

male labour. The cautionary message emerged that women's contributions to the economy, whether in the fields of Ghana or in rice paddies in Southeast Asia, must be taken into account if all dimensions of labour inputs into an economy are to be taken into account.

p. 240 Anthropologists have also raised concerns about the place of food as a trade item. Early discussions of the complex Kula 'ring' of exchanges of necklaces and armbands, together with food, between several neighbouring Trobriand island societies (e.g. Malinowski 1922) have drawn attention to whether trade for prestige differs fundamentally from trade for wealth. Status achieved by giving away a ↵ prestigious object amidst a feast of food may be considered irrational in an economic analysis that stresses accumulation and sale for profit rather than giving. Trading rings such as the Kula and the Potlatch in northwest America have stimulated much debate as to whether they illustrate pre-capitalism, or emerging capitalism, or whether they are economically 'rational'. The question of who profits from such transactions is countered by those who ask whether profit is the dominant value.

Frequent exchanges of food represent dynamics of social relationships that are difficult to assess in strictly economic terms. Contributions to a feast, or a plate of donuts given to auntie's family, meet social obligations, but are difficult to represent in economic terms. The value added accrues at a number of levels as different kinds of reciprocal obligations, whether it involves those donating food to a feast, a woman buying some cabbages from a stall at a marketplace, or a family filling their supermarket trolley. Tracking such food exchanges tells us the values of the foods in terms of the social relationships involved. The 'economy' of any community, whether local or national, would collapse if such exchanges were overlooked.

The values of particular foodstuffs are similarly a matter of concern when assessing poverty. Subsistence activities that provide foods for households from their own lands and with their own labour have been notoriously omitted from assessments of economic well-being. Grain crops are given a monetary value, as they contribute to assessments of Gross Domestic Product—and only five grain types are included (wheat, rice, corn, barley, and rye). Root crops, such as potatoes or taro, and many other foodstuffs are omitted because their monetary contributions are too small. Thus anthropological descriptions of a productive economy differ from economic assessments, as they stress the great variety of foodstuffs and the ways they are used, whereas the economist looks at the proportion of the trade figures attributed to grain crops.

Thus we are faced with a range of alternative views on the adequacy of food supplies for growing populations. Since Malthus (1999[1798]) first suggested in the 1700s that food supplies may not increase as fast as populations, the notion of 'food security' has been added to the language of food. Whether assessments focus on food production or on consumption, our quantification of food output or usage should include both general and particular features. For anthropologists, households consist of both consumers and producers, to which members contribute their labour. Households are enmeshed in an ongoing network of exchanges of foods for both social and economic ends. The adequacy of food production systems to meet community needs is regarded as a step forward to 'freedom' (Sen 1999).

p. 241 Food poverty and hunger is as much a humanitarian as it is an economic issue. To take steps to improve the poverty situation for large numbers of people around the world, the United Nations has set eight Millennium Development Goals (2000) that encompass a wide range of humanitarian concerns. Food poverty is the first priority, with nations expected to reduce by half by 2015 the number of their people ↵ living on less than \$1.00 per day. Supporting goals include increasing awareness of women's health issues, political awareness, and education. But without adequate access to food, communities will not be able to achieve the other seven goals.

Food security is a major target in economic development in the new millennium. It is a euphemism for adequacy, for how a nation's political economy is working, or for where a nation stands on any global assessments of comparative standings such as the Human Development Index.¹ Economists such as Stiglitz