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**Crisis in Education and Culture and
Its Social Reflection on Women: A Case
Study of Zimbabwe**

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**CRISIS IN EDUCATION AND CULTURE AND ITS
SOCIAL REFLECTION ON WOMEN: A CASE
STUDY OF ZIMBABWE 1980-1988**

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University of Zimbabwe Library

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The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of ZIDS.

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PREFACE

This paper looks at the crisis of women's education in Zimbabwe from a socio-cultural point of view; or what the author terms "educulture".

The main argument of the paper is that in spite of numerous post-independence changes, such as free primary education, the Legal Age of Majority Act, the creation of a Ministry dealing specifically with women's affairs, etc, women still find themselves in a man's world. This is evidenced by institutionalised biases against women in education and training, which tend to channel women towards "female" courses, such as nursing, teaching, hairdressing, etc., while keeping them out of "male" jobs such as engineering, mechanics, architecture, and limited decision-making powers.

The bias against women exists at various levels, argues the author. For example, if a schoolgirl falls pregnant, she is automatically expelled from school, while her partner is free to continue his education. This type of discrimination goes beyond the realm of the classroom into the domain of law which regards abortion, baby dumping and prostitution as crimes but only punishes the woman.

Adult literacy, which was introduced to redress past injustices - both colonial and traditional - has not benefited the majority of women, either. This is because women, particularly in the rural areas, must bear the treble workload of tilling infertile land, raising children and single-handedly maintaining cohesive families, not to mention fetching water, collecting firewood, etc.

In her concluding remarks, the author calls for a change in society's attitudes, greater access to decision-making powers for women and equality before the law in matters pertaining to abortion, baby dumping and prostitution which are conveniently labelled "female crimes".

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDWA	Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs of Zimbabwe, herein after reconstituted as Ministry of Community and Co-operative Development and Women's Affairs with effect from January 1988.
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence by minority regimes (declaring the country to be no longer a British colony)
PDL	Poverty Datum Line
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
PF-ZAPU	Patriotic Front of the Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZINTEC	Zimbabwe Integrated Teacher Education College
ZIMFEP	Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production
PHC	Primary Health Care
MCH	Mother Child Health
VHW	Village Health Worker
IMR	Infant Mortality Rate
CSO	Central Statistical Office, Government of Zimbabwe
ZNLC	Zimbabwe National Literacy Campaign
NFE	Non-Formal Education
IGP	Income-Generating Project
ZIDS	Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies
UZ	University of Zimbabwe
UPE	Universal Primary Education
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
RENAMO	Mozambique National Resistance (also known as MNR)
AGRITEX	Department of Agricultural, Technical and Extension Services

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INTRODUCTION

The Crisis in Africa: An Overview

Africa today is in a state of crisis with serious starvation, unemployment, budget deficits and external debt, among other problems. Most of Africa, particularly sub-Saharan countries, one by one caught up with the crisis as they achieved political independence. This crisis has been invariably described as "arrested development" or "blocked development".¹

The World Bank (1982) notes that although the 1960s were a period that witnessed increased GNP and annual growth rate, the experience of the Seventies was exactly the opposite. The economic situation further worsened with increasing rates of inflation and food production that could not cope with the population increase. Although industry, manufacturing and infrastructure made satisfactory strides during the same period, these sectors had little impact on the general economy of African countries because of increased welfare/social services. Generally, for the two decades after 1960 life expectancy rose from 39 years to 47 years, primary school enrolment for the appropriate age group rose from 36% to 63% and secondary school enrolment rose from 3% to 13%. Improved welfare/social services need to be supported by high productivity and accumulation of capital if a nation is to sustain its development.

There are three major theories as to the root cause of arrested development in Africa. They are the dependency theory, the development economics theory and the "own making" theory which puts the blame on the weaknesses of African nationalist leaders. The dependency theory, propounded by Myrdal, is intricately linked to colonialism. Proponents of the dependency theory argue that Africa maintains socio-economic ties with its former colonial masters, that foreign aid and loans from developed countries are invested in enclaves; that foreign-supported enterprises employ lowly paid workers, they are export-oriented and they encourage the transfer of profits. The dependency theory has been proved to be harmful in Latin America (Myrdal *et al*:1957), the Ivory Coast (Masini *et al*: 1979) and Southern Africa (Seidman: 1980).

Then came the development economics theory which advocates economic independence, state control of structural transformation, central development planning and initial investment to ascertain a "take-off" (Rostow: 1971). Despite the popularity of the development economics theory among African leaders, Africa did not get the development rewards it expected. Some assumptions for failure include a hostile environment, drought and Africa's own making. The "own making" assumptions include a host of blames on African leaders and the alleged causes for the crisis in this theory include a peasant "economy of affection", mismanagement and inefficiency of social structures (Fieldhouse: 1986), engrossment of power and/or dictatorial practices by leaders (Hyden: 1980) and class-oriented social policy (R.C. O'Brien: 1979).

¹ Fieldhouse D. K. 1986. *Black Africa 1945-1980: Economic Decolonization and Arrested Development*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney.

Whatever the cause of the crisis may be, today two facts stand out. The crisis has spread its tentacles to almost every sphere of man's life and the crisis is linked to Africa's colonial legacy. It may well be argued that given the structural inequality of the world Africa is part of, she has little room to manoeuvre for change. It is important to remember, however, that Africa's incapacity to break away from global subjugation is both the cause and effect of her incapacity to dismantle inequitable socio-economic structures at home. It is this very incapacity that has landed Africa in deep waters. This study contends, therefore, that the crisis in Africa is a *structural* problem. It is a function of inequitable socio-economic structures both at home and abroad.

Objectives

This paper is an attempt to contribute to the current discussion on the CRISIS IN AFRICA. The discussion as presented in this paper is a study of how Zimbabwean women perceive this crisis in the field of education and culture. To this end the paper has two objectives, namely:

- To analyze the crisis in the field of education and culture and to interpret how women relate to this crisis.
- To identify women's aspirations in the field of education and culture and to examine how these aspirations influence strategies of challenging the crisis.

Conceptual Framework

The question of women in society cannot easily avoid gender issues. This study, however, addresses women not as a gender group, but as a socio-economic group. Emphasis is placed on socio-economics rather than gender for three reasons. First, the role of Zimbabwean women in productivity is today unquestionable (MCDWA/Unicef: 1985). Secondly, women own labour although they own neither land nor man-made capital to any substantial degree. Because of their poverty, women have degenerated to the level of tools of productivity. As tools they are used by other social groups. Thirdly, man does not determine his gender, and gender in development forums is a passing issue. This paper addresses socio-economic issues which are universal, which are a reality, which have been created by man, which can be dissolved by man alone and which have longevity.

Methodology

This study has adopted the *design* of an "analytical survey". It has made extensive use of library resources and institutional database. Some data which was collected by the author during routine fieldwork and stored particularly as a source of study on women's issues has also been used. This last source consists mainly of interviews. The approach this study has adopted is to interpret "*education*" and "*culture*" within the framework of man's daily life. This interpretation, which combines UNESCO's model and Zimbabwe's conceptualization (Appendix B), provides the methodological framework for this study.

From UNESCO's and Zimbabwe's exposition of "education" and "culture", words like:

...assimilated values, technical progress, experience, life, economic production social relations...

tend to relate to both terms, i.e. education and culture. It is the whole question of role and identity that links the two processes of education and culture. Thus, education is a platform for cultivating culture. It is a tool for transmitting culture and if properly used it can "decolonize the mind"² and promote national identity. At the same time, the nature, role, process and product of education is a reflection of the culture of a nation. For education and culture are together a whole way of life, a general process that has a strong bearing on other facets of man's life, like agriculture, industry, labour, employment, politics, law and family. As such, it is not pragmatic to draw a line between education and culture. Their roles are similar, their values correspond and their problems are interrelated. The strategy to address problems in education and culture should, therefore, be integrated rather than fragmented. Henceforth, this study coins the term *educulture* for its *methodological framework* instead of the two limited and fragmented terms of "education" and "culture".

2 Ngugi wa Thiong'o. Lecture delivered to ZIDS, Harare, 9 March 1988.

THE CASE OF ZIMBABWE

Historical Perspective: Land, Education and Training, Employment, Family and Social Stability

Before Independence, Zimbabwe faced many problems. Top on the list of problems were land, education and family stability. Successive legislation, e.g. the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 and its amendments, regulated the size and quality of land and cattle - the only material wealth Black people could own (see Table I below).

Table I
DISTRIBUTION OF AGRO-ECOLOGICAL REGIONS BY TYPE OF AREA

Agro- Ecological + Region	Percentage of Total Area	African* Area%	European Area %	National and Unreserved %	Total %
I	1.6	13	71	16	100
II	18.7	25	69	6	"
III	17.4	43	45	12	"
IV	33.0	54	28	18	"
V	26.2	51	26	23	"
X	3.1	54	2	44	"

Notes: *Women had no land ownership rights.

+ Prioritized in order of potential productivity.

Source: Based on statistics from Table 4, Kay 1972:16. Cited from Mupfhee, M. et al 1975:28

Land

The land question led to lack of income and poverty. When the colonial government introduced tax, men left for the towns seeking employment in the mines and factories. Back in the rural areas women were faced with the treble workload of tilling infertile land, raising children (whom they had no legal custody of) single-handedly and maintaining cohesive families - a base of social security for the men who would one day return home in distress. When Black people were moved away from their ancestral lands into "keeps", women were left alone to suffer the wrath of the ancestors. The extended family/clan, previously cohesive and supportive, was interfered with and women were thus deprived of expected welfare/support and advice.

Education and Training

Education and Training were similarly provided on racial and sexist grounds (see Tables II and III below).

Table II
EDUCATION IN ZIMBABWE BY RACE AND EXPENDITURE (1973)

	Africans	Non-Africans
Population	4 817 950	252 414
Total Education Vote	R\$21 400 000	R\$20 299 000
Expenditure per head	R\$5 00	R\$80 00

Source: UN Commission on Human Rights Document E/CN.41110 of 25 January, 1973.

Table III
ENROLMENT OF AFRICAN CHILDREN AT SCHOOL BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION SCHOOL AUTHORITY AND SEX (1969)

Level	GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY		MISSION AUTHORITY		TOTAL	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Primary	33 034	31 094	336 188	271 141	369 222	302 235
Junior						
Secondary	3 889	1 239	10 856	5 056	14 745	6 296
Senior						
Secondary	241	151	1 283	703	1 524	854

Source: B. Rose, 1970 : 240.

At the height of UDI all white children had a full 12 years universal education (primary through to four years secondary). On the other hand, African children of school-going age were subjected to an education policy that gave 50% of them seven years of primary schooling, 37.5% of them two years of secondary schooling and the remaining 12.5% full secondary schooling. The policy was a strategy to create a pool of semi-skilled and unskilled manpower. Further, inadequate resources coupled with the traditional belief that a woman's place is in the home (MCDWA 1986: 4-5) encouraged parents to send boys to school while girls remained at home performing various domestic and agricultural tasks.

Employment

In 1970, Africans made up 95 percent of the total (1969 census) population of Zimbabwe. Employment figures, however, did not reflect their majority status, for employment was conducted on racial grounds (see Table IV below).

Table IV
COMPARATIVE EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS BY RACE AND SALARY PER HEAD

	African	European
No. Employed	726 300	103 660
Average pay R\$ p.a. per head	312	3 107

Source: B. Rose, 1970: 237.

The only jobs readily available to schooled Blacks were teaching and nursing. Unschoolled women formed the group of lowly paid seasonal manual labourers on white commercial farms while their male counterparts had other alternatives in industry. These alternatives, however, were frustrated by unfavourable legislation, e.g. the African Labour Relations Act (1911), Industrial Conciliation Act (1934).

Family and Social Stability

- African families were characterized by poverty, inadequate social services and instability. Whereas Whites lived in posh areas, Africans lived in congested high-density areas mostly below the average Poverty Datum Line.³
- The infant mortality rate for Africans was 120-200 per 1 000 and for Whites it was 17 per 1 000.⁴
- In the rural areas, where most Africans lived, the doctor to patient ratio in 1971 was 1:45 556. In 1976 government provided one hospital bed for every 1 261 Africans, but one hospital bed for every 255 whites (Martin, D. and Johnson, P. 1981:63).
- The brutality of government soldiers, and forced conscription, preyed on family security. The advent of UDI (1965), the moving of families into keeps and restricted movement (African Registration and Identification Act 1973) and, finally, the liberation war were all causes of social instability.

The problems of land, education, employment, poverty and social instability contributed to a crisis in educulture, and this crisis had a double negative effect on women. Although women suffered a lot, their problems were never treated as problems of a particular social group. Issues of social groups were superseded by the issue of race and were perceived within the broad framework of the race question. Deeply immersed into these structural problems, women did not give up. They engaged in a number of struggles that had a potential to improve their situation. The 1961 Commission, the liberation war (1971-79) and Xai Xai are among examples.

³ Clarke, Duncan: "Inflation and Subsistence Rates: Revised Estimates of the PDL in Rhodesia for September 1976". *Development Studies Discussion Paper No. 1*, University of Natal.

⁴ Murray, J. G., Riddell, R. R., Sanders, D., "The Struggle for Health". *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe Series No. 7*.

Until 1961 Zimbabwean women had stayed in the background of public life. That year, however, 2 000 women demonstrated against the Rhodesian constitution which reserved 50 seats for the White minority and only 15 seats for the Black majority. The women were imprisoned and for those who refused to be freed on fine, their husbands threatened them with divorce, clearly demonstrating relations of power based on access to material resources and the family as a structural institution.

On the battlefield as the liberation struggle intensified, women - who had previously been assigned service and intelligence tasks - were for the first time in 1974 trained in combat skills to fight alongside their menfolk. As peace approached, women and men alike became aware of the socio-economic problems that faced women. With ZANU's backing, women organised a seminar at Xai Xai in Mozambique to map out a strategy on how to organise themselves after Independence and how to consolidate political Independence with socio-economic and cultural independence. Finally, Independence dawned on Zimbabwe on 18th April 1980. On the part of women, independence was tantamount to the end of all race-related problems. Their (women's) visions out of colonial problems culminated into a Zimbabwe ruled by the Black majority and therefore a Zimbabwe that would go through the process of educulture with no crisis.

Post-Independence Changes and the Crisis in Educulture

Education and Training

After independence, education and training went through a process of democratization and expansion. Government embarked on a programme of reconstruction, repairing war-battered schools and building new ones. The number of secondary schools was multiplied seven-fold between 1979-1984. New phenomena in the form of "upper tops" and "hot-seating" were introduced where resources were inadequate. New institutions like ZINTEC and ZIMFEP were created to respond to the needs of a new society. Primary school age was raised to 15 years in order to accommodate youths who had missed school for one reason or another. Technical colleges were thrown open to Blacks. These measures had an effect on enrolment, especially at the secondary school level, where barely a year after Independence enrolment shot up by 300 percent. Similarly, primary school enrolment shot up by 160.2 percent between 1979 and 1984 (see Table V below).

Table V
PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLMENT IN ZIMBABWE BY YEAR AND SEX: 1979, 1980 AND 1984

Year	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1979	437 685	53	381 901	57	819 586	100
1980	647 761	52	588 233	48	1 235 994	100
1984	1 101 299	52	1 030 405	48	2 132 304	100

Source: Ministry of Education. Cited from E.M. Jassat & M. Mwalo 1985:29, *Training and Employment for Out-of-School Girls in Zimbabwe, ECA Consultancy Report : ZIDS, Harare.*

Table VI

SECONDARY SCHOOL ENROLMENT IN ZIMBABWE BY YEAR AND SEX: 1979, 1980 AND 1984

Year	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
1979	36 671	55	29 544	45	66 215	100
1980	42 132	57	32 189	43	74 321	100
1984	248 116	60	168 297	40	416 413	100

Source: Ministry of Education. Cited from E. M. Jassat & M. Mwalo 1985, *Ibid.* p.31.

Despite quantitative achievements there were still problems with the training system as indicated by:

- increased costs
- a high dropout rate
- absence of UPE
- little change in the content of education
- increasing number of school-leavers but with little opportunity for employment.

Above all, enrolment still favoured boys and, although there is little difference between the ratio of girls to boys enrolled at school, the number of girls kept being eroded by the dropout rate which was higher for girls than for boys.

Jassat and Mwalo (1985, *ibid.*) attribute the high dropout rate among girls to lack of school fees, religious influence, early marriage and parental attitudes. The situation was made worse by the Government policy of self-reliance in education, a policy which requires communities to finance the education of their children.

Table VII

ENROLMENT BY SEX AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION AT GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN ZIMBABWE (1985)

Institution	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Primary Govt	135 538	49	139 324	51	274 862	100
Primary Pvt	1 147	59	807	41	1 954	100
Secondary Govt	92 177	58	67 421	42	159 598	100
Secondary Pvt	194 884	60	127 518	40	322 402	100
Teachers' Colleges	2 879	54	2 436	46	5 315	100
TOTAL	426 625	56	337 506	44	764 131	100

Source: Calculated from Annual Report of the Secretary for Education for the year ended 31 December, 1985. Cmd R.Z. 14-1986.

Table VIII
DROPOUT RATE BY SEX IN PRIMARY SCHOOL, ZIMBABWE: 1982 AND 1983

Sex	Total Enrolment	No. of Dropouts	Percentage of Dropouts
Male	237 977	3 442	34.2
Female	208 254	6 623	65.8
TOTAL	446 251	10 065	100.0

Source: Ministry of Education. Cited from Jassat and Mwalo: 1985, Ibid. p. 29.

Table IX below shows the bias against women in technical education. At University the situation is similar. In these two institutions of higher learning inequitable enrolment is compounded by the limited enrolment of girls in traditionally male subjects. It is only in adult literacy where female enrolment exceeds male enrolment (Grainger, 1987: 5).

Table IX
**STUDENT ENROLMENT AT KWEKWE TECHNICAL COLLEGE BY DEPARTMENT AND SEX:
FIRST TERM 1986**

Department	Male	%	Female	%	Total
Automotive	60	98	1	2	61
Electrical	90	98	2	2	92
Mechanical	141	99	1	1	143
Business Education	198	47	226	53	424
TOTAL	489	68	230	32	719

Source: Computed from Ministry of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Services' Kwekwe Technical College First Term Report, 1986.

On the question of SOCIETAL VALUES there has also been a number of changes. The Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture was created at Independence in order to serve the many youths the country boasts of (65 percent of Zimbabwe's population is below 25 years). The ministry's main objective is to train youths, give them skills that would assist them to lead a decent, socially desirable life, emulating the values of the new Zimbabwe. To date, the Ministry has set up a Youth Brigade, 15 skills training centres, 300 art and music groups, including the National Dance Troupe. A National Library and Documentation Centre to record and disseminate cultural information has also been established, and so have 15 cultural houses.

These are commendable efforts. But what is so conspicuous in these efforts is the way in which expression of societal values has been institutionalised. The process of institution-building has missed the spirit of life, the deeply seated unexplainable values that make up the "soul" culture of a people. The Youth Brigade, with an enrolment of

372 648⁵ is a mere extension of the political party. Skills training centres with an enrolment of 15.5% female and 84.5%⁶ male are but embryos of IGPs, and art groups are quickly joining the cultural industry. Nehanda, a one-time legend that once instructed fighters to take up arms against the minority regime, now remains but a statue in Parliament. The argument here is not that Zimbabwe should go back to the pre-independence days or age-old ways of life (that would be retrogressive), but that the process of institution-building has overtaken the process of national identity. Despite its good intentions, the leap from the pre-independence to the post-independence way of life has lacked direction. This lack of direction is explicit in educulture as shown below:

- To date, English is still the official and national language. Except for writers and parliamentarians in session, there is little evidence of any attempt to promote the two major indigenous languages.
- Shona is taught at secondary and tertiary levels, but it is not compulsory at the primary school level.
- There is no clearcut policy on primary school readers, so the choice of readers is left to heads of schools.
- Current Affairs/or political education does not feature in the school curriculum. (In fact, even by 1983 to some heads of schools it was a crime to read the daily newspaper in class or to discuss "politics").⁷
- Although former whites-only Government schools have been opened to Blacks, there are still features of two clearly different systems - former white/former Black - especially in terms of management, facilities and community participation and social environment.

It appears that Zimbabwe has not been able to capture the essence of a cultural revolution so indispensable in the attempt to carve a national identity. In this vacuum women, who morally raise children, who are the first teachers and custodians of a culture, are left ill-equipped to perform a societal function.

5 Government of Zimbabwe. Annual Report of the Secretary for Youth, Sport and Culture, 1985:24, Harare.

6 *Ibid.* p.12.

7 Author's experience while teaching at Oriell Girls' High School, Harare, First Term, 1983.

Employment

The 1982 census revealed that although the number of women in the labour force is slightly higher than that of men, only 19 percent of these women are in wage employment, 28.9 percent are peasants and 51.1 percent are classified as economically inactive. Further, Moyo⁸ observes that the Presidential Directive of May 1980 has tended to favour men who dominate the Civil Service. This bias against women in employment is reflected in Tables X and XI below.

Table X
TEACHER EMPLOYMENT IN GOVERNMENT PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS BY SEX:
1984

Sex	Number of Teachers	Percentage
Male	41 746	61
Female	27 058	39
TOTAL	68 804	100

Table XI
PERMANENT AND CASUAL EMPLOYMENT TRENDS, 1980-1984 (Based on Agricultural Figures)

Year	PERMANENT			CASUAL		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1980	181 251	17 071	198 268	20 349	52 674	73 023
1981	181 051	10 379	191 430	19 117	45 320	64 437
1982	158 564	5 480	164 044	18 327	37 857	56 184
1983	149 920	4 818	154 738	21 837	39 438	61 275
1984	146 000	4 213	150 601	24 523	40 366	64 889

Source: CSO, Harare, 1984. Cited from Shopo, T; Moyo, S; Working Paper No. 5, Vulnerable Working Households in Zimbabwe's Segmented Labour Markets, ZIDS, Harare.

A study of employment trends in the agricultural sector (Shopo and Moyo) reveals that between 1980 and 1984 there 319 808 casual employees, 67% of whom were women. During the same period there were 858 692 permanent employees and only 5 percent of these were women. Similarly, in industry the only industry which employs more women than men is agriculture and even then it is mostly as casual labour. Apparently, due to inadequate training, it is easier for women to find employment in the primary and casual sectors of productivity.

⁸ Moyo, N. P., "The Economic Crisis and Recent Trends in Public Sector Employment in Zimbabwe". *UZ Department of Economics Paper No. 24*. Presented to conference on "Economic Policies and Planning Under Crisis in Developing Countries", UZ, Harare, 2-5 September, 1985.

The commercial sector, namely the hotel, tourism, publishing, media and film industries, needs further investigation. The inherited Western style of education has made it possible for the culture of the rich to engulf that of the poor. Books, films, TV, music, etc., are constantly alienating young people from the culture of their environment and transmitting foreign values to them. Opting for a foreign culture before its appropriateness has been adequately assessed causes social problems.

People who are employed in the hotel, travel and tourist industries are also affected by the process of deculturization because of the contact nature of their job. Although women are employed in this sector they hold low jobs or "feminine" jobs and at the same time they are exposed to dehumanization by alleged moral demands. Those who are employed in the performing arts like music and theatre are similarly dehumanized by the way in which art is institutionalized and commercialized. It is generally alleged that women who are employed in this industry are "free" and leisure women. Publishers and those who control the dissemination of information have done little to stop the image of women from being tarnished. Gaidzanwa (1987) bitterly complains of the way women are portrayed as evil, weak and sex symbols.

It appears that women who are employed in the cultural industry face (over and above unequal opportunities) deculturization and frequent character assassination. In Zimbabwe, effectively only 41% of the population economically support the remaining 59 percent. The problem of dependence is made worse by increasing rates of inflation (15%). Further, between 1980 and 1986 alone a net average of 80 000 job-seekers a year entered the market compared to the 7 000 jobs created annually.⁹ This burden, which will be heavier by 1994,¹⁰ rests heavily on women because they provide:

- some of the labour in sectors of productivity and service.
- most of the labour in agriculture (both commercial and communal).
- all the labour in homes.

In this study it appears that women are not partaking of their fair share of resources in employment, partly because of parental attitudes towards the training of girls, and employers' attitudes towards the role of women in society. These attitudes, however, are not restricted to families and employers alone. They are deeply rooted in the broad society; they reflect the values of a society which is infested with inequitable social structures.

9 Reynolds, Dr. N., "Labour Participation, Job Ownership and the Share Economy", *Zimbabwe Commercial and Legal Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 1. October, 1986.

10 Government of Zimbabwe, Report of the Education Review Committee of Inquiry into Policy Methods and Finance of Education in Zimbabwe, September 1983: 33.

Family and Social Stability

Perhaps one of the most important institutions of society is the family, on which rests the responsibility of perpetuating mankind. Although the biological responsibility is shared by both man and woman, the social responsibility weighs heavily on the woman who nurses, teaches, cares for the children and physically provides most of the family needs.

Among priority family needs for rural families may be included land, food and agricultural inputs, water, shelter and sanitation, safe and easily obtainable fuel for cooking. The majority Government has gone a long way to provide these needs to the masses. Land was bought from willing settlers (Lancaster House Agreement), and landless people, including returnees from exile and refugees, were resettled and provided with agricultural extension services. Old hospitals destroyed during the war were reconstructed, others were upgraded and new ones were built. Formerly whites-only hospitals were opened to other races. In one district alone the number of Government clinics rose from two to six, the number of community boreholes rose from 0 to 57 (Jassat and Chakaodza: 1986).¹¹ Expansion of health and water services went hand in hand with a major PHC strategy which emphasized MCH programmes and institution of the VHW. Within a few years IMR was lowered from 30/1 000 in 1981 to 26/1 000 in 1982 and the life expectancy rate rose from 50.8 in 1969 to 57.4 in 1982 (CSO Ten Percent Sample, 1985). As a result of better social services, among other things, Zimbabwe's population has grown at the rate of 3% per annum.

Despite the above life improvements, the area of family still faces serious problems. The rural areas, where 75% of the entire population lives, are deprived of the very priority needs of life such as adequate housing, agricultural implements, safe drinking water, fuelwood, sanitation and credit facilities (see Tables XII - XVII).

Table XII
PROPERTY OWNERSHIP

Type of Property	Percentage
Tractor/Truck	0.6
Scotchcart	17.3
Water pump	0.3
None	81.8
TOTAL	100.0

¹¹ Jassat, E. M. and Chakaodza, B., *Socio-Economic Baseline Study of Rushinga District, Zimbabwe*, FAO Consultancy Report, ZIDS, July, 1986, Harare.

Table XIII
LENDING FACILITIES

Loaning Institution	Percentage
AFC	9.9
Other	4.6
None	85.5
TOTAL	100.0

Table XIV
ACCESS TO WATER BY PERCENTAGE

Type of Water	RAINY SEASON	DRY SEASON
	Percentage	Percentage
Protected	25.0	38.0
Unprotected	74.4	61.4
Unreliable	0.6	0.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

Table XV
HOUSING

Type of Dwelling	Percentage
Traditional	41.22
Mixed	53.40
Other	5.38
TOTAL	100.0

Table XVI
TOILET FACILITIES

Type of Toilet	Percentage
None	72.1
Non-Ventilated Pit	23.0
Ventilated Pit	4.6
Flush	0.3
TOTAL	100.0

Table XVII
TYPE OF FUEL FOR COOKING

Fuel Type	Percentage
Wood	97.8
Paraffin	1.7
Gas	0.2
Electricity	0.2
TOTAL	100.0

Source: Tables XII - XVII computed from CSO 10% Sample Data of Five Provinces. 1985.

Analysis of the above data indicates that women suffer badly from inadequate provision of services. According to the CSO, 49% of households in the communal areas are headed by women. Although most of these women fall within the 15-59 years age group, it is important to note that some of these are below 14 years. Others still are older than 60 years. Under 14 and over 60 are extremely vulnerable ages in a woman's life. She is not regarded as an adult until she is at least 18 years old, and is likely to be widowed by the time she is 60. For some idea of the female marital status by age group, see Table XVIII below:

Table XVIII
FEMALE MARITAL STATUS BY AGE GROUP

Marital Status	AGE					
	0 - 14	%	15 - 59	%	60 +	%
Married	2 892	0.01	1 227 491	66.84	80 330	42.72
Divorced	110	0.01	82 398	4.49	8 993	4.78
Widowed	270	0.01	81 003	4.41	90 733	48.25
Never						
Married	1 800 118	99.82	445 508	24.26	8 004	4.26
TOTAL	1 803 390	100.00	1 836 400	100.00	188 060	100.00

Source: Compiled from CSO 10 Percent Sample, CSO file 1985:38, Table 11:17.

What is important here is that the women who are in these two vulnerable age groups - 14 years and below, 60 years and above - are also in the vulnerable single, divorced, widowed status and may shoulder the heavy responsibility of being heads of households. These women, as heads of households, are confronted with the heavy tasks of agricultural productivity. This task is made more laborious and risky because of lack of durable property, inaccessibility to credit and male-biased agricultural extension services (Mutuma, Magonya : 1987).¹² On the home scene, they put up and repair their houses, they travel long distances to fetch clean water (if available at all). They also travel long distances to look for firewood, the cheapest fuel for cooking in an environment which

¹² Mutuma, P., Magonya, S. Moyo, S. *An Evaluation of Agricultural Extension Services Support to Women Farmers in Zimbabwe: Makonde East.* An FAO Consultancy Report; ZIDS, 1987, Harare.

is quickly changing to desert. The irony of the fuel position in Zimbabwe is that whereas women are told to stop using wood as fuel for cooking, the Government has not come up with an accessible alternative.

The impact of the outlined problems on women is that family members are subjected to poverty, communicable diseases and they are a burden to female heads of households whose health is no better than theirs. These women also have the responsibility of physically caring for the sick, the old and the young. For some of these women who are in the child-bearing age group the situation is even worse. They have to bear several children for the male lineage and of whom they have no legal custody. Effective use of family planning methods is hindered by age-old traditional norms and values.

Social stability is inseparable from the family. Hence any kind of destabilization is likely to upset family cohesion. For the first eight years of her life and after emerging from a bitter liberation war, Zimbabwe was plunged into difficulties caused by natural conditions, domestic misunderstanding and external intervention. After the heavy rains and bumper harvest of 1980/1981 followed a severe drought for four consecutive years. Families which could not find paid labour depended on drought relief. One district (see Makoni:1987)¹³ operated a drought relief scheme of Z\$15 000 a month. Apart from handouts there was also a "food-for-work" programme supervised by the grassroots leadership. Although there is no proof, it is possible that this programme was subject to abuse by leaders and biased against women.

After the 1980 elections, the two main political parties that fought the liberation war - ZANU-PF and PF-ZAPU - found themselves at loggerheads. The dissatisfied took to banditry (Bandits destiny, *The Herald* 7/5/88). Although the bandits did not operate countrywide, where they operated they left a trail of merciless murders, injuries and orphans who in turn depended on widows. Loss of property, injury and widowhood were some of problems that were brought about by banditry. If banditry was not a wholly external problem, the problems of displaced people and destabilization were caused externally by apartheid.

In Zimbabwe there are 42 663 refugees/displaced Mozambicans.¹⁴ Although some of these displaced people are victims of drought, most of them (90%) are victims of the war fought by apartheid-sponsored RENAMO bandits.¹⁵ Zimbabwe administers four camps for displaced Mozambicans, but some of the displaced people never report to camps; others, once they have been adequately rehabilitated, leave camp.¹⁶

13 Makoni, B. M., 1987, "An Evaluation of Animators of the FAO-funded Rushinga Community Development Project." Unpublished document (ZIDS), November, 1987.

14 Ramjis, S., 1988. "Growing Old in Mozambique Under Fire: A Study of Displaced Mozambican Elderly Living in Mozambique and Zimbabwe". A report compiled by an Epidemiologist. May-July, 1987, Harare.

15 Gersony, R., 1988, Text of a Report on Mozambican Refugees prepared for the US Department of State by contract consultant Robert Gersony, April 19, 1988. Washington D.C.

16 Interview with Mr Sithole, Camp Administrator, Nyamatikiti Refugee Camp, Zimbabwe, June 1987.

As a result there are a number of Mozambicans among Zimbabwean communities (given the border position, some Mozambicans have relatives in Zimbabwe). Some of these people are cheaply employed as casuals on farms, thus taking away a job from a national, most likely a woman. For those who live with relatives, the implication is that the already insufficient family resources are stretched further to accommodate newcomers, not to mention community resources like water and medicine.

RENAMO bandits have also infiltrated the border areas of north-east Zimbabwe. They come at night and murder unsuspecting villagers. During the second half of 1987, for example, it was difficult for peasants in the eastern part of Rushinga district (bordering Mozambique) to lead a normal life. People abandoned their homes and slept in the forest for fear of bandits. Endless files of mothers and little children carrying basic essentials and trekking to town were a common sight.¹⁷ Some households in Rushinga town accommodated several families that week.¹⁸ In these troubled times the problems of resource management and family stability strike harder at women.

The Challenge: A Vision of the Future

The data presented above show the extent of the crisis in educulture. This crisis may be broadly categorised as inadequate training, lack of resources and family instability. These three problems seem to correspond with women's needs. A study on rural adults in 1985¹⁹ shows that education and money are the top priority needs for women.

Another study in 1985²⁰ prioritizes the needs of young women as economic, educational, health, legal rights and family, in that order. Another survey of rural women lists women's priority needs as food, money and freedom.²¹ Women explained that what they need out of life is happiness, and to them happiness constitutes:

- enough food for their families.
- money to pay hospital bills, school fees, to buy clothes, agricultural implements and improve their homes.
- freedom to make individual, domestic and community decisions.

Such are women's visions of the future, a future that does not marginalize them in training, employment and resource acquisition, a future in which they play a key role

17 Author's experience of RENAMO destabilization in Rushinga while on routine fieldwork and interview with Headmistress, Runwa Primary School, Rushinga District, June 1987.

18 Interview with Mr Mhembere, District Community Development Officer, and observation of homes in Rushinga District, Zimbabwe. June 1986.

19 Makoni, B. M., 1985. Unpublished MA Thesis on The Zimbabwe National Literacy Campaign, University of Zimbabwe.

20 Jassat, E. M. and Mwalo, M, *Ibid*.

21 Interview with community workers of MCDWA during a workshop, Jamaica Inn, Harare, February 1988.

towards social stability. Rather than brood over the problems, women interpret the crisis as a challenge and they are involved in a struggle on a daily basis. The struggle, which aims at consolidating their independence, is directed at training, resource acquisition and family stability.

The Struggle for Training

Any discussion of training of women in the context of this paper is a discussion of adult basic literacy and post-primary training opportunities because the level of education for the majority of women falls between illiteracy and four years of secondary schooling, for those who drop out from formal secondary schooling cannot rejoin the system.²² This section on training will focus, therefore, on adult literacy and post-primary non-formal education.

At Independence, Zimbabwe inherited 2.5 million illiterate adults, the majority of whom were women. A literacy campaign was launched in 1983 and in all cases of the Government-sponsored literacy campaign, female learners (85%) outnumbered male learners (15%).²³ This turnout in large numbers is an indication of women's quest for learning. Women's vision for training is so bright that when asked why they participated in literacy classes they answered that they wanted knowledge: knowledge gives them life skills and, above all, knowledge is "light".²⁴ Despite women's determination, the ZNLC is constrained by lack of political commitment and inadequate resources.²⁵

Post-primary training for women is in two streams - either studying at commercial colleges of education or attending grassroots programmes. Commercial colleges of education offer academic disciplines ranging from formal to secretarial and vocational skills. Welfare-oriented commercial colleges charge about Z\$15.00 per subject per month and their enrolment as of April 1988 was 75% female.²⁶ One business-oriented college charges about Z\$42.00 per subject per month and its enrolment during the same period was 50% female.²⁷ The University of Zimbabwe also runs an evening school which is popular with women. These facilities, however, are accessible to urban residents only, they are expensive and for some colleges their credibility has yet to be established.

Apart from correspondence studies, the only other form of training which rural women can afford are occasional life skills programmes organised by Government departments and NGOs. These programmes, conducted at various training centres, usually last one-two weeks and they include courses like vegetable farming, poultry keeping, piggery, uniform making and soap making. Participants in these courses pay neither for tuition nor for boarding. Whereas such departments as Health, Agritex and Youth cater for the broad community, the Ministry of Community Development and Women's

22 Mutumbuka, Dr. D. Zimbabwe Minister of Education quoted in *The Herald*, 6 January 1987.

23 Grainger, I.P. 1987: 5. An Evaluation Study (Draft) on Co-operation between the General Foundation for International Development and MCDWA in the field of literacy, 1984-86 (SZ-1-11) MCDWA/GFID September, 1987.

24 Makoni, B.M. 1985, *Ibid.*

25 Grainger, I.P. 1987, *Ibid.*

26 Interview with Mr Mubonderi, Principal, Pamberi Education College. Harare, February 1988.

27 Interview with Mrs Goulding. Director, Speciss College, Harare, April 1988.

Affairs caters particularly for grassroots women. These courses are conducted at training centres and during this period participants have to forgo all other tasks.

Statistics in this section indicate that women are struggling to improve their lot in training. This struggle is made all the more difficult because education has become commercialised and the minimal resources they have are shared between their education and the education of their children. It is also made difficult by the fact that in between their studies women also have to perform their multifarious roles.

The Struggle for Resources

The struggle for resources is directed at land and money. Although the Government has acquired 2.5 million hectares of land and resettled 35 000 families,²⁸ there were still, by 1985, 162 000 families awaiting resettlement.²⁹ Some of these families opted for squatting, and partly due to the critical shortage of houses some urban squatters settle at marketplaces. In Harare alone between the period of 1980-85 there was an average of 192 female squatters on whom 539 other squatters (unemployed men and children) depended.³⁰ It follows, therefore, that some of these families could not produce enough food. Those in the rural areas were further hit by drought. Between 1982 and 1985, Government spent on average a sum of Z\$24 685 annually to feed an average number of 1 567 263 people³¹ in a drought relief scheme, but this amount is equivalent to just about two cents per person!

The struggle for money is in two forms, namely acquiring income and reducing expenditure. Whereas the strategy to acquire income is characterised by the informal sector and the sex trade, the strategy to reduce expenditure is characterised by family planning, abortion and baby dumping. It is estimated that by 1986 up to 28% of the labour force in the rapidly expanding informal sector was female.³² Other women engaged in income-generating projects ranging from agro-based to technology-based activities. To date, there are up to 61 000 women³³ who have formed income-oriented groups like co-operatives and savings clubs. Articles telling stories of women's successes and problems in income-generating projects constantly appear in the daily newspapers: "Masvingo Women's Co-op Strikes Gold at Last"³⁴ or "Women in Market Garden Success".³⁵ Despite women's determination in generating income, their efforts are bedevilled by lack of credit facilities, an uncertain market and lack of project planning and management skills.

28 ZANU-PF *Election Manifesto* 1985: 11-12.

29 Government of Zimbabwe. *Five Years of Achievement: 1980-85*, Harare, 1985: 28 (Author's note: Statistics in footnote No. 28 and 29 do not agree).

30 Housing Inspectorate of the City of Harare, Zimbabwe: "Monthly Report on Squatters and Shanties". Calculated from Shopo, D. and Moyo, S. Table 15, *Vulnerable Working Households in Zimbabwe's Segmented Labour Market*. Working Paper No. 5, ZIDS, Harare.

31 ZANU-PF, *ibid.* p.13.

32 Brand, V., "One-Dollar Workplaces: A Study of Informal Sector Activities in Magaba, Harare". *Journal of Social Development in Africa*, Vol. 1., No. 2, 1986. School of Social Work, Harare.

33 MCDWA 1985 estimates. Cited from: MCDWA/UNICEF 1985. *The Zimbabwe Report on the United Nations Decade on Women*. 1985:12.

34 *The Herald*, 24 March 1985.

35 *Ibid*, 28 April 1988.

Trading in sex, which is considered abnormal, is fast increasing. Much as it may be linked to the breakdown of tradition, societal norms and values it cannot be separated from women's need to survive. Once after a police crackdown on prostitutes, Zimbabwe Television carried out a survey of prostitutes. Articulate and without a trace of repentance, a woman interviewee declared:

...Yes, I trade in sex. I have no husband, I have no job, yet I have children... My children must eat, they also need to go to school. How else can I get money...?³⁶

Sex trade thrives at growth points and in urban areas where an increasing flow of international visitors creates a conducive environment. In Harare alone, between 1982 and 1986 there were 5 500 recorded cases of prostitution and 77% of them were classified as "unemployed".³⁷ By 1988, the problem had spread to the provinces. It is possible there are more underground prostitutes, for these figures are likely to reflect only the vulnerable prostitutes. Besides, frequent police blitzes tend to send prostitutes into hiding. There is yet another form of hidden prostitution - sexual harassment. Silverman (1976) and Mackman (1979) argue that sexual harassment is directed at women with low socio-cultural power. In Zimbabwe, most women fall into either one of this group young - single and divorced, widowed, no wage employment. Although there are no available records to advance the case of sexual harassment, there have recently been very sensational reports on the subject in the media.³⁸ Apparently, there is need to investigate rape, sexual harassment and child abuse.

The second strategy of the struggle for resources entails women's attempts to reduce the number of dependants. Family planning is a logical and socially acceptable strategy. A reproductive survey in 1984 by the Zimbabwe National Family Planning Council reveals that 83% of women in Zimbabwe are aware of modern methods of contraception, but only 38% use contraceptives (27% modern, 11% traditional). Further, among contraceptors, 63% report that they need their husband's approval. Those who use modern methods travel long distances to clinics and hide their contraceptives from their husbands, usually outside the home, in order to escape detection.³⁹ Given that some women do not know, or have no access to family planning services, and given that the contraceptive has not been effective plus the economic fear of catering for a few mouth, women resort to abortion. When abortion fails, some women resort to baby dumping. One finds that in almost every media-reported case the mother of a dumped baby claims not to have a stable source of income.

The absence of a steady income, the breakdown of traditional structures of support and social dependency and the absence of a national scheme of welfare are all responsible for these problems. Although prostitution, sexual harassment, abortion and baby dumping are negative aspects of society, they are in real terms evidence of low economic power. And when women are involved, these practices are indicative of the struggle to survive.

36 A Zimbabwe Television (ZTV) programme, 1986.

37 Shopo, T.D. and Moyo, S., *Ibid.*, p. 68, Table 10 (Prosecutions).

38 *The Sunday Mail*, 15 May 1988.

39 Interview with Susan Makiwa, a rural community extension worker of MCDWA, Rushinga, Zimbabwe, June 1987.

The Struggle for Family and Social Stability

One important family need, intangible and unquantifiable though, is family cohesion and stability. In Zimbabwe today this need has grown due to a complex of family-related issues such as early marriages, broken homes, etc, which may be easily blamed on women because of their key position in maintaining a cohesive family. On the contrary, however this key position appears to lack it due status. Ms Mujuru⁴⁰ observes that there is a gradual "cultural devaluation" of women set off by the now highly commercialised lobola and accentuated by neglect and ill-treatment to the extent of hopelessness. This hopelessness, however, is short-lived and in its place emerge two strategies, namely opting out and networking.

Opting out is characterised by divorce and suicide. The incidence of broken homes has become such a normal phenomenon that President Mugabe is on record as castigating those youth who:

seem to have lost sight of the values which make marriage a lifelong commitment both to one's partner and to the offspring of the relationship. There is now a greater tendency to treat marriage as one treats the fashion trend- here today - gone tomorrow..⁴¹

Suicide is a new development which needs to be empirically established. A recent study of suicide⁴² indicates that whereas cases of actual suicide for men exceed those for women, the position is reversed with regard to parasuicide where two-thirds of reported cases are female victims with family problems and in the age group of 15-29 years. The irony of opting out is that whereas women opt out anticipating stability, the very strategy is a source of more destabilisation. Given fewer opportunities in training and employment, given different perceptions of societal values and norms between men and women, and given socio-economic structures which treat women as appendages of men, divorce may cause more harm than good. As for suicide, its irreparable effect on the family defeats its purpose.

Apart from the family which provides more or less the only support for social problems, there are a number of groups that have come forward to tackle the broad problem of social instability. There are a number of loosely knitted women's clubs with various objectives, such as savings clubs which are for financial solidarity. Other groups like The Samaritans and Gracious Women are religious and welfare-oriented. They counsel victims of social instability (60% of whom are women),⁴³ but few people make use of these facilities as some people are usually reluctant to reveal family secrets. Other groups are for debate and militancy. These include the Professional and Business Women, Association of University Women, Women's Action Group and Women Managers which is still in the offing. There is also the women's wing of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions and the Women's League of ZANU-PF.

40 Ms J. Mujuru, Zimbabwe Minister of CDWA, quoted in *The Herald*, 16 February 1988.

41 Cde. R.G. Mugabe, President, Republic of Zimbabwe, quoted in *The Herald*, 9 April 1988.

42 *The Herald*, 23, March 1988.

43 *Ibid*, 16 February, 1988.

Networking is also constrained. Except for the Women's League of ZANU-PF, these groups are mostly located in Harare and they have branches in towns only. They are labelled as "elitist" and "negative feminism", and they lack the capacity to organise and militate. In fact, in post-independence Zimbabwe women as a social group have not experienced mobilisation, agitation or any act of militancy. They have been too busy surviving. The religious groups seem to be able to organise themselves, at least for social functions. It is questionable, however, if religion does not divert attention from reality. Further, it is not known whether these urban-based groups have made any impact on society. They need, therefore, to assess their contribution towards solving problems which women face.

The Role of Government and Other Sectors

This study has indicated that women's struggles in training are hampered by resource constraints and inappropriate content. Although the total education budget for 1988 is Z\$68 700 000, barely 5% of this went into NFE (including adult literacy, a programme which is already bedevilled by "lack of political commitment, lack of finance and personnel, and the gradual withdrawal of unpaid tutors").⁴⁴

The voice of literacy participants is in a way saying that Government is not responding to the problems of the literacy campaign. Youth training centres continue to have a male bias because of the courses offered and the attitudes of society. Non-formal colleges of education are highly commercialised apart from offering courses for which it is difficult to find wage employment. The present Education Act (1979) does not exercise enough control over commercial colleges of education and the vocationalization policy seems to turn a blind eye to such institutions.

The struggle to acquire resources is also constrained. The popular IGPs,⁴⁵ especially those funded by donor agencies, which aim at popular participation have very little financial input and they are designed to meet the needs of donors and implementing agencies rather than those of the grassroots. They are not autonomous of Government, so they experience bureaucratic problems and have little or no access to credit facilities, and they tend to benefit the already better-off members of society. And the benefits are not ploughed back into society because project participants take to cash cropping rather than food cultivation. There seems to be an "unholy alliance" between credit institutions on the one hand and industrialists on the other.

Although prostitution, abortion and baby dumping are societal problems they are handled either as problems of an individual, or as problems of only one social group. When prostitutes are rounded up, only one partner is prosecuted and it is always the same one partner - the female. Unlike bribery and corruption where both the one who solicits and the one who offers are prosecuted, in prostitution only one party is prosecuted. The same applies to teenage pregnancy, abortion and baby dumping. Instead of the State machinery seeking ways of addressing structural issues which are fundamentally resource-oriented it applies its apparatus to prosecute the vulnerable, for the female baby dumper, the pregnant teenage girl and the abortionist are in weaker

44 Grainger, I.D. *Ibid.*, p.7.

45 Makoni, B.M, 1987. *Ibid.*

positions in terms of decision-making and resource base than their male counterparts.

The only decision they can take unilaterally is destructive both to themselves and to the community.

The struggle for social stability is also constrained. Although the Government has reconstructed 726 safe water facilities, nearly 34 000 km⁴⁶ of access roads and numerous clinics, there are still gaps which neglect peripheral communities. Many village women in some districts which border other countries walk some 15 km to 20 km before reaching a clinic or safe water. Orphans, the aged and the disabled further increase a woman's burden. And if this woman has no steady income, if she is single, divorced, widowed or married to an absentee husband guarding the Beira Corridor her plight is even worse.

In order to help women overcome problems in educulture, the Government has either amended or passed Bills which remove bias against women. The Bills include the Legal Age of Majority Act (1984), and related legislation.⁴⁷ From the above legislation it appears that Government has a tremendous fund of goodwill for the womenfolk, for in post-independence Zimbabwe women as a social group have not experienced mobilization, agitation or any act of militancy. In fact, the above legislation owes its existence to Government machinery. Legislation alone, however, cannot solve women's problems, so Zimbabwean women were warned by their President early this year:

...While laws give basic guidelines, the actual job of liberating the women politically, economically and socially rests squarely on the shoulders of women themselves... You just have to take the initiative...⁴⁸

Table XIX
DISTRIBUTION OF SENIOR POSTS BY INSTITUTION AND SEX

Institution	Total	Male	Female
1. Politburo	15	14	1
2. Cabinet	32	29	3
3. Legislative Assembly	100	85	15
4. Civil Service*	26	24	2
TOTAL	100	85	15

Notes:

**Permanent Secretaries only*

Membership to 1,2,3 is not exclusive.

46 ZANU-PF, 1985. *Ibid.* p.12.

47 MCDWA/UNICEF 1985. *Ibid.* p.16-18.

48 ZANU-PF., *Zimbabwe Woman*, Vol.1, No.2, March 1988:1.

According to Table XIX among the positions that make national decisions, only 15% are occupied by women. This inequitable distribution of power is also reflected at provincial, district, ward, right down to the grassroots level.⁴⁹ It appears there is need for women to join the decision-making ranks, for it is only when women can effectively sit at decision-making caucuses that they will be able to decide (within a technical framework) on those issues which affect their daily lives. It is with regard to problems which face women that Ms Mujuru has urged professional women to become actively involved in politics as a profession.⁵⁰ The Government is not alone in efforts to help women train, acquire resources and maintain social stability. District councils and municipalities are today totally in charge of providing primary education. Mining companies and commercial farmers do the same. The private sector in urban settings also caters for adult literacy. The private sector has been particularly encouraged by Government to decentralise, invest in rural areas and create employment. The Church also has a prominent role both in the education and stability of society, and community theatre is catching up with Zimbabwean society.

Although Government and other sectors are trying to improve the lot of women in educulture, the position is nowhere near total transformation. This is because Zimbabwe, despite pronouncing socialist intentions, is still basically a capitalist state with capitalist socio-economic structures. Further, the question of equitable distribution of resources is not a purely domestic issue. Like the rest of Africa, exploitation and distribution of national resources, the presence of multinationals and international finance are closely linked to the world economic order and major power blocs. Given Zimbabwe's position *vis-a-vis* apartheid it may not be feasible for her to delink herself from the world socio-economic structures. It is time, however, that State machinery dissociated itself from promoting inequitable social structures at home. The ball was set rolling by the Presidential Directive (1980) and subsequent legislation, the Transitional National Development Plan and the First Five-Year National Development Plan.⁵¹ These measures, however, are not enough. There is room for more.

49 Jassat, E.M., Chakaodza, B., Chiwawa, H., Chabayanzara, E., and Makoni, B.M. A Report on the Mid-Term Evaluation of People's Participation Project in Rushinga District, Zimbabwe. Consultancy Report (forthcoming). ZIDS, 1987.

50 Ms. J. Mujuru, Minister of CDWA, addressing a gathering of an informal professional group, "Women Managers", at Holiday Inn Hotel, Harare, January, 1988.

51 Government of Zimbabwe.

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

This study is a report on the crisis in education and culture in Zimbabwe, with special reference to women. The report presents a case study of Zimbabwe between 1980 and 1988.

The study adopts a conceptual framework that addresses women as a socio-economic group. The case is based on a two-month investigation involving a survey and documented resources. In order to have a clear insight into the crisis in education and culture, the study has adopted a holistic approach (UNESCO/Zimbabwe model) and investigated four interrelated facets of man's life - training, employment and social stability and grouped these facets together under the term "educulture" rather than education and culture.

The paper starts off with an overview of the crisis of "arrested development" in Africa as a background to the crisis in Zimbabwe. The case study focuses on black women because they are the majority of Zimbabwean women and also because of their historical and marginalised position. The study shows that before Independence, Zimbabwean women suffered doubly, first as Blacks and secondly as women.

The major problems faced by women before independence are identified as inadequate training, lack of resources and family destabilisation. After Independence, although training, resource acquisition and social stability improved for the black population, for women this improvement was felt by a few. Despite Government efforts to democratize social services, women found themselves with fewer opportunities for training. Their skill-less status, coupled with family and employers' attitudes, are largely responsible for women's inaccessibility to permanent wage employment. Further, natural conditions, the world economic order and apartheid account for constant insecurity and social destabilisation.

Women in Zimbabwe, however, struggle with these problems on a daily basis. Their struggles are manifest in their desire to learn as well as in their efforts at income generation and expenditure reduction. When grappling with reality, some of these efforts to survive force them into socially unacceptable practices like sex trading and abortion. When thus cornered, State machinery and the broad society pounce hard on women. But women are not discouraged by the harsh jurisdiction which addresses the symptoms rather than the root cause of the problem. They continue struggling and their efforts are reinforced by their vision of the future: A vision where all social groups have equitable access to development of potential, resource acquisition and social stability. It is this very vision which enables women to rescue educulture from its socio-economic problems, the vision that has to date enabled Zimbabwe to survive the crisis.

Conclusion

The study concludes that the problems which women face in educulture are structural in nature and socio-economic in character. They are caused by the presence of inequitable social economic structures both at home and abroad. These problems may be solved by structural transformation of the whole society rather than mere legislation and jurisdiction.

Recommendations

- A mechanism be instituted to empower the State to buy land from commercial farmers rather than depend on the willing buyer/willing seller formula imposed by the Lancaster House Agreement and to speed up land policy reform.
- Increased budgetary allocations/grants to the formal sector, i.e. IGPs, co-operatives with preference being given to women.
- Increased budgetary allocations/grants to all NFE departments of Government ministries, commerce and the private sector.
- Seminars from the grassroots to the national level be held to brief parents, community leaders, Government officials and employers on the changing role of women in society.
- The Department of Law and Order reviews the roles of both male and female parties in prostitution, teenage pregnancy, abortion and baby dumping.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CONCEPT ANALYSIS

Women

All those who physically belong to the female gender, and are above 12 years in age.

Education

Process of transmitting/acquiring knowledge, skills and attitudes (KSA) as tools of man's survival against nature and against any artificial barrier created by man.

Culture

Process of determining, producing, reproducing and displaying socio-economic and political values based on historical and material foundations.

Struggle

Action or behaviour of an individual or a group to challenge a problem.

Vision

An image of a desired situation, what one aspires for. This image is painted with the colours of labour and hope.

APPENDIX B

UNESCO/ZIMBABWE METHODOLOGICAL MODEL OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE

- UNESCO (1981) notes that education is a:

...process by which the past is incorporated into the present to fashion the future either in the sense of critical and creative discontinuity...

In this process an element of learning, whether by design or by chance, features very strongly from the first to the last minute of man's life. The things we learn may be useful or useless, relevant or irrelevant, legitimate or illegitimate. The learning process may occur in an environment which may be informal, non-formal or formal, it may also be supported by oral, practical or literate techniques. This education is part of growing up and adjusting to one's role in life.

Kenyatta (1959) and Gelfand (1973) trace the education of youths who are initiated into different age groups as they grow. Whatever the nature, status, form or method of education it is clear that education is the:

...organisation of the sum knowledge acquired by the community to aid the individual to take his useful place in a spirit of solidarity.

Whereas "education" may be easily conceptualized by both technocrats in the field and laymen alike, "culture" is not so easy to conceptualize, and different people have different views on what culture actually is. Some people limit culture to traditional forms of shelter, dress, instruments or symbols. Some people think culture is all about custom, ceremony, music, theatre, language and the ethics of life and death.

- Dupre (1983:1) reports that culture is the:
...harmonised erudition and education with the demands of an established order...
- Moles (1977:28) argues that culture is the:
...accumulated whole of what we have assimilated, understood, integrated during our past which becomes an element of our present in conflict or in conjunction with our present perception of the world outside...⁵²
- Former Director-General of UNESCO Amadou Mathar M'Bow once said that:
...culture is bound up with all facets of life... is the expression of (a human being's) highest value and their sense of life... is to guide and humanize economic growth and technical progress...⁵³
- UNESCO (1981:42) further reaffirms that culture is:
...successive collective experiences placed in time and place... a way in which man behaves and reacts to the world around him...

52 A.D. Moles. *Re-Pedagogue et Culture*, No. 28, March/April, 1977:28. Quoted in UNESCO 1981:42.

53 M. M'Bow, UNESCO Secretary-General. Address at the opening meeting of the Fourth General Conference of the Association of African Countries, Khartoum, 6/12/76. Quoted by N. Diaye. Source: UNESCO 1981:62.

- **Zimbabwe (November 1985:21) defines culture as:**
...development...about the participation and contribution of the whole nation in all aspects of life, health, politics, security, economic production and social relations...the more expensive piecemeal approach...⁵⁴
- **Zimbabwe specifically notes that culture is:**
...all aspects of life, health, politics, security, economic production and social relations...An understanding of development in its totality.

⁵⁴ Government of Zimbabwe, Ministry of Education 1985. UNESCO General Conference, 23rd Session, Sofia, Bulgaria, 1985:21.

APPENDIX C
BUDGET ANALYSIS

Estimates of Expenditure for the Years Ending June 1980, 1981, 1988 in Zimbabwe dollars in the Departments of Social Welfare, Land, Education, Community Development, Youth, Sport and Culture and Co-operatives.

	1988	1981	1980
Total Social Welfare	30 532 000	6 061 000	N/A
Institute Running Expenses	267 000	225 000	200 000
Drought	14 000 000	N/A	N/A
Indigent Children in Institutes	500 000	7 000	7 000
Distress Relief	3 800 000	2 120 000	1 260 000
Dependant	15 000	57 000	62 000
Land Total	256 890 000	24 978 000	N/A
Admin & General			
Land Acquisition and Compensation	5 000 000	8 301 000	2 521 000
Education Admin	68 730 000	2 593 000	1 300 000
Grants			
TOTAL NFE	3 360 000	1 787 000	550 000
MCDWA Training and Hostel Services	596 000	100 000	78 000
Grants to Women's Organisations	40 000	N/A	N/A
CD Professional	150 000	N/A	N/A
TOTAL MCDWA	13 619 000	Edu + Cul Total 184 712 000	
Youth, Sport & Culture Total	1 746 000	2 287 000	
Sport & Culture	380 000	N/A	N/A
Training Centres	1 480 000	N/A	N/A
TOTAL Min. of Co-operatives	5 071 000		
Training	30 000	N/A	N/A
Grants to Co-ops	625 000	N/A	N/A

Source: Government of Zimbabwe, various Ministries.

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