

### **Abstract**

Leadership in Colombian Pentecostal congregations is normally the responsibility of the pastoral couple. A single man or woman has little hope for success in this position; in fact, most denominations require their leaders to be married. The couple symbolizes the high valuation on conjugality in Pentecostalism and serve as powerful role models for a new kind of male-female relationship not based on machismo/marianismo standards. This paper evaluates (1) how Pentecostal leaders in Colombia derive legitimacy from traditional sex roles while at the same time they radically transform them; and (2) how the rapid rise in membership in Pentecostal churches in Colombia is tied to their non-hierarchical structure, which both reflects and shapes a doctrine of sexual complementarity. Examination of this face of Colombian evangelicalism illuminates how missionization can address essential contradictions within societies.

### **About the Author**

Elizabeth Brusco is Assistant Professor of Anthropology and Director of Women's Studies at Pacific Lutheran University in Tacoma, Washington. During 1982 and 1983, she carried out fieldwork on the impact of evangelical conversion on household and gender roles in Colombia.

## **Missionaries of "Liberation"? Gender Complementarity in Colombian Pentecostal Leadership**

by

**Elizabeth E.  
Brusco, Ph.D.**  
Pacific Lutheran  
University

**Working Paper  
#227  
June 1992**

**Women and International Development**  
Michigan State University  
206 International Center, East Lansing, MI 48824-1035  
Ph: 517/353-5040 Fx: 517/432-4845  
Email: wid@msu.edu Web: <http://www.wid.msu.edu>



**MISSIONARIES OF "LIBERATION"? GENDER  
COMPLEMENTARITY IN COLOMBIAN PENTECOSTAL LEADERSHIP**

**Introduction**

As anthropologists, our analytical models for understanding religious phenomena have not figured among our discipline's major contribution to scholarship. This is true despite a long-standing fascination with rites and rituals and the myths and beliefs of the people we study. In dealing with religious change, we are hampered by a similar paucity of adequate theory for grasping the complex scene before us. Specifically in terms of Christian missionization, our choices have included viewing the process as one of forced acculturation, or perhaps, syncretic blending wherein the "traditional" religion hides underneath the guise of the new one. At best, the population "resists" Christian aggression in the only way it can, by running away to the hills where the old ways can be nourished undisturbed by the forces of change (see, for example, Silverblatt 1987:197). A proselytizing religion such as Christianity fares particularly badly in the eyes of anthropologists, because in practical terms it erodes or destroys our very subject matter, and more philosophically it violates our fundamental belief in cultural relativism. On the basis of graduate training which was heavily influenced by Marxist approaches, it is easy for me to see the linkages between Christianity and cultural destruction in Latin America--beginning with the Conquest when conversion was accomplished at the point of a sword, and continuing through present-day ideological imperialism, when conversion to Pentecostalism creates good workers for United States economic interests and defuses revolutionary impulses (Lalive d'Epinau 1969). In my own research on the evangelical movement in Colombia, these types of analyses alone have proven unsatisfying, if for no other reason than that they do not address the central question of motivation for converting themselves. As Stoll recently put it, blaming evangelical growth on agents of the United States "suggests a deep distrust of the poor . . . an unwillingness to accept the possibility that they could turn an imported religion to their own purposes" (Stoll 1990:xvi).

In this paper, I briefly outline a constellation of factors which has shaped the outcome of evangelical missionization in Colombia. I came upon the scene of evangelical conversion in Colombia too late to experience the movement as an importation and implantation of North American values couched in religious language, and no doubt if I had carried out my fieldwork in the 1930s my analysis would be different. Furthermore, a somewhat unique political/religious situation in Colombia may make some of what I have to say peculiar to that setting. Nevertheless, I maintain that the factors I discuss here are key to a less polemical and more ethnographically precise understanding of missionization in many settings.

## The Evangelical Presence in Colombia

The story of evangelical missionization in Colombia begins with Dr. Henry Barrington Pratt, a Presbyterian minister who arrived in Bogotá with his wife on June 20, 1856. From the mid-nineteenth century until around 1930, only a handful of other missionaries joined the Pratts in Colombia. Between 1930 and 1946, the pace of missionary activity in Colombia accelerated, with 14 new groups appearing on the scene. The evangelical movement grew slowly during this sixteen-year period, but missionary activity was brought virtually to a halt by La Violencia, twenty years of civil strife from 1946 to 1966, during which time most foreign missionaries left Colombia for their own safety. Significantly, it is this time, when evangelicals suffered severe persecution and the movement carried on behind closed doors, that Colombian evangelical leaders refer to as "The Period of Awakening." The "explosion" in the conversion rate dates to this time, when foreign missionary involvement was virtually non-existent.

Calculation of the exact number of evangelicals in Colombia is difficult, but estimates range from 900,000 to around two million (out of a population of 29 million), for the early 1980s.<sup>1</sup> For the period from 1960 to 1985, Stoll (1990:337) cites a growth factor of 6.2 in the evangelical population as a percentage of the total population of Colombia, and projects ahead to the year 2010 when evangelicals will comprise 15.1 percent of the Colombian population. This figure apparently does not include the fastest growing segment of evangelicals, the Pentecostals.

At the time of my fieldwork with Pentecostal converts in Colombia during 1982-83, the movement, distinctly a national phenomenon, was led by Colombians and received the bulk of its financial support from the contributions of local congregations. Excluded from consideration here are the activities of the New Tribes Mission and The Summer Institute of Linguistics (or Wycliffe Bible Translators, as they are known in the United States), both of which are largely foreign enterprises. These groups, whose members have been the target for kidnappings by leftist groups due to suspected CIA involvement, have been a continuous embarrassment to Colombian evangelical leaders, who make public statements disassociating them from the Colombian evangelical federations.

The largest single evangelical denomination in Colombia, the United Pentecostal Church (Iglesia Pentecostal Unida, or IPU), had no foreign missionaries either serving as pastors or on the directive board. In 1983, there were about 900 Colombian pastors belonging to the IPU, and they frequently boasted that they were not sending out missionaries to Canada and Ecuador. The Cuadrangular, or Four-Square Gospel Church, discussed in this paper, had about 340 Colombian pastors and one missionary family, serving about 750 churches and congregations in 1983. Their national board was comprised of one missionary and seven

Colombians, with equal voice and vote. Only the missionary received financial support because the United States congregations were self-supporting, with the larger churches providing support for home missions.

The ethnography of Colombian evangelism at the present time is the story of people like Ramon Ruiz, Gloria Guerrero, and Maria del Rosario de Garcia: Colombians who will give testimony about their "coming to the Lord" from a preconversion life of darkness and misery, or their sons and daughters or grandsons and granddaughters, who experienced no dramatic moment of conversion but were brought up, now as second and third generation evangelicals, in this "imported" faith.

What is to be gained, then, by highlighting the foreign missionaries? For one thing, it leads us back to a consideration of some of the anthropological questions about religion and social change. Specifically, given the essential link between religious symbolization and a people's ethos and world view, how can an imported religion, carried by individuals with a substantially different notion of "the way things in sheer actuality are" (Geertz 1973:89), be successful? In one familiar view, that of acculturation, missionization aims at an entire transformation of the targeted population, so that God the Father, Jesus, and the Holy Spirit come along with the nuclear family, feminine modesty and submission, and tuna-noodle casserole. Without a doubt this has been true at certain times and places.

#### **Some Considerations for the Anthropological Study of Missionization**

In this paper I consider a constellation of factors that needs to be explored before evaluating the outcome of proselytizing activities. Some are simply injunctions to carry out good ethnography, that is, to actually describe what we see rather than assume a priori what missionization is or does. Others have to do with basic models of society--axiomatic assumptions about how culture "works."

First, we need to pay attention to the specific doctrine being promoted by individuals who have their own emphases, and who themselves embody a message which may reinforce or contradict their formal teachings. Second, we must carefully consider the specific and complex sociocultural and political-economic realities of the population being addressed, including the wider structures of power within which they operate. Power needs to be considered both as it is culturally constituted and expressed (that is, internal to the culture), and as it is located outside of the population being considered--a force which they must resist or accommodate or endure. Missionaries and mission activities must also be considered as differentially articulating with these power structures.

The final part of the constellation involves taking a view of society, not as a cohesive whole, but as constituted by categories of individuals who experience their culture in different ways. In this view, what becomes important are essential contradictions within the population. These are often thrown into relief around issues of basic subsistence and reproduction, and may be expressed as competition, the disarticulation of role sets, and crises in the individual lifecycle. It is into this conflicted field that missionaries enter, and their treatment of contradictions that will determine their degree of success. Many studies of Pentecostal conversion have emphasized the appeal of this doctrine to what are called marginal groups within society. Such analyses are based on an underlying assumption that there is a mainstream of society, an undifferentiated core whose unchanging symbols perfectly synthesize and express a cohesive ethos and world view, where out on the fringes, symbolic manipulation must substitute for the societal rewards that "normal" members of the mainstream come to expect as their due. This assumption can obscure both the multivocalic nature of symbols--especially in meaning different things to different people--and the complexity of world view and ethos in groups made up of people of different genders, ages, classes, and a host of other factors that situate a person within a social structure and affect his or her experience of culture.

Although appeal to the essential contradictions within a targeted community may at times be the conscious strategy of clever missionaries, at least in the Colombian case the particular religious forms which have this capacity and benefit from it seem to result from the complex interaction of the above-mentioned factors. The new religious form, Colombian Pentecostalism, is specifically tailored to Colombian reality. Gender is the arena of conflict which is most salient to an understanding of the development of evangelicalism in Colombia: specifically the roles of men and women in the family.<sup>2</sup> Before elaborating on this point, however, it is important to consider the political context within which missionization unfolded.

### **Evangelicals and Catholics**

To understand the power field within which Colombian evangelicalism has operated, it is necessary to note the particularly privileged status of Catholicism in Colombia. Since 1887, the Colombian government has maintained a Concordat with the Vatican which has granted special privileges to the Roman Catholic Church and delegates to the Catholic hierarchy public authority over major areas of the lives of Colombian citizens. Birth registry, the management of death and burial, marriage, and education were all in the hands of the Catholic clergy, and a Colombian trying to negotiate these personal events without Roman Catholic approbation was likely to meet with failure. Catholic-Protestant hostility has been intense, especially during the years

of La Violencia. Freedom of religion has not been a basic value in Colombian society, but rather has long been a matter of ongoing controversy, both on the level of constitutional legislation and in the attitudes and behavior of people in everyday life. The political realities of this situation are a long story; what needs to be stressed here is that protestant missionaries have not entered Colombia as favored ideological adjuncts of economic and political imperialism. Their relationship with the national power structure has been shaky at best. Only very recently is there a suggestion of greater recognition of evangelicals within the national political arena. News reports state that the evangelical leaders were among the formerly politically marginalized groups who have been involved in the rewriting of the Colombian constitution.

The question of why protestant missionaries were drawn to Colombia at all, and in fairly large numbers during the 1930s and early 1940s, remains unanswered. I argue here that whatever the agenda at that time, the Colombian evangelical movement has survived only by dealing with Colombian realities, and hence, the Colombian reality has profoundly shaped the expression of evangelical belief in this setting.

#### **Case: The Four-Square Gospel Church**

During the early months of my fieldwork in 1982, I worked closely with a church which was pastored by two foreign missionaries, John and Jean Firth, known locally as "Los Juanitos." At this time the Firths had already been working as missionaries in Colombia for 44 years. They made much of this point; in services they would often ask the age of individuals in the congregation and point out that they were "more Colombian" than some of the younger members. When discussing the exodus of foreign missionaries during La Violencia, they would often say wryly that they stayed in Colombia because they couldn't afford the tickets to get out.

The Firths came originally as part of the World Wide Evangelization Crusade, a mission founded by C.P. Stud, the great English sportsman. John arrived from England two months before Jean came from Australia. They met and were married in Bogotá two years later. They joined the United States sponsored Inter-American Mission (Part of the Oriental Missionary Society - OMS), and were sent out to build congregations in a series of Colombian towns and cities. Around 1951, while stationed in the city of Medellín, the Firths had a charismatic experience, which made it uncomfortable for them in the more theologically conservative OMS. They resigned and joined the International Church of the Four-Square Gospel, a Pentecostal mission.<sup>3</sup> Shortly afterwards they were sent to the Caribbean coastal city of Baranquilla. John reports that the Baranquilla mission started with a congregation of two, and when they left to come to Bogotá in the early 1970s the church had grown to 2,000 members. He attributes their success to

their new emphasis on healing and the baptism of the Holy Spirit. I would suggest, additionally, that their spiritual or doctrinal peregrinations were part of the process of adaptation or accommodation to the specifics of the Colombian milieu.

The current "Los Juanitos" mission is directed to a professional class of people in the prestigious Northern part of Bogotá. The Four-Square Gospel affiliation is not part of the name of their new church because it has lower-class connotations. It is called the "Christian Charismatic Church," although most people refer to it simply as "Los Juanitos." This is the first such Pentecostal church in Colombia where, as elsewhere in Latin America, the movement has otherwise been associated with the poorest strata of society. Here again the Juanitos report an impressive growth rate. Starting in 1979 with only eight people, the church had 500 members by 1982 with over 600 people attending Sunday services.

What was striking about this church is that the emphasis in teaching and preaching, the structure of the cultos and the prayer meetings, and the pattern of conversions were fundamentally like the majority of traditional, lower-class Pentecostal congregations I worked with. The same problems were being addressed: those of marriage and the family within the Colombian gender system, and which for Colombian women are not significantly altered by their (male-derived) class position. This is a prime area where the new religion addresses basic contradictions in Colombian society.

#### The Colombian Gender System: Machismo and Marianismo

Although the pattern is slowly changing, a high degree of gender segregation and a wide divergence between men's and women's goals and aspirations are still primary features of mestizo Colombian domestic organization. The terms "machismo" and "marianismo" are generally employed by social scientists, journalists, and other commentators (both within Colombia and abroad) when describing male/female relations and family dynamics in Colombia. Less-educated people readily describe the behavior patterns associated with these terms even when not using the terms themselves. Although machismo and marianismo are complex phenomena, the application here will focus only on those features to which Pentecostal belief directly relates.

Stevens' oft-cited definition of machismo is a male personality characterized by "exaggerated aggressiveness and intransigence in male-to-male relations and arrogance and sexual aggression in male-to-female relationships" (Stevens 1973:90). The feminine counterpart is in every way the mirror image: marianismo describes the ideal woman as passive, submissive, and self-abnegating. Colombian women complain of the lack of comprensión (understanding) on the part of their husbands, and they suffer from

men's infidelity, excessive drinking, gambling, and violence. Most of all, as dependents on men's wages, they bemoan the resulting loss of household support that results from, in Pentecostal terms, these "vices."

It is not surprising that the Pentecostal churches fill with women, nor that the standard of living improves in families where both husband and wife have converted. The ascetic codes of Pentecostalism dramatically transform male behavior by prohibiting the vices. Conversion also brings about an entire change in male attitudes and values, so that the domestic roles of husband and father become central. These changes create a re-valuation of the whole domestic realm.

### Missionaries of "Liberation"?

Traditional scripture outlines the woman's expected role and attitude:

Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence. (I Timothy 2:11-14)

What kind of experience do the evangelical churches in Colombia offer women? As the ideological foundation for patriarchy, Christianity has received some harsh criticism. Elizabeth Cady Stanton viewed the Bible and the Church as the greatest stumbling blocks to woman's emancipation and, more recently, Mary Daly claimed that "a woman asking for equality in the church would be comparable to a black person's demanding equality in the Ku Klux Klan" (Daly 1973:6).

The issue of equality in the Church becomes considerably more complex when we look at the interpretive flexibility that accompanies the history of Christianity and gives rise to a plethora of movements which make it possible to maintain a view of Christianity as one static, monolithic ideology. If we are to distinguish how gender has been formed and reformed by religious belief, we must understand Christianity not only in its institutionalized representation, but also as a series of movements that were grounded in particular cultural and sociological realities at specific historical moments.

In Colombia, as elsewhere in Latin America today, the most successful, widely spread, and fastest growing segment of evangelical Christianity is Pentecostalism. Pentecostals are distinguished from their theologically more conservative brethren by their emphasis on the charismatic gifts of the spirit--speaking in tongues, divine healing, and prophecy--and by their strict ascetic behavioral codes. Pentecostalism grew out of the Holiness movement in the United States and England during the early 20th

century, and the scholarly literature on the subject has long recognized the active role of women in the movements. As one writer put it, "the history of ecumenism is largely a history of female emancipation, and [he adds] it is not a reassuring one" (quoted in Lewis 1971:130).

How does this situation relate to leadership in the Pentecostal churches, and more particularly, to the role of foreign missionaries in the spread of the movement?

The distinctly feminine ethos of Pentecostal churches in Colombia perhaps derives from the numerical predominance of women in the movement and their visibility in leadership roles. This is true, to a greater or lesser extent, of the range of evangelical denominations; those churches that do not speak directly to women's reality, or to the re-articulation of men and women in the household, remain small. In the case of Juanito's church, the active encouragement of women as leaders of Bible study and prayer groups, the widespread use of imagery derived from women's familiar roles in the home, and the direction of teaching and preaching specifically on healing of the family as well as the individual, are all common features shared with Colombian Pentecostal churches remote from missionary influence.

The Juanitos themselves embody the ideal, cooperative and complementary conjugal pair. Their services are conducted in a space created out of the first floor of their house, a space unembellished with religious symbols of any sort, and filled instead with the smell of cooking wafting down from upstairs. They are very much a unit, referred to by the collective term "Juanitos" and rarely discussed by members except as a team. As one member put it:

Juanita's special gift is teaching. She also preaches from time to time in the services. She has a very tranquil temperament. She is Juanito's helper--always ready to help him. Juanito is completely opposite from her. This is the ideal. Juanito is very sweet and affectionate. Sometimes after a day of fasting he will give me a plate of soup. He is a perfect pastor--exactly the way this is described in the book of Tito. He cares for his flock. They complement each other--he is good for some things, and she is good for others. They have the ideal marriage--she is sanguine and he is phlegmatic.

The Juanitos conduct weekly services, called cultos de liberación (services of liberation). These services are specifically aimed at bringing more men into the church, although, like the other services, they fill with women. Juanita says, "one of the problems is we're getting a lot more women than men, and the men are coming along more slowly. The women seem to come first, in most cases. And then the men, sometimes they have another woman;

they've got plenty of money; there's a lot of what we call machismo." Juanito, fond of the word "liberation," uses it frequently and passionately in his sermons, despite his basically conservative political leanings.

Preaching in the lower-class Four-Square Gospel churches also provides endless evidence of how Pentecostal ideology addresses the conflicted terrain of male/female relations. A visiting missionary from the United States, who was in Colombia for a week-long national congress of the Four-Square church, preached a daily sermon (through Juanito's translation) on the subject of fatherhood. At one point, referring to a passage in Corinthians which requires wives to submit to their husbands, he claimed that the word "submit" is a mistranslation of the original Greek, which actually means something more like "make good use of." He continues by outlining how a man gets authority in direct proportion to the extent to which he is responsible to God. He also stressed that a woman is not subject to other men in the church, only to her own husband.

Examples of this sort abound. I have presented these few out of many to illustrate the point that regardless of original intention, evangelical missionization in Colombia has accommodated a prime area of conflict within Colombian society: sex roles and the family. That it was particularly well-suited for this task is a point which goes beyond the scope of this paper.

The issues of what constitutes a Christian fundamentalist are theologically complex, and whether the Juanitos or other Colombian Pentecostals can be considered literal inerrantists is open to discussion. If we accept that the Bible is the chief standard of revealed truth for Colombian Pentecostals, how do they deal with the passages which designate a subsidiary role for women? As the above example illustrates, passages in the Bible that have patriarchal overtones (such as "wives submit to your husbands") can be interpreted in a light that is more favorable to women. In general, the Juanitos and other successful evangelical pastors in Colombia have chosen not to focus on these Biblical passages, and the churches that regularly emphasize the dominance of men over women tend to remain small. At the same time, the Bible supplies an abundance of conspicuous contradictions, so that in addition to the specific injunctions that women must be silent at worship and that women cannot teach or preach, the Pentecostal literalist must also deal with a passage from Galatians which reads "there is no longer male and female, for all of you are one in Christ Jesus" (Galatians 3:28). Even a belief system that is grounded in the inerrancy of a religious text must select certain areas of that text to stress. For Pentecostals in Colombia, it is the power of the Holy Spirit in the individual believer that predominates as a theme.

It is important to note that Pentecostalism in Colombia is a minority religion which recruits its members away from the traditional Colombian Catholicism. In this respect, as well as in its rejection of hierarchy and its emphasis on the priesthood of all believers, Pentecostalism constitutes a challenge to "tradition." As attested by the theological debates which have raged over centuries, it is a mistake to believe that a literal interpretation of a text, in this case the Bible, will be consistent--an observation which is especially true when we look at the utilization of that text in different cultural settings.

### Conclusion

To conclude, "The intrinsic double aspect" of religious symbolism, which Geertz identified in "Religion as a Cultural System," refers to the way religion gives meaning to social and psychological reality by shaping itself to those realities, and by shaping those realities to itself (1973:93). In the case of religious change, or the importation of an ideological system, we would expect this process to require a mutual accommodation between missionaries and the missionized. The specifics of this process of accommodation comprise our subject matter, and our understandings of symbol and symbolized will be enhanced by the opportunity to study religious change.

### Notes and Acknowledgments

A version of this paper was originally presented at the 50th Annual Meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology in Charleston, South Carolina, in March 1991. The session, co-organized by Laura Klein and myself, was entitled "The Message in the Missionary: Local Interpretations of Religious Ideology and Missionary Personality." I would like to thank the panel participants and Mary Huber, the discussant, for their comments and suggestions. I would also like to thank the National Science Foundation, The Wenner Gren Foundation, and the Institute for Intercultural Studies for grants which made the fieldwork in Colombia possible.

1. At a banquet in honor of the 500th anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther, held in Bogotá in November 1983, one speaker estimated that there were approximately two million evangelical Christians in Colombia at that time, served by 4,000 pastors in 3,500 congregations. The Catholic church estimate for 1979 was 9,000,000 (Secretariado Nacional de Pastoral Social 1981:111).
2. See Brusco (1986) regarding the ways in which Colombian evangelicalism can be seen as a strategic form of women's collective action, aimed at the reform of gender roles and the enhancement of women's status.
3. The International Church of the Foursquare Gospel was founded by Aimee Semple MacPherson in Los Angeles around 1927. In 1987, the worldwide membership of the church was reported to be approximately one million members in 15,000 churches in 60 countries (Melton 1989:369-370).

## References

- Brusco, Elizabeth  
1986 Colombian Evangelicalism as a Strategic Form of Women's Collective Action. Feminist Issues 6(2):3-13.
- Daly, Mary  
1973 Beyond God the Father: Toward a Philosophy of Women's Liberation. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Geertz, Clifford  
1973 Religion as a Cultural System. In: The Interpretation of Cultures, edited by Clifford Geertz. Pp. 87-125. New York: Basic Books.
- Lalive d' Epinay, Christian  
1969 Haven of the Masses. London: Lutterworth Press.
- Lewis, I.M.  
1971 Ecstatic Religion. Middlesex: Penguin Books.
- Melton, J. Gordon  
1989 Encyclopedia of American Religions, 3rd Edition. Detroit: Gale Research Institute.
- Secretariado Nacional de Pastoral Social  
1981 Aproximación a la Realidad Colombiana. Bogotá: Secretariado Nacional de Pastoral Social.
- Silberblatt, Irene  
1987 Moon, Sun and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Stevens, Evelyn  
1973 Marianismo: The Other Face of Machismo in Latin America. In: Female and Male in Latin America, edited by A. Pescatello. Pp. 89-110. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Stoll, David  
1990 Is Latin America Turning Protestant? The Politics of Evangelical Growth. Berkeley: University of California Press.

**WOMEN AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM**  
**MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY**  
ISSN# 0888-5354

The WID Program at Michigan State University began its *Women in International Development Publication Series* in late 1981 in response to the need to disseminate the rapidly growing body of work that addressed the lives of women in Third World countries undergoing change. The series cross-cuts disciplines and brings together research, critical analyses and proposals for change. Its goals are: (1) to highlight women in development (WID) as an important area of research; (2) to contribute to the development of the field as a scholarly endeavor; and (3) to encourage new approaches to development policy and programming.

The *Working Papers on Women in International Development* series features journal-length articles based on original research or analytical summaries of relevant research, theoretical analyses, and evaluations of development programming and policy.

The *WID Forum* series features short reports that describe research projects and development programs, and reviews current policy issues.

EDITOR: Anne Ferguson  
MANAGING EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS: Pam Galbraith  
DISTRIBUTION & PRODUCTION MANAGER: Barry Crassweller

EDITORIAL BOARD: Margaret Aguwa, Family Medicine; Marilyn Aronoff, Sociology; James Bingen, Resource Development; Ada Finifter, Political Science; Linda Cooke Johnson, History; Assefa Mehretu, Geography; Anne Meyering, History; Ann Millard, Anthropology; Julia R. Miller, College of Human Ecology; Lynn Paine, Teacher Education; Paul Strassmann, Economics; David Wiley, African Studies Center; Jack Williams, Asian Studies Center; Kim A. Wilson, Institute of International Agriculture; Khalida Zaki, Department of Sociology.

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS: To provide an opportunity for the work of those concerned with development issues affecting women to be critiqued and refined, all manuscripts submitted to the series are peer reviewed. The review process averages three months and accepted manuscripts are published within ten-to-twelve weeks. Authors receive ten free copies, retain copyrights to their works, and are encouraged to submit them to the journal of their choice.

Manuscripts submitted should be double-spaced, sent in duplicate, on disk or emailed (to [wid@pilot.msu.edu](mailto:wid@pilot.msu.edu)) in WordPerfect compatible format and include the following: (1) title page bearing the name, address and institutional affiliation of the author; (2) one-paragraph abstract; (3) text; (4) notes; (5) references cited; and (6) tables and figures. The format of the article must follow the format as depicted in our "Style sheet". Submit manuscripts to Anne Ferguson, Editor, WID Publication Series, Women and International Development Program, 202 International Center, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824-1035, USA. Style sheets are available upon request.

TO ORDER PUBLICATIONS: Publications are available at a nominal cost and cost-equivalent exchange relationships are encouraged. To order publications or receive a listing of them, you may write to the WID Program, 202 International Center, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824-1035, USA or check out our Web site (<http://www.isp.msu.edu/wid/>) which also has all the ordering information and an order form. Orders can also be sent to us via email at ([wid@pilot.msu.edu](mailto:wid@pilot.msu.edu)).