in Africa, the reader may proceed to working out his analysis. On this basis, therefore, the shorter the analysis the better, and especially when it is not politically biased.

One imposing shortcoming of the volume is its bilingual presentation. Africa is multilingual. English, French, Portuguese, Spanish and Arabic are the dominant foreign (except Arabic) languages used in the administration, the academic field, and in other social gatherings. The first four of these languages, are the languages of the minority in each country. The four volumes will appear in two languages, namely English and French. In this first volume, nine countries use French as their official language 2 English and 2 Portuguese. Not all of these countries have their summaries in the two languages. It is the texts of the constitutions which appear in the two language whereas the summaries in forms of chapters 2 and 3 appear in either English or French. This position denies the reader who may not be knowledgeable to one of the languages the advantages of the summaries. It would be indeed very helpful if the volumes were to appear in the above mentioned languages used in the African bureaucratic, academic, commercial and social activities. However, Reyntjens acknowledges this shortcoming and has a very convincing reason for the bilingual choice - namely finance. He says that for financial reasons it has not been possible to extend the bilingualism to the accompanying analyses.

The volumes are a valuable asset to any scholar interested in African domestic legal systems.

Costa R. Mahalu

Barbara Rockslosh-Papendieck
Frauenarbeit am Straßenrand. Kenkeyküchen in Ghana
Hamburg: Institut für Afrika-Kunde, 1988, DM 28,-

Imagine bakers who engage in their trade not primarily to make money, but because they can feed their families with the bread they produce. Such is the situation of kenkey women in Ghana, who stand in the focus of Barbara Rockslosh-Papendieck’s book Frauenarbeit am Straßenrand. Kenkeyküchen in Ghana (Women’s Work on the Side of the Street. Kenkey Kitchens in Ghana). They choose their trade because the production of kenkey provides them with food for their own families.

Kenkey, balls of fermented and boiled corn flour wrapped in maize or plantain leaves, are Ghanaians’ "daily bread". Rockslosh-Papendieck tells the history of the trade with kenkey and analyzes women’s work in the kenkey kitchen. Her research rests mainly on interviews with women in 46 different kenkey kitchens. Although the interviews may not represent a cross section of kenkey women, this does not weaken the impact of her work. Since production and sale of kenkey is concentrated in women’s hands, Rockslosh-Papendieck’s work
not only offers insight into an important sector of women’s work but also describes economic organization and family life in Ghana. Rockslosh-Papendieck’s account challenges many assumptions on women and development. Earlier research has focussed on women’s movement towards unskilled labor in urban industries - to jobs which do not fit into women’s traditional gender roles and which contribute to a growing invisibility of women’s work. Rockslosh-Papendieck describes an industry that developed out of women’s traditional roles, ensures women a life-long occupation and carries important social and financial responsibilities.

As a staple for slaves, corn spread on the coast of Guinea and the Gold Coast during the first half of the 18th century, Kenkey developed into a staple for those who could not prepare their own meals on a daily basis. Since its processing is too time-consuming for the individual family household, kenkey has always been produced by the poor for an external market. The author describes the processing and trade of kenkey as a monetary form of subsistence economy. While this might seem a contradiction in terms, Rockslosh-Papendieck argues that women’s real aim is what at first appears to be merely a positive side-effect: to feed their families.

Since women can begin kenkey production without any money, those with no financial capital, a large number of children and no mobility are most likely to engage in the kenkey business. The system of kenkey production rests on the credit of those who provide the kenkey women with the necessary supplies: corn, salt, and wood. Rockslosh-Papendieck analyzes the cycle of credit that permits kenkey women to survive at the bare minimum. After buying their initial supplies on credit, they make sufficient profit to repay their debts but not enough to purchase the next batch of supplies. Thus kenkey women get caught in a cycle of debt which does not allow them to purchase the larger stocks of supplies that would permit them to gain a price advantage and raise their profit. This system of credits, however, seems very natural to the women’s lifestyle. The author’s attempts to build a co-operative with her subjects and get a loan from a bank exemplify the problems of any alteration from the outside. It becomes obvious how little the lifestyles of these kenkey women fit the formal conditions of co-operatives and loans. Cultural differences as well as women’s tendencies to use the money of the co-operative for individual purchases threaten to undermine the system in the long run. The author lets the reader participate in her own education during the organization of the co-operative by weaving her hopes and experiences into the narrative.

But the kenkey business is not immune to economic change. The author describes a system that intensifies the sexual division of labor and a growing diversification of jobs. In earlier times kenkey production was integrated into the family with the men providing the supplies for kenkey; now women both cook kenkey and provide supplies. The production still takes place within the family and relies on the help of more distant kin in exchange for food. But Rocklosh-Papendieck suggests change in the extended family system. Hired help rather than family members increasingly perform the heaviest work. With the development of new jobs
and an increasing tendency to hire help the kenkey business is on the road towards further monetarization.

Rocksloh-Papendieck characterizes the development of the kenkey business as a feminization of social obligations. Women, responsible for the processing of kenkey, take immediate responsibility for feeding their family members. In this sense, according to the author, the kenkey business functions as a health-, age-, and unemployment insurance of southern Ghana.

This analysis, however, raises several unanswered questions in the mind of the reader. Assuming that women are typically the caretakers of dependent members of the family such as children and grandparents, it is not quite clear how the "feminization of social obligations" in southern Ghana is new. And in light of the changes Rocksloh-Papendieck anticipates for the kenkey business one might wonder how much longer kenkey production will double as a form of insurance. If kenkey production is becoming increasingly monetarized, only those women who hire help will be able to support large numbers of family members. Women who are hired as the helping hands will be paid in money and will thus be unable to provide their dependents with kenkey.

The author illustrates her analyses with two life stories of kenkey women. Even though these interviews could have been more integrated into the text, Rocksloh-Papendieck's stories of these women give the reader a vivid image of the situation. All in all, this book is a fascinating account of women's work in Africa which hopefully will be followed by more feminist studies.

Johanna Schoen

Abdelfadil Gnidil

Die völkerrechtliche Lage der ehemaligen Spanischen Sahara

Diss. Tübingen 1987, 331 S.