

**This work is licensed under a
Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-
NoDerivs 3.0 Licence.**

**To view a copy of the licence please see:
<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>**

^(A)DISCUSSION PAPERS

(211) ZIMBABWE INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
(1) ZIMBABWE

**The Social Impact and Responses To
The Economic Crisis in Africa: A
Case for Zimbabwe.**

J.W.G. Kaliyati

14



P.O. Box 880 HARARE

©1992 Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies
P O Box 880
Harare
Zimbabwe

First printing 1992

All rights reserved

This paper was originally prepared for presentation to the seminar on "The Social Impact and Responses to the Crisis in Africa" organised by the Council for the Development of Economic and Social Research in Africa (CODESRIA), in Dakar, Senegal, from 21st-23rd July, 1986.

The author, JACOB KALIYATI, is a Senior Research Fellow with the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies (ZIDS). However, the views and opinions expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the Institute.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
Scope of Paper	1
THE DIMENSIONS OF THE CRISIS	3
The Squatter Problem	4
Population Distribution by Gender	6
Subsistence Farming vs Cash Crop Farming	6
Labour Force in the Rural Areas	7
Prostitution	7
Miscellaneous Activities to Counter the Effects of the Crisis	8
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	9
BIBLIOGRAPHY	10
APPENDICES	11

INTRODUCTION

A lot of research on the economic crisis and its impact on the African countries has so far focused on the economic performances of the countries concerned. The emphasis has been on variables such as production levels relative to population sizes, trade balances, world commodity prices, unemployment, budget deficits and so on. The social impact, let alone the responses to it, are merely touched upon in passing if not ignored altogether. The objective of this paper is to focus attention on the social aspects of the economic crisis and to try and use Zimbabwean data to quantify their social impact where possible. For the purposes of this paper, the responses by the various social and economic classes to the crisis would be taken as a measure of its social impact.

There is no clear-cut definition of a crisis situation. It may be argued that analysing a "crisis situation" by focusing on the trends in economic indicators merely indicates whether a crisis situation is being approached or, if already reached, whether it is worsening. Such an analysis therefore does not actually tell us whether a crisis situation has been reached or not. Paul Procter defines a crisis situation as "...a turning point in the course of anything; uncertain times or state of affairs, moments of great danger or difficulty". In this paper, the last meaning will be adopted.

This paper is not concerned with establishing whether a crisis situation has been reached or not, but rather with indications of movements towards a crisis or if a crisis situation has been reached, whether it is worsening. The development of a crisis is evidenced by falling output in both agriculture and industry in a situation of increasing population and falling world prices; increases in unemployment, growing government deficit, worsening terms of trade, high inflation rates and dwindling foreign currency reserves. As the crisis gets deeper, economic agents are assumed to adapt to the new situation until they can no longer do so, at which point a revolution might be necessary. At the household level, the adjustment process takes various forms ranging from changing consumption patterns, social habits, etc., to illegal practices like prostitution, pickpocketing, housebreaking, poaching, smuggling and the like.

On the firm level, adjustment takes the form of using alternative raw materials in production, modifying and/or renovating the production processes with the aim of reducing costs. If the worst comes to the worst, the firm would inevitably close down, thereby worsening the crisis situation.

Scope of Paper

This paper is not going to deal with inter-country comparisons, but will merely look at the Zimbabwean situation.

Firstly, the question as to the extent to which the Zimbabwean economy was affected by the crisis is tackled by looking at various economic indicators. The paper then goes on to analyse the social impact and responses to the crisis by the economic agents. It will be difficult to isolate the social impact from the social responses because the former is hard to notice, let alone quantify. The responses are also difficult to quantify, although they are more visible. Thus, while prostitution is in a way a response to the crisis, the extent of the problem indicates the magnitude of its impact on society.

Data sources are going to be limited to press statements, crime statistics and the recently published "Zimbabwe National Household Capability Survey Capability Programme" (ZNHSCP) by the Central Statistical Office.

THE DIMENSIONS OF THE CRISIS

The world economic crisis is part and parcel of capitalist development. Excess capacity and a decline in the rate of profit are some of the causes of violent fluctuations in world economic activities. Volumes of literature have been written on the causes, effects and characteristics of the world economic crisis and these need not detain us here. This section attempts to give the reader an idea of the dimension and impact of the crisis on the Zimbabwean economy before elaborating on the social impact and responses to it.

Ever since the 1980/81 bumper harvest, Zimbabwe - and indeed most of Africa - has suffered from a prolonged drought and the effects of the world economic recession. Real GDP growth fell from 13% in 1981 to 0,03 in 1982, and to a negative 3,4% in 1983. This was against the background of a targeted growth rate of 8% per annum. The growth in the volume of manufacturing production also fell from 14,7% in 1980 to -4,2% in 1984. Clearly, this would have had a serious impact on employment were it not for Government restrictive measures on retrenchment of labour. The growth in employment fell from 2,6% in 1980 to -1,2% in 1983. In the absence of an official unemployment rate, limited job opportunities and a population growth rate of about 3%, and the fact that the intake in secondary schools has been increasing at an alarming rate, this means that the unemployment rate was increasing monotonically over time. This would obviously lead to people adopting various survival strategies, legal or otherwise.

The availability of foreign currency plays a key role in the growth of the Zimbabwean economy. To this end, fluctuations in the prices of Zimbabwe's major exports are of crucial importance. Beef prices fell by 17,6% from US\$1,2519 per pound in 1980 to US\$1,0311 per pound in 1984. Sugar prices plunged by 27%, metals were down by about 27%, and agricultural raw materials declined by 11,2% over the same period. The commodity price index for all commodities fell by 17,8% between 1980 and 1984. Against this background the export volume index shows a 2% drop in exports between 1980 and 1982 and a 1,5% improvement over the 1980 level in 1983. This slight improvement in 1983 reflects the 1982 devaluation of the Zimbabwean dollar.

The terms of trade have steadily declined from 111,2 in 1981 to 104,2 in 1983. Exports in Zimbabwean dollar terms increased by 6,5% between 1980 and 1982 and by 18,8% between 1982 and 1983. This increase in exports in Zimbabwean dollar terms in the face of falling world prices and volume of exports reflects the gradual depreciation of the Zimbabwean dollar against the world's major currencies and the eventual devaluation of the Zimbabwean dollar in 1982. The net effects of such measures, which were meant primarily to maintain the profitability of the export sector, were of course not so much to increase the foreign currency availability directly, but merely to increase competitiveness and therefore the volume of exports. The impact of such measures can be grasped by analysing trends in the balance on the current account.

A steady deterioration in the current account balance is evident between 1979 and 1982. A slight improvement is noticeable in 1983 and 1984 - a direct result of restrictive measures on income remittances taken by the authorities. The proportion of public debt to real GDP has continued to rise over time, increasing from 51% in 1979 to 81% in 1983. The foreign portion on the public debt also went up from 22,5% in 1980 to 34,6%

in 1983. This inevitably put a strain on future foreign currency availability since in reality it meant high future loan and interest repayments.

The inflation rate was not left behind in this gradual deterioration of economic activities. Based on the average CPIs for the higher and lower income groups, inflation stood at 7,2% in 1980, increasing to 13,9% in 1981, 14,6% in 1982, 19,6% in 1983, before dropping to 16,2% in 1984. The fall in 1984 was a result of restrictive measures in money supply and the availability of credit. All these developments inevitably had adverse effects on the household and the firm as economic entities.

As pointed out earlier, this paper is not going to look at the social impact and responses to the crisis by firms, but by households. The social impact and responses to the crisis by the latter is going to be analysed by looking at:

- changes in family sizes;
- income-generating activities by households;
- population distribution;
- individual responses - ranging from legal to illegal activities;
- rural to urban migration and its attendant problems: the squatter problem, prostitution, crime and health problems.

The Squatter Problem

One of the major headaches faced by the Government is the squatter problem, which continues to defy a permanent solution in spite of repeated evictions. To understand the causes of squatting, it is important to first identify the various types of squatters in Zimbabwe. There are seven different categories of squatters, according to a high-ranking official in the Ministry of Local Government and Town Planning. The first type of squatters are not really squatters, but merely persons who were displaced from their homes during the war of liberation. This type of squatting, therefore, does not constitute a response to the economic crisis but is, in fact a contributory factor to the crisis. This is so because some of the resources which would otherwise be used to cushion the effects of the crisis now have to be diverted to resettling the "homeless".

The second category of squatters is that of people who, because of promises made by the party during the liberation struggle and soon after the war, moved onto commercial farms. These people have, party promises notwithstanding, legally been called squatters. These, again, do not constitute a response to the crisis but are a result of the economic development which necessitated the creation of a labour reserve army through the marginalisation of the African community. Since movement onto the white commercial farms was a political manoeuvre, this type of squatting is a political problem whose solution lies in the political arena.

The third category of squatters is that of alien farm labourers, who during the liberation war were deserted by their employers and have continued to stay and reproduce on the farms. These people became squatters when ownership of the farm changed hands. Ill-defined Government policy on squatters also causes problems when Government buys such farms for resettlement purposes. It becomes a social problem touching on citizenship rights since most of the so-called aliens are in fact Zimbabweans by birth.

Like the type of squatter defined above, this group is not necessarily a product of the world economic crisis.

The fourth category of squatters are those who migrate from the rural areas and the commercial farming areas to the towns in search of employment and cannot find accommodation. It also includes those who are retrenched from their urban jobs. This type of squatting is a direct result of the economic crisis. The movement from the rural to urban areas is an attempt to keep up with the cost of living by looking for better-paying jobs. Failure to get accommodation and inability to pay rents and water charges has resulted in these people building shanty living quarters usually near river banks for easy access to water.

This leads to siltation of water sources. The absence of sanitary facilities poses a health hazard which further strains the already tight budgets of local authorities. In most cases, these people resort to crime in order to make ends meet. Their sources of income consist mainly of the sale of items salvaged from refuse dumps, simple handicrafts and various trinkets. Their lifestyle inevitably turns most of them into one of the next three types of squatters.

The fifth, and not unrelated to the fourth type of squatters, are the prostitutes, thieves and other petty criminals. This category can be divided into two groups.

The first group is that of law-abiding citizens who, because of circumstances beyond their control (the effect of the crisis), adopt criminal activities as a survival strategy. The second group is that of habitual criminals and prostitutes who resort to squatting because it is cheaper to do so. This second group might also resort to squatting because it is relatively difficult to flush out criminals in such an environment, and they can also turn to the political arena to justify their position as squatters, thus concealing the criminal nature of their activities.

This sixth category of squatters is closely related to the fourth and fifth. Having become a squatter as described in the above two paragraphs, one gets used to this kind of life and is reluctant to work. Sweating for one's daily bread becomes somewhat unattractive as one can make "a quick buck" by simply scavenging for some saleable items from the refuse dumps or snatching a handbag or engaging in "short-time". This turns one into this category of squatter which we can conveniently label "the habitual squatter". This type of squatter is obviously an "offspring" of the crisis. The only solution to habitual squatting is rehabilitation. Here the focus should be on the mind, rather than the person, in order to turn the squatter into an economically useful member of society.

The seventh and final type of squatter is that which derives from laziness. As pointed out above, habitual squatters became so because of the "easiness" of sustaining every day life. The main problems with this type of life are: (a) the uncertainty of obtaining a fixed sum of money in a given period of time and (b) the ever-present threat of jail or even death. The shortcomings of this way of life aside, squatter camps have become a breeding ground and resting place for thousands of unemployed and under-employed people. These people inevitably join the rest of the members of the squatter camps in the various income-generating activities outlined above.

Last but not least, it must be pointed out that the squatter problem is not confined to economically idle people alone. This probably emanates from the definition of a squatter which, in simple terms, refers to anyone who is living on a piece of land illegally. This definition problem widens the net to include some people with respectable jobs in

society. By successfully evading rent, rates and other local authority tariffs, some of these people have managed to build decent houses for themselves. Some individuals with respectable jobs have joined squatter camps solely to evade municipal tariffs. This obviously affects their children's upbringing and is a pointer to future social problems.

The magnitude and extent of the squatter problem in Zimbabwe cannot be quantified in this paper. Suffice to say that the Government of Zimbabwe is aware of this problem and is currently seeking ways to eradicate it.

Population Distribution by Gender

The Zimbabwean population was throughout the colonial period conveniently divided along gender lines with the economically active men working in the urban centres, mines and commercial farms, while women and children remained in the rural areas to till the land. Table 2 in the Appendix shows the rural population distribution by gender and by age group. From this table, it is interesting to note that:

- About 72% of the male rural population is below the age of 19 years, about 50% is of school-going age, and 20% is below the age of four;
- There is a big drop in the percentage of these between the age of 10 and 19 (i.e. 31%) to 8,6% for those between the ages of 20 and 29, which implies that there is massive rural to urban migration;
- The proportion of females below the age of 19 is about 60% of the total female population compared to 72% for males;
- As in the male population there is a sudden drop in the proportion of females from 25% in the 10 to 19 age group to 14,3% in the 20 to 29 age group. This drop may be explained by rural to urban migration. One thing to note here is the fact that the drop for females is by 9,3% points compared to 22,4% points for males. This suggests that more males than females migrate to towns seeking employment. An interesting feature is the fact that as opposed to the historical trends, even women are now migrating to cities in search of employment. This is obviously a favourable response to the crisis since it has turned one segment of the society which hitherto considered itself dependent on male labour for survival into an economically and politically active group.

Subsistence Farming vs Cash Crop Farming

Peasant agriculture, which historically was characterised by subsistence farming, has finally shown a gradual shift to cash crop farming. Table 3 in the Appendix gives the proportions under different crops by area for each of the eight provinces and for all the provinces. This table shows a gradual shift from maize to cotton and sunflower. Mashonaland West is in the forefront with 26,1% of the area under cultivation followed by Mashonaland Central with 25,8% and Midlands with 18,6%. Sunflower has tended to lag behind with the largest proportion of the area under cultivation of 2,6% being recorded in Mashonaland West Province. This might be just a reflection of the response by rural farmers to Government pricing policies. There has also been a shift from the traditional habit of consuming one's own production to the consumption of processed products (mealie-meal included). Thus, even maize production is now earmarked for sale to the Grain Marketing Board with about 50% coming from the communal farmers.

One can therefore safely conclude that the traditional pattern of rural farming has shifted from being purely subsistence to cash cropping. Contrary to popular belief which says the peasant farmer is unresponsive to price incentives, the Zimbabwean peasant farmer is very price sensitive. This is probably due to his high political awareness and a growing desire to be able to earn a living from the soil in line with Government calls for self-sufficiency. Peasant farmers now also have access to Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC) loans which must be paid back.

The rural population has responded to the crisis, not only by switching over to cash crops, but also by reducing the size of their families. Whilst it was fashionable to have several children in the past, the ZNHSCP has shown an average household size of about five compared to the previously popular numbers of eight, 12 and more.

Labour Force in the Rural Areas

The recent ZNHSCP showed that in general more females than males constituted the labour force in the rural areas. Of those in the labour force, about 45% were full-time whilst students comprised about 40% and housewives about 15%. One interesting feature of the survey results is the fact that about 12% of those interviewed had jobs but did not work during the week prior to the interview. This gives an idea of the level of under-employment which is quite rife in the rural areas of Zimbabwe. The fact that students and housewives are joining the labour market is sufficient proof of attempts by rural households to alleviate the effects of the crisis.

Prostitution

Prostitution is a response to the gradually worsening economic crisis. There are a variety of prostitutes in Zimbabwe, ranging from part-timers who engage in the sex trade to supplement their income to full-time callgirls whose sole occupation is prostitution. In his paper, "The Prostitution Question: With Special Reference to Zimbabwe", Sam Moyo outlines the origins, causes and effects of prostitution. He even goes a step further to deal with the demand and supply of sex as fee-fixing variables in prostitution.

In this paper, we shall look at prostitution in the light of its existence as a response to the economic crisis. That prostitution arises mainly out of financial difficulties is unquestionable. This is amply demonstrated by an observer who wrote a letter to the editor of a weekly newspaper saying: "Most prostitutes do their job, not out of a lust for sex, but out of a need for financial support..." (*The Sunday Mail*, 16th June, 1985). These sentiments were echoed by a ZANU (PF) Welfare Secretary who was quoted as saying he believed there were pressing social problems which drove women into prostitution (*The Sunday Mail*, 16th December, 1984). To confirm this, 50 women were reported to have demonstrated in Mutare demanding the removal of a certain man from a particular locality because he had managed to sweet-talk them into having sex with him and later failed to pay for services rendered.

A lot of people, including decision-makers, have tended to sweep the prostitution problem under the carpet. The magnitude of the problem, not to mention relevant policy to deal with it, has been neglected as a result. The extent of prostitution can be partly understood by looking at some of the measures taken by the authorities to combat

it, and perhaps how those in the trade have managed or attempted to evade the law. The setting up of an inter-ministerial committee to look into the prostitution question followed by a clean-up operation code-named "Operation Chinyavada" towards the end of 1983 and later on in 1986, clearly illustrates the extent of the problem.

The trade in sex is exploited by professional pimps, rural businessmen and in some cases city hotels which thrive on clients seeking short-time bookings. *The Sunday Mail* of June 23, 1986 carried a story headlined "Survey Uncovers Curious Sex Deals at City Hotels". According to the story, some hotel workers were operating brothels without the knowledge of the management and at times with the blessing of the hotel owners. Where hotel management did not approve of such activities, prostitutes were reported to work hand-in-hand with bar tenders who acted as "middlemen" in arranging "love-nests".

The prostitution business, legalised or illegalised, has a knack of turning people into "habitual prostitutes" just as lack of accommodation and poverty turns some people into "habitual squatters". In this respect, it tends to make people lazy and encourages them to look for simple ways to make "a quick buck". Thus, school-leavers who resort to prostitution as a stop-gap measure before finding formal employment have tended to continue living off the "wages of sin" even after securing a job. This has also contributed to the growing sceptre of divorce among Zimbabweans since even married women are known to "sleep around" in exchange for money or jobs. Worse still, prostitution seems to be hereditary and appears to have (at times) been passed on from mother to daughter, blemishing the characters of future generations.

The price for sex varies from \$30 a night to \$5 or \$10 for short-time (Personal Communication, 1983). But as in any business there are peaks and lows, with paydays providing the briskiest period. However, when the demand for their services is low, some prostitutes engage in other clandestine activities like stealing, shoplifting, etc. to supplement their income. *The Herald* of 13th April, 1985 reports on the case of a prostitute who was convicted and fined Z\$450 for housebreaking and theft. This tends to corroborate Moyo's findings that prostitutes usually associate with other criminal elements. Indeed, there have been numerous press reports of prostitutes conniving with tsotsis to rob clients not only of their cash, but also clothing and other personal accessories.

Miscellaneous Activities to Counter the Effects of the Crisis

There are quite a number of activities which individuals have engaged in, in order to counter the effects of the crisis. Some of these include the operation of shebeens, the sale of illegal spirits (e.g. *kachasu*), poaching, drug trafficking, fraud and a wide range of other petty crimes. This paper will not go into an in-depth analysis of these activities because of inadequate information and data. A casual observation by the researcher indicates that the operation of shebeens and the sale of *kachasu* are rampant in the major cities, while drug trafficking and poaching have so far tended to be confined to foreigners attempting to get rich quickly using Zimbabwe as a hunting ground or transit territory.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

From this brief discussion, it is clear that in Zimbabwe households and individuals have responded in different ways to the effects of the economic crisis. Rural to urban migration has been one of them, resulting in squatting and its attendant problems. Peasant farmers have responded to the crisis by shifting from the traditional subsistence farming to cash crop farming and at times animal husbandry. Family planning and self-employment in the informal sector have also been pointed out.

In the cities, prostitution has been singled out as the major response by the female folk who, apart from the crisis, are also economically disadvantaged because of traditional views which regard women as "second-class citizens". Other measures adopted by households and individuals mentioned but not discussed at length because of lack of data include: the operation of shebeens, the brewing of illegal beer and spirits and sale of same, drug trafficking, poaching, fraud, and other petty criminal activities.

In conclusion, it must be said that some of the responses to the economic crisis have been positive and others negative. It is necessary therefore for research to focus on how the positive responses could be harnessed and the negative ones judiciously dealt with in such a way that they do not engender more negative effects. For example, evicting squatters without providing them with adequate accommodation will not eliminate the problem, as they will only squat elsewhere. Similarly, arresting prostitutes without giving them an alternative source of income will not solve the prostitution problem. To this end, research must focus on the impact and effect of different policy measures aimed at minimising the effects of the economic crisis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Killick, Tony (ed), *The IMF and Stabilisation: Developing Country Experience*, London, Gower, 1984.
2. Frank, Gunder A., *Crisis: In the World Economy*, Holmes and Meier Publishers: New York, 1980.
3. Castro, F., *The World Crisis: Its Economic and Social Impact on the Underdeveloped Countries*, Zed Books; London 1984.
4. Moyo, Sam, "The Prostitution Question with Special Reference to Zimbabwe", Consultancy report prepared for the Inter-Ministerial Committee on Urban Squatters, ZIDS Consultancy Report, No. 1. Harare, 1991.
5. Mkandawire, T., "Home-Made Austerity Measures: The Case of Zimbabwe", ZIDS Research Paper Series, Harare, 1985.
6. Sachikonye, L.M., "State, Capital and Trade Unions Since Independence", ZIDS Research Papers, 1984.
7. Mkandawire, T, "The Informal Sector in the Labour Reserve Economies of Southern Africa, with Special Reference to Zimbabwe". ZIDS Working Paper No.1, Harare, 1985.
8. Moyo, Sam, "Female Labour in Zimbabwe: Reflections on NMS Findings", ZIDS Research Paper Series, Harare.
9. Thanh-Dam, Truong, "The Dynamics of Sex Tourism: The Case of South-East Asia", *Development and Change*, Vol. 14, No. 4, Sage: London, 1983.
10. Moto (2), "Sexual Harassment Humiliates Working Women", Mambo Press: Harare, December 1983/January 1984.

APPENDICES

LIST OF APPENDICES

Table 1	Economic indicators.
Table 2	Population distribution of the crisis by gender and age group.
Table 3	Percentage distribution of the crops under cultivation by area.

Table 1
ECONOMIC INDICATORS

Year	Real GDP Growth %	Volume of Manufacturing Production Growth %	Growth in Employment %	Total Exports (Z\$m)	Export Volume Index	Terms of Trade	Current Account Balance (Z\$m)	Public Debt (Z\$m)	Foreign Portion of External Debt (Z\$m)	Public Debt as a Proportion of GDP %	Inflation Rate %
1979	1,5	10,1	-0,2	715,7	105,0	80,9	-73,9	1482,3	353,3	51,0	12,6
1980	11,3	14,7	2,6	909,2	100,0	100,0	-156,7	1843,3	414,8	57,0	7,2
1981	13,0	9,4	2,8	971,7	95,2	111,2	-439,6	2098,6	514,2	57,6	13,9
1982	0,03	-0,6	0,8	968,4	98,0	108,3	-532,9	2481,3	841,4	68,1	14,6
1983	-3,4	-2,7	-1,2	1150,2	101,5	104,2	-454,2	2853,0	986,5	81,0	19,6
1984	-	-4,2	-	-	-	-	-101,9	3746,7	1437,7	-	16,2

1. *Calculated from real GDP figures in the CSO Quarterly Digest of Statistics, March, 1985.*
2. *Calculated from the volume of manufacturing index in the Reserve Bank's Quarterly Economic and Statistical Review (QESR), September 1985.*
3. *Calculated from employment figures published by CSO in the Quarterly Digest of Statistics, March, 1985.*
4. *CSO, Quarterly Digest of Statistics (QDS), March, 1985.*
5. *CSO, QDS, March, 1985.*
6. *CSO, QDS, March, 1985.*
7. *QESR, September, 1985.*
8. *CSO, QDS, March, 1985.*
9. *Based on the average of the high and lower income urban families' CPIs.*

Table 2

PERCENTAGES OF MALES AND FEMALES IN BROAD AGE GROUPS AND SEX RATIOS FOR FIVE PROVINCES

AGE GROUP	0-4	5 - 9	10 - 19	20 - 29	30 - 39	40 - 49	50 - 59	60 +	TOTAL
MASH. CENTRAL									
Male (1)	19.9	20.5	31.7	8.0	5.8	4.8	3.3	6.0	100
Female (2)	17.1	17.0	25.3	13.7	10.0	6.7	4.3	5.8	100
Total (3)	18.4	18.6	28.2	11.1	8.1	5.8	3.9	5.9	100
Sex Ratio (4)	1.00	1.03	1.07	0.50	0.49	0.61	0.66	0.89	0.86
Males as % (5) of pop.	50.0	50.7	51.7	33.3	32.9	37.9	39.8	47.1	46.2
MANICALAND									
Male	21.0	20.4	31.4	8.5	4.9	4.6	4.1	5.1	100
Female	17.5	17.4	25.0	14.5	9.6	6.2	4.5	5.3	100
Total	19.1	18.8	28.0	11.7	7.4	5.6	4.2	5.2	100
Sex Ratio	1.03	1.01	1.08	0.50	0.44	0.64	0.73	0.84	0.86
Males as % of pop.	50.7	50.2	51.9	33.3	30.6	39.0	42.2	45.7	46.2
MASH. EAST									
Male	19.2	20.1	31.9	9.5	5.7	4.3	4.1	5.2	100
Female	16.9	16.8	25.9	14.1	8.6	6.5	4.4	6.8	100
Total	17.9	18.3	28.6	12.0	7.3	5.5	4.3	6.1	100
Sex Ratio	0.94	0.99	1.02	0.56	0.55	0.55	0.77	0.63	0.83
Males as % of pop.	47.4	49.7	50.5	35.9	35.5	35.5	43.5	38.7	45.4
MASVINGO									
Male	21.5	20.8	29.9	8.9	5.1	4.8	3.7	5.3	100
Female	18.2	16.7	25.0	15.1	9.7	6.2	3.7	5.4	100
Total	19.7	18.6	27.3	12.2	7.6	5.5	3.7	5.4	100
Sex Ratio	1.01	1.06	1.02	0.50	0.95	0.66	0.80	0.80	0.85
Males as % of pop.	50.2	51.5	50.5	33.3	48.7	39.8	44.4	44.4	45.9
MIDLANDS									
Male	20	21	30	8	6	5	4	6	100
Females	18	19	24	14	10	6	4	5	100
Total	19	20	27	11	8	6	4	5	100
Sex Ratio	0.96	0.97	1.06	0.52	0.50	0.70	0.71	0.95	0.85
Males as % of pop.	49.0	49.2	51.5	34.2	33.3	41.2	41.5	48.7	45.9

Table 2 (continued)

AVERAGE FOR THE FIVE PROVINCES									
Male	20.3	20.6	31.0	8.6	5.5	4.7	3.8	5.5	100
Female	17.5	17.4	25.0	14.3	9.6	6.3	4.2	5.7	100
Total	18.8	18.9	27.8	11.6	7.7	5.7	4.0	5.5	100
Sex Ratio	0.99	1.01	1.05	0.52	0.59	0.63	0.73	0.82	0.85
Males as % of pop	49.5	50.3	51.2	34.0	36.2	38.7	42.3	44.9	45.9

Sources: Zimbabwe National Household Survey Capability Programme (ZNHSCP), Report Nos. 1 - 5, CSO, Harare.

1. The numbers given are percentages of the total male population.
2. The numbers given are percentages of the total female population.
3. The total refers to both male and female.
4. Sex ratios refer to the ratio of male to female.
5. The numbers show the male population as a percentage of the total population.

Table 3
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF AREA UNDER CULTIVATION BY TYPE OF CROP

PROVINCE	MAIZE	G/NUTS	COTTON	SORGHUM	MILLET	S/FLOWER	OTHER*	TOTAL
MANICALAND	51,0	6,4	1,2	9,5	26,5	0,4	5,0	100
MASH. CENTRAL	65,0	0,3	25,8	0,9	1,3	0,8	5,9	100
MASH. EAST	62,9	5,2	0,9	-	24,8	2,5	3,7	100
MASH. WEST	58,0	2,6	26,1	8,6	-	2,6	2,1	100
MAT. NORTH	60,2	-	0,5	23,2	13,7	1,3	1,1	100
MAT. SOUTH	30,9	10,3	-	28,2	28,0	-	2,6	100
MIDLANDS	56,5	5,3	18,6	59,9	4,0	2,4	7,3	100
MASVINGO	49,0	5,0	0,5	15,2	19,0	-	11,3	100
ALL PROVINCES	53,7	5,1	8,5	10,7	15,3	1,2	5,5	100

Source: Based on figures in the Zimbabwe National Household Survey Capability Programme (ZNHSCP).

Other: Refers to other crops which include rapoko, millet, nyimo, beans, rice, potatoes and tobacco.*

Dashes (-): Imply Nil or Insignificant.