (Mundande; singular) on the Zaire side. Mukonzo (singular); Lhukonzo or Rukonjo (language of the Bakonzo). The Bakonzo were the original inhabitants of Busongora area, spreading over much of what became Toro Kingdom before they were displaced by the new

immigrants - the Basongora and later, Batoro in the last century. Colonial economic activities redrew them to the lowlands of Busongora where they became the main cotton and coffee producers, a process by which the Basongora became a minority group, having lost their cattle wealth. The survivors of the rinderpest and other epidemic of the 1940s among the Basongora then resorted to fishing on lakes George and Edward and salt-mining which became their main economic activities during and after British-colonialism.

Bahyana

this was the society that emerged on the lowlands of Busongora, Bunyangabu and Burahya as a result of inter-mingling of Bakonzo, Basongora and other immigrants, the majority of whom were agricultural producers from the southern parts of Bunyoro who came to the Rwenzori region following the Basongora. Their culture, the Kihyana, exhibited both strong and agricultural characteristic and they evolved a language known as Ruhyana which equally drew from the Lhukonzo (then Lhuyira language) and Runyoro which was spoken by both the Bahima and Banyoro. The Bahyana society was gradually eroded with the rise of Toro Kingdom. Under Toro Kingdom and during colonial rule the Bahyana society broke in distinct groups of Bakonzo, Basongora, Banyabindi and Batoro as ethnic groups.

Hoima

this was the capital of the Kingdom of Bunyoro. It also became the Headquarters of colonial Bunyoro District. In 1980, during the UNLF government, Hoima was adopted as the name of the district of South Bunyoro which was created by the military government headed by General Iddi Amin in 1972. Former Bunyoro District was split into North Bunyoro (now Masindi) and South Bunyoro (now Hoima).

Kabatoro

a trading center near Lake Katwe exclusively set up and operated by Indian (small-scale wholesales) merchants since the 1940s. It collapsed following the expulsion of Indians from Uganda in 1972.

Kampala

capital city of Uganda.

Luwero Triangle

this refers to the region of central Uganda which formed the base of the NRA struggle against the UPC government struggle from 1981 to 1985. It includes mainly the Districts of Mityana, Luwero, Mubende, and parts of Kampala and Mukono and Hoima.

Mafulamingi

a category of people, men and women, who succeeded Indian commercial bourgeoisie after these were expelled from the country in 1972. The Mafulamingi were the main executors of the *magendo* economy.

Magendo

the origin of the term *magendo* is the small border town of Mpondwe in Kasese District of western Uganda. The word *magendo* comes from a Lhukonzo concept "maghendania" which, in the context of *scarcity and repression* characterising the military regime headed by Iddi Amin, meant *risky undertakings* of business type. The concept "maghendania" had been in use since late 1970 to conceal the activities of people (by then exclusively men) who crossed the border by night to purchase for resale in Uganda game meat (mainly, hippopotamus meat) supplied by poachers inside Zaire. These people (smugglers?) risked their lives because (a) their caravan was frequently ambushed by anti-poaching agents of the Zairian government and often shot at; (b) during the rainy season when the Lubiruha river (the border river) over-flooded, they risked losing their meat or being swept down-river; (c) they were also susceptible to attack by fellow smugglers. Indeed, the undertaking was a risky one.

The term "maghendania"

was betrayed to the police force by a young Somali trader from Mpondwe who had taken for granted that "maghenania" meant merchandise. At a road block between Kasese and Mpondwe he was asked what he was concealing beneath the obvious merchandise, whatever it was but was not a risky business, he said it was his *magendo*. The policeman who was checking the vehicle asked him what he meant by *magendo* to which he replied in Kiswahili language in a panicky mood, "*biasara yaki chini-chini*", literally meaning underground trade. Hence the state was altered about a new system of trade known as *magendo*. This was in 1973. When economics adopted the term *magendo* a form of economy, they defined a *magendo* economy as an economy in which the basic needs basket of the majority of the population is several times greater than their formal wage incomes. [See F. Banugire, 1985b, "Class Struggle, Clan Politics and the 'Magendo' Economy." Fourth Mawazo Workshop, Makerere University, 26-28 April].

Magendoist

a person who believes or undertakes *magendo* activities.

Toro

an ethnic state in western Uganda organized as kingdom. It was founded by Prince Kaboyo of the kingdom of Bunyoro Kitara when he broke away from his father's control during the 1830. It comprised of a small portion of an area to the south of former Bunyoro Kingdom but a large part of it had not previously been part of the Kingdom of Bunyoro - Bwamba, Bunyangabu, Bukonzo and Busongora and Kibale counties. The boundaries of Toro Kingdom were finally determined by the colonial administration.

Batooro

the dominant ethnic group in Toro (Mutooro, singular).

Rwenzururu Movement political movement organized and executed by members of the Baamba and Bakonzo nationalities in former Toro Kingdom to struggle against ethnic inequality in the Kingdom. The Rwenzururu Movement subsequently established a movement state called the Rwenzururu United Kingdom, ruled by King Isaya M.M. Kibanzangha and succeeded by his son, Charles Wesley Mumbere Iremangoma. The Rwenzururu Kingdom state was terminated in 1982 following negotiations between the Obote II government and the leadership of the rebel state.

Notes

1. See A. Syahuka-Muhindo (1990), 'Artisanal Salt Production in Lake Katwe' CBR Working Paper No. 6.
2. See three previous studies by A. Syahuka-Muhindo, viz: 'The Rwenzururu Question', MA (Thesis), Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda, 1989; 'The Rwenzururu Movement and the Democratic Struggle', paper delivered at the CODESRIA Seminar on Social Movements, Social Transformation and the Struggle for Democracy in Africa, held in Algiers, 18-20 July 1990, also appearing as CBR Working Paper No. 15; 'Artisanal Salt Production in Lake Katwe', CBR Working Paper No. 6. Also see E. Kyamuhangire (1972), 'Pre-colonial Trade in South-West Uganda', seminar paper, Department of History, Makerere University; Oliver Furley (1974), 'East African Kingdoms during the 19th Century: A Social, Economic and Historical Study of the Centralised State Systems', in *Readings in African History*, 148; G. N. Uzoigwe (1972), 'Pre-colonial Markets in Bunyoro-Kitara', in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 14; Tarsis B. Kabwegyere (1974), *The Politics of State Formation: The Nature and Effects of Colonialism in Uganda*, [Nairobi: EALB].
3. See Toro Treaty of 1891, reproduced in A. Syahuka-Muhindo (1989), 'The Rwenzururu Question'.
4. See A. Syahuka-Muhindo (1990), 'The Rwenzururu Movement and the Democratic Struggle', op. cit.
5. *ibid.*
6. See A. B. Fisher (1911), *Twilight Tales of the Black Baganda*. London.
7. The new districts were created in 1972 by splitting the parent districts of Toro and Bunyoro.

8. Fisher, op. cit., p. 130.
9. *ibid.*, p. 130.
10. See *The New Vision*, Wednesday, June 29, 1990, p. 7.
11. See Uzoigwe, op. cit. p. 432. It suffices to mention here that Bunyoro-Kitara society was a patriarchal one, with both political and economic power under the control of men.
12. For a more serious critique of modernisation theory see M. Mamdani et al (1988), 'Social Movements, Social Transformation and the Struggle for Democracy in Africa'. CODESRIA Working Paper 1/88; Jordan Gebre-Medhin (1989), *Peasants and Nationalism in Eritrea: Critique of Ethiopian Studies*, [Trenton, N.J. : The Red Sea Press] Chapter 1.
13. See, for example, S. Mutemba (1982), 'Women as Food Producers and Suppliers in the Twentieth Century: The Case of Zambia', in *Development Dialogue*; A. P. Okenyo (1977), 'Definitions of Women and Development: An African Perspective'; in *Women and National Development: The Complexities of Change*. [Chicago: University of Chicago Press].
14. *Africa Recovery*, No. 2, 1987.
15. See Krishna Ahooja-Patel (1982), 'Another Development with Women', in *Development Dialogue*; R. N. Ayuru (1983), 'Sensitised Women as Development Strategy', paper presented at the OSSREA 1983 Congress, Addis Ababa, 14-17 June; Christine Obbo (1983), 'The Conditions of Women in Agricultural Production', in *Proceedings of Seminar on Research on Women - What Types of Methodology?* Dakar, Senegal.
16. See Phyllis Jordan (1984), 'Black Womanhood and National Liberation' in *SECHEBA*, December; Ifi Amadiume (198-), *Female Husbands and Male Daughters*, [London: Zed Books Ltd.], and, her Contemporary Women's Organisations, Contradictions and Irrelevance in the Struggle for Grassroots Democracy in Africa', paper prepared for the CODESRIA Seminar on *Social Movements, Social Transformation and the Struggle for Democracy in Africa*, Algiers, 18-20 July, 1990.
17. Jordan, op cit., p. 10.
18. See Christine Qunta (1988) 'An Afro-centric View of the Woman Question', *SAPEM* No. 12.
19. See her, 'African Women and Another Development', in *Journal of African Marxists*, No. 5.
20. *ibid.*, pp. 82-83.
21. See Ahooja-Patel, op. cit.

22. Ogundipe-Leslie, op. cit., p. 83.
23. See generally Frantz Fanon (1968), *The Wretched of the Earth*. [New York: Grove Press 1968]; Amilcar Cabral (1969), *The Revolution in Guinea: An African People's Struggle*. [London: Stage 1]; and his (1980), *Unity and Struggle: Speeches and Writings*. [London: Heinemann].
24. See particularly Cabral's 'Brief Analysis of the Social Structure in Guinea', and 'The Weapon of Theory' in his *The Revolution in Guinea*, op. cit.
25. Ashis Nandy (1987), 'Cultural Frames for Social Transformation: Credo', *Alternatives*, Vol. XII, No. 1, January.
26. *ibid.*, p. 117.
27. See for example, Ogundipe-Leslie, op. cit.; Jordan, op. cit.; Ivy Matsepe Casaburri (1988), 'On the Question of Women in South Africa', in Bernard Magubane and Ibbo Mandaza (eds.), *Wither South Africa*. [Africa World Press]; Gita Sen and Caren Grown (1987), *Development Crises, and Alternative Visions: Third World Women's Perspectives*. [New York: MRP]
28. See Jordan, op. cit.
29. See Ogundipe-Leslie, op. cit., p. 84.
30. This process has been ably illustrated in a study of Ndejje and Ssegulu villages in Uganda. See Mary Kabushenga Tatria (1985), '*Changing Economic and Gender Patterns Among the Peasants of Ndejje and Ssegulu in Uganda*', PhD (Thesis), University of Minnesota.
31. This is not to suggest that traditional African society was homogenous; firstly, there were some who had progressed from communal mode to feud (like the Nyarubanya in Bukoba, Tanzania, and secondly, among the matrilineal group (like the Yao) women retained a significant amount of power even if the penetration of colonial capital had the tendency of eroding their power in the long-run.
32. See Stephanie Urdang (1981), *Fighting Two Colonialisms: Women in Guinea-Bissau*. [New York: Monthly Review Press]; and her (1989), *And Still They Dance: Women, War and The Struggle for Change in Mozambique*. [New York: Monthly Review Press].
33. This process was characterised by severe brutalities and moralities coloured with treachery. See for instance Dreschsler (1980), *Let Us Die Fighting*, [London: Zed Press]; some of Ngugi wa Thiong'o's literary works have focused on popularising the significance of the colonial and neo-colonial processes and the necessity to conscientise the marginalised

classes. See his *Detained*; (1987), *Devil on the Cross*; [London: Heinemann] and (1986), *Decolonising the Mind: the Politics of Language in African Literature*, [London: J. Currey] and his, (1982) 'Women in Cultural Work: The Fate of Kamirithu People's Theater in Kenya', in *Development Dialogue*, Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, Uppsala.

34. Jordan, op. cit., p. 6; Also see Mahmood Mamdani (1984), 'Karamoja: The Colonial Roots of the Famine in North-east Uganda', *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 25.

35. See Mahmood Mamdani (1976), *Politics and Class Formation in Uganda*, [Heinemann, London]; J. J. Jorgensen (1981), *Uganda: A Modern History*, [London: Croom Helm]; Also see A Syahuka-Muhindo, 'The Rwenzururu Question', pp. 111-113 for a discussion of the implications of the "Labour-Reserve/Commodity-Production" dichotomy thesis.

36. Jordan, op. cit., p.9.

37. See Sen and Grown, op. cit.

38. See *ibid.*

39. Luise White (1983), "A Colonial State and an African Petty Bourgeoisie", in Frederick Cooper, ed., *Struggle for the City: Migrant Labour, Capital, and the State in Urban Africa*, [Beverly Hills and London: Sage], p. 168. For a lengthier elucidation of the phenomenon of prostitution in colonial Kenya see her book, *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi*. [Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press].

40. According to studies by Sivard and others, military spending creates specific inflationary pressures peculiar to it, via cost plus-profit contracts, large-scale waste, and rapid product obsolescence. To ensure first claim on scarce material, labour, management and scientific talent, military buyers operate under less price restraint than civilian buyers, especially in the US...

In those third world countries which rely on arms imports, the inflationary tendencies operate more indirectly by putting pressure on the balance of payments and hence on the exchange rate. Among the twenty developing countries with the largest foreign debts, arms imports between 1976-80 were equivalent to 20 per cent of their debt increase during that period; in four of the twenty, the value of arms imports was equal to 40 per cent or more of the rise in debt. At least six countries that had to renegotiate their debt after 1981 had spent \$ 1 billion each for arms imports in the preceding years...

During the 1970s, developing countries increased their military spending three times faster than the industrialised countries. By 1980 Third World countries accounted for over two-thirds of the world's armed forces, and imported \$ 20 billion worth of arms. Arms expenditures have contributed considerably to the balance of payments crises, pressures for

devaluation, and the consequent upward pressure on prices of imported inputs, and hence on domestic prices generally".

41. See Sivard.
42. On conditioning women's resistance to militarist oppression, see, Jennifer G. Schirmer (1989), 'Those Who Die for Life Cannot be Called Dead: Women and Human Rights Protest in Latin America', *Feminist Review*, No. 3 Gender, Summer; Signe Arnfred (1988), 'Women in Mozambique: Struggle and Gender Politics', *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 41. The mass recruitment of the women of the Luwero Triangle into the NRA during the period 1981-86 was in part a direct response to the physical and sexual harassment they were subjected to by government troops - the UNLA.
43. See Uhn Cho & Hagen Koo (1983), 'Economic Development and Women's Work in a Newly Industrialising Country: The Case of Korea', in *Development and Change*, Vol. 14, No. 4, October.
44. See Richard Swedberg (1986), 'The Paradigm Crisis and Economic Sociology', in Ulf Himmerstrand (ed.), *Sociology: From Crisis to Science*, Vol. 1, [London: Sage Publications].
45. Cho and Koo, op. cit., p. 530.
46. See John Roscoe (1922), *The Soul of Central Africa*. [London: Cassell and Co. Ltd], pp. 112-113.
47. Roscoe, *ibid.* p. 109 or 111.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
49. *ibid.*, p. 119.
50. See A. Syahuka-Muhindo, 'The Rwenzururu Question', chap. 2.
51. After Kabalega's forces destroyed the pre-colonial kingdom of Toro in 1889, the area was administered as a conquered territory. Kabalega divided Toro into regions and appointed several of his generals and chiefs to administer them. See Syahuka-Muhindo, 'The Rwenzururu Question', p. 73.
52. Good, p. 548.
53. *ibid.*, p. 548.

54. For the struggle over the ownership question, see A. E. O. Marzys (1953), 'Katwe Salt Industry', UDC Chemical Section Research Memo No. 3, Entebbe, 31.8.53.
55. During the 19th century Katwe sphere of influence northeast into Bunyoro, north to the Bwamba district west of the Rwenzoris, Buganda, Rwanda and northwestern Tanzania, and westward into what became Belgian Congo (Zaire) for over kilometers beyond the present Uganda-Zaire boundary.
56. See H. M. Stanley, in *Darkest Africa*, 343., cited in Good, op. cit., p. 555.
57. The shift from pre-colonial mining, etc., has been such complex and brutalising. Colonial mining capital first grafted men but the demand for migrant labour soon grafted women as well. See the following: M. R. Cutrufelli (1983), *Women of Africa: Roots of Oppression*, [London: Zed Press]; A. T. Nzula et al. (1978), *Forced Labour in Colonial Africa*, [London: Zed Press]; Colin Murray (1983), 'Struggle for the Margins: Rural Slums in the Orange Free State', in Frederick Cooper (ed.), *Struggle for the City: Migrant Labour, Capital and the State in Modern Africa*, [London: Sage 1]; Sara S. Berry (1983), 'Work Migration and Class in Nigeria: A Reinterpretation', in Cooper, *ibid.*; Luise White (1983), 'A Colonial State and an African Petty Bourgeoisie: Prostitution, Property and Class Struggle in Nairobi, 1936-1940', in Cooper, *ibid.*; Domitila Barrios des Chungara and Moemer Vizzer (1987), *Let Me Speak*. [New York: MRP].
58. See A. Syahuka-Muhindo, 'Artisanal Salt Production in Lake Katwe', p.5.
59. *ibid.*, p.5.
60. See Syahuka-Muhindo, 'The Rwenzururu Question', Chapter 3.
61. See Fawcett, (1973), 'Katwe Salt Deposits', in *Uganda Journal*, Vol. 37, p.64.
62. Mahmood Mamdani (1983), *Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda*. [Nairobi: Heinemann Education Books] pp. 48-56.
63. See the following: F. Banugire (1985), 'Class Struggle, Clan Politics and the "Magendo Economy" in Uganda', *MAWAZO*, Vol. 6. No. 2; F. Banugire (1986), 'Towards an Appropriate Policy Framework for a "Magendo Economy"', *EASSRR*, Vol. 1, No. 2 June.
64. See Sen and Grown, op. cit., pp. 51-59.
65. *Ibid.*, p.69. However, a counter argument is that privatisation should indeed have helped to reduce waste because it provides an incentive, i.e., land title/tenure, an incentive emanating from "private property" argument as opposed to the wastage that occurs in communally owned property. But such an argument cannot be sustained because it does not address the

energy question which is crucial to most peasants' daily life. At best it is a capitalist utopia, at least in Uganda where private property in land is yet to make economic sense.

66. See Chango Machyo W'Obanda (1985), 'The World Bank, IMF and Deepening Misery in Uganda (the Case of Mbale)', paper presented at the fourth Mawazo Workshop, Makerere University, Kampala, April 26-28.
67. This refers to urban authorities' police raids on the economic activities of the urban poor and self-employed categories, and the harassment of single women so common in African cities in the false name of combating prostitution.
68. See A. Syahuka-Muhindo, 'The Rwenzururu Question', chapter 3.
69. See Konstantinov et al., cited in Kaire Mbuende (1986), *Namibia, the Broken Shield: Anatomy of Imperialism and Revolution*, [Malmö, Sweden: Liber Forlag] p. 5.
70. *ibid.*
71. Karl Marx (1978), *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Moscow, p. 20-21.
72. For example, see Janet MacGaffey's two book publications: (1987), *Entrepreneurs and Parasites: the Struggle for Indigenous Capitalism in Zaire*, [Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press], and (1991), *The Real Economy of Zaire: Contribution of Smuggling and Other Unofficial Activities to National Wealth*, [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press].
73. A prospective son-in-law may be required to pay fines pretentiously determined to cover the following: violation of customary mannerisms such as disrespectful conduct, for example, defaulting on time such as arriving late for the occasion, loose talk, pride, causing a girl to leave school; marrying an under-age-girl (no limit to age); abducting a girl, etc.
74. See Ifi Amadiume (1990), *op. cit.*
75. These were among the people who had fled the political turmoil which occurred in Zaire soon after that country's independence, particularly in 1964 and 1965, the time of rife antineo-colonial struggles.
76. See A. Syahuka-Muhindo (1989), 'Artisanal Salt Production', Section 3.0, 3.1 and 3.2.
77. Four grades of salt are produced in Lake Katwe. These are grades I, II-crude and grade III (rock salt or Muhonde). Grades I and III grow right in the salt lake while grades II-washed and II-crude have to be produced in made pond-like structures located on sides of the called "salt-pans" women's labour is concentrated in the production of salts grade II- washed and II-crude. Grade III is mined exclusively by men while grade I is won by both and women.

78. C. M. Good cited in A. Syahuka-Muhindo, 'Artisanal Salt Production'... p. 16.
79. See A. Syahuka-Muhindo (1989), 'Artisanal Production of Salt in Lake Katwe.'
80. See Lucy Mair (1965), *Introduction to Social Anthropology*, [Oxford; Oxford University Press], chapter 6 on Sex, Marriage and Family, pp. 83-108.
81. See Patricia MacFadden (1988), "Who is Selling and Why?", *SAPEM*, Vol. 2, No. 1, p. 27.
82. MacFadden, *ibid.*, p. 27.
83. See MacFadden, *ibid.*, p. 28.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

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