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**INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE
OF WOMEN IN MANUFACTURING ACTIVITIES
A ZIDS CONSULTANCY REPORT FOR THE MINISTRY OF
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND WOMEN'S AFFAIRS**

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PREFACE

The study of women's role in industrial development in Zimbabwe is part of an ongoing effort to support and enhance women's contribution to the development of the 'formal' and 'informal' manufacturing sectors of the economy.

Throughout the preparation of the study, there has been a high degree of cooperation from the Government who had requested the study to be made and Zimbabwean researchers who took a major part in its execution.

At the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs, special thanks go to the Permanent Secretary Ms. Tendai Bare who supported the study and solved problems all along, as well as to all civil servants who contributed.

The invaluable contribution of the Director Dr. A.M. Rukobo of ZIDS is greatly appreciated. A number of professionals from ZIDS also participated with advice and various other essential inputs. A list of their names and the names of field workers is given in Annex 4.

We are more than grateful to Debbie Sanders of the Department of Political and Administrative Studies of the University of Zimbabwe who in more than one way assisted in not only making her personal computer available but also helped with inputting and editing the report.

Last but not least we are grateful to all the hundreds of interviewed persons, co-operative/income generating groups, informal sector entrepreneurs, workers at the factory floor, workers' committees and management. Without their assistance this study could not have been made.

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PREFACE	<u>PAGE</u>
I INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 ORIGINS AND TERMS OF REFERENCE	1
1.2 METHODOLOGY	2
1.3 CLASS, RACE AND GENDER - A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW	9
1.4 FOCUS OF STUDY	13
FOOTNOTES TO SECTION 1	16
II LITERATURE REVIEW	17
2.1 FORMAL SECTOR	18
2.2 INFORMAL SECTOR	19
FOOTNOTES TO SECTION II	27
III HUMAN RESOURCES AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE	30
3. THE ZIMBABWEAN ECONOMY	30
3.1 DEVELOPMENT AND STRUCTURAL CHANGE IN THE FORMAL SECTOR ECONOMY	30
3.2 THE INFORMAL SECTOR	35
3.3 WOMEN IN THE ECONOMY	38
3.4 TRENDS WITHIN THE ZIMBABWEAN ECONOMY	47
4. THE MANUFACTURING SECTOR	53
4.1 ORGANISATION AND STRUCTURE	53
4.2 GOVERNMENT POLICY TOWARDS THE MANUFACTURING SECTOR	56
FOOTNOTES TO SECTION III	57
IV. WOMEN'S PROSPECTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT FINDINGS FROM THE FIELD-WORK SURVEYS	59
5. EMPLOYEES IN FORMAL SECTOR MANUFACTURING	59
5.1 TOWARDS INCREASED PARTICIPATION	59
5.2 RELEVANT EDUCATION AND TRAINING	62
5.3 JOB ENTRANCE	64
5.4 PROMOTION	67
5.5 CONDITIONS OF SERVICE	81
5.6 ROLE OF WORKER'S ORGANISATIONS	83
5.7 MONITORING MECHANISM	86
6. SELF - EMPLOYMENT AND THE INFORMAL SECTOR	87
6.1 GOVERNMENT POLICY TOWARDS THE INFORMAL SECTOR	88
6.2 A PROFILE OF WOMEN AND THEIR ACTIVITIES IN INFORMAL SECTOR MANUFACTURING	90
6.2.1 MARITAL STATUS	90
6.2.2 PAST OCCUPATION	93
6.3 APPROPRIATE RULES AND REGULATIONS	94
6.4 THE ENVIRONMENT FOR INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE BY WOMEN	95
6.5 PREMISES AND UTILITIES	95
6.6 IMPROVING THE ADMINISTRATION OF BUSINESS	98

	<u>PAGE</u>	
6.7	BROADENING THE RANGE OF SELF - EMPLOYMENT OPTIONS	98
6.8	EDUCATION, TRAINING AND SKILLS	99
6.9	CAPITAL EQUIPMENT AND FINANCING OF SELF-EMPLOYMENT INITIATIVES	103
6.10	MARKETS	108
7.	INCOME GENERATING AND CO-OPERATIVE GROUPS	115
7.1	GOVERNMENT POLICY	115
7.2	CO-OPERATIVE FORMS OF INCOME GENERATING PROJECTS	117
7.3	WOMEN'S ATTITUDES TO CO-OPERATIVE/INCOME GENERATING GROUPS	120
7.3.1	PROFILE OF WOMEN IN INCOME GENERATING PROJECTS/CO-OPERATIVES	120
7.3.2	MARITAL STATUS AND DEPENDENTS	121
7.4	BROADENING THE RANGE OF SELF-EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES	122
7.5	PROFILE OF ACTIVITY	124
7.6	HOUSEHOLD RESPONSIBILITIES AND BUSINESS	126
7.7	APPROPRIATE RULES AND REGULATIONS	128
7.8	THE ENVIRONMENT OF CO-OPERATIVE FORMS OF PRODUCTION	128
7.9	APPROPRIATE PREMISES AND USE OF UTILITIES	131
7.10	CAPITAL EQUIPMENT AND FINANCING OF SELF- EMPLOYMENT ACTIVITIES	132
7.11	MARKETS	134
7.12	GROWTH POINTS AND WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION	136
7.13	SOME COMMENTS ON THE CASE OF EXPORT-ORIENTED INDUSTRIALIZATION	136
	FOOTNOTES TO SECTION IV	139
V	RECOMMENDATIONS	140
	ANNEXES	147
	ANNEX 1: TERMS OF REFERENCE	147
	ANNEX 2: LITERATURE	148
	ANNEX 3: QUESTIONNAIRES	
	ANNEX 4: ZIDS RESEARCH SUPPORT TEAM	
	ANNEX 5: POTENTIAL PRODUCTS FOR MANUFACTURING IN INFORMAL SECTOR.	

INTRODUCTION

Origin of study and terms of reference

Industrialization has been the cornerstone on which development policies for many third world countries have been based. However, plans and policies have largely ignored the potential role that women would play in industry by not aiming explicitly at removing the obstacles for their full participation in the economy. This study attempts, in an overall human resource utilization framework, to identify and recommend realistic steps for increasing the contribution of women in the manufacturing sector of Zimbabwe.

The concern for a fuller use of the human resource potential in the manufacturing industry has given rise to UNIDO's strong mandate to promote the role of women, expressed in the Lima Declaration and Plan of Action, in the Third General Conference of UNIDO and the Fourth General Conference of UNIDO (1984). However, the lack of awareness about the current and potential participation of women in industry and the absence of reliable data on the subject has prevented most countries from making full use of their human resources and from devising appropriate strategies for improving the integration and participation of women in industry. To obtain a factual basis and develop an effective approach for further work in this field as well as achieving practical results, UNIDO explored possibilities for conducting studies in countries where the challenge of industrialization was central to their development process. In consultation with these countries, proposals were drawn up which would specifically highlight the role of women in the industrialization process. The Government of the Netherlands welcomed such an initiative and in 1986 agreed to the funding of such studies in Zimbabwe, Nepal and Sri Lanka. The studies would report on the present and future potential for women's participation in the manufacturing sector and suggest concrete policy measures towards attaining general industrial development goals through the utilization of the human resource potential represented by women. The more detailed design for each study was drawn-up in close liaison with the governments involved in order to secure a focus on each country's particular priority problems. In the case of Zimbabwe, terms of reference were agreed with Government as represented by the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs in 1986. The suggestion that one of the three studies should be conducted in Zimbabwe had several reasons: The country's women's organisations have been very active on questions related to women in the industrialization process. Among other things, the Zimbabwean delegation proposed a resolution (jointly with Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia) on women and industrialization at the World Conference to review the UN Decade for Women in Nairobi, July 1985. Already Zimbabwe's Transitional National Development Plan identified the conspicuous under-representation of women in formal employment and encouraged the formulation of measures to promote greater participation, particularly in the manufacturing sector.

The First Five Year National Development Plan announced several concrete measures to be undertaken for women's advancement and has put substantial emphasis on employment creation in the informal sector and through co-operatives.

Discussions with the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs (CDWA) and advice from local researchers at the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies, the University of Zimbabwe and from Government Departments led to three particular emphases for Zimbabwe

- a) Examination of the dimensions of the 'informal' sector including its linkages with the 'formal' sector and its role within Zimbabwe's present plans for industrial development. To this end, it was agreed that an important component of the study would be a survey of some of the major activities engaging women in the informal sector in Zimbabwe.
- b) An attempt to bring out a clearer picture than available so far of women's work situation in 'formal' sector industry, including the effect on their work conditions of employers' attitudes.
- c) Ensure that micro focussed study themes like the two mentioned above are not separated from general wider issues. Important issues are Zimbabwe's historical legacy, and the traditional status of women in the country, and above all the ongoing process of transition from colonialism to democracy which, being primarily a political process, produces effects on structural (socio-economic) conditions and will have a strong bearing upon female participation in the economy.

As the project was seen as a beginning of a continuous process of monitoring women's role within the manufacturing sector it was at an early stage realised that the fullest Zimbabwean participation would not only be advantageous but strictly necessary. Outside the CDWA a natural co-operation partner for UNIDO was the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies (ZIDS) which with its expertise and interest for the task became a far greater support in the execution of the project than what is normally expected from consulting agencies.

Data analysis was facilitated by the use of micro - computers in the Central Statistics Office in Zimbabwe and at UNIDO headquarters, Vienna. Data entry was done in Zimbabwe with the exception of management and co-operative questionnaires which because of the time constraint had to be processed in Vienna.

The first analysis and drafting session took place over a three-week period in March - April 1987 where the whole team assembled at UNIDO headquarters, Vienna. The finalizing stages were a series of discussions with CDWA on the basis of a preliminary draft in June - July 1987 and finally a write-up of the Report by ZIDS in Harare.

1.2 METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In November and December 1986, ZIDS together with a UNIDO consultant prepared a study design. An overall study outline was designed and the necessary components for undertaking the survey field work prepared.

Workshop

Results of this first phase were presented for discussion by representatives from various governmental and parastatal bodies at a workshop organised by the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs in December 1986.

The workshop was useful in that it provided a broader perspective of female participation in both the 'formal and 'informal' sectors though it was not specific to the manufacturing sector. It became evident at the workshop that the survey should seek to unveil the types of linkages (if any), variety and range of activities undertaken, especially with regards to the 'informal' sector in its relation to the 'formal' sector. The workshop also helped us prepare the instruments for the analysis of this report.

Following the workshop, the project entered into a survey phase, the results of which, together with the review of existing data, formed the basis for the analysis presented in the study.

Hiring of Enumerators

There were fifteen (15) enumerators from the University of Zimbabwe Social Science Department (mostly second and third year students) and from the School of Social Work. They received training from the 6th to the 8th of January 1987 from the ZIDS research team.

Training of enumerators consisted of "mock" sessions so as to determine the enumerator's grasp of the subject matter, purpose of survey as well as the actual delivery of questions to the respondents. The training was done in both vernacular languages: Shona and SiNdebele..... translating from English. With time permitting, it would have been helpful if the questionnaires could have been translated into the vernacular languages.

Because of the short preparation time factor, training was done only for three days and this introduced additional constraints which later became a serious constraint in the field work. Hence, the prevalence of a lot of questions with "no response" further reflecting the weakness of the enumerators interviewing methods which lacked probing depths.

Sampling

A. Formal Sector

This included only the manufacturing sub-sectors (foodstuffs, drinks and tobacco, textiles, clothing and footwear, paper and printing and publishing, chemical and petroleum products, non-metallic mineral products, metal products and transport equipment). See Table 1.

The formal sector sample includes management; female employees and workers committees. There were twenty questionnaires for management; twenty for workers committees and two hundred and forty-four for female employees.

The survey was enterprise-based taking in a range of industries with high and low participation of women.

The management questionnaire sought to elicit information on company policy towards the recruitment and promotion of women. This questionnaire also sought information on training opportunities for women as well as conditions of service plus an occupational breakdown of the firm according to gender and race.

The Employee questionnaire was designed to obtain data on employees occupational status in the company; mode of recruitment; educational background; skills and training; employment history; conditions of service; promotion prospects; gender and race discrimination; membership in work organizations and levels of participation. In addition, the questionnaire also sought information on the characteristics of the workers household for example: Marital Status', accommodation and number of dependants.

The Workers Committee questionnaire attempted to assess the problems and constraints influencing levels of female participation or non-participation in the workers committees.

B. Informal Sector

The areas which were identified for the informal sector sample took specific criteria into account: drought-related or non-drought-related; growth points; mining areas; peri-urban and urban areas.

The informal sector sample included both female headed manufacturing activities as well as co-operative forms of income generating activities.

The questionnaire for informal sector sought information on the following: household characteristics, educational background (including skills); type of activity engaged in; involvement in activity and reasons for entering; capital formation; credit facilities; markets; problems and constraints; licensing; source of inputs; subcontracting; competition with men; managerial skills; attitudinal responses to co-operatives and other income generating activities and aspirations.

The sample was two hundred and forty-six respondents for female headed activities and fifty-six for co-operative forms of income generating manufacturing-based projects.

The main problem with gauging representativity of individuals and co-operatives/groups is that the size and structure of the statistical population in this field itself is unclear. The aim for the sample was to cover as well as possible the various geographical areas and socio-economic conditions; drought, non drought, growth points, ranching areas, peri-urban and urban areas. As illustrated by the map, the geographical coverage is good. Tables 2 and 3, by and large, reinforces this impression.

Secondary Data

From November, concurrently with the preparations of the instruments for the field survey, there was extensive collection of secondary material: Review of literature in the informal sector with special focus on the work done on women; literature on the status and role of Women in Zimbabwe both historical and contemporary; Government policy documents, data on formal sector e.g. UNIDO study on manufacturing and statistical data -including CSO statistical reviews and annual manpower reports from Division of Research and Planning of the Ministry of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare.

Fieldwork

There were three teams:

A. Mashonaland Province Group

Had two ZIDS supervisors, two drivers and five enumerators. Places covered included:

- Greater Harare - Bindura area - Marondera - Mhondoro (Mubaira Growth Point)

B. Manicaland and Midlands Group

Had two ZIDS supervisors, two drivers and five enumerators. Places covered included:

- Mutare - Chipinge - Chivi - Zvishavane - Gutu - Gweru - Kadoma
- Kariba

C. Matebeleland Group

Had two ZIDS supervisors, two drivers and five enumerators. Places covered included:

- Bulawayo - Belmont/Rangemore Area - Esigodini - Gwanda - West Nicholson - Kezi/Maphisa Growth Point - Beitbridge - Victoria Falls - Hwanqe

Field data collection lasted for three weeks mid January to early February.

Early February to mid-March was spent in the decoding as well as computer data capture. CSO assisted extensively, however, a main constraint to the data capture was lack of computer facilities at ZIDS.

Initial drafting phase was done at UNIDO in Vienna, Austria by the Core Report Team (co-consultants at UNIDO offices) and the second phase included intensive sessions in Harare, Zimbabwe between ZIDS and the Ministry of Community Development and Women 's Affairs which resulted in the final report.

Map of Zimbabwe

MAP OF ENUMERATION AREAS



Final Observation:

There was need for more time to adequately prepare the instruments for the research survey i.e. questionnaire preparation and training of enumerators so as to avoid lengthy questions as well as deeper probing techniques.

The critical importance of processing of material e.g. the need for word processing capacity as well as computer facilities to both lessen the data processing and collecting of data captured given the time constraint involved.

Given the high percentage of "no responses" or "not applicable" responses recorded, some of the data could not be adequately analysed.

Limitations of Study

1. Time Factor: Longer research time would have yielded better preparation.
2. Computer facilities were a problem to process data collected.
3. Questionnaires were not translated into vernacular languages.
4. Regarding the Formal Sector, some firms were closed during the intended survey time forcing the research team to substitute firms to be interviewed (also some who were to be interviewed could not be since it was vacation time for most firms).
5. No pilot survey was done due to the time factor (Externally imposed by UNIDO research proposal and financial outlay restriction).
6. Were unable to look at other potential areas such as the construction, and the distributive service industries along with the public service and parastatal bodies where there might be a greater percentage of female participation.

Table 1.1: Branchwise distribution of sample

ISIC	Name	Female employees	Per cent	Formal sector employees	Per cent	Formal sector firms	Per cent
311-312	Food Processing	1,800	15,5	112	45,5	9	47,3
314	Tobacco	600	5,2	7	2,9	1	5,3
321	Textile including Ginning	1,400	12,1	21	8,5	-	-
322	Clothing, Footwear	3,000	25,9	62	25,2	3	15,8
355	Rubber	100	0,9	3	1,2	2	10,5
382	Pharmaceuticals	500	4,3	14	5,7	2	10,5
383	Electrical machinery	300	2,6	25	10,2	1	5,3
382	Transport equipment	100	0,9	2	0,8	1	5,3
Other		3,800	32,7	-	-	-	-
		<u>11,600</u>	<u>100,1</u>	<u>246</u>	<u>100,0</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>100,0</u>

1987

Table 1.2: Employment in Manufacturing by Area, 1983

	Employment	Per cent	Population 1982 (1,000)	Per cent	Informal individual	Per cent	Formal sector employment	Per cent
Harare	76,707	45,5	656,0	8,7	29	1,9	96	39,0
Bulawayo	46,325	27,5	413,8	5,5	35	14,3	56	22,8
Masvingo	1,495	0,9	30,6	0,4	1	0,4	-	-
Kadoma	4,679	2,8	44,6	0,6	-	-	21	5,3
Gweru	8,039	4,8	78,9	1,1	-	-	13	5,3
Kwekwe/Redcliff	9,214	5,5	69,6	0,9	-	-	-	-
Mutare	8,210	4,9	128,9	1,7	17	7,0	23	9,4
Other areas	13,649	8,1	6,123,7	8,2	162	66,4	37	15,0
Total	168,518	100,0	7,546,1	100,01	244	100,0	246	100,0

Source: The Census of Production, 1983/84.

Table 1.3: The Sample For Informal Individual Entrepreneurs And Co-operatives Compared To Population

	Population (thousands)	Per cent	Informal individuals	Per cent	Co-operatives	Per cent
Manicaland	1,099,2	14,6	40	16,3	12	21,4
Mashonaland Central	563,4	7,5	9	3,7	1	1,8
Mashonaland East	1,496,0	19,8	37	15,2	5	8,9
Mashonaland West	859,0	11,4	38	15,6	3	5,4
Matabeleland North	885,3	11,7	69	28,3	-	-
Matabeleland South	519,6	6,9	26	10,7	8	14,3
Midlands	1,091,8	14,5	-	-	12	21,4
Masvingo	1,031,7	13,7	25	10,3	15	26,8
Total	7,546,0	100,1	244	100,1	56	100,0

1.3 Class, Race and Gender: A Historical Overview

The thrust of this report is that there needs to be a fundamental transformation of the position of women within the general process of development so as to open up new possibilities for the transition to the new society. Accompanying this process is the need to identify and consolidate a data base which is essential for planning, specifically, in this regard, via an analysis of women's participation in the manufacturing industry (Formal and Informal) and the society as a whole.

In order to fully grasp the position of women so as to create the conditions for this fundamental transformation, it is necessary to understand the process which created the subordination of women in Zimbabwe. This phenomenon (i.e. female subordination) is manifested out of complex and mutable interrelationships involving gender, race and class. Fortuitously, the ideology of racism practised under colonialism in a capitalist society also ensured that gender based (endocentric) ideologies prevailed. Therefore, historically, women have in general been relegated to the outermost fringes in society, that is, to inferior positions in all walks of life. For example, female participation in the industrial labour force has been influenced by these historical circumstances. In addition gender ideology endeavours to explain and rationalise women's socio-economic position from the realm of biological determinism, that is, in the "naturalness" of their subordination.

The status of women and the role they play in development can only be understood when the historical as well as the contemporary situation of a social formation are taken into account.

To this effect, the Zimbabwe Women's Bureau Report on the "Survey of Rural Women in Zimbabwe" noted that:

"The present status of women (in Zimbabwe) is a consequence of both traditional social organization and the changes brought about as a result of colonization- both colonial policies and the reaction of the black population to these policies. The household, and women's position within it, continue to play a central role in determining a women's activities and her socio-economic status".(1)

Implicit from the statement above is the fact that the nature of relations of production in Zimbabwe changed with the advent of colonialism towards a dependent capitalist economy. This necessitated the limited absorption of women into paid employment leaving the bulk of them in the countryside. These women (who formed the reserve army of labour together with unemployed males) helped to depress and keep the wages low in the industrial sector by subsidizing capital for the full cost of labour power.

Under capitalist relations of production, the general tendency is to have a dominant capitalist superstructure with its own support systems at its base, i.e., ideology mediates the relations of production and reproduction within the society as a whole.

With respect to women, there exists this ideological notion which views women as biological determinants (i.e., biology determines everything else); hence, the assumed notion of female naturalness

aforementioned. This dimension of subordination ensures women's inferior access and weaker authority in social relations and limited employment opportunities. Distinctions between male and female express the convention of social organization and ideological (attitudinal) supports. Restriction of women's freedom of movement, e.g. prohibitions of women working night shifts, and choice of occupation, e.g. against "heavy" work, derive from ideas of what is regarded as proper for women to do and what they should be "protected" from.

Moreover, society's role structure for women expects them to take responsibility for nurturing children and managing the household which it ideologically claims is a result of women's biologically determined functions of childbearing/reproduction.

Such attitudes are, interestingly, confirmed by the empirical analysis of this Report (see section on Findings of the Study). Settlerism in Zimbabwe, historically confined the African woman to certain positions within the economy, i.e. as cheap labour resources. The study forms part of women's experiences in Zimbabwe and hopes to contribute to an analysis which is essential in order to transform the status and position of women so as to allow them to play a meaningful role in the developmental process. For an earlier contribution to the situation of women in Zimbabwe, see Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs (1982).(2)

In the early phases of colonial domination in Zimbabwe, female participation in the economy as a whole was limited. Even with respect to the employment of women as domestic workers, there was considerable resistance to the idea of employing black women. For example, with respect to domestic work, there was a fear of miscegenation, that is, it was believed that black women would give rise to a "yellow race":

"We have a type of man, who when a native female is brought into the house.....in a good position and well-dressed, thinks.....that she should be his."(3).

Conversely, the sin was all the woman's

"It may be all right in forty to fifty years when the Rhodesian female of the native Kraal has a little more civilization than she has today."(4)

Consequently, restriction of women from the Formal Sector set the framework for women's future participation in the Informal Sector. As a result, we begin to find the traces of female participation in informal type activities i.e. petty trading (e.g. vegetable and fruit selling). It is also at this stage that we see the birth of prostitution activities. However, the point should be stressed that a vast majority of the women continued to "live and labour" in the rural areas.

As settler colonialism was geared towards the procurement of cheap labour and land, it therefore gave rise to differentiation within the countryside. This process gave rise, on one hand, to increased alienation of peasants from their means of livelihood. And on the other hand, it relegated these peasant producers to a much lower standard of living for their households.

Initially, women were only marginally involved in formal employment as they inadvertently ensured that labour flowed to the compounds and location and that it was cheap. This was vital to the reproduction of cheap labour power resources which became necessary to the further expansion of settler colonialism in Zimbabwe. Table 1 provides an earlier picture of the occupation (plus a gender breakdown) of the indigenous and migrant workers in employment for the year 1936.

Post 1940's we see an expansion in the colonial economy. The manufacturing sector begins to develop.(5) The effects of this expansion was that the African women were absorbed in greater numbers into the workforce as low paid and unskilled labour. Another result of this post-war period was increased settler migration and this in turn meant an increased need for domestic workers.

Prior to secondary industrialization, there was scarcely a woman employed in an industrial concern, except perhaps as cleaners. Many women in industry were in fact, cleaners as the National Native Labour Bureau (NNLB) noted:

"We are satisfied that the work of women was, in many cases, not that of the industry or business in question but merely that of a common cleaner or domestic help." (6)

For example, in 1936 (see Table 1.1) only thirty-two women were employed in the manufacturing sector; in 1946, 165; but in 1951, the figure had risen to 1,664. (7)

As early as the 1940's, we see that women were not only already playing a crucial role in the "Formal Sector" but that they were also contributing to the "Informal Sector" activities-via subsidization of industrial wages (that is, provision of services and goods at a lower cost than the Formal Sector).

Table 1.1: Occupation of indigenous and alien natives in employment, 1936

Occupations	Indigenous		Aliens	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Domestic service	20,220	1,011	10,712	257
Agriculture	35,248	145	47,813	64
Mining and quarrying	24,411	19	59,894	13
Manufacture:				
Bricks, pottery, etc.	683	11	1,524	7
Paints, oils, chemicals	158	-	131	-
Metal workers	442	2	290	-
Workers in skins and leather	168	-	46	-
Textile goods and articles of dress	616	4	864	-
Food, drink and tobacco	1,532	3	1,065	1
Workers in wood and furniture	448	-	1,063	-
Workers in paper, printers, bookbinders, etc.	106	-	42	-
Builders, bricklayers, stone-workers, etc.	1,379	1	1,172	3
Painters and decorators	49	-	84	-
Workers in other material	184	6	293	-
Road work, bridges, dams, wells, etc.	5,882	1	5,937	-
Water and electricity undertakings	441	-	425	-
Transport and communication:				
Railway	1,457	1	4,321	2
Road: a) Drivers of motor vehicles	362	1	205	-
b) Other	1,589	-	770	-
Other	460	-	240	-
Shops and Offices	4,396	42	2,279	-
Professional occupations	1,205	153	127	18
Warehousemen, storekeepers, packers	1,559	3	1,845	1
Other and undefined workers:				
Police and goal guards	1,410	4	300	1
Woodcutters	700	-	1,714	-
Bar attendants	465	-	20	-
Sports club, recreation ground attendants etc.	252	-	144	-
Charcoal burners	113	-	303	-
Cattle cordon guards	340	-	1	-
Workers engaged in destruction of pests	319	-	13	-
Sanitary boys	109	-	455	-
Laundry boys	172	-	348	-
Survey boys	77	-	46	-
Cattle and grain buyers	53	-	1	-
Others (not elsewhere enumerated)	606	41	414	-
Total Southern Rhodesia	107,581	1,448	144,901	367

Source: England, Kersten op cit. 1982

1.4 Focus of Study:

The overall focus of this Report - which has already been noted in the introduction above - is to add to the Government's endeavours to identify and build upon its base which is an integral aspect of planning as well as for the socio-economic transformation of Zimbabwean society; in this specific instance, in identifying the current and potential contribution of women in the industrialization process. What is undertaken in the study is a social forecasting of the potential contribution of women in manufacturing activities with a view to assessing their role in manufacturing-related activities in the "informal sector".(8) By way of assisting this task, the Report tries to analyse women's involvement in sub-sectors of the manufacturing sector, namely textiles, clothing, food processing and the electronics industries (9) and in addition does the same for female participation in manufacturing-related activities at the level of small scale production (informal sector).

The impact of colonial and neo-colonial socio-economic processes on women (10) is critical for our understanding of women's role in the economic sphere.

Although, of course, not only women but also men have suffered under the same oppressive conditions. This study, however, attempts to analyse women's contribution or potential contribution to industrial development. This study is an analysis of the differential impact women have contributed (or can potentially contribute) to Zimbabwe's overall economic development, so as to begin to improve their current conditions of work and/or economic activity as well as prepare and train them for their potential contributions. The Report also aims to highlight some of the conditions affecting female participation in the industrialization process. For example, as employees in the manufacturing sector, the findings of the survey reflect the conditions of female employment, their occupational levels, problems and promotion prospects. As entrepreneurs in informal sector - both as individuals and as groups - economic viability, constraints, market opportunities and types of activities are discussed and analysed.

It is necessary to reiterate that it is the objective of the Government of Zimbabwe that the ownership of production enterprises be localised and that these structures be reoriented (i.e. industrial decentralisation). This is spelt out clearly in the First Five Year National Development Plan.(11). Unmistakably, the Report acknowledges the leading role the plan assigns to the manufacturing sector in transferring the ownership of the economy away from foreign domination towards allowing greater participation by Zimbabweans. Related to this it is equally important to note that the Government of Zimbabwe is unequivocally committed to the equality of the sexes in all walks of life. In fact, Batezat and Mwalo (12) offer the observation that at independence in 1980, gender became a subject worthy of enquiry and that for the first time, women's issues were addressed at the level of policy.

Realising the disadvantaged position of women in Zimbabwe, the new government pronounced its commitment to the emancipation of women and, in order to do so, it declared a national policy which

stresses equality. This policy deems illegal any discrimination on sex or racial grounds so that, at least theoretically, women can enter into any field of training, education and employment. Furthermore, the Legal Age of Majority Act of 1982 gives women and men full contractual capacity after attaining the age of eighteen. For an in depth analysis of the legal and industrial aspects affecting women, see Chimankire "Women in Industry": Legal, Industrial and Social Attitudes, 1987.(13)

Some of the measures introduced were not addressed to women in particular but to all workers. However, it is still to be researched further whether these measures have had significant changes. For example, to what extent have women been employed in industry or to what extent have these led to the improvement of women's condition in industry and the economy as a whole. Some of these measures are:

- The Minimum Wages Act which placed minimum scales of remuneration for people in the unskilled category of workers where women form a significant proportion;

- The Equal Pay Act which eradicated the pay structure which paid women less than men given the same qualifications and doing the same job;

- The Labour Relations Act which states that "no employer shall discriminate against any employee on the grounds of race, tribe, place of origin, political opinion, colour, creed or sex in relation to job, advertisement, recruitment, creation or abolition of jobs, determination of wages or benefits, choice of persons for job training, advancement, transfer, promotion, retrenchment or the provision of facilities or any other matter whatever."

Also included in the Act is the provision that a woman can get 75 percent of her full pay while on maternity leave if she forfeits all leave due to her six months prior to the start of maternity leave. If she does not want to forfeit her leave, she gets 60 percent of her normal pay.

The establishment of a Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs is further evidence of the governments commitment. For the first time in Zimbabwe's history a ministry structured to give special attention to women was formed i.e. the Ministry for Community Development and Women's Affairs (CDWA). The Ministry's activities are no doubt helping women to augee well at their places of work.

In consideration of the foregoing remarks, the Report is biased towards being concretely oriented with a view to providing policy recommendations that emerge from its findings. The Report does not claim to offer substantive remedies or comprehensive measures in relation to the status and position of women in society generally. On the contrary, its focus is on specific measures which may assist in improving women's role and effectiveness in the economy both in the short-term and in the long-run.

A final point that needs to be underscored from the focus of the study is that the Report is very conscious of the need to sensi-

tise society as a whole about the role and status of women in Zimbabwe by way of assessing their potential contribution in the nation's development process and in general for the improvement of the status of women in society.

Footnotes to Section I

1. Zimbabwe Women's Bureau, *We carry a Heavy Load: Rural women in Zimbabwe speak out.* Harare, 1981.
2. Report on the situation of Women in Zimbabwe, compiled by the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs, February 1982, Harare, Zimbabwe.
3. Mr. Hadfield, M.P., *Parliamentary debates 1931*, Salisbury, pp. 342-360 Quoted in "A Political Economy of Black Female Labour in Zimbabwe, 1900 -1980", Kersten Enqland, B.A. (Hons.) Thesis, University of Manchester, 1982.
4. Mr. Eaton, M.P., *Ibid.* Quoted *Ibid*, p. 39.
5. G. Arriqhi "Political Economy of Rhodesia", Arriqhi, G. and Saul, J.S., *Essays on the Political Economy of Africa*, Monthly Review Press, 1973
6. National Native Labour Bureau (NNLB) report, "Inquiry into employment of women 1952", para. 11, M679. Quoted in Enqland, p.80, 1982.
7. Southern Rhodesia Statistical Year Book, 1947 figs. 7, 8, and NNLB 1952 report, Enqland, p.81
8. See Literature Review for a discussion of the term "informal sector" and some of the limitations of approach associated with this term.
9. The bulk of the analysis is made up of primary data which was collected during a national random survey early in 1987. See section on methodology.
10. See above, for example, on the way these processes have contributed in the marginalisation of women in the industrial (formal) wage sector and towards undervaluing women's work in both the domestic and subsistence areas of the economy.
11. See *First Five Year National Development Plan (1986 - 1990)*, Volume 1, April, 1986 Republic of Zimbabwe.
12. Batezat, E. and Mwalo, M., "Final draft paper on women in Formal Employment", Department of Research and Planning, Ministry of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare. December 1986 p. 12.
13. Chimanikire, D. "Women in Industry: Legal, Industrial and Social Attitudes, 1987", one of the background papers to the Report, ZIDS February 1987.

II. Literature Review:

The Literature review is to assist in answering the question : How is women's subordination in the 'formal' and 'informal' sectors to be theorised?

To begin to answer this question, it is important for such theorisation to take account of the following aspects:

i) Patriarchal and Hierarchical relationships between the sexes. The sexual division of labour i.e. at the workplace (male); domestic (female).

ii) Capitalist exploitative relations of production and reproduction of both labourers (and their households).

Both aspects suggest that under capitalism where relations between capital and wage labour are primary, such relations in turn give rise to specific forms of division of labour. What we have in mind is this, the capitalist division of labour with its attendant forms of ideology (that are also reproduced along with production relations) introduces specific divisions of labour of which the sexual division of labour constitutes an important type.

In order to highlight pertinent conceptual issues evolving out of this study, the review organises the discussion under two sub-headings - the 'formal' sector and the 'informal' sector, respectively.

Although the general tendency in the neo-classical/mainstream literature is to view the labour market dichotomously - into formal and informal sectors - it has been pointed out that Third World reality does not reveal evidence to support this type of analytical framework (Bremner 1976) (1). A further problem that arises from this 'dichotomous' framework is that of the tendency to under-emphasise the linkage mechanism of labour exploitation that are the undercurrent of this dualistic approach (Bromley ed. 1979) (2). Although Bromley highlights the linkage between the two sectors, the issue still remains a conceptual one as Bromley retains the dualistic problematic. It is nevertheless important to note from Drakakis -Smith that:

"A considerable body of Literature over the past five years has indicated the limitations of dualism in the empirical and theoretical analysis of particular groups in Third World Social Formations" (1984; p. 1281)(3)

Furthermore, this 'dualistic' approach has been extended to women whereby there now also exist a tendency to also view women and their economic role within this perspective. For example, assumptions that the privatisation of women's work is a normative consequence of the urbanisation of the household and that in many Third World Societies they also constitute a substantial proportion of the informal sector rests upon a dualistic interpretation. Again, Drakakis -Smith clearly points this out:

"This criticism is particularly apposite in the case of women, not only because in many countries they constitute a substantial proportion of the informal sector labour force, but also because their economic role has been similarly subject to dualistic interpretation on a gender basis whereby the privatisation of women's work has been assumed to be a normative consequence of the urbanisation of the household". (Ibid) (4)

With this 'dualistic framework', literature abounds for both the formal and informal sectors attempting to analyse these 'supposed' sectors.

2.1 The Formal Sector Models:

The prevalent formal sector models can be collapsed into three dominant and inter-related models : the human capital model; the 'overcrowding' model and, finally the institutional model.(5)

1. The Human Capital Model (HCM)

The Human Capital Model may be defined as a model which views education and skills training as a "capital investment" in human beings. Presumably, in the HCM, the underlying assumption is that because women are not as productive nor as skilled (poor education and training) as their male counterparts, there therefore exists pay differentials as a result of low productivity which results in women getting lower wages. And because of this low productivity (absenteeism - child care "burdens") and turnover (motherhood "burdens" or the "pregnancy pause"), these eventually all add-up to women's poor labour force participation. This, the HCM finds not profitable in the long-run since it disrupts both production and profit margins.

Human Capital
The problem with these Human Capital Models when they are extended to women do not relate how absenteeism and turnover are connected to women's general social roles (i.e. "double day" burdens) which are not included in this model hence contributing to the analysis' overall weakness.

2. The 'Overcrowding' Model:

This model is not that much different from Human Capital Models except that, as Drakakis - Smith points out:

".....postulates that because of their lower productivity, women are restricted to particular occupations within which they compete among themselves for relatively few jobs thereby pushing down wages." (1984; p. 1279) (6)

This model may be loosely defined as a model which seeks to explain low production employment levels for women as well as low wages for women on account of the tendency for women in general to apply for jobs or pursue careers within female related areas of employment.

As with the Human Capital Model, the real reasons behind the depressed wages is not lowered productivity (a false managerial

claim in most instances) but that it is inherent in capitals own quest for expanded reproduction to extract as much surplus value from labour (via the struggles centered around the length of the working day so that it can get as much out of labour to assure itself a safety valve (i.e. healthy profit margin) at the day's end).

3. The Institutional Model:

The third model makes the point that low skills are found mostly amongst women and employees with very little skills if any at all. This category of employee remain relatively disadvantaged when it comes to promotion as they mostly occupy static jobs as opposed to progressive jobs which require high skill levels of employment and offer higher salaries.

This model views the availability of jobs in the market dualistically as well (i.e. that some jobs are either 'static' jobs or 'progressive' jobs.)

a) Static Jobs:

These type of jobs require low skill level or none at all. Within this classification, there is a high tolerance for absenteeism and poor turnover. Women are generally viewed by management as the best candidates for these types of 'static' jobs hence the prevalence of 'casual' labour categorisation.

b) Progressive jobs:

'Progressive' jobs are those that require some skill even additional skills if necessary. Presumably, the assumption goes, this would open up advancement opportunities (which in most instances involves male promotional prospects). It is further assumed that most jobs classified as "progressive" do not have high absenteeism or turnover, unlike with the 'static' type.

A criticism that has been levelled against these neoclassical models is they do not incorporate the political nor the cultural milieu within which they occur. (Anker, 1982).(7) In other words, they tend to be 'technicist' in the way they approach their subject matter breaking down everything into presumed 'neat' analytical packages subject to quantification, and of course, ceteris paribus (i.e. everything being equal).

2.2 Informal Sector Models (8)

This section of the literature review looks at the informal sector in general and in particular as it has been used for Zimbabwe's situation with a view to discussing the Zimbabwe literature on women specifically in the informal sector.

In so far as the informal sector can be viewed as 'some autonomous capacity' for generating growth in the incomes of the urban (and rural) poor,(9) this sector is conceived of in residual terms, i.e. as a 'left over' sector of the economy.

Gaidzanwa (10) notes that the International Labour Organisation (ILO) actually posed this sector as useful for employing pauperised peasants, the unemployed et cetera. Another observer (11) had this say:

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"Over the past decade economists have 'discovered what has always been clear to the casual observer, namely, that many people categorised by official statistics as 'unemployed' are in fact gainfully employed.... Besides formal employment there is a large 'hidden' economy operating in both the urban and rural areas of Third World countries- and also in the industrialised world- which provides employment for thousands of people.... these activities have come to be referred collectively as the informal sector to distinguish it from the formal sector, which comprises those economic activities which conventional wisdom regards as 'proper' or 'normal'.

The ILO World Employment Programme report on Kenya (12) assigns the following role to the Informal Sector.

"We identify the main problem as one of employment. By this we mean that in addition to people who are not earning incomes at all, there is another- and in Kenya more numerous- group of people whom we call the 'working poor'. (13)

The ILO characterises the sector by ease of entry; reliance on indigenous resources; small scale operations; labour intensive ; adaptive technology; unregulated and competitive markets. In addition, the sector tended to experience difficulty in raising loan finance and was susceptible to legal repression.(14)

The informal sector is viewed as an essentially dependent and involuntary sector to the formal sector. Several criticisms have been made over the years with reference to the limitations of this dualist model, both as a theoretical concept and as a basis for policy recommendations. (15) Colin Leys, for example, basis his critique of the ILO Kenya Study in that the ILO, in treating the situation as capable of being put right by a programme of reforms, misrepresented the fact that the problem in Kenya is that the political power of the bourgeoisie and the political impotence of the 'working poor' were integral parts of the structure of underdevelopment. (16) Moser (17) in her paper on 'Informal Sector or Petty Commodity Production: Dualism or Dependence in Urban Development' quotes Leys as saying that the ILO saw the problem in Kenya not as:

"the contradictory reality, but only as an 'imbalance'; not a struggle of oppressing and oppressed classes, but more a series of particular 'conflicts' of interests which the leadership would resolve if only from enlightened self-interest in favour of the common good."

Pertinent to Leys critique is the idea that the informal sector is growing because of the internal contradiction or specifically the anarchy of capitalism whereby the greater the social wealth, the functioning capital, the extent and energy of its growth, and therefore, also the absolute mass of the proletariat and the productiveness of its labour, the greater is the industrial reserve army.(18)

The gist of the criticism of the informal sector is that, dualism apart, it is seen in residual terms for absorbing the unemployed

and the under-employed. Moser and others (19) have gone further and emphasised that this sector is an effect of capitalism and in so far it possesses tenuous links with the formal sector in addition to generating growth and income for its participants. The issue in question is this : should the informal sector be viewed as a sector for employment generation or should it also include the issue of capital accumulation in this sector.

It needs to be emphasised however, that the 'residual approach' (absorption of unemployed and underemployed) tends to place the informal sector in a 'supplementary role' to the formal sector and treats the former quite distinctly, that is, as a relatively autonomous unit in society. Alternatively, the complementarity approach (capital accumulation and links to formal sector) equally retains the view of relative autonomy for the sector notwithstanding its links to the formal sector ('modern sector'), i.e. although there does exist a basis for income generation and capital accumulation, it is somehow lagging behind the 'modern' formal sector.(20)

It is our view that the informal sector may be viewed as an area of the economy within which petty commodity production is the primary basis albeit under capitalism or generalised commodity production. The concept petty commodity production is derived from a definition of capitalism as generalised commodity production where this category of commodity producers (i.e. petty commodity producers) possess the means of production necessary to produce commodities and who engage in production on the basis of unpaid household labour. It is assumed that such producers are capable of reproducing themselves as private producers of commodities without mainly employing wage-labour and without selling (part of) their labour-power. The general definition of petty commodity production however does not totally exclude those producers who do hire some labour-power albeit on a temporary or permanent basis.

What is being emphasised however, is that petty commodity production exists as an effect of generalised commodity production and as such is an integral aspect of the capitalist mode of production. Petty commodity production, in other words, exists under conditions whereby individuals are unable to produce and reproduce their existence outside the commodity relations of capitalism.
(21)

A final observation on petty commodity production (and the petty bourgeoisie) is that this is an unstable category. This is because it is vulnerable to the continuous destruction/creation of its position in the social division of labour as an effect of competition both between petty commodity producers and capitalist enterprises. Its instability also lies in the effects of its combination : of capital and labour in a single enterprise (i.e. the individual).(22)

The final part of the literature review discusses the role of women in the informal sector by taking a brief look at the work of Gaidzanwa, Leiman and Brand respectively.(23) These works have also been chosen for review as they address the important issue of women and the informal sector.(24)

However, it is also equally useful to note that Bienfeld (1981) (25) in "The Informal Sector and Women's Oppression", has made an attempt to conceptually address the issue of women engaged in informal activities in order to unveil the process involved in their exploitative condition. According to Bienfeld, there are two forces at work:

- a) One being related to the role of petty commodity production in the transfer of value to capitalism, and the other,
- b) Linked to the ideological subordination of women within particular social groups.

Furthermore, Drakakis-Smith (1984) (26) has also noted that:

"Whatever the weakness of the analysis at present and there appear to be several, it is clear that the conceptual "bucket" of the informal sector is inadequate for an examination of women's economic roles outside the formal wage market."

P-42

Theoretically, in the analysis of informal activities, it appears that more remunerative work, i.e. petty commodity production activities are not analysed extensively in a way relating them to the transfer of value to capitalism. Instead, what women do in the 'informal' sector is usually classified as non-remunerative work (i.e. unpaid work). (27) But, as Beneria (28) (1981) has cautioned, there is a serious problem within the literature: that of 'conceptualising the labour force' (i.e. literature abounds with the underestimation or under-valorisation of women's work) since the prevailing definitions do not accommodate the real value of domestic and subsistence work ... further highlighting the inadequacy of dualistic models. Empirically, it has been shown that a lot of female petty commodity activities involve the domestic location itself since in many instances 'out work' (i.e. non-domestic related activities) are executed within the confines of the home.

Rudo Gaidzanwa's paper which was first presented to the Informal Sector Study Seminar in 1983 raises interesting issues, namely the issue of female participation in Zimbabwe's informal sector and comes up with analysis that she argues have a bearing upon policy formulation.

The paper relies upon field-work among women vegetable vendors and of women involved in making and selling crocheted goods. Furthermore, the paper disproves, from empirical example that the notion of the male as the bread-winner (29) (in general terms) is not only mythical but also gives lie to the idea that women in society are economically inactive. However, Gaidzanwa correctly links ideology, to that of the exploitation of women in society.

"The classical definition of women as 'non-productive housewives is prevalent and in the case of Zimbabwe, it is necessary for the exploitation of women in their household and in the "informal sector"' (30)

Although this process is complex, it assumes various forms and within the 'informal sector', it is the double-day (31) role of women and the conditions of self exploitation associated with this sector not to mention male hegemony/domination.

Having identified the problem, the paper argues that although the sector possess a basis for the improvement of the status of women in society this however, is contingent upon a couple of issues which are interrelated. Firstly, the term "informal sector" tends to promote a passive image. The latter conclusion is arrived at from Gaidzanwa's constant reference to the female participants as "un-waged women workers". Secondly, the paper tends to suggest that a major constraint affecting female recognition (as not being economically inactive) is a question of self-perception. This self-perception exists in so far as the women do not see themselves outside the "housewifised" role and continue to remain dependent upon male hegemony especially at the household level. Ultimately, she argues, it is a question of power and decision making at the household level.

Policy could begin to alter and improve the status of women in this sector by making it easy for women to have access to

resources et cetera "without needing the mediation of people or institutions with a male gender with a male gender or orientation."(32) On the other hand, it is for the women to begin to perform a 'participatory' role and recognise their material and social conditions in the informal sector. She concludes her paper, for example, by starting that, this 'self-recognition' or awareness is vital in order to ensure that state policies do not continue to "build upon the existing structures that maintain women's subordination without satisfying the needs of the women and their families".(33)

The paper has been summarised at some length in that Gaidzanwa's contribution is not only important in so far as it begins to attempt to address the status and position of women in society in an area that is relatively un-researched but also tries to link ideology to exploitation and calls for participatory oriented awareness among the "un-waged workers" (earners we may add) too.

Leiman's work, which is based upon a survey carried out in the Makokoba high density area in Bulawayo in 1981/82 primarily concerns the relationship between formal and informal sector articulation. The 'thesis' Leiman is advancing is that often relations between the formal and informal sectors are tense and "hostile" and this he assumes is manifest in the harassment meted out to informal sector participants by officialdom.(34) That is, inferring that the latter protect and advance formal sector interests. Leiman set this 'thesis' up in order to allow him to make the point that given that the main linkage between both sectors exists in the form of sub-contracting, policy needs to adopt a more humane attitude towards the informal sector so as to enable it to engage in wider forms of sub-contracting from the formal sector. The rationale for this comes from his idea that the informal sector will become an anomaly once the broad mass of the populace have acquired consumption patterns that can be satisfied exclusively by formal manufacturers and have the income to afford these products.(35) Apart from advocating the 'formalisation of the informal sector', what is being suggested is that sub-contracting from the formal sector to the informal sector will assist the broad masses to acquire consumption patterns. One is tempted to say that such views reflect a utilitarian philosophy on the one hand, rely upon under-consumptionist notions and reflect aspects of modernisation theory. In essence, Leiman by advancing a "putting out system" i.e. sub-contracting is calling for the 'over-exploitation' of this sector when policy really is towards its viability in line with plans for industrial localisation and decentralisation.

Sister Veronica Brand has carried out a study (36) of the informal sector in the Magaba Area and the Market Square Area of Harare. Her main concerns were with assessing the welfare needs of her survey sample. Towards this she utilises a social work perspective to assess the participants involvement in a 'harsh economic environment'. From the latter perspective it could be suggested that the focus of her study is on women and alienation in the urban sector although she looks specifically at the informal sector operation.

One of the findings of this micro-focused study is that personal independence, higher income and prestige appear to be more attainable in a situation of self-employment than in the highly competitive formal sector economic structures.(37) Another interesting observation was that there was minimal evidence of cooperative formation among the informal sector participants at Maqaba. Brand notes that even where enterprises are run jointly by two or more partners, the mode of operation is primarily individualistic.(38)

In a paper on "The Role of Women in Industry - Research Findings from the Informal Sector" (39), Brand makes the following observation which reinforces Gaidzanwa's point (and Beneria amongst others) on the need to re-conceptualise the economic role and value of women in society. The tendency is for women's work in general, and their 'marginal economic activities' to be deliberately viewed in an "intellectual mold" which sees such activities as economically inactive.

Not unlike Gaidzanwa, 'un-waged earners', Brand refers to the informal sector participants as forming a 'proto-proletariat', although she uses the term vaguely. However, in her findings from the Maqaba study, (40) women form an important sub-group of this population.

For Brand, the informal sector includes all those "'lower circuit' economic activities that are labour intensive, have little dependence on overhead capital, negligible fixed costs and small inventories of goods and raw materials"(41). Furthermore, Brand says of this sector:

"It is the low level of input costs, ease of entry as well as the mobility of operation that make it an attainable option, often the only one -as a means of livelihood for large numbers of the urban poor and the land hungry rural poor."(42)

Finally, ILO/SATEP Study (43) on the informal sector in Zimbabwe disproves the idea of ease of entry into the informal sector and shows that males are dominant in this sector. The data shows for example that for the activities covered and the people interviewed:

- a) no women were represented in electrical repairs, shoe repair, tinsmith, builders, metal selling or upholstery among other activities;
- b) women were better represented in tuckshops (50 percent), knitting (40 percent, growing (12 percent), firewood selling (16,7 percent), clothes selling (20 percent) and tailoring (14,3 percent).

CONCLUSION

The literature review has tried to highlight some of the problems and conceptual limitations of the notions 'formal' and 'informal' sector as well as making an attempt to problematise the relationship of these "two" sectors by analysing the relationship as that of petty commodity production under generalised commodity production. In the case of the literature on Zimbabwe, the literature

is more general and is not focused on how 'women's role' in society is to be conceptualised. We therefore need to begin to theoretically grapple with this problem of how to conceptualise women's work as an initial attempt to assist government's policies for improvement of the status of women.

FOOTNOTES To Section II

1. Breman, J., "A Dualistic Labour System? A Critique of the Informal Sector concept" *Economic and Political Weekly*, 11: 1870-1876, 1939-1944, 1976
2. Bromley, R. ed, *The Urban Informal Sector*, London, Pergamon, 1979.
3. Drakakis-Smith, D.W., "The Changing Economic Role of Women in the Urbanisation Process: A Preliminary report from Zimbabwe", *International Migration Review* volume XVIII No. 4. 1984, p.1281
4. Ibid., p. 1281
5. Most of the analysis of these models has been drawn extensively from Drakakis-Smith (1984).
6. Ibid., p. 1279
7. Anker, R. ed., "Demographic Change and the Role of Women: A Research Programme in Developing Countries", In *Women's Roles and Population Trends in the Third World*, London, Croom Helm, 1982 pp. 29 - 51.
8. See Mkandawire, T. "The Informal Sector in the Labour Reserve Economies of Southern Africa with Special Reference to Zimbabwe" Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies (ZIDS) Working Paper No. 1, 1985, for a review of Informal Sector Models.
9. Hast, K. "Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment in Ghana" in *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. II, No. 1, March 1973
10. Gaidzanwa, R. "The Policy Implications of Women's Involvement in the Informal Sector in Zimbabwe", *Miss*, Vol. 3, No. 3 1984, p.23
11. Davies, R. "The Informal Sector: A Solution to Unemployment" Catholic Institute of International Relations (CIIR), 1978, pp.3- 4.
12. ILO, *Employment, Incomes and Equality: A strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya* Geneva: ILO, 1972.
13. Ibid., p.9.
14. ILO/SATEP, 'The Informal Sector in Zimbabwe: Its potential for employment creation', February 1984.
15. For a discussion of critical perspectives on this sector see Bromley, R. (ed) *The Urban Informal Sector*, Pergamon Press 1979 and in particular Caroline O .N. Moser's essay in Ibid "Informal sector or Petty Commodity Production: Dualism or Dependence in Urban Development". pp.1046
16. Leys, C. *Underdevelopment in Kenya: The Political Economy of Neocolonialism 1964 - 1971*, London, Heinemann 1975, p.264.

17. Moser C.O.N. op. cit. p. 1046
18. Marx, K. Capital Vol. 1 Laurence and Wishart 1970 p. 603
19. The role of the informal sector as a sector for capital accumulation is similarly emphasised in Mkandawire, T. op. cit. , ZJDS Working Paper No. 1 1985.
20. See Sandbrook, R. The Politics of Basic Needs: Urban Aspect of Assaulting Poverty in Africa, Heinemann, London 1982.
21. See especially Gibbon, P. and M. Neocosmos 'Some Problems in the Political Economy of "African Socialism"', in Bernstein, H. and B.K. Campbell (ed.) Contradictions of Accumulation in Africa: Studies in Economy and State, Beverly Hills; Sage, 1985 Also Bernstein, Henry 'Capitalism and Petty Commodity Production', Development Policy and Practice Working Paper No. 3, The Open University.
22. Gibbon - Neocosmos Ibid
23. Gaidzanwa, Rudo, op cit. 1984; Leiman, Anthony 'Formal/Informal Sector Articulation in the Zimbabwean Economy' Journal of Contemporary African Studies, Vol.4 No. 1/2 October 1984/April 1985, pp. 119 -137; Brand, V. 'One Dollar Work-places: A Study of Informal Sector Activities in Magaba, Harare', Journal of Social Development In Africa Vol. 1, pp. 53 -74 1986; also, 'The role of Women in Industry Research Findings from the Informal Sector', a paper presented to workshop on The Role of Women in Industry organised by the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs, December 1986.
24. In Zimbabwe some studies on the informal sector have been done by Cheater, A. 'The Production and Marketing of Fresh Produce among Blacks in Zimbabwe' Supplement to Zambezia, 1979 Harare. Davies, R.J. 'The Informal Sector in Rhodesia: How important?' The Rhodesia Science News, Vol. 8. No. 7; ILO/SATEP 'The informal sector in Zimbabwe: Its potential for employment creation', February 1984 and Nanqati, F., A Report of the Department of Social Services on Harare Musika', Report No. 2 Series A. Harare, 1982.
25. Bienefeld, M. "The Informal Sector and Women's Oppression", Institute of Development Studies (IDS) Bulletin 12 (3) :-13, 1981. See also Bienefeld, M and Godfrey, M. "Measuring unemployment and the informal sector: some conceptual and statistical problems", Bulletin of the Institute of Development Studies, Vol. 7., No. 3 (1975).
26. Drakakis - Smith, p. 1281.
27. Gaidzanwa, R., "The Policy Implications of Women's Involvement in the Informal Sector in Zimbabwe", Miss Vol.3, 1984. Beneria, L. "Conceptualising the Labour Force: the Underestimation of Women's Activities", Journal of Development Studies, 17 (3): 10 - 28, 1981.

28. Moser, C.O.N. and Young, K. in "Women of the Working Poor", IDS Bulletin 1981 Vol. 12 No.3 pp. 54 - 61, among others, also effectively dispel this 'myth of the male breadwinner' for most third world cities, pointing out that so few men are in formal wage employment that the economic role of women is vitally important to the survival of the low-income household. See also Drakakis Smith op cit. , 1984.

29. p. 22 op cit.

30. The term she uses is "housewifised".

31. Ibid, p. 25

32. Ibid.,

33. Op cit. 1984/85

34. Leiman, A. op cit. 1984/85

35. Ibid., p 131

36. Brand, V. RSH 'One Dollar Work-places: A Study of Informal Sector Activities in Maqaba, Harare' School of Social Work, Kopje, Harare, 1982.

37. Ibid., p. 45

38. Ibid., p. 47

39. Paper presented as part of a One-day workshop on the role of women in industry, organised by the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs, 11th December, 1986.

40. Brand, V. One Dollar Work-places: A Study of Informal Sector Activities in Maqaba, Harare; Journal of Social Development in Africa, Vol. 1., pp. 53 - 74, 1986 (a)

41. Brand 1986 (b) Workshop Paper. 3.

42. Ibid., p.3

43. ILO/SATEP op cit. February 1984

III. HUMAN RESOURCES AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE

3. The Zimbabwean Economy

3.1 Development and Structural change in the formal sector economy

It is almost axiomatic that industry is a key factor in national development and as such constitutes a critical component in national planning strategies. Although the role of industry in Zimbabwe in general and that of the manufacturing sector in particular has been well-documented and analysed elsewhere (UNIDO Manufacturing Sector Study on Zimbabwe), (1) this section of the Report attempts to give an overview of the role of industry in Zimbabwe's development. Needless to say, the objective of an industrial policy is to stimulate the economy, thereby enhancing its productive sector, generating employment creation and skills formation. Within the context of Zimbabwe, such an undertaking is not unrelated to that of reducing dependence on South Africa whilst also re-orienting the socio-economic basis of society towards an egalitarian order.

The foundation of Zimbabwe's modern economy was laid at the end of the last century following the granting of a charter by the British Government to the British South Africa Company to colonize and promote commerce in the territory. To facilitate the expansion of commercial agriculture, land was divided into black and white areas, with separate "reserves", later called tribal trust lands (communal areas), established for the black population. It was not until the Second World War that industrial expansion assumed a significant role in the economy.

Starting soon after the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965, the manufacturing sector in Zimbabwe saw a period of industrial diversification based on import-substitution strategies which were a direct outcome of sanctions imposed by the international community against the illegal regime of Ian Smith. This period later saw the beginning of capital goods and intermediate goods production.

In 1980, when Zimbabwe became independent, the country had a relatively diversified and sophisticated economy with agriculture forming the foundation and the manufacturing sector providing the greater contribution to gross domestic product. However, independence was won only after a war of liberation, fifteen years of illegal rule as well as international economic structural imbalances. With respect to the ownership of productive resources, levels of technological development, income differentials, the availability of production processes, these corresponded to the structural imbalances of society. (2)

The struggle to correct these imbalances has begun. A major factor that has determined national planning experiences and objectives in Zimbabwe has been that of colonialism. The Socio-Economic Review of Zimbabwe (1986) states:

"The development of the rural peasant/communal sector, which provides livelihood for the majority of the population was generally neglected, while the modern money economy, owned and controlled by a minority and heavily linked to international capital, enjoyed all the benefits of development" (p.5).

The emergence of experience and development of state planning and management in Zimbabwe is therefore contingent, on the one hand, with attempts to shed colonialist effects, whilst on the other, speed up economic progress.

Commencing with the Government's economic policy statement of February 1981, Growth with Equity (3) the Government of Zimbabwe gave implicit acknowledgement to the certainty that planning affords an opening for the state to manage society's development in a deliberate and conscious way.

The Transitional National Development Plan 1982/83-1984-85 (4) (TNDP) therefore became a decisive step towards the establishment and subsequent implementation of new economic policies that would extend the democratic objectives of the Government's earlier economic policy statement (i.e. Growth with Equity). The implementation of the plan was intended to "initiate processes designed to set the stage for the transformation of the inherited socio-economic system".(5)

The gist of the plan, following from the Growth with Equity statement was that it provided a framework for transition towards consolidating the nation's unity, independence and welfare. In essence, the plan called for action over a very wide front responding to the immediate requirements and conditions of Zimbabwe.

World recession, protracted drought and shortcomings in the process of the plan elaboration contributed in many respects to circumstances not conducive to the plan's implementation and projected growth rates.

Notwithstanding the pale performance of the TNDP, the rate of social sector expansion was far in excess of growth rates of the productive sectors. Inevitably, the lack of state control over the private sector of the economy and the low performance of public sector investment acted as contributory factors to the plan's performance.

Needless to say, the Government has recognised the failure of the TNDP and to which the First Five Year National Development Plan testifies.

Although this report does provide an overview of the role of industry in Zimbabwe and elsewhere outlines the organisation and structure of the manufacturing industry, it is nevertheless useful to remind ourselves of the country's macro-economic characteristics as this assists in understanding the background of the First Five Year National Development Plan.(6) The main features of the economy are:

1. a heavy reliance on export of raw materials;
2. a high degree of technological dependence on the outside world;
3. the domination of the strategic sectors of the economy (manufacturing) by foreign private investment.

State control of the economy is limited to the infrastructural sectors such as Energy, Railway Transport, Civil Aviation, Health and Education. Given that over 80 per cent of the economy is foreign dominated, the manufacturing industry is unable to provide the country with a sound base for self-reliant and self-sustained economic development. The overlap between industrial and financial capital has concentrated the financial, industrial and agricultural resources of Zimbabwe into a small number of powerful monopolistic establishments.

Zimbabwe's First-Five Year National Development Plan declares a "War for Economic Liberation" which is viewed as "a powerful vehicle in the prosecution of this 'second revolution'" (Prime Minister's Foreword, First Five-Year National Development Plan)

In the priority..... of plan objectives and targets, the Plan should co-ordinate political, social and economic objectives of development from an assessment of the internal and external social, political and economic resources available for their accomplishment and not simply confine planning to a strategy for implementing "given means to given ends."

The Plan recognises that since independence there has been a lack of meaningful progress in transforming and controlling the economy. For example, the degree of state as well as local participation, particularly in manufacturing, mining and in financial institutions is low, as measured in terms of the number of industries and the proportion of state and local ownership in the economy as a whole.(8)

Therefore, among the major development objectives for the period 1986 - 1990 is that which calls for the transformation of the economy as well as economic expansion. This implies changes in the present ownership structure remains in many respects as a legacy from colonialism regimes.

Among the key features of the "colonial economy" which are being reproduced in the era of National Independence and National Democracy are that the dominant sectors of the economy such as the financial sector, manufacturing and mining sectors are dominated by foreign capital.

Economic expansion under the Plan not only envisages increased investment which should be directed at restructuring the economy but also sustain a high growth rate for the economy. The Plan predicts an annual growth of 5.1 per cent. The productive sectors of the economy, i.e. agriculture, mining and manufacturing, it is envisaged, will constitute about 50 per cent of GDP. For example, the manufacturing sector is expected to contribute about 30 per cent, compared to 25 per cent (current) and will therefore, according to the Plan, considerably dominate the economy in terms of its contribution to the GDP.(9)

A "Hierarchy of Investment" comprising primarily collective entities is being encouraged to tilt the scale in favour of cultivating national participation in the economy. These are:

- i. State investment
- ii. Local authority investment
- iii. Co-operatives investment
- iv. Investment by individual Zimbabweans

The role and expansion of the hierarchy of investment is partially a reaction to foreign control of the economy and towards warranting the creation of those industries that are able to produce locally with their own resources. Thus, it is intended to bring about structural changes in the ownership patterns so as to reduce foreign currency demand. Linked to such a strategy are economies of scale primarily in the rural areas so that the latter sector may provide markets for intermediate and capital goods.

An important change brought about by Independence has been the opening up to international trade and the change in the direction of trade. Impulses from new markets are likely to influence the sectoral pattern of production and income distribution. Sectors producing tradeable goods, like the manufacturing sector will be likely to feel the pressures of international competition stronger than the service sectors which are sheltered from foreign competition. The prospects of increased subregional trade in the frameworks of SADCC and PTA open opportunities for Zimbabwe as the most industrialised country within these groupings.

Also with Independence, new sources of capital inflows became available. Perhaps more importantly, the control over the allocation of capital was changed as between the public and the private sector. The adjustment of a very unevenly distributed public consumption necessitated major investment in social infrastructure, transport and power. This is evident in the high growth rates in public administration, education and construction in the years immediately after independence. The underinvestment in the productive sectors of the economy during the economic downturn before independence created a need for a "catch-up" which partly still exists.

The slow uptake of new technologies associated with a low level of investment has made Zimbabwean industries lag behind compared to competitors in the OECD countries. The technology "catch up" that will have to come when an economic upturn leads to higher investment levels is likely to dampen the employment effect of such an upturn. As argued below, the labour saving effect of technological renewal will tend to affect female employment in particular.

Changes in Zimbabwe's economy as a result of events in the world economy has since independence been partly concealed by politically generated structural changes. The opening up of trade links is likely to cause a greater sensitivity to the world economy, through variations in the demand for products which constitutes a large share of Zimbabwean exports. After independence, the world market has had a negative impact on important sectors; tobacco demand has been dampened by the proliferation of anti smoking campaigns and increasing awareness of the health hazards of smok-

ing in the OECD countries; Asbestos exports has been severely hit by health regulations in the same countries after the cancer promoting effects of the material became clear; the markets for ferro chrome and steel have been slack.

Perhaps the most significant structural change in the economy over the years since independence has taken place in the racial composition of employees. The public sector has been Africanized rapidly, as may be seen from Table 1.1. Several former "European" civil servants have emigrated or have moved to the private sector. The trend towards greater equality in representation at the work place between the sexes has not been equally fast. The Annual Review of Manpower (ARM) 1984 points out that "female participation in the material production sectors has declined since 1981 as females tended to be the victims during the past few years of national economic hardships."

Table 3.1: Racial changes in government work force

	1981	Percent of Total	1984	Percent of Total
(a) Permanent Secretaries				
White	17	57	4	14
Non-white	13	43	24	86
(b) Senior Management				
Under-secretary and above				
White	1,143	53	60	22
Non-white	129	47	209	78
(c) Professionals				
Established Officers				
White	669	56	409	28
Non-white	524	44	1057	72
(d) Technical				
White	419	41	181	13
Non-white	611	59	1181	87
(e) Established Officers				
White	5,207	37	3,047	12
Non-white	8,711	63	22,814	82

Source: NMS and Annual Review of Manpower 1984.

3.2 Informal Sector

Structural Features

Whereas a major part of the production and income generation in Zimbabwe takes place in a framework regulated and controlled by government which derive tax revenues from the profits made, a majority of the labour force make their living from activities only minimally interfered with by government, in so-called informal sector.

Since no agreed definition of the informal sector exists in the literature reviewed and as information of the various activities taking place are scarce, little is known about the development of the sector over time. Its importance however is to highlight some structural features below.

Firstly, the size of the informal sector varies with its definition. At one extreme is the definition adapted by Central Statistical Office, Zimbabwe (see Table 3.2) i.e. the difference between persons registered as employed by the census but not included in the quarterly employment surveys (respectively 0,7 per cent for men and 5 per cent for women). At the other extreme is a definition that includes in the informal sector all persons not formally employed. In Zimbabwe at present, 53 per cent of the men and 92 per cent of the women. As most often used in this report it includes part of all the categories in Table 3.2 which are not formally employed. The unemployed will have to make a living since there is no social security system in Zimbabwe. Although

farming proper is not included, some post-harvest and temporary activities within manufacturing or services should be included. A large part of the so-called "homemakers" included under economically inactive would be women who are engaged in informal activities. Also, people under 15 years of age are believed to be frequently employed in the formal sector.

The ILO/SATEP report (1984) (10) held that a distinguishing characteristic of the informal sector is that it consists of individuals who, despite capital and legal constraints, utilize their own individual resourcefulness to generate employment and income. The informal sector is thus seen to be dominated by self-employed individuals or petty commodity producers. Indeed, only 19 per cent of those interviewed by the survey said that they used other workers/helpers. The employment potential of this sector derives more from the numerical increases in the number of informal sector enterprises than from the size of growth of these enterprises.

A Second important feature is that the organizational structure of the informal sector frequently builds on various forms of co-operation or communal activities. Although registered co-operatives would be included in formal employment, there is a wide range of essentially co-operative but non-registered forms. This is an important aspect of the sector particularly because it could be supportive to Zimbabwe Government's policy for promotion of co-operative forms of production.

Thirdly, there is an ongoing discussion about the character of employment in the informal sector. Supporters of the informal sector point out many advantages which this sector offers, among them, ease of entry, reliance on indigenous resources, labour-intensive technologies, indigenous ownership etc. Village small scale industries in particular can help in reducing concentration of industry in and around capital cities and in improving the quality of rural life in addition to generating greater employment per unit of capital. The ILO Kenya Report (11) e.g. identified the informal sector as independent, evolutionary and capable of growth.

On the other hand, the informal sector may be viewed as comprising activities which survive largely by exploiting the workers through long hours and low wages and through systematic violation of labour laws. It is argued that in reality the level of capital accumulation possible is frequently constrained by structural factors in the total socio-economic system; so that small-scale enterprises tend to participate in growth in a subordinate way. They are not independent but dependent, they grow in an involuntary manner, and the linkages between small-scale and large-scale are not benign but exploitative.

Fourthly, there are various forms of visible interaction between the formal and informal sectors of the economy in Zimbabwe as elsewhere. From the surveys undertaken in this study the most obvious ones with relation to women's activities in the field of manufacturing are as follows.

Inputs

Women working in urban areas reported 100 per cent to obtain their raw materials from the formal market-factories, wholesalers and retailers.

Employment

Over 40 per cent of the women were at one time in the formal labour market and are now self-employed. Their main reason for the present activity is to earn income since they have no alternative means on which to live. The fact that they are able to and indeed in some cases have been doing so for more than 10 years (46 per cent) would suggest that they are being gainfully self-employed and producing articles for the economy which is not being satisfied by the formal enterprises. In many cases the skills acquired in their former paid employment are now being used in their present enterprise.

Sub-contracting

The inter-locking of the two sectors is very visible in the variety of sub-contracting which takes place primarily from the formal sector to the self-employed in the informal sector.

Partners and Credit

Although by far the largest proportion of women consider themselves to be sole owners of their enterprise the support they receive either with seed money or bridging finance comes from those members of their family who have or are earning income from paid employment.

Co-operatives

Co-operative forms of industry function side by side with the more informal or pre co-operative forms found among self-employed women.

Technology

The transfer of technology and skill between the two sectors, may take place independently of movement of goods as a result of movement of skilled workers. In particular for women are the skills they may learn from practical experience and market conditions which they can then adapt to their self-employment enterprise.

All these forms of links between informal and formal sector mean that policies undertaken to support self-employment cannot be viewed in isolation of policies directed at their overall contribution to industrial development. Policies directed at the informal sector must be accompanied with equally appropriate policies in the formal sector. Without this an imbalance might occur (and not only from a women's perspective) whereby the interlocking relationship between the formal and informal sectors would be weakened rather than strengthened to the detriment of the country's overall industrial potential and self-reliance.

Table 3.2: Activities of the labour force in Zimbabwe
(Percentage of persons over 15 years)

	Men %	Women %
Formal sector	47.0	8.0
Informal sector	10.7	5.0
Unemployed	9.0	5.0
Farming	24.0	29.0
Economically inactive	20.0	53.0
Total	100	100

Source: Statistical Yearbook 1987.

The official recognition in Zimbabwe of the informal sector whilst laudable, must, however, not be viewed (as our literature review section has revealed when we discussed the relationship between petty commodity production and generalised commodity production) as a separate identity within the overall strategies of the country's human resources.

3.3 Women in the Economy

It can hardly be stressed enough how crucial it is to understand how the colonial society historically confined the African women to certain positions within the economy. Only on that background can one accomplish what this study now sets out to do: to situate women in the labour process of today.

The population of Zimbabwe was reported to be 7.5 million in the 1982 census. This was an increase of 48 per cent over the 5.1 million recorded in 1969, implying an average annual intercensal growth rate of 3.1 per cent. The estimated population of Zimbabwe for 1985 was estimated to be 8.4 million or double that in 1962. The population growth rate is falling but is still high with an estimated 2.76 per cent per annum growth during the plan period 1986-1990.

In 1982 an estimated 26 per cent of the population lived in urban areas, of which 60 per cent live in the cities of Harare and Bulawayo. If the Government's plans for resettlement and improved communal land productivity fall short of targets, urban growth rates of 10 percent per annum or more could be expected, which would lead to major demands on urban areas to provide both jobs and adequate services.

The age structure of the population of Zimbabwe shows that the population is very young. Almost 50 per cent of the population is below 15 years of age, which the proportion of elderly persons 65 years and older is only three per cent. Thus, Zimbabwe has a high child dependency ratio, which is the proportion of children under 15 years to adults of an economically active age, 15 - 64.

According to the First Five Year National Development Plan (1986-1990), the population of working age is projected to increase to 54 per cent in 1990. Figures such as these show the pressure of demographic trends of public policy. Expansion has to take place in such a way to absorb as much of these additions - both men and women - to the labour force if the existing dependency ratio is not to be further aggravated by massive unemployment.

Female employment in the formal economy of Zimbabwe in 1983 was some 169,000 or 16,3 per cent of total employment (see Table 3.3). Where as the major employers in the economy were the material production sectors, only about 42 per cent of the women found their jobs in these sectors. Women were to a much higher extent employed in agriculture (34 percent) and much less in manufacturing (7,1 per cent compared to 16,8 for the total). Most women in formal employment in Zimbabwe work in the services sectors. They are particularly heavily concentrated in the sectors trade and restaurants, education, health and private domestic services which make up nearly 43 per cent of total female employment.

In only one sector, health, do women outnumber men as employees with 57,4 per cent of total employment. A second category is formed by sectors which are also relatively "feminized": finance, insurance and education where women constitute more than a third of the total number of employees. A third category constitutes those industries which have from 10 to 25 per cent female employees, namely agriculture (21,8 per cent), trade and restaurants (16,5), private domestic services (19,8), and other services (16,3). In the fourth category, under 10 per cent we find mining (2,2), manufacturing (6,9), electricity and water (2,9), construction (1,4), transport and communication (6, 5) and public administration (8,7).

Handwritten calculations:
5.
5.
29
53

924
53

109

Table 3.3: Formal sector employment 1983

	Total employ.	Women	Per cent total employ.	Per cent female employ.	Frequency of female employ.
Agriculture	263.5	57.5	25.5	34.0	21.8
Mining	60.4	1.3	5.8	0.8	2.2
Manufacturing	173.4	12.0	16.8	7.1	6.9
Electricity and water	6.9	0.2	0.7	0.1	2.9
Construction	49.4	0.7	4.8	0.4	1.4
Finance, insurance and	15.8	5.8	1.5	3.4	36.7
Trade, restaurants and hotels	80.6	13.3	7.8	7.9	16.5
Transport and communications	49.4	3.2	4.8	1.9	6.5
Public administration	82.5	7.2	8.0	4.3	8.7
Education	78.0	28.1	7.5	16.6	36.0
Health	19.0	10.9	1.8	6.5	57.4
Private domestic	99.8	19.8	9.7	11.7	19.8
Other services	54.7	8.9	5.3	5.3	16.3
All sectors	1,033.4	168.9	100.0	100.0	16.3

Source: Statistical yearbook 1985, Central Statistical Office

1.3.1 International Comparison

This particular pattern of relative sectoral feminisation in the formal economy partly reflects a world wide pattern and partly particular characteristics of Zimbabwean economy and society. There has been no successful scientific attempt to explain the variations indicated in the aggregate overall figures of Table 3.3 in terms of a few simple economic or social variables. A great number of factors seem to be involved, covering social, cultural, political and economic spheres and working at both macro and micro (household) level.

The table however illustrates a number of these factors. Overall participation appears at first glance to improve with higher national income levels, a definite difference existing between developing and developed countries. This however seems spurious when comparing North America or Western Europe (very high income levels) with Eastern Europe (much lower income levels). The definite differences in overall participation as between different regions and different economic systems appears to indicate that cultural and political factors play an influential role, too.

Participation by sector for developed and developing countries shows similar features in that industry in both categories of countries has lower participation rates than both agriculture and services. Developing countries however show a much higher participation in agriculture. Looking at the various regions and income levels, the picture is however not uniform. The North American and Latin American regions have much lower participation in agriculture than in industry with a concentration on the service sectors.

The Asian region largely (except middle income countries) have a higher female participation in industry than in both the agriculture and services sectors.

Over the last twenty years there has not been dramatic changes in the participation of women. Table 3.4 reveals that on a world scale, overall participation increased from 1960 to 1970 and dropped slightly over the next decade. For developing countries there was a small overall drop from 1960 to 1980. For Africa as a whole the trend has been towards a decrease in overall participation, but particularly for the low income countries. Both for middle and low income countries in Africa, women's participation in industry increased from 1960 to 1970. In the decade after there however was a drop for middle income countries while the increase continued for low income countries. For the other sectors, the trend has been uniform over the two decades, women participation increasing in the services sectors and decreasing in agriculture.

The most striking feature of Table 3.5 is however the considerable difference between regional averages and Zimbabwe. Compared to the average of African middle income countries, Zimbabwe is marked by a very low female participation (16,3 per cent as compared to 28,7 per cent for the average). The difference holds for all three aggregate sectoral groups; it is less pronounced for agriculture where the percentage of participation in Zimbabwe is only some 4,5 percentage points under the average and considerably larger in services where on average every third worker in African middle income countries is a woman against every fifth in Zimbabwe. The most striking difference is however in industry; whereas on average for the middle income African countries about twenty out of hundred workers in industry are women, only five are in Zimbabwe! Because of the relative size of employment in the industrial sector in Zimbabwe, the low female participation in industry has a strong effect on overall participation: If participation in the industrial sector in Zimbabwe was raised to the 20 per cent level as for the average in the middle income group, total female participation would go up from the present 16,3 to above 20 per cent.

Table 3.4: World-wide changes in female participation

	Total employment	Agriculture	Industry	Services
World				
1960	34,5	38,3	24.3	34.1
1970	35.1	37,4	27.3	37.4
1980	34,8	37,0	27.8	37.8
Developing countries				
1960	32.7	36.7	21.0	23.1
1970	32.4	36.5	25.7	25.9
1980	32.4	36.4	26.5	26.9
African total				
1960	32.9	35.1	17.2	28.9
1970	32.7	34.8	19.7	31.5
1980	32.0	34.4	19.7	31.6
African middle income				
1960	29.1	30.7	16.6	30.3
1970	29.3	29.4	19.4	34.0
1980	32.0	34.4	19.7	31.6
African low income				
1960	36.5	38.5	18.5	25.3
1970	36.0	38.4	20.3	26.0
1980	35.3	38.3	20.9	25.7

Source: Data made available by ILO Bureau of Statistics

Table 3.4 compares Zimbabwe to some selected countries where more disaggregated statistics are available. Between Zimbabwe and Kenya which is also in the "middle income group", the differences are less pronounced than the regional averages in Table 3.5 indicate. Kenya's overall female participation rate was higher than Zimbabwe's.

Table 3.5: Share of women in total employment, by sector and region 1980

	Total employment	Aqri- culture	Indus- try	Ser- vices
Zimbabwe 1975	16,8	24,3	4.9	18.5
Zimbabwe 1983	16,3	21,8	4.9	20.3
World	34,8	37,0	27.8	37.8
Developed countries	40,2	43.3	29.2	48.7
Developing countries	32,4	36.4	26.5	26.9
North America	38,1	11.4	23.4	47.3
Western Europe	33,3	28.5	23.0	43.9
Eastern Europe and USSR	47,0	49.6	36.9	57.0
Japan	40,3	53.7	31.6	42.9
Other industrialized countries	33,4	29.6	15.5	46.8
Africa (developing countries)	32,0	34.4	19.7	31.6
middle-income countries	28,7	28.9	19.0	34.3
low-income countries	35,3	38.3	20.9	25.7
Latin America and the Caribbean	23,0	9.3	15.8	38.8
middle-income countries	22,8	8.2	15.3	38.3
low-income countries	24,6	14.3	20.6	43.8
Asia (developing countries)	33,6	38.5	28.8	23.2
middle-income countries	38,3	40.7	31.8	38.2
low-income countries	27,3	27.6	27.2	26.5
China	37,6	44.1	30.6	22.7
India	31,7	37.7	27.1	17.4
Middle East	22,9	30.3	14.5	15.8

Source: Data made available by ILO Bureau of Statistics

Agriculture includes forestry, hunting and fishing; Industry includes mining and quarrying, manufacturing, public utilities and construction.

3.3.2 Labour market, economy and female employment

Since the mid-seventies, developments in Zimbabwe's labour market has been influenced by four factors which will have considerable long - term effect.

The rapid growth of the labour force (defined as working or work seeking population between the ages of 15 and 64), at the same time as formal sector employment declined by nearly 20 thousand from 1975 to 1983. Although some of the labour surplus was absorbed by the peasant farming sector both open unemployment and under-employment clearly must have increased.

Employment in the formal sector has fluctuated between 0,985 and 1,050 million people over the past ten years. However, as the population has increased during the same time, the rate of employment has fallen. In 1973, 33,5 per cent of the adult population was employed in the Formal Sector, while in 1981, the figure is estimated to be below 25 per cent (or 43 per cent of the male adults in the economically active ages of 15-64 and only 8 per cent of the female adults). Table 3.6 below of employees by industrial sectors show the present and expected future employment structure given by the National Plan.

It is clear it has not been possible to create new jobs in the present structure of formal sector to the extent that would be needed with regard to the fast growing population. At the same time the overflow which has sought relief by self employment in the informal sector has received little structural support from the authorities. Like in most countries, there are substantial differences between men and women with respect to their participation in formal working life.

Table 3.6: Employees by industrial sectors 1984-1990
(wage earners only)

Sector	thousand persons			Average annual increase
	1984	1985	1990	1985-1990 per cent
1. Agriculture & forestry	262	260	290	2.2
2. Mining & quarrying	56	56	65	3.0
3. Manufacturing	167	169	190	3.0
4. Electricity & Water	7	7	8	2.7
5. Construction	45	45	42	2.9
6. Finance, insurance & real estate	16	16	18	2.7
7. Distribution, hotels & restaurants	80	83	99	3.6
8. Transport & communication	50	50	61	4.1
9. Public administration	88	88	100	2.6
10. Education	82	82	97	3.7
11. Health	19	19	23	3.9
12. Domestic services	99	99	99	0.0
13. Other services	55	55	65	3.4

Source: First Five Year National Development Plan, Table XII, p.19.

Hence the potential for female employment requires to be addressed in both the Formal as in the Informal sectors. See Table 3.2 on activities of the labour force in Zimbabwe which shows that for want of further data these figures fail to reveal the large numbers of both women and men active in the informal sector. From the high dependency ratio referred to above, however, one could deduce that the large percentage (53 per cent) of female identified as economically inactive are indeed very active in the informal sector.

Although only 8 per cent of all adult women work within the Formal sector of the economy. They form about 16 per cent of all employed in the sector. This share was fairly constant over the period 1975 - 1984. (Quarterly Employment Survey 1986).(12)

The disaggregated share of female employment, however, shows that this constant share of 16% is made up primarily from the increased employment of females in Education and Health sectors since almost every other sector, the share of female employment has fallen (See Table 3.5). Of particular relevance to female employment is the fact that these two sectors are among the ones with the lowest increase in wages over the period 1980-1983 (See Table 3.7 and 3.8)

Manufacturing which represents the sector's largest field of employment after agriculture, increased its share of total employment from 14,9 per cent in 1975 to 16,8 per cent in 1983. In this same period, however, the female share of formal employment in manufacturing fell from 7,6 per cent in 1975 to 6,9 per cent in 1983.

It is interesting to note, however, that manufacturing is significant to examine not only because of its overall potential for employment in the Zimbabwean economy but also because it demonstrates a significant sector for women to command higher wage rates.

The participation of women in the labour force, however, must be linked to women's career potential in the trained labour force. The National Manpower Survey of 1981, (NMS) (13) revealed the small proportion of women in the trained work-force. Women constituted 21 per cent of all professional workers, 15 per cent of all skilled workers and 11 per cent of semi-skilled.

Table 3.7: AVERAGE WAGES BY SECTOR: WAGES 1980 and 1983. RATE OF INCREASE 1980-1983.

	Monthly wage average 1980 (Z\$)	Increase 1980-83 (%)							Monthly wage average 1983 (Z\$)
		0	20	40	60	80	100	120	
Private domestic	29						97%		57
Agriculture	32							150%	80
Mining	131						80%		236
Construction	147					65%			243
Manufacturing	196					60%			314
Distribution	208				54%				320
Public administration	250	18%							295
Health	253		27%						321
Electricity	292			38%					403
Transport	316			36%					430
Education	323	11%							359
Finance	463			43%					662

Table 3.8: 1984 Percentage Wage Distribution by Industry (Z\$ per month)

Sector	Males			Females		
	50-150	150-1,500	1,500+	50-150	150-1,500	1,500+
Agriculture	41,3	57,7	1,0	63,4	36,6	0,6
Mining	47,5	51,0	1,5	43,6	56,4	0,4
Manufacturing	22,6	74,8	2,6	-	62,5	16,0
Electricity	14,2	79,8	6,0	37,5	96,2	3,8
Construction	31,7	66,2	2,1	8,1	89,2	2,7
Finance	3,4	84,5	12,1	9,0	89,5	1,5
Distribution	25,4	71,6	3,0	19,8	79,2	1,0
Transport	7,8	90,8	1,4	1,8	97,7	0,5
Public Administration	27,6	70,9	1,5	18,2	79,8	2,0
Education	3,2	96,1	0,7	2,3	97,3	0,4
Health	18,8	79,3	1,9	14,7	82,7	2,6
Private dom						
Other	41,6	56,4	2,0	23,0	75,2	1,8
Average	22,2	73,2	4,6	20,1	78,5	1,4

Source: Central Statistical Office, Harare.

The NMS also reported that female participation in the trained labour force was mainly concentrated in "clerical, professional and sales" (feminized sectors) occupations rather than production related work. The Annual Manpower Survey of 1984 reveals that there has been a reinforcement of the trend in the subsequent years (See Table 3.9 and 3.10)

The occupational framework of women in industry mirrors the female educational enrollment patterns of higher educational institutions in Zimbabwe, in particular the limited share of vocational and technical learning. Females were concentrated in the fields of commerce and business education and the enrollment in the engineering trades is minuscule. At university, females constituted 58 per cent of total enrollment and were concentrated on Humanities. From Table 3.11) one can foresee that unless specific measures are taken the nature and level of women's participation in the industrial labour force is unlikely to change very much in the near future. The proportion of women in training in the formal sector are still very small and continue to be trained mainly in the social service categories.

3.4 Trends Within the Zimbabwean Economy

This section of the report attempts to summarise some of the major features currently reflected within the Zimbabwean economy. In essence, the attempt at forecasting trends within the economy not only has a bearing upon Zimbabwe's role in the international community and quite specifically in relation to the sub-region but also has a bearing upon its own developmental process and, for purposes of this study, on the participation of women in the latter.

Recently published commentaries, on the Zimbabwean economy have all concluded that economic growth in Zimbabwe will slacken in the foreseeable future and that this is largely due to the critical foreign exchange shortage in its history.(14) It must, however, also be emphasised that policies of the apartheid regime on the destabilisation of the sub-region and relatedly that of comprehensive sanctions cannot be discounted as factors contributing directly and indirectly to trends within the Zimbabwean economy.

Zimbabwe's economic performance reached an estimated growth rate of 9,3 per cent in real terms in 1985. While, on the other hand, the economy grew at a much slower pace in 1986 and indications are that in real terms of growth of less than 1 per cent in gross domestic product (GDP) has been achieved.(15)

Zimbabwe's GDP showed growth of only 0,18 per cent in 1986 compared to 1985. Expressed at constant prices Zimbabwe's GDP totalled Z\$3,894 million, compared to Z\$3,887 million in 1985.

A breakdown of overall GDP for 1986 reveals that some 'sectors' experienced some growth as compared to 1985.(16) These are: Manufacturing; Distribution; Hotels and Restaurants: Z\$415 million (Z\$410 million); Public Administration: Z\$391 million (Z\$370 million); Education: Z\$370 million (Z\$237 million). Real estate remained constant at Z\$44 million.

Table 3.9: Distribution of Female Employees by Occupation

Occupational group	<u>Professional</u>		<u>Skilled</u>		<u>Semi-skilled</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	percentage of female 1981	percentage of female 1984	percentage of female 1981	percentage of female 1984	percentage of female 1981	percentage of female 1984	percentage of female 1981	percentage of female 1984
Professional technical related	30	32	11	33	41	24	28	30
Administrative and managerial	9	8	21	37	20	18	10	21
Clerical and related	21	50	46	50	33	17	36	33
Sales	20	14	23	23	32	15	27	18
Service	6	49	16	15	15	9	27	18
Agriculture/animal husbandry, forest workers and fishermen	8	7	6	4	3	14	4	12
Production and related workers, transport equipment and labourers	21	5	3	5	2	3	3	3
Occupations inadequately described	8	43	6	14	5	11	6	13
Total	22	26	15	23	11	10	14	15

Source:

Table 3.10: Skill and Sex Distribution by Sector: Proportion of Women in Trained Workforce by Industrial Sector

Industrial sector	Skill Level				Total trained labour force			
	Professional percentage of female 1981	Professional percentage of female 1984	Skilled percentage of female 1981	Skilled percentage of female 1984	Semi-Skilled percentage of female 1981	Semi-Skilled percentage of female 1984	percentage of female 1981	percentage of female 1984
Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing	19	14,5	6	9	4	13	5	13
Mining and quarrying	20	12	14	10	2	2	7	4
Manufacturing	10	10	8	13	8	4	8	7
Electricity, gas and water	1	1	7	14	8	12	7	2
Construction	19	4	2	5	-	7	3	2
Wholesale, retail, restaurants and hotels	19	19	24	24	24	13	23	17
Transport, storage and communications	17	11	12	20	7	3	9	8
Finance, insurance, real estate business services	19	18	54	43	47	9	42	22
Welfare institutions, business, professional and other social and related community services	28	38	28	39	28	31	31	36
Total	21	26	15	23	11	10	14	15

Source: Compiled from NMS data 1981 Annual Review of Manpower 1984.



Table 3.11: Women in Training by Industry Reported in the Annual Occupational Survey of Employees 1984

Industry		Employees		Staff in training	
		Women	Total	Women	Total
Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing	Number	27,899	171,897	183	1,508
	Per cent	16		12	
Mining and quarrying	Number	907	35,403	79	540
	Per cent	3		15	
Manufacturing	Number	5,285	101,734	63	1,722
	Per cent	5		4	
Electricity and water	Number	424	4,048	2	289
	Per cent	1		1	
Construction	Number	432	30,025	8	1,683
	Per cent	8		0,5	
Wholesale and retail trade, restaurants and hotels	Number	5,646	41,885	96	767
	Per cent	13		13	
Transport, storage and communications	Number	737	12,459	5	139
	Per cent	6		4	
Finance, insurance, real estate and business	Number	6,411	37,552	276	1,507
	Per cent	17		18	
Community, social service including education	Number	17,695	56,792	1,440	3,855
	Per cent	31		37	
Total	Number	65,436	492,795	2,152	12,010
	Per cent	13		18	

Source: Compiled from Annual Review of Manpower, 1984.

There was, however, a general decline in the following 'sectors' over the same period: Agriculture and Forestry: Z\$450 million (Z\$614 million); Mining and Quarrying: Z\$285 million (Z\$288 million); Construction: Z\$60 million (Z\$64 million); Finance and Insurance: Z\$197 million (Z\$246 million) and Domestic Services: Z\$57 million (Z\$59 million).

In terms of gross sized capital formation, there was an overall decline of 7,3 per cent between 1985 (Z\$502 million) and 1986 (Z\$465 million). Investment only occurred in transport equipment which registered Z\$93 million for 1986 (Z\$80 million) for 1985. Residential buildings, civil engineering works, other equipment, plant and machinery all revealed a decline.(17)

The manufacturing sector is the largest contributor to GDP and is highly dependent upon imports thus making it equally dependent on the availability of foreign exchange. It also accounts for the highest proportion of total exports (1984-41 per cent). However, the shortage of foreign currency has meant that there has been a general decline of output from this sector. Estimates by industrialists in Zimbabwe put foreign currency allocations to this sector to be a third of their 1981 peak.

Estimates from likewise sources reveal that up to 30 000 job cut-backs could result in a fall of about 5 per cent of this sector's output in 1987.(18)

The data aired above also highlights that within the agricultural and mining sector, there has been a general decline in output. In agriculture, for example, this has been expressed as a lowering of real farm production. Mining has generally experienced stagnation.

Overall, several factors have had a bearing upon Zimbabwe's recent economic performance. Given that data above hints at the economy's dependence upon foreign currency which is a historical legacy, it is not doubtful that the shortage of foreign currency is among the important factors contributing to the slackening in economic growth. A major reason that has affected foreign currency allocations to the economy is that the bulk of Zimbabwe's external debt servicing and to a lesser degree some of its repayment, falls in the period commencing 1986 to 1988. Projections are that the debt service ratio will remain at 35 per cent over the next few years.(19) One may also note that the vagaries of the local climate and the level of world commodity prices have also contributed circumstantially. For example, the average rainfall in the current season is expected to be about 5cm below normal as well as being patchy and volatile than usual.

What the trends in the economy herald is that there is need for tight controls over imports in order to keep foreign exchange reserves at an acceptable level.

The Government realises that there is need to enhance export growth and promote as well as accelerate import-substitution activities. Towards the latter end, it is also vigorously pursuing options for counter-trade as well as strengthening regional and sub-regional forms of co-operation via the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) and through the

Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA), respectively. Again, what has to be emphasised is that these strategies are occurring in a context where the government is endeavouring to restructure the national economy away from foreign domination, stimulate growth by increasing domestic capital participation and consequently disengage from its South African ties.

Schematically, a couple of themes appear to suggest themselves from the foregoing analysis in this section. Furthermore, these themes have a direct bearing upon the focus of this report. The themes may be summarised as two-fold. These are: (i) National strategies qua the First Five Year National Development Plan to enhance the role of domestic capital in the developmental process in Zimbabwe; (ii) And secondly, the possible effects of imposition of economic sanctions by Zimbabwe (in conformity with the international community) against South Africa.

An important aspect of the First Five Year National Development Plan has been that of stimulating the participation of domestic capital in the economy. Within this perspective, it is Government policy that the existing industrial base not only be maintained and improved but that, decentralisation of industry be increased. Relating this to the focus of this study, it is apparent, therefore, that women should not only be encouraged but receive institutional support as well, to allow them to fully participate in the new ventures that are being called for and created as a result of national policy.

Although Zimbabwe has hitherto not officially imposed sanctions upon South Africa, speculation abounds as to the consequences of such an undertaking upon the structure of the Zimbabwean economy. In the short-term, sanctions are likely to affect the capacity of the local economy specifically in respect to trade routes and acts of destabilisation pursued by the South African regime. In order to offset this, Zimbabwe, along with SADCC and the international community are gearing themselves towards the consolidation of the rail and road network through Mozambique via what has come to be commonly known as the Beira Corridor. There is also a strong likelihood that in the event of sanctions, the Zimbabwean economy would not only continue to remain relatively inward looking but strengthen import - substitution ventures. Perhaps this is an opportunity for the economy to diversify and that a clearly thought-out policy for the consolidation and expansion of the capital goods industry in Zimbabwe would be most appropriate. In respect of the latter, the UNIDO study (20) on the Manufacturing Sector of the Zimbabwean economy is most timely.

What is being suggested is that planning needs to address itself to the question of adaption of economic structures away from their current forms of domination, and in this context too, to begin to inject an awareness for projects among other forms of assistance that would ultimately support and strengthen female participation in the economy.

Another significant area of government involvement is in the Zimbabwe Iron and Steel Corporation (ZISCO) which is the only iron and steel plant in the country. Government involvement in this enterprise is crucial with respect to the development of a capital

goods sector and plans are currently underway to diversify the activities of ZISCO in order to realise this objective.

In 1982 the government set up a Prices Control Committee under the Ministry of Trade and Commerce in order to monitor prices and attempt to regulate them.

Both direct and indirect taxation form crucial aspects of government policy for the manufacturing sector. However, with respect to indirect taxation, it is important to note that presently government is in the process of adopting a series of recommendations from a report on the restructuring of the tax system of the country. (21)

Structural based economic policies are ultimately designed to stimulate economic growth, initiate industrialization and foster equitable distribution. Related to economic capacity is the question of labour utilization and employment. The latter issue is referred to in that the question of employment generation has been a singularly important feature of government planning in the economy as a whole and in manufacturing specifically.

In 1982, 1,045,900 inhabitants were in a wage employment accounting for 14 per cent of the total population. However, the drought of 1982-1984 as well as the international recession over the past few years contributed to a decline in employment levels. Between 1980-81 employment in manufacturing rose but subsequently slowed down in 1982, and 1983-84 saw a decline in the employment figure (Socio-Economic Review, Zimbabwe, op.cit. p.136.) (22)

Since independence in 1980, the tendency has been for a shift in the structure of formal employment and the overall trend has been a shift away from productive to relatively non-productive jobs. Indications of the economy's performance over this period suggest an increase in non-productive employment with the economy experiencing declines in productive employment. This illustrates an important structural problem in the changing distribution sector employment between the productive and non-productive sectors.

Economic expansion, pricing and general employment creation have effects upon the status and position of women. Most women are largely located in the food processing industries, textiles, clothing and footwear in the formal sector. Therefore, the kind and quality of support given to these subsectors can be crucial to women's contribution to their development. It is, therefore, significant to highlight female employment in these subsectors as well as their absence in the other subsectors in order to redirect policy efforts towards their future absorption into the Zimbabwe economy. The Hierarchy of Investment advocated in the First Five Year National Development Plan by way of allowing for the state, local authorities, co-operative ventures and local individual participation is designed, after all, to encourage wider ownership and decentralize industry, thereby subsequently creating opportunities for enhancing overall female participation.

4. The Manufacturing Sector

4.1 Organisation and Structure

The government has identified the manufacturing sector as key in changing the structure of the Zimbabwean economy.

According to Zimbabwe's industrial classification, the manufacturing sector is divided into eleven major sub-sectors which are further sub-divided into some thirty-three sub-groups. The major sub-sectors are: foodstuffs; drink and tobacco; textiles (including cotton ginning); clothing and footwear; wood and furniture; paper and printing and publishing; chemical and petroleum products; transport equipment; metals and metal products.

The relative importance of this sector stands out in the African context. Manufacturing contributes about a quarter of GDP (roughly three times the average for developing Africa), is the second most important source of employment in the formal economy and accounts for about seventeen per cent of total export revenues. These features, together with the sector's diversity and potential role in exports, gives manufacturing a major role in Zimbabwe's economic transformation and future development.

Three branches - food processing, chemicals and metal products - account for over half of the sector's total value of production. Metal products, in particular, dominate in terms of firms, net output, exports and capital stock as shown in Table 4.1.

Food processing is the second most important branch by every criterion but exports. The relative importance of other branches vary greatly according to the criterion used. For example, textiles and ginning are second most important in terms of exports, but sixth in terms of net output and fourth in terms of capital stock. Clothing and footwear dominate in female employment followed by textile and ginning, metal products and food processing. While clothing and footwear appears third in number of units, its percentage contribution to net output, exports and capital stock is relatively low. Second in importance for female employment is textile and ginning where the contribution to exports is second only to metal products. The predominant sector for total male employment, -metal products, - takes third place for employment of females.

The United Nations defines manufacturing as "the mechanical or chemical transformation of inorganic or organic substances into new products whether the work is performed by power - driven machines or by hand, whether it is done in a factory or in the workers's home and whether the products are sold at wholesale or retail."

The application of such a definition to Zimbabwe means that a carpenter working from his home in Gutu to make furniture for neighbouring villages is involved in manufacturing. So is a panel beating co-operative in Pioneer Street and so are the brewers of beer and Kachasu in the remote corners of Masvingo, the lace mat-makers in Harare, cake-makers for sale in the markets as well as the fruit conserves sold by women in the village markets.

Table 4.1: Distribution of Manufacturing Units, Output, Exports, employees and Capital Stock (percentage)

Subsectors	No. of units	Net output	Exports	Employees			Capital stock
				Total	Female	Male	
Food processings	11,1	15,9	7,4	14,9	11,2	16,7	15,3
Drinks and tobacco	3,9	10,9	0,9	7,5	8,4	9,4	9,1
Textiles and ginning	4,9	8,6	20,9	11,8	13,1	11,8	9,7
Clothing and footwear	10,9	8,9	3,9	12,4	31,8	10,6	3,2
Wood and furniture	7,2	3,9	3,3	7,3	1,9	6,0	2,2
Paper, printing, etc.	8,4	6,7	0,9	5,4	7,4	5,5	5,0
Chemicals, petroleum	9,2	12,7	5,4	7,3	8,4	8,0	13,5
Non-metallic mineral products	4,3	4,5	0,6	4,4	1,0	3,5	6,5
Metal and products	29,9	23,3	53,1	24,0	12,1	24,0	32,4
Transport equipment	3,4	2,9	1,3	3,0	1,0	3,0	2,3
Other	6,9	1,5	2,4	1,9	3,7	1,4	0,8
Total manufacturing	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: IBRD, Zimbabwe Country Economic Memorandum, op.cit., Tables 1.02, 2.02 and The Census of Production, 1983/1984.

Table 4.2: Zimbabwe - Structural Characteristics of Manufacturing Subsectors (thousand Z\$)

Subsectors	Gross output		Capital Per worker	Net output per worker	Net output	
	Per unit	Per worker			As % of gross	As % of capital
Food processing	5,186	29,934	21,763	7,531	25,2	35
Drinks and tobacco	4,336	17,404	25,837	10,326	59,3	40
Textiles and ginning	4,514	14,547	17,456	5,162	35,5	30
Clothing and footwear	1,427	9,656	5,480	5,085	52,7	93
Wood and furniture	959	7,276	6,474	3,802	52,3	59
Paper, printing, etc.	1,434	17,310	20,042	8,907	51,5	44
Chemicals, petroleum	3,137	30,533	39,197	12,293	40,3	31
Non-metallic mineral products	1,627	12,070	31,108	7,259	60,1	23
Metal and products	1,567	15,132	28,859	6,889	45,5	24
Transport equipment	2,040	17,891	16,397	6,956	38,9	42
Other	396	10,904	9,030	5,535	50,8	61
Total manufacturing	2,235	17,302	21,316	7,086	41,0	33

Source: UNIDO Study of the Manufacturing Sector in Zimbabwe, 1985, Tables 2 - 7.

National statistics and data collection, in Zimbabwe as in most countries, however, narrows down the meaning of manufacturing activities considerably. The UNIDO Study on the Manufacturing sector of Zimbabwe identifies various definitional problems with regard to manufacturing statistics in Zimbabwe. For our purpose, the definition includes small-scale and informal manufacturers.

All manufacturing carried out in the home is excluded from the statistical definition of manufacturing and so too are illegal activities such as beer-brewing in municipal areas, the carpenter in Gutu, the makers of bricks from anthills, brushes from trees and bright cover cloth, utilising beads to protect food in villages. Classified as manufacturers by CSO are registered companies, registration implying an initial capital outlay of Z\$3,000. Furthermore, statistics exclude establishments with a gross output of under Z\$2,000. The implication is that official statistics of manufacturing partly under-estimate, partly ignore small-scale informal and part-time manufacturing. Clearly, therefore, any policy recommendation for promoting women's contribution to the industrial development through manufacturing should not be based on the formal sector only. A profile of women's activities in informal manufacturing is given below in 6.2.

Table 4.2 presents some indicators of capital intensity and productivity for formal manufacturing at the sub-sector level. The chemicals sub-sector has the highest capital per worker, which is translated into the highest labour productivity (both gross and net of purchases). Clothing and footwear, on the other hand, with the highest concentration of female workers has the highest net output as a percentage of capital.

Private and unincorporated enterprises account for 86 per cent of recorded manufacturing turnover. Parastatals in food processing and textiles account for ten per cent and public firms (mainly in metals) under the Industrial Development Corporation for four per cent.

In Zimbabwe, as in many countries, industrial activities are concentrated geographically. Harare (including Chitungwiza), with only 11 per cent of the country's population, accounts for 50 per cent of manufacturing employment. Bulawayo, the second largest city with five per cent of the total population, accounts for 23 per cent of manufacturing employment, and the Kwekwe - Redcliff complex (Zisco's site) contributes seven per cent to manufacturing output and five per cent to overall manufacturing employment. Together, these three centres contribute 82 per cent of total manufacturing employment. In this presently uneven distribution of manufacturing lies a probability for an equally uneven distribution of future employment growth. This has clear implications for women's employment, the predominant share of the female labour force still living outside the industrial centres. Studies suggest that rural non-agricultural economic activities in Zimbabwe are significantly more backward than in most developing countries (Gasper and de Valk, 1985)(23). It has also been suggested that formal sector firms show little interest in relocating to rural areas.

In the period 1980-1984, the average employment in the manufactur-

ing sector was 170,600 a year, which represented some 16 per cent of total formal employment in industry. The Annual Review of Manpower (1984) (24) reports that shortages are still being experienced in Zimbabwe in the following groups: chemical engineers, electrical engineers, mechanical engineers, computer programmers and analysts, senior accountants and senior technicians. Based on previous data of NMS 1981, these are precisely the areas where women received hardly any training or education.

4.2 Government Policy Regarding Manufacturing and Its Sub-sectors

Preceding sections of the Report have reviewed the role of industry in Zimbabwe, the role of government vis-a-vis industry and contain an overview of the structure and organisation of the manufacturing sector. This section purports to look specifically at the government's role towards the manufacturing sector in Zimbabwe.

It needs to be reiterated that the government has identified the manufacturing sector as the keystone of the economy. What this further implies is that the government recognises the need to restructure ownership patterns in industry away from foreign control and towards local and domestic control whilst simultaneously restructuring the production process. All these objectives, it is expected, will initially be realised via the Hierarchy of Investment. Therefore, an initial thrust of government policy that relates to manufacturing has been geared to stimulating conditions favourable to allowing the Hierarchy of Investment to participate.

The Zimbabwe Government's general thrust in the manufacturing sector has been export-oriented, that is, it has sought to make the products produced within this sector more competitive on the external markets. Notwithstanding government bias toward exports, policy has also tended to encourage the use of locally available natural and human resources. Overall, this forms part of national strategy for acquiring and conserving foreign currency whilst attempting to stimulate economic growth.

Towards the latter, the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) acts as a major instrument for the execution of government investment policy within the manufacturing sector. Major funding has gone to strategic industries such as metals and metal products, pulp and paper and agro-industry.

The Agricultural Marketing Authority, a quasi-government body is responsible for overseeing via its constituent boards, the processing of meats, dairy products and cotton ginning. For example, the Dairy Marketing Board and the Cold Storage Commission together account for 25 per cent of the total output in the foodstuffs sector. Government participation in the textiles sector is through the Cotton Marketing Board which contributes 38 per cent of output in the sector.

The government has also begun to make inroads into private industry by acquiring shares in CAPS Holdings Ltd. (pharmaceuticals) and Olivine Holdings Ltd. (food processing).

FOOTNOTES TO SECTION III

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2. Socio-Economic Review - Zimbabwe 1980 - 1985, Government of Zimbabwe Harare, 1986.
3. Republic of Zimbabwe, Growth with Equity - An Economic Policy Statement, February 1981. Harare, Zimbabwe.
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5. Prime Minister's Foreword to Transitional National Development, Plan: May 1983 Harare, Zimbabwe.
6. Republic of Zimbabwe, First Five Year National Development Plan: 1986-1990, Vol. 1, April 1986.
7. Prime Minister's Foreword, First Five Year National Development Plan op cit Harare, Zimbabwe
8. Ibid., p. 7
9. Ibid
10. ILO/SATEP op cit 1984
11. ILO, Employment, Incomes and Equality: A Strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya Geneva: ILO, 1972

12. Quarterly Employment Survey, Harare, Zimbabwe 1986
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14. See for example: (i) Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, Quarterly Economic and Statistical Review, September 1986; (ii) Industrial Review, February 1987; (iii) Hawkins, T. 'Zimbabwe's fortunes begin to fade', Financial Times, 19 March 1987.
15. See Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, Quarterly Economic and Statistical Review Op cit.
16. 1985 figures are bracketed.
17. See Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, op cit.
18. See Hawkins, T., Financial Times op cit.
19. See Quarterly Economic and Statistical Review; Hawkins, T., and C.Z.I., Industrial Review op cit.
20. op cit
21. See Parliamentary Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Taxation,
22. Socio-Economic Review, Zimbabwe, op cit p. 136
23. Gasper, D.R. and de Valk, P., "Background, Concepts and Issues", Workshop on Rural Industries and Growth Points/Service Center Policies, University of Zimbabwe, 1985.
24. Ministry of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare, The Annual Review of Manpower, Harare, Zimbabwe, 1984.

IV. 5. Employees In Formal Sector Manufacturing

5.1 Towards increased Participation

As government policy emphasises the development of greater equity, also between the sexes, and as future development in the manufacturing industry, given present policy measures is not clearly conducive to greater female participation, further policy steps are needed.

The literature review has noted that an ideological manifestation of female subordination evolves around the breadwinner myth—that is that women receive their maintenance from their husbands (or male household earners) and there is thus little need for them to earn an income. The result of the survey of female employees in the formal sector strongly suggests that this is not generally the case for women who are in employment.

Just over half of the 246 respondents (135) stated that they were the sole income earners in their households. For the 111 who had other members of the household who were in employment, about two-thirds had a working husband (Table 5.1).

Also, indications were not that jobs were held to earn "a bit extra". In spite of high job of dissatisfaction, formal sector jobs are eagerly held on to: 154 of the 246 respondents wanted to do "any other job" than the one they are currently involved with. Apart from being a reflection of dissatisfaction, this also could imply that conditions of service were poor. Reasons for wanting to do another job are analysed in Table 5.2.

Table 5.1: If you are not the only employed in your household, who is? (W38)

	Answers	Per cent
Husband	74	49.7
Father	11	7.4
Mother	5	3.3
In-laws/relatives	56	37.6
No response	3	2.0
Total	149	100.0

Note: Total exceeds 111 because several families had more than one worker in addition to the woman.

Table 5.2 : Explain why you want to do any other work than what you are doing now (W34)

	Answers	Per cent
Salary too low	59	15.5
Job not challenging enough/dissatisfied with current job	75	19.8
Not permanent job/ temporary	4	1.0
Wish to study	5	1.3
Self-employment	7	1.9
High level of dissatisfaction and choice limited	75	19.8
Low salary	59	15.6
No response	95	25.1
Total	379	100.0

Note: Answers exceed 154 as more than one alternative was allowed per respondent.

The low number answering that they would like to move into some form of self-employment indicates that this possibility is looked upon as a last resort.

Respondents views of the chances for finding a job with another company and in the process improve their level of occupation indicate that this is among the majority not considered a realistic option.

Table 5.3: What are the chances that you could find a job with another company and in the process improve your level of occupation?(W35)

	Number	Per cent
No response	4	1.6
None	110	44.7
Very slight	52	21.1
Moderate	34	13.8
High	23	9.4
Don't know	23	9.4
Total	246	100.0

Although a majority of working women are "breadwinners", 57.3 per cent (141) said that they had earlier been unemployed for shorter or longer periods. Reasons are given in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4: If you have been unemployed, why? (W42)

	Answers	Per cent
Family commitments	56	37.0
No qualifications	19	13.0
Redundancy/resigned	19	13.0
Health reasons	4	3.0
Casual worker	6	4.0
No jobs	46	30.0
Total	150	100.0

Note: Number of answers exceeds 141 since respondents were allowed to give more than one reason.

Forty-six respondents (30 per cent) having been unemployed at some time in the past stated that there were no jobs that they could apply for. For most of these women, another question on the time during which they were unemployed indicated that it took place prior to independence. The most frequent reason for unemployment was, however, that they had to interrupt their job on account of family commitments (56). This included time off to have children (33), to get married (11). A small fraction had to leave work simply in order to look after the household as their husbands were against their continued employment (3). In relation to the breadwinner myth, the observation illustrates that many women will have serious difficulties as head of households in case of unemployment. Table 5.5 below would, however, indicate that they are not completely without a safety net.

During unemployment, the majority of women were looked after by their families. This, together with the reliance on subsistence agriculture and the informal sector, is a reflection of the fact that there is hardly any institutional unemployment support machinery in the country.

Table 5.5: How did you survive when you were unemployed?(W43)

	Answer	Per cent
Immediate family (including relatives)	101	68.0
Subsistence farming	22	15.0
Informal sector activity	17	12.0
Friends	6	4.0
Pensions/Social Welfare	2	1.0
Total	148	100.0

Note: Total larger than the total number who had been unemployed as more than one answer was allowed.

In conclusion, there is a social necessity for greater participation of women since a large share of female labour force are as much breadwinners as are men.

Profile of Formal Sector Employees

The data on marital status and age is equally revealing. 36 percent of the 246 individual women in formal sector interviewed were married (36.0% monoqamously and 2% polyqamously). A large percentage (64%) were, however either single (26.0%); divorced (27.0%); widowed (7.0%) or separated (4.0%). In other words, the majority of the women interviewed in the formal sector are bread-winners. What the data, therefore reveals is the need to greatly absorb women into the labour force since they are as much bread-winners in their households as men.

A majority of the women (91%) are in the economically active age category; (15% are in the 15-25 age group; 63.0% are in the 26-39% group - the most economically active group; 13% are in the 40-49 age group while only 7.0% are in the 50+ age group).

Table 5.6: Profile of Formal Sector Employees : (Percentage)
(Marital Status (11Q4))

Monoqamous	Polyqamous	Single	Divorced	Widow	Separated	Total
34.0	2.0	26.0	27.0	7.0	4.0	100.0

Table 5.7: Profile of Formal Sector Employees : (Percentage)
(Age)

15-25	26-39	40-49	50+
15.0	63.0	13.0	7.0

5.2 Relevant Education and Training

Table 5.8 gives the women employees perception of how the skills for their present formal sector jobs were acquired. From those 172 who said that they had acquired a skill, just under 40 percent (68) reported that they had received on-the-job training. About 15 percent (26 women) said they had got their skills in informal training, 22 from relatives or friends and 4 from teaching themselves. Eighteen women stated that they attended private college, most of them taking secretarial and administration-related courses at these institutions. Youth clubs, women's clubs and public training centres only account for about 9 percent of respondents' sources of skills. No women reported to have attended technical college; and similarly, of all the respondents, none claimed to have acquired any skills training from either primary or secondary schools.

Table 5.8 : Source of Skills (W12)

	Number	Percentage
Primary, Secondary schools	0	-
Technical College	0	-
University	4	2.3
Public Training centre	6	3.5
Private college	18	10.5
On-the-job	68	39.5
Abroad	5	2.9
Youth club/women's club	9	5.2
Sponsored by company	3	1.7
From relatives and friends	22	12.8
Self-taught	4	2.4
No response	33	2.3
Total	172	99.9

Concerning formal educational qualifications, just over half of the 246 respondents (129) said that they did receive some primary education.

Information on training was also collected from the 19 companies where interviews with management were carried out. Seven of the 19 companies (Table 5.9) reported on-the-job training for top management. Roughly half of the interviewed companies conduct in-house training for supervisory (52.7 percent) and production line staff (47.6 percent). Middle management and others (mostly clerical) get on-the-job training in 5 (26.3 percent) of the 19 companies. The nature and duration of the training varies with occupational level. Top and middle management training is given primarily in financial and legislative matters, e.g. tax legislation, industrial relations and finance. Aspects of company policy relating to personnel, productivity and industrial relations are emphasized in the supervisory training programmes. Production line training is mostly on-the-job training organised within the company and is geared towards improving skill levels via a practically based programme. In the majority of the cases where training is given, a certificate is issued upon successful completion of the programme.

It is somewhat difficult to interpret the answers to whether or not women had equal access to training (Table 5.9). It is significant however, that as many as 3 firms straightforwardly admitted that there was no equality. It is clear however that inequality still exists in the sense that so few women are employed and therefore have access to the courses given.

Table 5.9 : Company training (M15)

	Training		Certificate awarded		Equal access between sexes							
									No response			
	Yes No.	No %	Yes No.	No %	Yes No.	No %	Yes No.	No %	No. %			
Top management	(7)	36.9	(12)	63.2	(4)	21.1	(5)	26.3	(3)	15.8	(11)	57.9
Middle management	(5)	26.3	(14)	73.7	(5)	26.3	(7)	36.8	(3)	15.8	(9)	47.4
Supervisory	(10)	52.7	(9)	47.4	(5)	26.3	(7)	36.8	(3)	15.8	(9)	47.4
Production line	(9)	47.6	(10)	52.6	(5)	26.3	(8)	42.1	(2)	10.6	(9)	47.4
Others	(5)	26.3	(14)	73.7	(4)	21.1	(7)	36.8	-	-	(12)	63.2

Conclusions from the above are that:

1. Job related training is important in imparting specific skills which will give women a better position in the labour market. The sexual discrimination in this field is largely due to the general under-representation of women in industry. Thus it is important (see next section) to focus on sex related barriers to obtaining a job.
2. Specific skills training in educational institutions should aim at increasing female participation in training schemes for skills that are likely to be in the shortest supply in future. These include machinery and precision instrument workers, plumbers, welders, structural metal workers, paper and articles workers, which all showed high rates of vacancies according to the National Manpower Survey and later, the Annual Review of Manpower.
3. Women are poorly represented as managers and administrators. To prepare the ground for improvement one would have to start giving qualified production workers supervisory skills. Special courses should be introduced to this effect.

5.3 Job Entrance

As sexual inequality in access to training may arise more as a result of low number of women employed in the manufacturing sector than by discriminatory practices in selection for training, it becomes very important to explore the barriers to employment also at the lowest occupational levels. This chapter considers employer's attitudes and labour market information. In interviews exploring management attitudes to hiring women, the non response was high. The response "no problem" in a good many cases came from firms that hardly employed women. In Table 5.10 the female stereotype is seen to play a major role. Answers often indicate the belief that it is females themselves who largely are to blame for their lack of advancement. For example, it is felt that women tend not to respond to adverts for employment or are unavailable for employment; have negative attitudes towards heavy manual work; are prone to higher absenteeism on account of their family commitments. Reinforcing this it is also revealed that company culture contain sexual stereotypes as e.g. "women are more hygienic", they have a "negative perception of themselves" but are "easier to work with" and are, furthermore, presumed to be more suitable for certain types of jobs and are taken on by the company for specific tasks. Related to this is sexual job categorisation. The notion that certain jobs are of "male" and other "female" was upheld by the majority of the respondents who claimed that in their firm there were specific occupations they felt were unsuitable for women.

Managers were also asked whether they felt that there were any particular advantages from hiring women (Table 5.11). Once again, female stereotypes emerged among the most important factors. Answers also reflect the perception that generally, when they are assigned to a job women do better than men as they are more loyal although as a group, they tend to gossip but are more sensitive and less quarrelsome. Women came out as more dextrous and good at "domestic related activities". They also make better trainers or trainees, and are perceived as more patient and co-operative.

Women employees were also asked about their experience during the process of acquiring a job. The answers appear in Table 5.12. Over 70 percent had heard of the job via word-of-mouth (145) or appeared at the gates of the factory to apply on-site (33). Fifty-five percent of the employees also reported that they applied for the job through some form of personal contact and were recruited on-site.

Twenty percent (50 respondents) either wrote a letter or telephoned, whereas 35 went through either a commercial or government employment agency. 89 respondents reported that they had been interviewed before final recruitment.

Table 5.10: Problems encountered in hiring women by the firm (M10)

	<u>Number of firms</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Education:		
Irrelevant	11	57,2
No response	8	42,1
	<u>19</u>	<u>100,0</u>
Women do not respond to job opportunities:		
Do not respond	6	31,6
Not a problem	5	26,3
Respond informally	1	5,3
No response	7	36,8
	<u>19</u>	<u>100,0</u>
Women are unavailable for employment:		
Not a problem	5	26,3
This is so	2	10,5
No response	12	63,2
	<u>19</u>	<u>100,0</u>
Female attitudes to employment:		
Women dislike heavy manual work	10	52,6
Not a problem	2	10,5
Women have positive attitudes	1	5,3
No response	5	26,3
	<u>19</u>	<u>100,0</u>
Company culture on female recruitment:		
Not a problem	3	15,8
Sexual stereotypes	10	52,6
No married couples	1	5,3
No response	5	26,3
	<u>19</u>	<u>100,0</u>
Marital status:		
No problem	10	52,6
Prefer married women	1	5,3
No response	8	42,1
	<u>19</u>	<u>100,0</u>
Absenteeism:		
No women in company	1	5,3
Few women in company	3	15,8
Higher on account of family duties	5	21,3
No response	5	26,3
	<u>19</u>	<u>100,0</u>

Table 5.11: Advantages with hiring women (M11)

	Number	Per cent
Do women perform better?		
No women employed in company	3	15.8
Female stereotypes	9	47.4
No response	7	36.8
	19	100.0
Do women make good team members?		
No women in the company	1	5.3
Female stereotype	4	21.0
Makes no difference	4	21.0
Yes - but poor supervisors	1	5.3
No response	9	48.0
	19	100.0
Do women make good trainees?		
Makes no difference	2	10.0
No	3	16.0
Female stereotypes	4	21.0
No response	10	53.0
	19	100.0

Disaggregation by occupation level (not shown in table) reveals variation in job information, application and selection of female employees. Production line employees usually used direct forms of recruitment whereas non-production employees were recruited indirectly through some form of agency and were subsequently interviewed.

Disaggregated data also suggest a close relation between occupational level, skills level, education and possibly race.

Employees were asked whether they thought the selection process was fair. A large majority of the respondents (234 out of 246) felt that this was the case. Few (6) thought that some favouritism and nepotism had been practised in the recruitment process. For example, one respondent stated that, "I was assisted by a relative to get the job and I don't think this was fair because those without relatives would never be employed." Another stated that, "There was favouritism - other women did not register as is the system - they were just called to work".

To break the stereotypes that limit job availability for women will take a long time. What is needed is more information and awareness both on the side of management and on the side of women.

It is recommended that CDWA establish contact with CZI, ZNCC and other organizations representing industry to encourage the arrangement within these organizations of courses and discussion groups about women's role in industry for personnel managers and others who have responsibility for employing people.

The present functioning of labour exchanges and job advertisement should be examined for sexual bias. Private industry should be

encouraged to use government employment agencies also for factory floor job advertisement, where at present most hiring takes place on site.

5.4 Promotion

The majority of female employees interviewed were on the lower rung of the job opportunity ladder, low-pay manual jobs within the manufacturing sector. 77.2 percent of female employee respondents were production line workers (See Table 5.13). A breakdown of non-production line posts reveals that only 2.5 percent (6) said that they were at the top management level, and 12.6 percent (31) who reported that they belonged to middle management. The rest either had a staff function or were supervisors. It is important to emphasise however, that of those women interviewed in top and middle management were, in reality, mostly white secretaries and typists who perceived themselves as belonging to top and middle management.

Table 5.12: Job information, application and selection(W 8 9 10)

Table 5.12: Job Information, Application and Selection (W 8, 9, 10)

		Job Information				Application				Selection			
		INDIRECT	DIRECT	No response	INDIRECT a)	INDIRECT b)	DIRECT	No response	INDIRECT	DIRECT	No response		
Advertisement / applied		Employment agency	Word-of mouth	on-site	Phoned letter	/Commercial employment	Government employment	/Personal contact	Interviews on-site				
No.	22	33	145	33	13	50	18	24	137	17	89	138	19
%	8,9	13,4	58,9	13,4	5,3	20,3	7,3	6,9	55,7	9,8	36,2	56,1	7,7

Table 5.13: Women Employees by Occupation Category (W6)

	Number	Percentage
Top management	6	2.5
Middle management	31	12.6
Supervisors	7	2.9
Staff function	8	3.3
Production line	190	77.2
No response	4	1.6
	246	100.0

Female employees on the production line have few skills (Table 5.14). Of the 222 women who responded to the question which type of skill they possessed, 73.9 percent (164) had production skills, but most either connected to household duties or at a very low level like packing and sorting. What one may call real technical skills was possessed by only about 1/6 (37) of those who answered. This category of employees were trained in mixing chemicals.

In non-production line work, a majority of the women are working as typists, receptionists or nurses. Only 3 female employees reported to have managerial skills. The conclusion however still stands that skilled professional women do not hold any significant number of key decision making post within the manufacturing industry.

use for skills

Secondary vs Primary M/ES

*17/100
222
217*

Table 5.14: Women Workers Skill Categories

<u>NON-PRODUCTION SKILLS</u>		<u>PRODUCTION SKILLS</u>		
<u>SECRETARIAL</u>	<u>PROFESSIONAL</u>	<u>HOUSEHOLD</u>	<u>TECHNICAL SKILLS</u>	<u>NO SKILLS</u>
Typing receptionist (24)	Occupational safety/nurse/first aid (9)	Sewing/dressmaking (42)	Cabinet/component assembler (2)	No skills Packing/ (50)
Clerical (1)	Bookkeeping (5) Hotel management (2)	Cookery (6) Crocheting (3)	Quality controller/testing of tins (1)	Labelling/Sorting/ (17)
Total: (25)	Laboratory analyst (2) Accountant (2) Journalism (1) Dietician (1) Pharmacist (1) Systems analyst (1) Quality controller (6) Managerial (3)	Knitting (8) Total: 59	Cutter/winder/welder (6) Machine operator (15) Mixing of chemicals (6) Leather-related skill (6) Artisan (1)	despatch/mending (1) Total: 68
	Total: 33		Total: 37	

From the overall total sample (20), seventeen firms responded to the questions on the companies' occupational structure. The question was aimed at assessing occupational placement within the enterprise, according to gender and race. In the majority of cases, interviews were held with the head of personnel department in a given organisation.

What the data ultimately reveal is that occupational placement in industrial organisations in Zimbabwe is determined by economic standing, educational level, gender and race.

The table on occupational structure below, reflects the following sub-sectors in manufacturing:

Table 5.15: Manufacturing Sub-Sectors

Sub-Sector	No. of Firms (Sample)
Foodstuffs	8
Clothing and Footwear	2
Non-Metallic	2
Drink and Tobacco	1
Chemicals and Pharmaceuticals	1
Transport Equipment	1
Electronics	1

This report has already referred to the sample composition for the survey findings in that it attempts to reflect those manufacturing sub-sectors which include both high and low female participation level industries. (Table 5.16)

All occupational placements are on the one hand, overwhelmingly male and most women, from the findings, are at production line levels of employment. It is important to point out, however, that the foodstuffs sub-sector occasionally hires casual labour and that the bulk of this labour source is female. Unfortunately, the findings on casual labour are not accurate as most companies stated that they did not really keep accurate or up-to-date information on the number of casual labourers. Female casual labour is a phenomenon of labour utilisation in Zimbabwe that warrants closer attention and research.

Although gender is not an insignificant factor determining occupational placement in industry, the findings show that race is an equally important variable. For example, 69 percent of top management posts are held by whites at one extreme with only 0.3 percent in production line employment. (From the latter category, the data shows that the 0.3 percent are in the non-metallic sub-sector serving apprenticeship). (Table 5.16)

Evidently, there is a preserve of whites and male technical and administrative staff in top, middle and senior positions in industry in Zimbabwe. With respect to black males, the majority are in personnel or industrial relations.

Table 5.16 PERCENTAGES ACCORDING TO GENDER AND RACE

	<u>%</u> <u>Men</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Women</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Black</u>	<u>%</u> <u>White</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Asian</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Coloured</u>
Top Management	90	10	30	60	1	0
Middle Management	90	10	57	40	2,0	1,0
Staff Function	91	9	75	21	2,0	2,0
Supervisory Function	91	9	81	15	1,0	3,0
Production Line	94	6	99,7	0,3	0	0
Other	90	10	93,0	6,5	0,1	0,4
	<hr/>		<hr/>			
	100		100			

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE ACCORDING TO MANUFACTURING SAMPLE SUB-SECTOR

(in numbers)

DRINKS AND TOBACCO

	<u>Men</u>					<u>Women</u>				
	T	B	W	A	C	T	B	W	A	C
Top Management	5	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Middle Management	28	13	12	2	1	4	1	2	2	-
Staff Function	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Supervisory Function	9	6	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
Production Line	233	224	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	81	77	4	-	-	10	5	5	(Typists, receptionists, cleaners)	

TRANSPORT EQUIPMENT

	<u>Men</u>					<u>Women</u>				
	T	B	W	A	C	T	B	W	A	C
Top Management	7	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Middle Management	3	0	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Staff Function	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Supervisory Function	13	10	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Production Line	545	545	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	5	5	-	-	-	10	5	5	-	-

PHARMACEUTICALS

	<u>Men</u>					<u>Women</u>				
	T	B	W	A	C	T	B	W	A	C
Top Management	19	7	11	1	-	2	1	1	-	-
Middle Management	40	26	12	-	2	6	4	2	-	-
Staff Function	10	8	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Supervisory Function	70	60	8	1	1	10	6	2	1	1

PHARMACEUTICALS (Continued)

	<u>Men</u>					<u>Women</u>				
	T	B	W	A	C	T	B	W	A	C
Production Line	762	762	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

ELECTRONICS

	<u>Men</u>					<u>Women</u>				
	T	B	W	A	C	T	B	W	A	C
Top Management	8	1	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Middle Management	29	17	12	-	-	3	0	3	-	-
Staff Function	20	18	-	1	1	4	2	1	1	-
Supervisory Function	39	30*	9	-	-	5	1	4	-	-
Production Line	320	320	-	-	-	80	80	-	-	-
Others	28	27	1	-	-	7	2	5	-	-

*Most of the black male supervisors operate at the Production line level.

RUBBER

	<u>Men</u>					<u>Women</u>				
	*T	B	W	A	C	T	B	W	A	C
Top Management	1	-	1	-	-	2	-	2	-	-
Middle Management	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Staff Function	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Supervisory Function	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Production Line	30	30	-	-	-	13	13	-	-	-
Others (Messengers)	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

*This company is owned by family shareholders.

use status

Qinam (See separate in
with (washed dishes)
K.A
applicable

CLOTHING AND FOOTWEAR

	<u>Men</u>					<u>Women</u>				
	T	B	W	A	C	T	B	W	A	C
Top Management	6	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Middle Management	11	9	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Staff Function	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
Supervisory Function	14	14	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
Production Line	1021	1021	-	-	-	157	157	-	-	-
Others	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	1	1

FOODSTUFFS

	<u>Men</u>					<u>Women</u>				
	T	B	W	A	C	T	B	W	A	C
Top Management	60	20	39	1	-	7	2	5	-	-
Middle Management	56	105	46	5	-	18	2	16	-	-
Staff Function	64	51	12	-	1	6	2	4	-	-
Supervisory Function	106	99	6	-	1	15	6	5	-	13
Production Line	2410	2410	-	-	-	94	94	-	-	-
Others	(1) 565	559	6	-	-	(2) 44	34	8	-	2

*20 middle management staff are deployed to head canteens and restaurants.

(1) 436 ice-cream vendors

(2) 8 clerical
24 ice-cream vendors
5 tea-ladies.

Furthermore, the data reveals that within those enterprises with low female rates of participation (Drinks and Tobacco; Transport Equipment; Chemical and Pharmaceuticals and Non-Metallic Industries) the majority of women fall under the "others" category where they are all employed as typists, secretaries, receptionists, cleaners and 'tea ladies'. What is also evident is that within high female participation industries, there are very few women (9 percent) in supervisory function placements. (See also Table 5.16 [Occupational Structure according to Manufacturing Sample Sub Sector] and Table 5.17 [Occupational Structure Total in Numbers]).

Table 5.1B OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE TOTALS IN NUMBERS

	Top Management		Middle Management		Staff Function		Supervisory Function		Production Line		Others	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Totals	111	12	285	31	107	11	286	30	5 722	344	711	80
Black	32	4	174	7	85	4	242	13	5 704	344	685	50
White	77	8	101	23	19	6	37	11	18	0	26	26
Asian	2	0	7	1	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	1
Coloured	0	0	3	0	2	0	6	4	0	0	0	3

we have done figures & make under Table

This data only reinforces the overall findings of this study that access to employment for women - particularly, black women - is influenced by their economic situation, educational levels, race and gender. Although independence has meant that relatively more black women have joined the 'formal sector', this has been in the secretarial and clerical occupations with fewer women in administrative and managerial positions in both the public and private sectors of society.(1)

fact
Women's low position in the occupational and skills hierarchy in manufacturing is related not only to their skill level but also to their poor promotion prospects. Table 5.18 gives management response to the question on difficulties in promoting women. For the majority of firms (11 out of 19) the problem of skill level did not apply. Only three reported that the lack of skills amongst female employees did present problems for the company in hiring women.

In the next question on the availability of qualified women; the large majority (17 out of 19) firms giving either non response/not applicable or saying this was no problem illustrates a general difficulty in the interpretation of data; the very low level of female participation in industry and the fact that the majority of women are employed at the lower occupational levels tend to prevent the question of promotion from being raised at all and ends in the "no problems" or "not applicable" category. Five firms blamed women for their poor promotion by saying that they were unwilling to take up positions of responsibility. The question on company attitudes towards the promotion of women had very high non-response and no conclusions can be drawn. Two of the firms held that their employees would react negatively to certain promotions of women. (See Table 5.18)

Table 5.18: Factors' considered in promoting women to higher posts (employers perception) (M12)

	Number of answers	Per cent
Skill level:		
No problem	11	57.9
Women unskilled	3	15.8
No response/not applicable	5	26.3
	19	100.0
Education level:		
Lower education barrier for women	5	26.3
No problem	10	52.6
No response/not applicable	4	21.1
	19	100.0
Unavailability of qualified women for certain openings:		
Lack of skills	1	5.3
No problem	7	36.8
Don't know	1	5.3
No response/not applicable	10	52.6
	19	100.0
Women are willing to take up positions of responsibility:		
Yes	5	26.3
Family commitments	1	5.3
No response/not applicable	13	68.4
	19	100.0
Company attitude towards promoting women:		
No problem	3	15.8
Sex discrimination	1	5.3
No response/not applicable	15	79.0
	19	100.0
Company resistance to promotion of women:		
Yes - primarily attitudes	2	10.5
No problem	4	21.1
No response/not applicable	13	68.4
	19	100.0

Employees' attitudes on promotion was probed by several questions. The great majority 171 out of 246 respondents reported that they had never been promoted (non response 8). Of 67 who had been promoted, 59 reported that they had also received a salary increase.

168 out of 246 answered no to the question of whether they felt that promotion was given to a man instead of to themselves. This response perhaps reflects the fact that in most of the manufacturing industries men and women tend to have a strict division of tasks and consequently there are few instances where the question of male competition arise. Among those who answered yes (52), the majority (45) attributed lack of promotion prospects for themselves to sexual discrimination at the workplace.

Revealing of sexual discrimination is what has been referred to in this study as 'company culture' or precisely as management attitudes towards women. In this respect, the questionnaire asked management of the company's attitude towards promoting women at all occupational levels in the enterprise. The data below shows that 3 companies (15.8 per cent of the management sample) reported that as far as they were concerned, they had no problem with promoting women, whilst one company respondent (5.3 per cent) stated that sex discrimination did affect promotion prospects for women. Overall, 79.0 per cent (15 companies) did not respond to this question or either indicated that the question was not applicable. Similarly, responding to the question on the company's resistance to the promotion of women, two, (10.5 per cent) harboured negative attitudes vis-a-vis promoting women whilst 13 companies (68.4 per cent) refused to answer the question or felt that it was inapplicable. Four (21.1 per cent) felt that there was no problem. The no problem response in itself could be interpreted as a negative response in that some of the companies employed hardly any women and felt that they did not have a problem as such. On the other hand, the no problem response is equally suggestive of parochial attitudes as these companies, it appears, are insensitive to the problems of women in industry and are disinclined to view the issues of female employment within the respective firms as well as in the manufacturing sector as a whole.

A higher number of women than those who felt that they personally had been unjustly treated, 73 thought that unfairness had been practised. In the majority of cases (51) when women thought they had been treated unfairly, they did not try to redress the situation. What action if any was taken is illustrated in Table 5.19.

Table 5.19: If You Thought Unfairness Was Practiced, Did You Take Any Steps To Redress The Situation? (W23)

Did they try to redress the unfair situation?		In case of Yes, steps taken:		In case of No, why not?	
Yes	21	Contacted workers' committee	13	Don't know grievance channels	10
No	51	Management notified	7	Victimization	25
Don't know	1	No response	1	No response	16
No response/n/a	173				
	<u>246</u>		<u>21</u>		<u>51</u>

Thirteen of the 21 who took steps to redress unfairness reported that they had contacted the workers committee. 25 workers said they kept quiet out of fear of being victimized. It seems that some of the women are saying "to keep quiet is to keep your job". Furthermore, it is interesting to note that a few women (10) were not aware of the existence of grievances channels at their work-place.

Asked whether they in general thought that the company's promotion practice was fair to both sexes, a majority of women (W24) 134 gave a negative answer. Not surprisingly, on reasons for the unfairness, varying forms of sexual discrimination were given.

Table 5.20: Reasons stated for unfairness in Promotion (W 24b)

	Number	Percentage
Sexual discrimination	124	92.5
New job - just joined	7	5.2
Don't know	1	0.7
No response	2	1.5
TOTAL	134	99.9

Women's own perceptions of their future promotion opportunities are rather sombre in that 205 of 246 characterised them as bad and only 37 as good (4 no response). A more specific picture of promotion expectations emerges from Table 5.21. Column (1) reveals that a majority of the women, (134 production line, 30 no change), and 17 uncertain, - see no upward change in their occupational status over a 5 year period. 61 in fact see themselves as possibly attaining supervisory or managerial levels.

Similar analysis emerges from the data in column (2) where 116 respondents stated that in the long-term they still see themselves at production line level. An equal number, 115, see themselves at management levels (48) or as supervisors (68).

The answers under column (3) reflect a self-confidence which asserts that given the chance women are as capable as men. 179 women stated that women could reach posts higher than the production line within the company.

It is clear that women's generally low skill and education is a serious barrier to promotion. This fact serves to stress the importance of upgrading skills. In addition there are also attitudinal barriers among employers as well as employees.

The lack of motivation and expectations among women employees needs to be countered. It is recommended that programmes which aim at increasing women's awareness and motivation be worked out between the various women's groups inside and outside trade unions and CDWA and the Ministry of Industry and Technology. These courses would also point out correct procedures for handling grievances. Media again can be used in sensitizing women's problems and concerns. It is important that these activities focus on production line workers which constitute the major part of female employees.

On the side of employers, CDWA could work through organizations like CZI, ZNCC and their branch organizations to further discuss and raise the awareness about the potential and necessity for improving women's chances to attain higher positions.

Table 5.21: Perceptions on Promotion Potential (W 26, 27, 28)

	Where do you see yourself 5 years from now?		What is the highest position you think you can attain?		What is the highest position any women can attain?	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Top management	6	2,4	17	6,9	41	16,7
Middle management	23	9,4	31	12,6	35	14,2
Supervisory role	32	13,0	68	27,6	103	41,9
Production line	134	54,5	115	46,8	57	23,2
No change	30	12,2	1	0,4	4	2,0
Uncertain	17	6,9	1	0,4	5	2,0
No response	4	1,6	13	5,3	-	-
	246	100,0	246	100,0	246	100,0

Table 5.22: Provision Of Benefits For Female Employees (W 16)

	Pension		Medical aid		Insurance		Accommodation		Canteen	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	137	55,7	85	34,6	45	18,3	55	22,4	138	56,1
No	81	32,9	119	48,4	137	55,7	151	61,4	92	37,4
No response	28	11,4	42	17,1	64	26,0	40	16,3	16	6,5
Total	246	100,0	246	100,0	246	100,0	246	100,0	246	100,0

5.5 Conditions of Service

The survey revealed a large number of areas where conditions of service seemed to be unsatisfactory, especially relating to the crucial areas of women's concerns: creches and breastfeeding. This survey also revealed that inequalities were related to low wages. For example, pension and insurance benefits, like medical aid insurance, presuppose that the company makes a percentage contribution to the schemes, but contributions are also matched by employee contributions and as a result female workers salary levels often make it difficult for them to participate in such schemes.

Table 5.22 reflects management answers on the availability and equality in application of the main types of benefits, pension schemes, medical and insurance schemes, accommodation, canteen facilities and leave provision. The most striking fact which is clear from the table is that none of the benefits are applied equally for all of the occupation groups. Pensions, medical aid, insurance and leave appear to have a higher occurrence at the higher occupational levels. The reverse trend is apparent with respect to accommodation and canteen facilities. This is expected in that top management, with its clearly higher income levels and other fringe benefits to boot tend to be less dependent on company provision for these facilities. (see table 5.22 on page 80)

Table 5.23 reflects workers' opinions about the existence of benefits and working conditions. Just over half of the interviewees reported that pension schemes were provided for. Thirty-five percent stated that the companies contributed to medical aid/insurance schemes. Only 18 percent of respondents said that the company did contribute to an insurance policy that covered their life assurance. The accommodation coverage was considered inadequate by most workers, while over half of the respondents thought canteen facilities were adequate.

Causes for Dissatisfaction

A section of the questionnaire also tried to assess whether the workers felt that the conditions of service were unfairly applied between men and women. The questions were not well responded to. The question of fairness had up to 243 non respondents out of 246 and could not be interpreted. Another difficulty seems to be that employees not sure of whether the benefit exists. It is our observation that the incidence of high no-response suggest problems in methodology. (See Section on Methodology). In addition, the high no-response record on conditions of service suggests a combination of factors, that is, a lack of information of such schemes by employees on the one hand, and the issue of the relationship of low wages to contributions to these schemes whereby workers are unable to afford further deductions to their wages, on the other.

Particular women's concerns

Seventy-five percent of the employees (183 out of 246) stated that maternity provision by the company was adequate. (W 17)

Of those who were not satisfied with company maternity provision (32) the reasons most frequently brought forward related to a cut in salary. For example, 6 respondents said they were given 50 percent of their salary; 5 said maternity leave was not paid while 3 said that when they came back from maternity leave they suffered a pay cut. Some respondents had no idea of whether the maternity leave provision was adequate or not. This reflects again the female respondents' general unawareness of the benefits they are entitled to. This and other findings in the same vein stress the need for CDWA along with the ZCTU and the Women's League of Trade Unions to begin educating women on the Labour Act, specifically where it pertains to the benefits accruing to women as working mothers.

The high percentage of respondents who said that maternity provision did exist is likely to be a result of the introduction of the Industrial Relations Act in 1985. In other words, State intervention on the whole has the potential to improve working conditions within industry. 52.9 percent or (130 out of 246) respondents stated that time off for breastfeeding was provided for. A smaller share, 38.2 percent or 94 reported that they were actually able to take time off. From those 36 who said they were unable to breast feed, major reasons given were transport difficulties and that time off was too short. Generally 30 minutes in the morning and 30 minutes in the afternoon or an hour in the morning or an hour in the afternoon.

For those companies where creche facilities existed, 24 of the 246 respondents stated that they were satisfied with the provision of creche facilities while 12 stated that they were not. However, 100 gave no response to this question. For those companies where creche facilities did not exist, it appears from the respondents (123) that it was not company policy to provide creche facilities to its employees while 15 stated that there was no need for such facilities.

For the working woman there also is the problem of how children are taken care of when she is at work. Twenty-seven percent of the answers indicated reliance on parents, sisters and in-laws. Husbands and brothers played an insignificant role. Several women (19 percent) stated that their children were looked after by maids. Thirty percent had one or more children in school. The costs of school attendance including school uniforms could be substantial. The expenditure to be able to go to work could thus be quite high. The net pay for a large percentage of women who have children and are single mothers therefore tend to be very low. The issue of child care is a national problem. Perhaps a national child care policy should be investigated as a beginning step to try and deal with the problem of the working mother (and parents). It is also recommended that firms be given greater incentives to supply creches by making expenditure on child care facilities tax deductible.

Transport

The majority of the respondents stated that it took them less than an hour to travel to and from their home to the workplace. Sixty respondents stated that it took them between 1 and 2 hours to go to work. 8 responded that it took them 2 to 3 hours to go work.

Equality at work between races

The last section of the questionnaire asked whether the respondents felt that they were treated equally with women of other races (with respect to pay and working conditions at the same occupational level). A breakdown of responses to this question is given below:

Table 5.23: Equitable treatment between female employees at same occupational level? (W 44)

With regard to:	Pay		Conditions of service	
	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	33	13.4	45	18.3
No	32	13.0	22	8.9
No other races	169	68.7	166	67.5
No response	12	4.9	13	5.3

Answers point to slightly more satisfaction with conditions of service than with pay.

169 of 246 respondents did not feel that the question was relevant since the majority of the respondents who are in production line are black (i.e. there are hardly any whites, Asians or coloured employees at this occupational category).

Working Conditions and Demand for Female Labour

Seen from the women job seeker's point of view, the unsatisfactory concern for her particular problems, breastfeeding and child care, the discrimination concerning other conditions of work represents negative incentives to seek formal sector employment. In a surplus labour market like Zimbabwe's it is however the demand side which will determine actual employment. From the side of employers, e.g. maternity provisions will lead to higher labour costs for women and hence introduce a bias towards men. Whereas it is clear that there is a social need to secure proper conditions for women it is recommended that a committee comprising government, trade unions and private industry should consider ways of reducing possible negative effects of labour laws on women's employment. Further investigative studies are recommended so as to come up with possible policy formulations that highlight the need for creche facilities and flexibility in breast-feeding time so as to improve conditions for female employment.

5.6 Role of workers' organisations

The introduction of worker's committee was a direct response to

the labour unrests of 1980/81 and were meant to fill the vacuum of shop floor organisations that existed because of the lack of communication between worker's and employers. The primary objectives of the workers' committee are to foster harmonious relations between workers and management.

Twenty in-depth, structured non-formal interviews are carried out with workers' committees. Central themes were:

1. female participation in the workers' committees;
2. specific issues at the workplace pertaining to female employees; and
3. general issues pertaining to the labour movement as a whole.

Workers' committees in industries with fewer women (paper, printing and publishing; tobacco; chemicals and pharmaceuticals; metals and metal products and transport and equipment) on the whole envisaged no problem with respect to female participation in the committee, since there were few women employed in these firms.

In the sub-sectors with higher levels of female employment, the attitudes of workers' committees were varied. Some comments expressed male disapproval of participating alongside with women, others clearly identified lack of self-confidence among women as a factor inhibiting female participation in the labour movement.

Specific female related issues brought up included incidences of sexual harassment. During in-depth interviews with workers' committees, male foremen and supervisors in industries with higher levels of female participation were often singled out both for their harsh treatment of women, and for making sexual overtures.

The survey of women employees also contained questions on how active female workers were in workers' organisations. 111 out of 246 respondents reported that they were not involved in any worker organisation, 126 women said they were (10 non responses). Table 5.25 below summarises the reasons stated why respondents were not active, and in case they were, in what organisation.

54,8 per cent of those active reported to be in the Workers' Committees. Trade union membership was less prevalent with about 40%. The existence of a Women's League of Trade Unions within the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) indicates that the ZCTU does recognise the importance of a women's wing within its overall structure to enable greater female participation within the labour movement. Although the formation of the Women's League of Trade Unions is still very much in its nascent form, committees of the League are beginning to emerge at the workplace. Given that the majority of female workers play a relatively inactive role in worker organisations, all possible support should be given to this development. Government, ZCTU as well as the general membership of the trade union and the workers' committees should fully recognise and use these Leagues as conduits for educating women on the importance of getting involved in union activities. These Leagues would form a useful platform for training and information gathering channels mentioned elsewhere in this report. Courses and seminars aiming at raising awareness about women's situation and rights could be financially supported by internal and external donor agencies working with the Trade Union movement.

Out of the 66 respondents who gave reasons for their non participation, 11 stated that they were passive members whilst 19 reported that they did not join any workers' organisations as they were uncertain of their position at work. Negative attitudes from management, lack of job security and the fact that some of the women were never asked to join the workers' organisations were some of the reasons given. Others stated that they were not interested (8), whilst some reported (16) that they had no time to actively contribute towards the affairs and activities of either the trade union or the workers' committee. Seven women employees reported that although they had stood for election, they had not been voted for. Three reported that they had just joined the company. Four workers reported that no worker organisation existed at their workplace, whilst five stated that they were temporary workers, and were unable to join any worker organisation.

Table 5.24: Activity in work related organisation (W29)

For women who stated that they were active, the organisations are listed:			For women who did not participate What are the reasons?		
	No.	%		No.	%
Worker's Committee	69	28.0	No Response	180	73.0
Trade Unions	50	20.6	Uncertain positions at work	19	8.0
Women's League of Trade Unions	3	1.0	Not interested	8	3.3
Safety Worker's Council	1	0.4	Lack of time	6	2.4
No response recorded to the question	123	50.0	No organisation	4	1.6
Total	246	100.0	Not voted for	7	3.0
			Passive member	11	4.5
			Old Age	2	0.8
			New Job	3	1.0
			Temporary Worker	5	2.0
			Don't Know	1	0.4
			Total	246	100.0

What the data show is that of those female employees who reported that they were active, 123 responded that they were active in some of the organisations. Regarding the latter, 69 reported to be active in the Workers' Committees* whilst 50 said that they were members of their respective trade unions. The existence of a Women's League of Trade Unions within the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) is in itself interesting. This is so because it is important to note that the ZCTU does recognise the importance of a women's wing within its overall structure to enable greater female participation within the labour movement. Although the formation of the Women's League of Trade Unions is still very much in its nascent form, it is equally interesting to note that committees of the League are beginning to emerge at the workplace. The existence of the Women's league does constitute an important body through which the interests of women workers could begin to be articulated and struggled for alongside those of other workers and the ZCTU as a whole.

Women's position in workers' organisations may also be characterised by their election to office. 37 out of 246 respondents reported that they had been proposed for office. Of these, 22 had accepted. Among the 15 who had declined, nine stated that this was due to maternal/family commitments. Other reasons for declining were the belief that they would not be elected anyway ("women never are"), fear of confronting management and fear of being taunted and teased by male workers. 16 female employees reported that they had finally been elected.

A majority of workers felt workers' organisations were useful. 157 of 246 respondents felt that the workers' organisations were "useful" or "very useful". 110 said the reason for their positive view was that the trade unions and workers' committee was a good channel of communication between workers and management, or that trade unions were useful so long as they played an educative function. There was however some apprehension among women as to the way employees considered their trade union activities. One example is the following statement: "workers' organisations are extremely useful but management keeps an eye on the members and if there is any slight mistake you get fired".

In conclusion, four main factors seem to inhibit women's active participation in the labour movement, namely:

- 1) male attitudes towards women;
- 2) the "double-day burden" on women (i.e. workplace and home);
- 3) women's low occupational level within the production process; and
- 4) the attitude (among women as well as men) that the male is dominant in the decision-making.

Curricula for training conducted by trade unions, both for trade union activities and for participation in workers' committees should include special leadership and decision-making sessions on women's problems and concerns in relation to their jobs.

5.7 Monitoring Mechanism

At the political level in Zimbabwe there is considerable concern for women's participation in all sectors of the economy. Great progress for equal rights have been made in the legal field, but relatively little is done to monitor the effect of legal measures.

Within the CSO, Ministries of Labour and Education, an extensive amount of relevant statistics pertaining to labour and employment matters are collected and analysed. Some of the information is not regularly broken down according to sex. Gender differences in labour, education and employment matters are not frequently analysed. For example, the Census of Production from 1982 terminated the sexual breakdown of statistics on employment and enumeration.

It is recommended that the CSO and Ministries which publish statistical information about labour markets, employment and education more frequently collect information to analyse the development of gender differences over time. It is proposed that one of the functions of the information statistics and monitoring unit under CDWA should be to recommend specifically on this and also bring out analysis of already collected data which is relevant for policy purposes.

6. Self-Employment and the Informal Sector

There are several features of the Southern African economies and forms of urbanisation (e.g. migrant labour based) that have had profound effects on the growth and character of the informal sector in the sub-region.

One salient feature is the relatively low level of urbanisation in Zimbabwe at the eve of its independence. Another is the invisibility of the informal sector's activities.

Post-independent Zimbabwe was the only African country to incorporate the informal sector in its first policy statements. Official recognition of the informal sector is more pronounced in the Transitional National Development Plan (1982 - 1985) which not only makes recommendations but puts forward an explanation of the roots of the informal sector, its problems and even class character. The Plan states the reasons for the emergence of this sector and the promise it holds:

- as a creator of employment and self-employment income generating activities;

- as a means to promote co-operative action consistent with the governments overall policy for development, to attain higher levels of employment and produce traditional and consumer goods for consumption by the home market.

There is, however, no single agreed definition of what exactly constitutes the informal sector, its importance to the economy as a whole and specifically to the general welfare of those who constitute it (see section on Literature Review for an attempt at theorising this sector).

The ILO/SATEP Study revealed that a distinguishing characterisation of the informal sector is that it consists of individuals who despite capital and legal constraints, utilize their own individual resourcefulness to generate employment and income. The Informal sector is thus seen to be dominated by self-employed individuals. Indeed, only 19% of those interviewed by the survey said that they used other workers/helpers. The employment potential of this sector derives more from the numerical increase in the number of informal sector enterprises than from the size of growth of these enterprises. Indeed, the standard ILO definition of the sector sees it as being motivated by income and employment-generation rather than profit-maximisation. The Zimbabwe survey findings, however, reveal that this is not necessarily the case and that the profit-maximisation drive exists in order to:

- a) earn more and
- b) earn sufficient profit to subsist.

In Zimbabwe, the main form of legal recognition of business enterprise is done through two important devices, that is, through licensing by government or a local government authority and through registration by a prescribed statutory authority. Thus, it would therefore follow that in this particular situation the informal sector is that activity which is neither registered nor licensed. It may be legal or it may be prohibited. Another key feature is that government does not generate any revenue from the source. In terms of defining specific activities, it is generally safe to assume that informal economic activity is carried on co-extensively in all areas of trade, the service and some manufacturing areas of industry, e.g. furniture-making, tin-container production, petty-production of simple iron and steel products, clothing and food processing.

The ILO/SATEP review of the informal sector in Zimbabwe, which was specifically directed at the manufacturing field, revealed that in the majority (not all), the decision to join the informal sector was not a purely discretionary one, but rather for reasons directly related to negative developments in the formal sector. However, the study goes on to point out that once in the formal sector, most appear to be reluctant to leave. Although not explicit, this could be interpreted to mean:

- a) inability of the Formal Sector to offer stable, secure, and attractive remuneration and employment;
- b) the potential/or self-employment which the sector offers.

The resilience of informal sector activities is confirmed by the ILO/SATEP review which reports that "On average more than half the enterprises have a span of five or more years" and that the majority are of a multi-product or multi-activity enterprise". Whereas 30 per cent of the production activities are undertaken at home (outwork), 100 per cent of sales activities are undertaken away from home.

Data from the ILO/SATEP study reveals that the majority of informal sector undertakings are small not only in employment terms but also in terms of ownership of capital equipment which explain the low labour productivity in the sector and in terms of a "modern" market economy, its conceptualisation providing marginal goods based on labour-intensive production. The goods thus produced can compete with those sold by the formal sector because they are either cheaper and/or more accessible. Where the production is not in competition to the formal sector they are goods in which there is a high elasticity of demand, e.g. handicrafts. Generally speaking, therefore, the informal sector in Zimbabwe operates to produce traditional and other consumer goods in the consumption of the home market.

6.1 Government Policy Towards the Informal Sector

The labour absorption view characterises government thinking on the informal sector. Briefly, the labour absorption view claims

that the informal sector is a consequence of the failure of the formal sector to absorb labour and, as such, is also a direct result of the poor wages structure prevailing in the formal sector. Added to this, one may suggest that the anthropology of "urban pull"/"rural push" is not absent from the discourse.

The earliest statement advanced by the Government of Zimbabwe vis-a-vis the informal sector is contained in the economic policy statement of February 1981, Growth with Equity (2).

However, official recognition of the Sector is more pronounced in the Transitional National Development Plan (TNDP) (3) of 1982-1985 which not only makes recommendations but puts forward an explanation of the problem and even its class character. TNDP states the reasons for the emergence of this sector and the promises it holds as: "rapid population increase and failure of the modern sector to absorb much of the net additions to the labour force together with substantial influx of rural migrants into urban areas and the need or desire to supplement incomes from formal employment has given rise to a large, vibrant and dynamic sector".(4) It is significant that the Government of Zimbabwe in conjunction with the International Labour Organisation (ILO) commissioned a study on the informal sector in Zimbabwe.(5)

It has been estimated that about 132,000 (or 5 percent) of the national labour force are engaged in some form of informal sector activity.(6) This sector is self-sustained, that is, it generates its own employment and income.

The government has agreed to assist this sector in the following manner:

- provision of funds
- provision of training, especially in business affairs
- technical advisory services
- people's markets

However, Government's support is conditional, that is, assistance can only be given if the sector is "formalized" or "registered" as co-operatives. The latter is a clear expression of Government's intent to support collective entities at the expense of individual enterprises in its programme of encouraging the participation of national domestic capital. The creation of the Ministry of Co-operative Development can then be interpreted as a move towards the "formalization" of collective entities because funding for the various projects can now be centralized and co-ordinated much more effectively.

The following sections consider individual self-employment, using data from the survey of women's manufacturing activities in the informal sector.

6.2 A Profile of Women and Their Activities in Informal Sector Manufacturing

For activities outside the formal manufacturing sector, no time series exists, but the surveys conducted as part of the study permit us to draw a profile of women's involvement. The main analysis can be found in sections 6 and 7 below.

The field work for the informal sector was carried out in urban, peri-urban, rural and rural growth points. Some 67 percent of the respondents were in the urban and peri-urban areas, the remaining 33 percent in rural areas including the three growth points Gutu, Kezi/Maphisa and Chivi. The sample for co-operating groups which covered largely unregistered pre-co-operatives was biased towards rural areas with 62 percent and 38 percent urban areas. The survey focussed on female entrepreneurs in the informal sectors involved in manufacture-related activities. This focus was deliberate since the ILO/SATEP study perhaps through its choice of enterprise/activities had reported the low representation of women in the informal sector. Although the sample in the present study is considerably smaller than that of the ILO/SATEP study (244 enterprises and 56 co-operatives as opposed to SATEP's 1,017 and 16 activities as opposed to 47 in SATEP), it serves to demonstrate the wide range of manufacturing-related activities in which women in Zimbabwe are engaged.

6.2.1 Marital Status and Age

Marital status 1

74 percent of the 244 individual women informal sector entrepreneurs interviewed were married. In comparison, 36 per cent of the sample of formal sector employees were married (Table 6.1). The difference may partly reflect the difficulties which married women have in finding employment in the formal sector. Only five percent of the women did not have children. This also indicates that over 20 percent of the female informal sector entrepreneurs are unmarried mothers. For formal sector workers, not as many women have children but fewer are married so that there are more unmarried mothers. Informal sector entrepreneurs seem to have a particularly high dependency ratio. On average, women reported to have some ten children and other persons totally dependent on them plus an average of four partially dependent.

Table 6.1: Marital Status (Percentage) (II Q4): The Informal Sector

Monoqamous married	Polvgamous married	Single	Divorced	Widowed	Separated	Total
66.0	8.0	6.0	8.0	11.0	1.0	100.0

Dependent household members do however participate in production, but not to a large extent. The maximum number of household members who assisted full-time in the informal sector activities were 4 and for part-time 5. Paid labour inputs were minimal.

The hours worked by household members are irregular (confirming SATEP findings) with a maximum of 9 hours per day. 26.6 percent of the respondents reported that those assisting them did not receive any form of payment/wage. This would be expected given the extensive reliance on family labour. The high non-response for the question on payment (55.3percent) is probably also an indication of a large number of households not paying for labour inputs.

Both the burden of work and the need to be at the homestead for child care and household work, must be taken into consideration when planning training and support measures. To a large extent training must be located in the local communities for example by using mobile training systems and have flexible times for attendance.

In spite of the large household work burden, over 75 percent of the respondents perceived their enterprise in the informal sector as being full-time. The remainder reported a variety of secondary part-time activities which they were engaged in when business in their main activity is slack. Women in the informal sector, however, seem to find the need or motivation to broaden their interests, as indeed most entrepreneurs do, by engaging in other occupations besides their main enterprise. These range from domestic work and catering (possibly a form of developing market contacts) to political and community work (possibly also to pursue their enterprises' interest).

The analysis above indicates that woman's self-employment activities are usually entangled with all the other duties such as wife and home-maker, but that she still manages to put considerable time into her self-employment activities. Greater efficiency in her productive activity and hence greater return to labour may require longer continuous work periods and less flexibility in alternating between household and manufacturing tasks. It is therefore necessary that extension services from e.g. CDWA, SEDCO, multi- and bi-lateral assistance organisations assist in establishing mutual support organisations among women producers in local communities. These would build on the solidarity and exchange of services that no doubt already exist among women and attempt to improve their functions in child care, sick care, cleaning and other household duties by giving access to premises and equipment as well as arranging for communal production facilities.

Age

The average age of the women interviewed in individual enterprises is 35 years (SATEP: 37 years). Of these, 13 percent were between the ages of 15 and 25; 44 percent between ages 26 and 39; 25 percent between ages 40 and 49; and 18 percent, 50 years or older. The age of women's active participation appears to start at 15 as opposed to 19 in the formal sector (See Table 5.7).

In co-operatives, only the interviewee was asked about her age and not the whole group. Taking these data as representative for the average age of the group, it appears that there are no great differences in age distribution as between individual and co-operative enterprises. The slightly higher age for interviewees

in the co-operative sector would most likely be connected to the tendency to interview a "senior" who would usually be older than the average.

Table 6.2: Profile of women in the informal sector

Age:	15-25	26-39	40-49	50+
Informal	13.0	44.0	25.0	18.0

The main reasons for individual women's activity in the informal sector reinforces other findings on the informal sector with perhaps an added emphasis on women being forced for economic reasons to join the sector. Therefore, women's choice to join the informal sector is not a purely discretionary one; over 80 percent had entered the informal market because they needed income, could not find a job or had to increase family income. Often their husbands work but women cannot rely on the support of the male partner because he receives only low wages or is unemployed (See Table 6.3)

The data for co-operatives, where only the answers given by the interviewee were registered, tells largely the same story, only with slightly higher weight on economic reasons. The assumption that individual women's occupational activity in this sector is a recent phenomenon is not borne out by the data. A considerable number of women respondents reported their occupation to be 11-40 years old (See Table 6.4). This also attests to the resiliency of informal sector participation.

Table 6.3: Reason for individuals to enter the informal sector
(Percentage)

Income	45.0
Could not find a job	33.5
Increase family income	3.0
Like to be independent	10.0
Need to supplement subsistence income	3.0
Skill acquisition	2.5
Too old for formal sector employment	0.5
Religious reasons	2.5

For co-operatives, the picture is different, most co-operative having started only after independence.

Table 6.4: Length of time in business

1-10 years	11-20 years	21-30 years	31-40 years	40+ years
54 percent	31 percent	9 percent	5 percent	1 percent

6.2.2 Past Occupation

Some 45 percent of the female informal sector participants originate directly from formal sector related activities (See Table 6.5). A further 41 percent originate from subsistence farming. Those who do, it would seem, continue to retain this contact to help feed their families. Some 40 percent of the women in informal sector enterprises maintain their links with subsistence farming. It is evident that a considerable proportion of women in the informal sector are in transit or are unsuccessful job seekers in the formal sector. The survey for this study however indicates that these categories are less prevalent for women than indicated in the SATEP study for men. Women have a lower chance of entering the formal sector and a large proportion of them have found subsistence farming insufficient to live on.

Table 6.5 : Past Occupation (Percentage)

	Percent
Subsistence farming	41.0
Agricultural labourer	1.0
Seasonal worker	1.5
Casual worker	2.0
Urban unemployed	22.0
Rural unemployed	11.0
Formal sector work	7.0
Similar activity	6.5
Other informal technical work	1.5
Refugee	0.5
Migrant	0.5
Student	4.5
Housewife	1.0

Activities are heavily concentrated on clothing and footwear, including hat-making, crocheting and embroidery. It appears that about 70 percent of activities are concentrated in this area, both for co-operatives and for individuals. Compared to the SATEP study which indicated a much wider range of activities, it is apparent that the gender classification is very strong also in informal/co-operative activities.

Table 6.6: Type of activity (Percentage)

	Individuals	Co-operatives
Foodstuffs	4.0	14.0
Drink and Tobacco	3.0	2.0
Textiles and Leather products	10.0	3.0
Clothing Leather products	10.0	3.0
Clothing and Footwear	51.0	70.0
Wood and Furniture	0.5	-
Paper, paper products printing & publishing	2.0	-
Chemical & Petroleum products	1.5	-
Non-Metallic	0.5	-
Basketry	1.0	11.0
Hats	6.5	-
Pottery	1.5	-
Crochet	8.0	-
Embroidery	9.0	-
Herbalism	1.5	-
	100.0	100.0

6.3 Appropriate Rules and Regulations

35.6 percent of the female informal sector entrepreneurs had neither a hawker nor vendor's license. Only 3.3 percent however stated that they were unaware of the existence of hawker's or vendor's licenses. 27.5 percent stated that they had some form of license, i.e. either a hawker, vendor or general permit, while 33.6 percent gave no response to this question. The non-response is probably due to a fear of being arrested for operating without a permit or approval from the authorities.

In the opinion of the respondents, there seems to be no set criteria especially with regards to how much these licenses should cost. The issuing of licenses is at the discretion of different local authorities and leads to great variations in charges. The survey also registered dissatisfaction among women entrepreneurs about lack of consistency in the issuing of licenses. The two most important issues with regard to legal constraints on females in manufacturing are:

- a) What effect do regulations have on informal sector women; and
- b) Does the legal system contain hindrances to formal sector self-employment and/or graduation from the informal sector to the formal?

On the first issue, attention should be concentrated on the Urban and Rural Councils Acts which give the basis for councils to regulate the use of land and issue Hawker's and Vendor's licenses. The license legislation could be constructively used in enterprises registration which could constitute a warning system for market saturation. The fact that licenses also represent a source of revenue to councils however gives councils an incentive for pushing up fee. This both defeats the registration purpose in that evasion becomes more attractive and possibly biases the system against the female entrepreneurs who generally have the lowest incomes. It is recommended that the local authorities

practice hawker's and vendor's licensing in a uniform way, that it is made costless to registrees, and used in constructive manners to prevent over production in certain areas. As pointed out by Makamure(7), the non-registration of certain enterprises would mean that contracts between such enterprises and the public would be unenforceable. It is therefore recommended that hawker's/vendor's licenses should be made legal instruments that would overcome such a problem. The legal scope of licenses could also be extended to give an entrepreneur more security of tenure for the piece of land where she conducts her activity from.

Investigation by Makamure gives the impression that there exists severe barriers to proper (Formal Sector) registration on industrial enterprises. In general, registration as company, as partnership and/or under the Factories and Works Act is found to represent a too costly and complicated step for informal entrepreneurs. This represents a hindrance to the present policy of "graduating" informal sector industries into the formal sector. It is recommended that regulations be drawn up for an intermediate type of factory legislation which poses less hindrance to graduation of formal sector entrepreneurs. Makamure(7)

6.4 The environment for individual initiative by women

85 percent of the women interviewed in the informal sector are sole owners of their enterprise. Seventy-eight percent reported that they wish to continue as sole owners, primarily because of the independence it gave them and the freedom they had in dispensing their income according to their own judgement. Some of the respondents also felt that sole ownership generated more income.

Of those who reported that they would prefer to enter a partnership, over 60 percent would choose a co-operative arrangement over a simple partnership, primarily because of the favourable access to obtaining loans.

These observations, in addition to findings from the survey of co-operatives/income generating activities, show that there is a wide range of ownership forms in use. The potential is certainly there for a successful promotion of co-operative ownership. However, the forms in which production of manufactures takes place are often dictated by the types of goods produced and technologies applied. This means that there will have to be room for a number of forms for management and ownership, including the individual entrepreneur manager.

6.5 Premises and Utilities

Premises

Most women carried out their informal sector activities (including marketing) either at market place (44.7 percent) or from rented premises (47.1 percent). Hardly any activity was carried out from schools, or craft centres. A large number of entrepreneurs carry a certain financial cost for the use of premises. This may take the form of hawker's and vendor's licenses, permits for operating at a market place or rent for operating at rented premises.

Those who operated at market places in general displayed an element of dissatisfaction with the conditions under which most of their business had to be carried out. Those who operated in rented premises often complained that services were not satisfactory. For example, some women in crochet and knitting in one area expressed the view that the local authority building that they were operating in was not yet quite finished and yet they had already been paying a rent for the use of it.

Table 6.7: Where activity was carried out (III Q22)

	Number	Percent
Market	109	44.7
Rented Place	115	47.1
School	1	0.4
Craft centre	1	0.4
Dumping site	1	0.4
No response	17	7.0
	244	100.0

Of those who answered the question whether they felt that the premises were adequate for carrying out their respective activities, 71.7 percent answered positively, however, 21.3 percent stated that premises were not adequate. The most frequent reasons given for the dissatisfaction were: overcrowding, unsheltered premises and that storage facilities were located too far away and often could not be locked.

Utilities

Table 6.8 summarises use of utilities by individual women entrepreneurs in the informal sector (including premises). In general, entrepreneurs did not exhibit a particularly high degree of dependence on utilities, the most important ones being water, market stalls/premises and permanent storage facilities.

58.6 percent of the respondents stated that their particular activity did not use any water. Of those who used water for carrying out their business, the highest monthly amount paid was Z\$35.00, the lowest recording was Z\$3.00.

A variety of energy sources are used, the most significant source relied upon being wood. 84.8 percent stated that they did not use any electricity. For the users of electricity, however, the electricity bill was on average the biggest of all cost elements. Only 2.5 percent stated that they did use some coal or charcoal. 5.3 percent of the respondents use some paraffin and only one respondent stated that she used some diesel/petrol in her work.

Premises storage and market stalls are much more important elements than energy; 25 percent of the women interviewed used market stalls at no cost. The others use rented premises (especially those in the clothing/sewing/dressmaking/knitting business) or conduct their business in the open (most frequently in the handicraft business). 43.0 percent of the women conduct their business at some permanently designated premises. These would be mostly be rented and comprise facilities such as lock-up market stalls.

28.7 percent of the respondents stated that they use permanent storage facilities. The existence of secure storage facilities appears also to be a main reason for the considerable tendency to spend money on premises. Considering therefore the cost of storage and premises in total, it is likely that the need for storage is a (if not the) major cost element of female entrepreneurs.

The indicated importance of improvement in storage facilities and premises are also corroborated by indication from other surveys (V.Brand(8)). It is recommended that Government with appropriate technical support takes the initiative in solving this problem by exploring the opportunity for producing inexpensive, safe premises/storage facilities. It is further recommended that the issue of market days be pursued and researched.

Table 6.8 : Use of utilities and premises (III Q 21)

Type of utility	Per cent		Cost per month		Average Z\$	Per cent	
	using facilities	facilities	Z\$ max.	Z\$ min.		not using facilities	No response
Water	38,9		35,00	3,00	6,20	58,6	2,4
Electricity	11,9		70,00	2,00	24,30	84,8	3,2
Coal/charcoal	2,5		0,00	0,00	0,00	95,1	2,4
Market stalls	25,0		0,00	0,00	0,00	72,5	2,4
Transport facilities	13,1		25,20	0,20	7,10	84,4	2,4
Premises (permanent)	43,0		80,00	1,00	23,60	53,0	3,7
Paraffin	5,3		5,00	0,50	2,30	90,2	4,5
Diesel/Petrol	,4		0,00	0,00	0,002	97,1	2,4
Storage (permanent)	28,7		51,50	2,00	12,00	68,4	2,4

6.6 Improving the administration of business

Impressions from field-work, supported by other findings indicate that manufacturing activities in the case of most female entrepreneurs are intertwined with agricultural and household activities. The administration of their business therefore becomes to a great extent a matter of utilising their time, shifting from activity to activity by time of day and season in an optimal way. The curriculum of courses for female entrepreneurs which are recommended elsewhere in this report will have to incorporate features which will give participants some notion of the value of their own time. A course outline which ignores this aspect even if it gives appropriate knowledge in accounting, procurement of finance, purchase, marketing and choice of production technologies is of little value to women whose day is filled with a multitude of interlinked and inescapable responsibility in addition to their manufacturing activities.

6.7 Broadening the range of self-employment options

Changing traditional perceptions

A large percentage of the informal sector enterprises managed by women are found in sub-sectors comprising activities traditionally attributed to women, such as textiles and clothing (See Table 6.9). Dressmaking is the main clothing activity, followed by tailoring and garment making. This reflects the skills generally identified with the women of the informal sector as well as being world-wide socio-culturally apportioned to women. This conditioning is further recognised in the respondents' perceptions that they found clothing, textiles and basketry most pleasant to make. Only eight percent of the respondents were engaged in more than two sub-sectors. This "specialisation" may be a result of the overall demands on their time but may also indicate women's wish or need to specialise in one sub-sector.

Table 6.9 : Type of Activity (I Q 7)

	Number	Percent
Foodstuffs	10	3.8
Drink and tobacco	8	3.0
Textiles and leather products	24	9.1
Clothing and footwear	132	50.2
Wood and furniture	1	0.4
Paper, paper products, printing and publishing	5	1.9
Chemical and petroleum products	4	1.5
Metals and metallic products	2	0.8
Basketry	18	6.8
Hats	6	2.3
Pottery	21	8.0
Crochet	24	9.1
Embroidery	6	2.3
Herbalism	1	0.4
Non response	1	0.4
	263	100.0

Note: Total number of respondents exceed 244 as multiple answers to this question were allowed.

These perceptions of "women's work" do not only restrict women's choice in manufacturing production. It is also an important reason for excess supply of certain products and in certain areas. A most visible example of this is the present obvious saturation in the market for crocheted goods.

Perceptions and traditions change slowly and there is a strong case for attempting to influence them at an early stage. In the long run, a major impact could come from general primary education which throughout the curriculum should emphasise equality between the sexes in their choice of work.

Measures with a more immediate effect could be taken in conjunction with the campaigns recommended below. Media and mobile information centres should stress that not only can un-traditional women's work successfully be done by women, but that untraditional fields like carpentry, shoe repairs, smithing, watch repair, metal work, etc. are at least as profitable as others and that support measures are available for these activities to the same extent as they are for men.

Education, training and skills

The majority (59 percent) of the informal sector participants interviewed had attained between grades 4 and 7 primary, higher, in fact that those reported by the SATEP/ILO study. A further 7 percent have attained between levels 1 and 4 in secondary school. Only three respondents said they were illiterate (See Table 6.10). The level of general education of women in the informal sector of Zimbabwe is thus quite high. In addition, over 100 percent of the respondents also reported to having received vocational training in various fields to reinforce their skills for their work in the informal sector (Table 6.12).

Table 6.10 : Educational level of women entrepreneurs in the informal sector (II Q8)(Percentage)

At school	Been to school of which			Never been to school	
	Total	Illiterate	Numerate only	Literate or Numerate	Illiterate
3.0	77.0	1.0	1.0	13.0	7.0

Table 6.11 : Comparison of women's education levels, formal sector employees and informal entrepreneurs (IIa 9, 10, 11, W 11)

	No school	Primary school			Secondary school			Others O/A Degrees
		1-5 yrs	6-7 yrs	total	1-2 yrs	4 yrs	total	
Formal sector employees	4.0	17	36	53	22	2	24	19
Informal entrepreneurs	23.0	22	38	59	10	7	17	-

Table 6.12 : Vocational training received (100 respondents) (II Q12)

	Number	Percent
Dressmaking and sewing; knitting and crochet; Weaving; Tie and Dye	67	67.0
First aid/nursing	10	10.0
Bookkeeping/secretarial	9	9.0
Pottery	1	1.0
Paper technology/printing	2	2.0
Teacher training	2	2.0
Leadership course/hostess	3	3.0
Extension workers	6	6.0
Total	100	100.0

Some 21 different skills were identified among the various women interviewed in the informal sector. Although the majority are those traditional women skills such as dressmaking, crocheting and knitting, there is evidence of a base of other skills attributed to occupations in the manufacturing sector generally (See Table 6.13).

Table 6.14: Specific skills identified in informal sector (II Q14)

Specific skill	Number	Percent
1. Designing/dressmaking/sewing	87	35.7
2. Crochet/knitting	57	23.4
3. Weaving/looming	13	5.3
4. Embroidery	6	2.5
5. Basketry	14	5.7
6. Pottery	16	6.6
7. Leather-work	1	0.4
8. Beadwork	2	0.8
9. Tie and Dye	3	1.2
10. Hats	1	0.4
11. Snuff-making	1	0.4
12. Soap-making	1	0.4
13. Cookery	3	1.2
14. Coffee processing	1	0.4
15. Fence-making	2	0.8
16. Paper technology skills	3	1.2
17. Bookkeeping	1	0.4
18. Typing/Secretarial	4	1.6
19. Herbalist	1	0.4
20. Tutoring	1	0.4
21. Community Development/ Women's Affairs	1	0.4
22. Nothing special/no response	25	10.3
Total	244	100.0

Forty-five percent of the skills reported were acquired at home primarily from family or relatives (this corresponds to the percentage reported of traditional female related skills). Of the remaining 55 percent, the largest number reported to have acquired their skills by attending private or public training centres. With the relatively high level of general education of women in Zimbabwe, those who aspire to self-employment (formal or informal) are as much in need of specialised skills as employees in formal manufacturing.

Table 6.14 : If skills were acquired outside home, where? (II Q16)

Skill Acquired From	Number	Percent
Private training centres	33	25.2
Public training centres	23	17.6
Women Clubs	21	16.0
Neighbours	22	16.8
Primary schools	11	8.4
Secondary or technical schools	5	3.8
Churches	5	3.8
Formal sector	5	3.8
Abroad	1	0.8
No response	5	3.8
Total	131	100.0

Given the trend for new growth in the long run, fields of specialist training should be encouraged to allow for greater female employment and participation in such fields as listed below. This is crucial given the relative stagnation in the economy.

- a) A whole range of repair and maintenance activities, from electronic and electrical office machinery to rural water pumps;
- b) Micro-computer services, particularly the selection, adaptation and application of software for administrative, accountancy as well as production purposes;
- c) Development of speciality products and skills in sub-sectors where women are already well represented. Within tailoring; e.g. uniform-making for particular government cadres, within textiles, handwoven cotton cloth for exports or for local hi-fashion industry, within food processing; neatly packed and presented traditional delicacies.

In line with government policy on district centres/growth points, efforts to broaden the range of options should take place in conjunction with designated growth points, sub-centres and Village Development Centres (VIDEC) (See Section on Growth Points below). It is recommended that in a number of such areas "Information Support Centres" be set up--especially through the Village Development Centres (VIDEC's)- and through which information can be disseminated to the community.

But the constraints of setting up such VIDECS should also be borne in mind, considering that they will exist on a voluntary basis, that is, the community itself is responsible for building the centre for itself. The question of material/financial resources may well be a barrier to the construction of such VIDECS. Perhaps this is an issue which warrants further investigation. Nevertheless, CDWA should facilitate the setting up of information support centres within the VIDECS as well as initiate a liaison relationship with other agencies. The centre would as main tasks:

- Provide a local contact point for the mobile training units recommended;
- Monitor markets for the regular types of goods produced by small-scale informal enterprises and identify areas of over and under supply;
- With appropriate specialist input at national level produce manuals and examples of promising products;
- Set up marketing channels, forming marketing and purchasing co-operatives;
- Improve skills by choosing appropriate training courses and help develop the apprenticeship which is now found in a number of "male" informal traditional type of activities but is not as prevalent among women in the informal sector.

6.9 Capital equipment and financing of self-employment initiatives

Capital stock

151 respondents (ie. 61 percent) of the informal sector women entrepreneurs reported that they did use some form of capital equipment, 95 respondents (ie. 39 percent, however, stated that they did not. A question on the cost of capital equipment, like all questions dealing with financing was inadequately answered. Table 6.15 however summarises the answers.

It appears that there is a high number of women engaged in sewing/dressmaking and knitting activities, despite the high cost of machinery. Impressions during field-work were that there is still relatively low cost energy utilisation among female participants in the informal sector, which in fact means that manual operations are the dominant form of production.

Of those who stated that they did use some form of equipment (151), i.e. 61 percent, 55 use hand tools (e.g. scissors, tape measures, knitting needles and crochet needles, motor board, grinding stone and looms); 3 use power-driven tools (i.e. electrically operated sewing machines); 70 machines (primarily manually operated knitting and sewing machines; 13 use furniture (e.g. working tables, chairs and stoves). Only 1 used a vehicle while 9 use drums and containers (e.g. buckets, trays and baking pans). However, 95 (i.e. 39%) do not use any form of equipment for the carrying out of their activities.

Table 6.15: Capital Equipment (III Q15)

<u>Type of Equipment</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Hand Tools	55	36
Power-Driven Tools	3	2
Machines	70	46
Furniture	13	9
Vehicles	1	1
Drums and Containers	9	6
	151	100

Start-Up Capital

As has already been pointed out, a main determinant for women's participation in the informal sector is a need for income in an economy where few other alternatives are open to them. Women in the informal market are therefore resource poor, particularly in terms of land and capital, their major resource being their own labour. Not surprisingly, the start-up capital reported by these women is small, on average Z\$94 (compared to Z\$280 reported by SATEP study for men) and the highest reported was Z\$1000 (compared to Z\$3000 in the SATEP study). Almost none of the respondents said they did not need any start-up capital. There was, however, a high degree of non response (33.2 percent) on the question of start-up capital.

Source of seed money

Our findings on the major sources of seed money also reinforces the common assumption that women usually have little money of their own and that savings made in the formal sector appear to be very small (See Table 6.16). This contrasts significantly with the data of the SATEP study which reported that 55 percent of start-up capital came from savings made in the formal sector. By far, the majority of women in the informal sector raised their money in the informal sector, particularly from household members (presumably short-term loans). The use of formal credit facilities is minimal; only one respondent reported using the service of a money lender. Female entrepreneurs therefore appear to try and overcome the lack of access to formal credit and savings institutions by raising capital through wage labour or family resources.

Table 6.16 : Source of start-up money (III_Q34) Percentage

	Number	Percent
Loans (55.8) from:		
Household members	101	41.4
Other relatives	6	2.5
Friends	1	0.4
Local businessmen	1	0.4
Other members in the informal sector	26	10.7
Financial institutions	1	0.4
Savings (24.6) from:		
Agricultural sales	4	1.6
Doing odd jobs in the informal sector	36	14.8
Work in formal sector	20	8.2
No response (19.7):		
No response	48	19.7
Total	244	100.0

22 percent of the respondents said that they were members of "savings clubs". The main reasons for not joining were "lack of knowledge", "no savings club in the area" as well as "lack of subscription money" (See Table 6.17). Those who were members did not report to using savings clubs as a source of "start-up capital", but rather applied to them for loans to keep the enterprise functioning. The size of loans applied from savings clubs was an average of Z\$46 per month or Z\$217 a year. Most of the women considered that the credit terms they received were satisfactory.

In general, the respondents' application for credit from any established or formal credit/saving institution seems to be a last resort while they mainly depend on various forms of subsistence income to tie them over in periods of difficulty. The largest number of the individual entrepreneurs quoted "family support" and "agriculture" as a source of income for these periods.

Table 6.17 : Why not member of saving club (III_Q41) (Percentage)

	Number	Percent
Lack of knowledge	33	17.6
No saving club in the area	45	23.9
Lack of subscription money	34	18.1
Not interested	24	12.8
Never thought of it	23	12.2
Lack of trust	6	3.2
Future plans	5	2.7
Low credit	3	1.6
No response	15	8.0
Total	188	100.0

Table 6.18 : Sources of subsistence income (II Q32)
(Percentage)

Family support	54
Agriculture	20
Odd jobs	10
Sewing/dressmaking	5
Knitting/crocheting	5
Matmaking	2
Dollmaking	2
Drought policy	1
Pension insurance	1
Total	100

Despite the financial difficulties experienced at the start-up of business, the respondents showed considerable ambition to further develop the short-run for their enterprises, such as buying necessary machinery and obtaining improved premises to increase production. These ambitions are further demonstrated by the number of women with positive long-term views regarding their ability to succeed in the informal sector: "If demand keeps soaring, I will have to increase the number of buns per day"; "I would like to diversify my sewing to meet the market trends and then earn more profit".

Nearly 60 percent of the respondents considered that their enterprises was "gainful". Over 80 percent, however, considered that to be fully self-reliant, they would have to expand because the present size of their operations was too small. Financial constraints, again come to play an important role. Some 43 percent quoted "insufficient money" or access to credit as being the main constraint, while a further 19 percent reported lack of suitable premises with access to utilities and material as restrictive (See Table 6.19).

Table 6.19 : Constraints to expansion (III Q50)
(Percentage)

Insufficient money	43
Lack of access to suitable premises	17
Lack of demand	14
Lack of access to utilities	10
Lack of credit	4
Lack of skilled workers	3
Time fully committed	3
Official barriers	3
Lack of know-how	3
Total	100

Importance of record keeping

Access to funds is clearly regarded as a bottleneck both in starting and expanding small enterprises that provide self-employment. Experience in both Zimbabwe and other countries indicate that a main obstacle for small-scale firms to obtain credit is their low capacity to demonstrate their business potential. A requisite for this is the keeping of records. It was observed that only 79 of the 244 respondents kept any type of record of their

activities. These were primarily in the form of "records of sales and purchases and through stocktaking/inventory" (both creditors and debtors). The majority had not thought of keeping records or felt there was no need because their business was too small (See tables 6.20 and 6.21).

Table 6.20 : For those 32 percent (79) who kept records; how? (Percentage)

	Number	Percent
Written records	66	84
Mental records	13	16

Table 6.21: For those 63 percent (159) who did not keep records; why?(Percentage)

	Percent
Never thought of it	38
No need/small business	36
Lack of skill	18
Future plans	5
No time	3
Total	100

In Zimbabwe, women entrepreneurs hold financing as the most important bottleneck to their initiating and expanding manufacturing activities. Although it is quite common for small-scale entrepreneurs to believe that they can solve nearly all problems with more and better credit, the degree of insufficiency shown in Zimbabwe data justifies considerable attention.

The credit constraint has at least three different facets:

- a) Insufficient knowledge of credit sources and opportunities among entrepreneurs;
- b) A general lack of credit institutions which are appropriate to the needs of small-scale informal sector enterprises;
- c) The bias against women as borrowers which is partly a reflection of the insufficient emphasis by credit institutions on the "tiny scale" entrepreneurs.

The knowledge gap should be bridged by the information campaigns and information support centres recommended. Satisfying the need for "tiny scale" credit ought to be tied in with training and extension services. As a first step SEDCO should consider the needs of women entrepreneurs on a larger scale than what currently obtains.

6.10 Markets

Supplies

The most striking observation from Table 6.22 below is the 78 percent of the informal sector's inputs come from the formal sector. The total may be divided into 11.9 from the formal sector in rural areas; 11.9 percent from factories; 12.3 percent from wholesale and 41.8 percent from retailers. This illustrates the high dependency of the informal sector on the formal sector. The one way linkage between the two sectors is particularly evident in activities like knitting, sewing, dressmaking and crocheting where purchases of inputs are made from retailers. Outside the formal sector, sources of inputs were river valleys (reeds for mats and hats) (2.5 percent) and forests (dye material for mats) (5.3 percent), most of it presumably for the handicrafts business; commercial and subsistence farms (2.4 percent); own home/farm (4.1 percent); "other people's home (33.3 percent), presumably partly as provision of material by customers and, the latter from individuals and others in rural areas (4.5 percent).

Table 6.22 : Source of supplies (III Q9)

From Rural areas	Number	Percent
Formal sector	29	11.9
Individual sellers	2	0.8
Own Home	10	4.1
Other people's home	8	3.3
Commercial farms	3	1.2
Subsistence farms	3	1.2
River Valley	6	2.5
Forest	13	5.3
Other rural areas	9	3.7
From Urban Areas		
Factories	29	11.9
Wholesalers	30	12.3
Retailers	102	41.8
Total	244	100.0

Larger establishments in the urban areas usually purchase supplies wholesale (usually pay an annual business fee Z\$200.00 which entitles them privileges of bulk purchasing at low costs), secure a discount or obtain credit. Most of the small units however have to purchase supplies from retailers. Since they can buy only small quantities they obtain neither credit nor discounts. Ironically enough, these petty manufacturers are often on the other hand compelled to give credit to maintain their clients.

Answers to a question on the types of materials used (Table 6.23) reflects the high concentration on textile and clothing and stresses the informal sector's reliance on local resources and scrap. Local materials (including wood) constitute the main material for 51 percent of the respondents. Scrap of various kinds (cloth remnants, scrap material) was the main material used by 26 percent of the respondents.

Table 6.23 : Main materials used (III_Q8)

	Number	Percent
Local natural materials (baskets; mats; hats from reeds)	87	35.7
Cloth remnants (sewing & dress-making)	47	19.3
Wood	36	14.8
Cotton/cotton thread (sewing & dressmaking)	22	9.0
Embroidery/linen (tablecloths)	7	2.9
Imported material	8	3.3
Scrap materials (e.g. paper products/furniture)	16	6.6
Wire	2	0.8
Beads	1	0.4
Paint/dye (basketry)	1	0.4
Cooking oil (bakery)	2	0.8
Cudding material (sewing /dress-making)	1	0.4
No response	4	5.7
Total	244	100.4

The purchase of inputs involves a certain amount of travelling. The average return trip cost was Z\$1.10 and indicates that the sources of inputs are usually close to the place of business. There were exceptional cases, however, such as the mat and hat makers who had to travel quite long distances to look for reeds for their crafts.

Sales

Marketing is a critical constraint for the informal sector. Table 6.24 shows that 53.7 percent of the respondents stated that they were not satisfied with the prevailing marketing conditions, 41.8 percent stating that they were. For the latter group, (Table 6.25) their satisfaction was due to high general demand, or that their products were well tuned to the market, sometimes manifest in a guaranteed market. Some of those satisfied with the market clearly thought of "market" in terms of "market place" as some 27 percent gave "proper facilities" etc. as reason for their satisfaction.

Table 6.24 : Are you satisfied with present marketing outlets? (III_Q53)

	Number	Percent
Yes	102	41.8
No	131	53.7
No response	11	4.5
Total	244	100.0

Table 6.25 : If satisfied with the present marketing outlets, why? (III Q54)

	Number	Percent
Generally high demand	23	22.6
Guaranteed market	18	17.7
My products matches demand	27	26.5
Other gains	19	18.6
Advantages in producing	9	8.8
No response	6	5.9
	102	100.1

Among those who are dissatisfied with the present outlets, the main complaint was the lack of demand for their products (53.4 percent) and more specific complaints (Table 6.26). 26 percent felt that market outlets were too far away, were seasonal or uncertain. Smaller percentages quoted payments difficulties, harassment by authorities and production related problems as reasons for their dissatisfaction.

Table 6.26 : If dissatisfied with present marketing outlets, why? (III Q55)

	Number	Percent
Difficulties with payments from customers	6	4.6
Markets too far away/seasonal/uncertain	34	26.0
Lack of demand/low production	70	53.4
Law enforcers harrasement	4	3.1
No choice of location	7	5.3
Production difficulties	3	2.3
No response	7	5.3
Total	131	100.0

Most entrepreneurs appear to sell their goods to customers without making much sales efforts. Most customers (79 percent) buy goods because they have seen them displayed or heard of them through word-of-mouth (Table 6.27). The other ways customers get to know about products are: 3.3 percent through advertisement; 2.9 percent through door-to-door sales. A small number of respondents use government (0.8 percent) or parastatals (0.8 percent) as marketing channels.

Table 6.27 : Main ways in which customers learn about products (III Q25)

	Number	Percent
See them displayed	101	41.4
Advertise (includes word-of-mouth)	100	40.0
Door- to-door sales	7	2.9
Through CDWA	2	0.8
Grain Marketing Board	2	0.8
No response	32	13.1
Total	244	100.0

The customers are difficult to define by type. Under half of the respondents were able to say that there was a particular category of people that they "mostly" sold to. Among those who could, 22 percent sold mostly to low income groups, 3 percent to high income, 11 percent to tourists, 1 percent to other enterprises. In our observation, it appears that "low income and high income persons" are defined as such as a result of the sellers' own perceptions of their customers. Presumably, this is an attitudinal perception more than anything on the part of the sellers interviewed.

Table 6.28 : Types of customers who buy products (III_Q32)

	Number	Percent
Varied	137	56.2
Companies (formal sector)	2	0.8
Parastatals	3	1.2
Low income persons	51	20.9
High income persons	6	2.5
Tourists	24	9.8
Other small enterprises	1	0.4
No response/don't know	20	8.2
Total	244	100.0

Product pricing

The majority of the women interviewed were in control of the pricing of their products. 41 percent of the respondents stated that they priced their products as a result of negotiating and bargaining with customers; 9.8 percent stated that they did so through informal agreements with other sellers, while 19.3 percent priced through costing of their material, time and labour involved. 13.9 percent priced their products as a result of formal agreements with other sellers. Only one respondent stated that the product was determined by a woman who worked under the local authority to help women within that particular activity to market their products. (Non response to this question was 15.6 percent).

Travelling and transportation

On average, 1 1/2 hours per day are spent travelling in conduct of business activities. This result is neither compatible with the relatively small expenses recorded for travel in order to purchase inputs nor with the above indication that most customers come to buy directly from informal sector entrepreneurs. The travel reported is likely to contain a rather large share of non-business related travel which may be used also for business purposes. Several respondents said that they sometimes asked assistance from fellow colleagues to purchase inputs for them when they themselves were unable to do so due either to lack of money or as a result of family commitments. The base of solidarity that exists within this sector, suggests that there is a good basis for co-operative arrangements to cut costs of travelling and transportation. It is recommended that CDWA help initiate, on a trial basis and through donor funding, a small scale industry transport support vehicle/delivery system which would deliver

inputs and assist in the external marketing of informal sector products in one or more districts or perhaps a transport co-operative could be formed to encourage the delivery of inputs as well as assist in the marketing of outputs.

Some aspects of competition

The concentration of women doing business in similar types of activities within what they consider "their" location is greatest in tourist attraction areas (e.g. the Victoria Falls area). Other areas with a high concentration were the city centre areas (e.g. Harare and Bulawayo city centres); peri-urban or surrounding areas (e.g. Ranqemore/Belmont in Bulawayo; Matshetshe/Mawabeni near Esiqodini, Nyanyadzi and Honde Valley areas in Manicaland). Within these areas, the highest sectoral concentrations are in sewing, dressmaking, knitting, crocheting and food processing activities.

72.1 percent of all the women interviewed stated that they were in contact with other women engaged in similar activities in their area. Of those who said they were in touch, 47.5 percent stated that this was on a regular basis while 25.4 percent said contact was irregular. This underlies the high interaction among the women both by purchasing products from each other or learning new skills to improve their businesses.

The competition from men is not seen as a major problem, 64.3 percent of the women stating that there were not any men engaged in the same activity. 29.1 percent stated that "some" were. The competition from men was concentrated in such types of activities as sewing, dressmaking and handicraft. The high percentage of non response (75.8 percent) on the question about competition from men may be reflecting the lack of information of the number of men engaged in similar activities within a given area. The high interaction and interdependence among the women in the informal sector does not seem to extend to men.

A low response (28 percent) was also given to the question of whether women thought men were more successful than they were themselves. Of those who answered, half thought that men were more successful, half thought they were not.

Amongst those who felt that the men were more successful (33), the most common reason for this was that men are more specialised (39.4 percent); have the know-how (15.2 percent); have more time at their disposal (24.2 percent); access to better equipment (3.0 percent) and to transport (3.0 percent). 3.0 percent also stated that women gossip and that men are more successful than them as a result; (non response 12.1 percent).

For the 33 who thought that men were not necessarily more successful than women, the most important reasons were that men could not do women's jobs, i.e. certain types of production was defined as women's domain (48.5 percent) or that women were more productive than men (15.2 percent). Answers also included lack of skills for men (91.1 percent) that men are socially irresponsible (9.1 percent) and lazy (3.0 percent); (non response 15.2 percent).

Subcontracting

29.1 percent (71) of the respondents reported that they received subcontracts whilst 63.1 percent reported that they did not receive any. (Non response 7.8 percent).

Those who received subcontracts were asked about the proportion of subcontracting to total output. 15.5 percent of the respondents said that half of their work came from subcontractors; 45.1 percent stated that less than half of their work did; another 25.4 percent of the respondent stated that they received more than half. In only 4.2 percent of the cases, all of their work came from subcontractors. (Non response 9.8 percent).

For 39.4 percent of the respondents the source of subcontracts were similar enterprises; 12.7 percent received contracts from schools; 19.7 percent from customers and other passer-bys; and only 7.0 percent from other companies (formal sector) (21.1 percent unclear and non response). Interaction takes place not only within the informal sector, but also between it and the formal sector albeit on a somewhat smaller scale.

36 of the 244 respondents subcontracted out, 91.7 percent of them to similar informal sector enterprises. The conditions which subcontracting occurred varied: peak season (14.1 percent); high demand (11.3 percent); when not around business (1.4 percent); and finally when funds were available (2.8 percent).

The main reasons given for subcontracting out was: not being able to cope with demand (55.6 percent), lack of skill for some operation (22.2 percent), lack of machinery (5.6 percent); non response 16.6 percent).

Those who subcontract out do so specifically through three types of arrangements:

- a) via mutual reciprocity (22.2 percent- here no payment is done;
- b) subcontract/subcontract (30.6 percent - a triangle relationship where the women gets a subcontract which she in turn subcontracts;
- c) charge agreement (41.7 percent) where some form of payment is agreed upon beforehand to produce specified quantity of products. (Non response 5.5 percent.)

As the idea of subcontracting and its mechanisms seem to be quite well known within the informal sector, there would seem to be an opportunity to expand the minimal degree of subcontracting that exists between formal and informal sector enterprises. Subcontracting would thus represent one way of linking informal sector enterprises closer to the formal economy and start a "formalising" process. The will and ability to subcontract by larger firms may be restricted by lack of growth and lack of necessary expertise to form and negotiate such contracts. It is recommended that the Ministry of Industry and Technology undertakes a review of such arrangements.

Respondents from the survey were asked to comment upon what measures they felt government should take by way of strengthening support for the informal sector. From the wide range of responses there appeared to be a very small number of the sample who

actually reflected upon the issue. This in itself is significant in so far as it may be interpreted to mean that for the vast majority government assistance is still very much a non-question; either because individual entrepreneurs fear government intervention (i.e. possible formalisation), on the one hand or that they are afraid that "formalisation" might affect their profit margins in that they may then have to pay tax. On the other hand the response could suggest a negative attitude to co-operativisation by government.

The improvement of marketing outlets (11.7 percent) and training and education in business operations (15.6 percent) however does register the fact that female activities within the informal sector requires serious focus and attention so as to allow this important production base to expand within the industrialization process (see Table 6.29 below).

Table 6.29: Supportive measures Government should adopt -Informal Sector
(Percentage)

Eliminate Legal Constraints	4.2
Marketing Outlets	11.7
Financial Assistance	6.9
Training and Education	15.6
Encourage large companies to purchase informal sector products	2.8

7. Income Generating and Cooperative Groups

7.1 Government Policy

Economic group activities in Zimbabwe at present take several different forms, the most frequent being mutual aid groupings (e.g. savings clubs, income-generating projects and co-operatives). Government policy clearly stipulates that there exists an important role for these activities in relation to development in general and rural development in particular. It is viewed as essential that people become active participants in the production process in order to foster a self-reliant national economy. Such organizations, in their various stages of development, are considered an important base for the egalitarian transformation of Zimbabwe. Government has therefore established national mechanisms which will facilitate and offer assistance as well as incentives to co-operative forms of production through measures in legal, fiscal, educative and economic fields.(10)

Administratively, the co-operative groups may be divided in two categories; co-operatives under the Ministry of Co-operative Development and income generating groups, sometimes referred to as pre-cooperatives, under CDWA.

Co-operatives

The support for co-operatives should be seen on the background of the overall aims for the transformation of Zimbabwean society. Central aspects of this strategy are for the people:

- a) to achieve economic power through control of socio-economic institutions;
- b) to eliminate the exploitation of person by person;
- c) to build self-reliance in skills and management, the procurement of goods and services, and the establishment of a sense of confidence, initiative and development aspirations;
- d) to develop communal and collective ways of living that provide a sound base for socialism and national solidarity.

The objectives set for co-operatives include, in the socio-cultural sphere, the promotion of socialist egalitarian life-style and provision of psycho-social security to members in times of both progress and crises. The economic objectives spelt out are as follows:(11)

- the establishment of short market channels after exclusion of middle person;
- investments which the individual could not afford alone, but which the co-operative can effect by pooling of all productive resources;
- an economic use of facilities through a wider distribution of overhead expenses and improved use of their capacity leading to a decrease in unit costs;
- a degree of technical specialisation which the individual member could not achieve;
- an influence on the individual member regarding the quality of his production, spending habits and general economic behaviour;
- the provision of essential needs of the people at reduced cost.

Co-operative societies are in Zimbabwe classified by the following five types:

- Agricultural Co-operatives
- Industrial Co-operatives
- Trading and Commercial Co-operatives
- Consumer Co-operatives
- Service and Infrastructural Co-operatives

In view of the focus of this study , industrial producer co-operatives are important in that they are aimed at transforming the industrial work system in which entrepreneurs and managers own and retain full decision making powers over factories respectively, on the one hand and workers who lack any meaningful decision making powers, on the other. Such types of co-operatives include a wide range of manufacturing activities such as carpentry and metal work, canning, textiles and leather work, bakeries and tailoring.

Trading and Commercial co-operatives are also related to the national strategy for industrial developments in so far as they are conceptualised as initially creating organisations that will effectively begin to substitute the merchant middlemen in co-operative ventures as a whole. An interesting observation is that both types of co-operatives need to form an alliance in order to strengthen and compliment their role in industrial development.

Government views co-operatives as primarily economic forms of organisations and as such the Ministry of Co-operative Development spelt out procedures for the registration of co-operatives. That is, prior to registration, the Ministry analyses the intentions and objectives of the proposed co-operative, assesses its viability, availability of resources, market situation, services and participation level.

Eventually, the registration of a co-operative is contingent upon a thorough evaluation by government of its proposed activities and for which government is keenly aware of the effects of any such venture upon the people in respect to benefits and achievements.

7.2 Co-operative Forms of Income Generating Projects

There exists over 3,000 income generating groups registered by CDWA with a total membership of over 60,000. The groups are generally much smaller than registered co-operatives, informally organised and more than 80 percent of the members are women (See Table 7.1). For co-operatives, breakdown by gender is not available but female participation is likely to be considerably smaller than for income generating projects. Income generating projects have, as their fundamental aim, the creation of a self-sustaining economic base for community groups.

Income generating projects, like co-operatives, have not only economic objectives. They have a role in promoting the major principles underlying the Community Development Policy in Zimbabwe:

- Creation of an environment in which community feeling, collective effort and local pride can be aroused.
- Creation of an environment in which democratic values, social responsibility, collective self-help and progressive leadership can emerge.
- Enhancement and development of the organizational capacity of the people .
- Promotion of initiative and a sense of community and citizenship.
- Promotion of development and economic progress of local communities, with the active participation of their inhabitants.

The Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs also organises social development projects such as pre-schools, savings clubs and, has along with the Ministry of Education, joint responsibility for adult literacy in the country. Women's income generating groups tend to form out of the participant's association with social development programmes. An extensive and varied training programme is initiated and organized by the Ministry itself (See Table 7.2).

Table 7.1: Income Generating Projects¹

Types of income generating projects	Number of projects	Male	Female	Male & Female
Bakeries	491	570	12,146	12,744
Uniform making	612	621	13,091	13,712
Soap making	22	62	374	436
Wire making	3	13	27	40
Crafts	218	241	574	815
Pottery	76	24	490	514
Poultry	339	729	4,264	5,322
Rabbitry	25		52	195
Fish ponds	22	153	116	269
Co-operative gardens	704	2,455	16,090	18,925
Co-operative shops	18	185	883	1,068
Basketry	170	31	1,269	4,270
Sisal Asbestos	6	78	69	147
Leather work	1	17		17
Carpentry	13	45		510
Hawkers co-operatives	11	35	247	282
Weaving	4	2	106	108
Knitting	69		607	607
Pig raising	51	191	231	438
Wood carving	3	10		55
Brick moulding	81	275	167	442
Bee keeping	11	4	20	24
Fruit canning	3		260	260
Cattle fattening	27	39	20	59
Crochet work	80		92	92
Dressmaking			2,547	2,547
Irrigation schemes		659	356	1,015
Crop farming		78	703	781
Grinding mill		7		7
Timber cutting				356
Fishing				187
Blacksmiths		24	4	28
Totals	3,060	6,573	54,805	66,272

Source: Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs, Community Action, 1984.

1. For some projects no gender breakdown was available. The participants have been included in the total but excluded from male/female. (Errors in totalling stems from source document).

Table 7.2: CDWA Training Programmes, 1984¹

	Number of courses	Male	Female	Male & Female
Nutrition	53	32	2,296	2,328
Leadership	50	27	1,802	1,829
Income generating	8	16	361	377
Dress making	198			
Uniform making	5	75	9,732	9,807
Tutors course	53	28	82	110
Pre-school	1	82	2,057	2,139
Tie and dye	15	8	32	40
Skills course	1		756	756
Goats for milk	2	6		6
Bee keeping	1	53		53
Motivation	4		25	25
Initial home			119	119
Economics	1		18	18
Refresher	17	17	948	965
Home economics	21		685	685
Project management	31	532	1,175	1,707
Nutrition and skills	4	15	166	181
Adult literacy	2		86	86
Club management	23	146	2,427	2,573
Project planning	2	17	68	85
Vegetable growing	5		281	281
Soap making	13	86	455	541
Knitting	1	11		11
Poultry keeping	3	6	92	98
Water supply and sanitation	1	23		23
Sewing				
Fishing co-operative				
Learning show items	1			
Role of community in development	1		48	48
Savings club			13	13
Asbestos making				
Badge sewing	1		32	32
Total	520	1,180	23,780	24,960

Source: Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs, Community Action, 1984.

7.3 Women's Attitudes to Co-operatives/Income Generating Groups

The field survey on "co-operatives" concentrated on income generating groups. Group members were not individually interviewed and questions related to personal characteristics would be those of the person interviewed. In addition to groups surveyed, several questions to the individual women entrepreneurs interviewed sought to analyse their perceptions and attitudes to co-operative/groups. Respondents were, e.g. asked whether they would become a member if a co-operative were started in their present field of activities or in another field.

The findings of this sector of the study included a sample of 56 projects which were carried out in urban, peri-urban, rural areas and at rural growth points. The field work for the survey consisted of extensive interviews with a respondent from each project.

The percentage distribution of the projects sample according to province is as follows (excluding Matabeleland North Province) (see table 7.3):

Table 7.3: Percentage Distribution of Projects Sample per Province

Manicaland.....	21.0
Matabeleland South.....	14.0
Mashonaland East.....	9.0
Midlands.....	21.0
Mashonaland West.....	6.0
Mashonaland Central.....	2.0
Masvingo.....	27.0

Urban and peri-urban areas accounted for 38% of the sample total while the remaining 62% of the project sample were in the rural areas (including rural growth points) (see table 7.5)

7.3.1 Profile of Women in Income Generating Projects/Co-operatives

Age

The average age of the women respondents interviewed is 39 years of age. (informal sector: 37 years). The oldest participant stated her age as 71 years old and the youngest age recorded conforms to that of the informal sector where it was observed that the age level tended to concentrate in the 40-49 age bracket.

Table 7.4 Province Percentage Sample & Total Number of Projects

Province	%	Sample & Total Number of Projects Per District		
				%
Manicaland	21.0	Mutare	11	20.0
		Mutasa	1	2.0
Matabeleland South	14.0	Mzingwane	3	5.0
		Gwanda	5	9.0
Mashonaland East	9.0	Marondera	4	7.0
Midlands	21.0	Zvishavane	12	21.0
Mashonaland West	6.0	Chequtu	4	7.0
Mashonaland Central	2.0	Bindura	1	2.0
Masvingo	27.0	Gutu	2	4.0
		Chivi	13	23.0
			56	100

Table 7.5: Location of women respondents involved in projects

Urban areas		Peri-urban		Rural		Rural growth points	
Mutare	11	Bindura	1	Mutasa	1	Gutu	2
		Marondera	4	Mzingwane	3	Chivi	13
		Gwanda	5				
Total	56						
Of which	11		10		16		19
Percentage	20		18.0		28.0		34.0

7.3.2 Marital Status and Dependants (C, II Q4)

In contrast to female employees in the large scale manufacturing sector it is apparent that 86% of those interviewed from the projects sample were married (monoqamous or polyqamous). Furthermore, a smaller percentage of widows and divorcees were recorded, 9.0% and 5.0% respectively. Comparatively, a high number of married women were also reflected in the informal sector analysis and these figures merely reiterated the difficulties married women face with respect to finding employment in the formal sector (see table 7.6). The argument could also be advanced that for many women, to become involved in income generating projects is one way of endeavouring to secure their subsistence levels. The latter observation becomes acute when data reveals that each participant interviewed has 5 children/dependants.

Table 7.7 shows that out of a total of 56 respondents (total observation) 34 stated that they had dependants to support all the time whilst 21 stated that they had dependants at one time or another. The average calculated is 5.3 dependants. The maximum observed number was 12 children with the minimum recorded being one child. To make a comparison of the response to a question (CC, II Q33) which sought to find out how many people are supported on a full time basis from the respondents income derived through income generating projects/co-operatives, the findings

reveal an average of 6 persons with an additional average of 4 persons partially dependent. The maximum and minimum observation for totally dependent persons and partially dependent persons are:

Total: Maximum	11	Partial: Maximum	12
Minimum	2	Minimum	0
(See Table 7.7)			

Table 7.6: Marital Status

Marital Status	%
Married	82.2
Polygamous	3.6
Widowed	8.9
Divorced	54.0

Table 7.7: Children and Dependants

Children	Fully Dependiant	Partial Dependiant
Total observation	56.0	21.0
Average	5.3	4.4
Maximum obs	12.0	12.0
Minimum obs	1.0	.0

7.4 Broadening the range of self-employment opportunities

7.4.1 Education, Training and Skills

The data on education reflects that illiteracy level are low among those interviewed. Whilst 4.0 percent of the sample stated that they were illiterate, another 4.0 percent said that although they had never been to school they were literate. A total of 86 percent had either been to school or were receiving some form of education (11 percent for latter category). On average respondents had 5.8 years of primary education and 0.3 years of secondary education. Just over the third had a formal education of between 5 to 7 years. Another 16 percent had more than 7 years of formal education and 11 percent from 2 to 4 years of schooling. Also, the educational composition of respondents in co-operatives/groups was much like that of the individual entrepreneurs. 8 percent of the respondents had received no formal education (see table 7.8)

Table 7.8: Education Level

	Percent
At school	10.0
Left school	75.0
Never been to school but literate	4.0
Never been to school and illiterate	4.0
No response	7.0
Total	100.0

To an even higher extent than for the individual entrepreneurs, co-operatives skills are concentrated around traditionally female related skills such as dressmaking, sewing, knitting, crocheting, etc. (see Table 7.9). Several co-operatives reported more than one skill within this range.

Table 7.9: Specific skills identified in project activities
(56 respondents)

Specific skill	No. of answers	Percent
Designing/dressmaking/sewing	39	69.6
Crochet/Knitting	9	16.1
Weaving/looming	3	5.4
Embroidery	2	3.6
Basketry	6	10.7
Soapmaking	1	1.8
Cookery	5	8.9
Coffee processing	2	3.6
Formal training in community development work	2	3.6
Bakery	1	1.8
Nothing special (No response)	3	5.4
Total	73	130.5

(Note: The sum of percentages add up to over 100 as several co-operatives stated more than one skill.)

Forty-six respondents (85.7) had acquired their skills outside the home. This skill acquisition pattern is very different from that of individual entrepreneurs of whom 45 percent reported that they had learned their skills in the homes, from friends, neighbours or relatives. Most women reported that they learnt their skills either at a public training centre (36 percent) or from a private training centre (27 percent). 4 percent reported that they had attended a technical college.

The differences between co-operatives and individuals indicates that it may be easier to broaden the range of activities for the former. It also points to the scope and usefulness of the course and training measures for individual entrepreneurs.

7.5 Profile of activity

Well over two-thirds of the projects run on a co-operative basis were involved in activities that could be classified under sewing and dressmaking. This was followed by some 14 percent in beverages and foodstuffs such as baking, peanut butter preparation, coffee processing. Another important category of activities was basket making (11 percent).

Only 11 percent responded that they were involved in a secondary activity. Whereas most (75 percent) individual entrepreneurs characterised their work as full-time only about 43 percent of the co-operatives did so.

Overall, the data on co-operatives are indicative of the potential basis for expansion of activities and the considerable effect that training and promotion of non-traditional fields of activities may have.

Unsurprisingly, individual entrepreneurs are more likely to join co-operatives in fields similar to their present activities than to join co-operative activities in new fields.

For those who answered that they would like to join co-operatives within a field similar to their own, the main reason was for, over half (51.8 percent) of the respondents, the prospects for assistance from government. Greater scope for specialisation and reduction of production costs were other types of responses (24.2 percent). 19.9 percent stated that they felt the advantage of joining would lie in increased benefits to the community.

Several of the reasons given for not wanting to join co-operatives with activities similar to their own were either not well specified or had little to do with co-operatives as such. Old age, religious commitments, "not interested" and no response accounted for altogether 47.6 per cent of the answers. Negative attitudes to co-operatives with less freedom to use the proceeds of one's work. (see Table 7.10)

Table 7.10 Reasons why not in favour of joining co-operatives with similar activities (III Q58)

	Number	Per cent
Old age/ill health	9	9.4
Lack of subscription money	2	2.1
Religious commitment	2	2.1
Less freedom to use proceeds as desired	14	14.6
Personal commitment to other business	10	10.4
Not interested	33	34.4
Poor organization	14	14.6
No response	11	11.5
New operation	1	1.0
TOTAL	96	100.0

Table 7.11: Preferred co-operative activity for those who wanted to join co-operatives in different activity than their present (III Q60)

	Number	Percent
Sewing, knitting, crocheting	39	34.5
Cookery/catering	2	1.8
Bakery	5	4.4
Poultry keeping	21	18.6
Pharmaceuticals (soapmaking)	1	0.9
Agricultural/training	10	8.9
Any co-operative	26	23.0
No response	9	8.0
TOTAL	113	100.0

Less than half (46.3 percent), however, did express an interest in joining a co-operative engaging in a different activity. (see Table 7.11) Given a choice, 34.5 percent of the respondents would like to join a co-operative that does sewing/dressmaking, knitting or crocheting (Table 7.11). 18.6 percent expressed an interest in poultry raising and 8.9 percent in any agricultural-related co-operative. The high preference for participating in agriculture related co-operatives suggest a focus on traditional roles as e.g. feeding their families but it may also reflect the fact that full fledged co-operatives more often than not are related to agriculture. 6.2 percent preferred cookery/catering, and bakery co-operatives and a smaller number (0.4 percent) preferred to join a soap-making co-operative. There were also a group of women (10.7 percent) which did not show any particular preference for which co-operative they joined as long as it was an income-generating one.

Table 7.12 gives main reason why individual women entrepreneurs would not choose to join a co-operative engaged in an activity different from their present. Again, reasons not specifically related to co-operatives constituted a high (76.5 percent) of the answers. A few (14.9) percent felt that they were less independent as co-operative members or that co-operatives were generally unsuccessful. Lack of knowledge of co-operatives to join and lack of skills were also given as reasons for not joining.

Table 7.12: Reasons given by those who did not want to join co-operative in other activity than her own at present (III Q610)

	Number	Percent
Old age/ill health	9	7.0
Co-operatives generally successful	7	5.5
Satisfied with present activity in own business	25	19.5
Religious commitment	2	1.6
Personal commitment to other activities	12	9.4
No alternative skill	9	7.0
Not interested	31	24.2
Don't know of other co-operatives	2	1.6
Less independent	12	9.4
No response	19	14.8
TOTAL	128	100.0

All respondents were asked what advantages they would foresee in a co-operative if they joined one. 16.4 percent stating financial benefits; 13.9 percent skills acquisition and specialization; 7.0 percent however expressed that they did not know any advantage, that there was none or did not respond. (See Table 7.13).

Table 7.13: Advantages foreseen in becoming a member of a co-operative (III Q62)

	Number	Percent
Assistance from government	6	2.5
Financial benefits	40	16.4
Acquisition of skills	34	13.9
Raw materials at lower costs	5	2.1
Specialisation	6	2.5
Sharing Expenses	8	3.3
Better marketing outlets	7	2.9
Higher production at competitive prices	12	4.9
Unity among women	17	7.0
Other	5	2.1
Do not know	27	11.1
None	40	16.4
No response	37	15.2
Total	244	100.0

An overall conclusion would be that about half of the individual entrepreneurs look to co-operative forms of production as advantageous whereas the other half does not. The ones who are positive to joining co-operatives do however expect tangible, mostly government paid benefits from joining. Those who do not want to join do so largely for reasons that are not linked up with low opinions about the advantages of co-operatives. Those who would like to change their field of activities would still prefer to go into traditional women's activities like sewing, and cooking, agricultural linked activities being a very frequent choice.

7.6 Household responsibilities and business

Co-operative members are mainly married women. 86.0 percent of those interviewed were married compared to 36 percent for formal sector employees and 74 percent for the informal sector entrepreneurs. Respondents for co-operatives/groups display the same high dependency ratio as individual informal sector entrepreneurs. It should be remembered however that personal background questions for co-operatives relate to the person interviewed and not to all members. Their business activities are even more than for individuals concentrated around women's work (Table 7.14), but group members appear to be less full time and more part time employed than individuals (Table 7.15).

Table 7.14: Main activities (C III Q1)

	Number	Percent
Foodstuffs	8	14.0
Drinks and tobacco	1	2.0
Textiles and leather products	2	3.0
Clothing and footwear	39	70.0
Basket making	6	11.0
Chemical and petroleum products (soap-making)	0 56	.0 100.0

Table 7.15: Frequency of main activity

	Number	Percent
Full-time	24	43.0
Part-time	29	52.0
Seasonal	3	5.0
	56	100.0

Whereas individual entrepreneurial small-scale activity only to a small extent relied on household members, group activities appear as a rule, to involve several members of the household. (see Table 7.16).

The questionnaire on co-operatives also asked the interviewees whether the group was also engaged in a secondary activity. The responses show that 89% (50 respondents) stated that they had no other activity. From amongst these 6 respondents (11%) who did report being involved in a secondary activity 5% were in clothing and footwear; 4% in chemical and chemical products (soap making) and 2% in basket making.

Table 7.16: How many household/participate in activity other than self (III Q17)

	Full-time			part time		
	women	men	juveniles	women	male	juveniles
Average	2,8	0,4	0,0	0,2	0,1	0,0
Maximum observation	8,5	3,0	0,0	1,0	1,0	0,0
Minimum observation	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0

7.7 Appropriate rules and regulations

41 percent of the co-operatives interviewed stated that they had a Hawker's Licence while 32,0 percent did not. Co-operatives thus appear to be a somewhat more regulated form of activity than the individual entrepreneur. In the case of a registered co-operative there will be no need for hawker's licence, but for other income generating activities the same problem as described above for individual entrepreneurs seem to exist and the same measures are recommended.

7.8 The environment for co-operative forms of production

Establishment of project ventures

Co-operatives/groups are largely much younger ventures than individual enterprises. Most of the ones interviewed commenced operating in 1983, the latest being established only in 1986. Also, their history of work is very different from those of individual entrepreneurs. 92 percent of those interviewed had never been employed in the formal sector. 34 percent of the co-operative members interviewed had sought employment in the 'formal sector' while 66 percent had not.

80 percent of the women who were interviewed stated that the creation of the project was a result of initial co-operation among women interested in engaging in similar activities. This reflects that initiatives are mostly taken by women themselves and testifies the initiative and potential for mobilization of the women of Zimbabwe.

Table 7.17: Initiation of project

	Number	Percent
Started it on your own	5	9.0
With others (in co-operation)	45	80.0
Joined existing co-operative	6	11.0
TOTAL	56	100.0

Prior to becoming involved with the project, 61 percent of the women were either in subsistence agriculture, or unemployed. 11 percent had jobs in the formal sector, mostly as domestic workers or in government departments. Apart from a small number (4 percent) being refugees and students the rest, 24 percent, had been engaged in some form of small-scale production involving activities which were suitable as a preparation for group enterprises; similar enterprise activity, 3.0 percent; small-scale production, 13 percent; vending, hawking and storekeeping 5.0 percent (Table 7.18).

Table 7.18: Activity prior to joining project

	Number	Percent
Subsistence agriculture	27	48.0
Unemployed	7	13.0
Refugees	1	2.0
Students	1	2.0
Employed (formal sector)	6	11.0
Similar enterprise activity	2	3.0
Small scale production (informal sector)	7	13.0
Vending and hawking	3	5.0
Storekeeper	2	3.0
TOTAL	56	100.0

Women in the communal lands perform agricultural routine tasks such as digging, ploughing, harvesting, planting, weeding, storage, apart from processing and preparing meals, housekeeping, fetching water and firewood. Among the reasons given as to why they chose to remain in the 'informal sector' almost one-third (26.8 percent) reported that this was because they could not find a job (i.e. no other alternatives). 66.1 percent of the women however said that they remained in their current activities in order to supplement subsistence activity. This is clearly a reaction to limited employment opportunities for women. It is apparent therefore that for the majority (93 percent) of women their option to continue with small-scale activities is due to limited employment opportunities (Table 7.19).

Table 7.19: Why remain in current activity

	Number	Percent
Need to supplement subsistence income	37	66.1
Could not find a job	15	26.8
Skill acquisition	1	1.8
Like to be independent	2	3.6
No response	1	1.8
TOTAL	56	100.0

Source of subsistence income

For most of the women the main source of subsistence comes not from their work in income generating projects or from their secondary activity, but from agriculture (43 percent).

The remainder (most prevalent in the urban areas) reported that their main source of income was hawking and vending (5.4 percent), knitting and crocheting (3.6 percent), sewing and dressmaking (7.1 percent) and other informal sector activity including wage worker in the sector (3.6 percent). 28 percent of the respondents said they relied on family support whilst 4 percent were on drought relief support schemes.

Table 7.20: Source of subsistence income

	Percent
Agricultural activity	43.0
Family support	28.0
Drought relief	4.0
Wage worker (informal sector)	3.0
Sewing/dressmaking	2.1
Knitting/crocheting	3.0
Hawking/vending	5.4
No response	11.5
TOTAL	100.0

Support needs

Off-farm activities tend to vary with agricultural activity and to alter according to labour requirements in agriculture.

Generally, some of the problems which appear to plague the projects are lack of capital, skills and equipment, and, as much, these constraints undermine the project's endeavours.

Research done elsewhere (Else et. al.1986)(12) concludes however that income generating projects often do not generate substantial incomes whatsoever. The paper points out that in a number of these projects, the cost of production generally exceeds revenues derived from the activity thereby "costing women in cash as well as in diverted time - energy". (Ibid : (79)). However , such projects do provide a useful forum for the community to get together to discuss and assess their strategies for the project(s).

Initiatives for project activities need to be complemented and supported by overall economic and social development of which they are an integral part. In order, therefore, for small-scale productive activities to become effective and realise their potential role in the industrial development process of Zimbabwe, one needs to focus upon the potential for growth in small-scale activities.

Supporting organizations

Savings clubs and co-operatives were amongst the organisations that the respondents were inclined to join. Very few express any interest in joining farmers clubs (2 percent) and only 4 percent expressed an interest in women's clubs.

Savings clubs (39 percent) and co-operatives (30 percent) are clearly viewed by the respondents as a means of increasing their earnings and thereby improving their standard of living.

Table 7.21: Types of organisations co-operative members would like to join

	Percent
Farmers' club	2.0
Savings club	39.0
Co-operatives	30.0
Women 's clubs	4.0
Burial society	7.0
Lack of knowledge and information	2.0
None	5.0
No response	11.0

7.9 Appropriate premises and the use of utilities

34 percent of the co-operatives stated that they carried out their activities at rented premises while 27 percent were at school locations, a further 11 percent using craft centres. A small percent carry out their activities at a market place (2.0 percent) and a shop in town (2.0 percent). (No response 24 percent). Schools and craft centres are hardly used by individual entrepreneurs who appear to be more concentrated on market places, where co-operatives/groups are hardly represented. This may indicate that production and marketing are much better integrated for individual entrepreneurs. If this is not just a reflection of the type of goods produced, co-operatives/groups are less happy with their premises than felt that the premises currently being used were adequate while 45 percent did not. Clear reasons for satisfaction with premises are that they are free-of charge in craft centres and schools. Of those who felt that premises were not adequate, 35.8 percent gave overcrowdedness as their major concern, 39.8 percent expressed lack of security of tenure; 8 percent stated that the premises were unsheltered 4 percent that the storage facilities were inadequate.

Co-operatives face problems which are different to those of individuals; their premises by and large cost them less and they seem to be less bothered by the storage problem. Their problems, which should be taken into consideration by local authorities in giving infrastructural support is that they are located often some distance from the market place, that they face uncertainty over tenure and that their efficiency in production is likely to suffer because of overcrowding.

Utilities

The use of utilities are strikingly similar for co-operatives/groups and individuals, implying that their products and modes of operation are similar. Notable exceptions to this are, as could be expected, much lower emphasis on the use of market stalls, and the higher percentage of co-operatives who use wood in their production activities. The latter does not seem to have a straightforward explanation. Monthly expenditure on utilities differ between the two categories. For a majority of the items that can be compared the average charges paid by co-operatives are lower, reflecting perhaps concessional charges for transport, and storage premises. The higher cost for co-operatives on electricity and wood is likely to stem from a greater use of these. (see Table 7.22).

Table 7.22: Use of utilities, individuals, and co-operatives/groups compared (Q21)

	Individuals		Co-operatives	
	Per cent using facilities	Average monthly cost	Per cent using facilities	Average monthly cost
Water	38,9	6,2	41,0	2,6
Electricity	11,9	24,3	16,0	36,5
Coal/charcoal	2,5	-	2,0	-
Wood	19,7	8,7	32,0	13,6
Market stalls	25,0	-	9,0	3,3
Transport facilities	13,1	7,1	13,0	6,30
Premises	43,0	23,6	48,0	6,80
Paraffin	5,3	2,3	2,0	-
Diesel/petrol	0,4	0,0	2,0	-
Storage	28,7	12,0	30,0	0,0

7.10 Capital equipment and financing of self-employment initiative

Capital equipment

Poor response to the question on existence and value of certain types of capital equipment makes it risky to interpret answers. It appears however that on average co-operatives have much more capital equipment than individual enterprises. However the value of capital equipment per member would be lower than for individual entrepreneurs. This could indicate a better utilization of equipment or that there is too little of equipment to go around.

In response to a question whether the enterprise owned any capital equipment, 29 percent of the co-operatives/groups answered no. About 45 percent of those who had some equipment had managed to obtain it through raising membership fees and joining fees from the participants who formed the project. Other (26 percent) managed to acquire capital equipment by way of donations and gifts given to the project (see Table 7.24). 4 percent gave no response.

Just under half of the women reported that additional capital equipment had been acquired at a later stage. Again, on the question exploring types of equipment added and its financing, the response was poor. Indications are however that very little capital equipment has been added. This may well reflect problems with market outlets and sales from the projects.

Table 7.23: Does venture own any equipment? (C Q15A)

	Number	Percent
Yes	38	67.9
No	16	28.6
No response	2	3.6
TOTAL	56	100.0

Table 7.24: How was original equipment obtained? (C Q16b)

	Number	Per cent
Project members contribution	17	44.7
Gifts and donations	10	26.3
No response	11	28.9
TOTAL	38	99.9

Savings

The answers to questions on saving somewhat contrast the impression of poor performance of co-operatives/groups. Over 57.0 percent of the respondents stated that they could save from the income made by the project while 36 percent stated that they were unable to do so on this basis. Profitability appears better than for individual entrepreneurs where only 44 percent said they could save.

21 percent of the women interviewed were members of a savings club. This is very similar to the answers from individual entrepreneurs. Of those who stated that they were not members (71 percent), the predominant reasons given were that: they could not afford the subscription money (19.6 percent); there were no savings clubs in the area (10.7 percent); others stated that they planned to join in future. Some stated they were unaware of the existence of savings clubs in their area 8.9 percent, while 7.1 percent stated that they were not interested in becoming members of any savings clubs. As for individual entrepreneurs, the scope for improving rural credit systems by building on savings clubs seems very good.

According to Chimedza(13), savings clubs have been a very important feature of the communal area agricultural sector of Zimbabwe. The first clubs appeared in 1963 and their numbers have been increasing ever since. With the coming of independence savings club membership increased sharply. Such groups are mushrooming all over the country in an effort to encourage "group saving" in order to ward off times of hardship as well as assist in small scale entrepreneurial activity. Also, in general, savings club members have greater control over their organisation than most grassroots-based groups that are initiated by government agents. In addition, savings clubs have greater organisational flexibility to accommodate the special conditions of the member.

Credit

Five, of those eleven persons who were members of savings clubs, stated that the credit they had received was sufficient. A question of the terms of credit was asked to all respondents (not only savings clubs members). The response was very low, but most

respondents (8) felt that the credit terms were satisfactory.

The low response can be interpreted to mean either that not much credit assistance is sought for by the projects - perhaps for fear of over-committing themselves financially, or that no institutions are willing to give credit to enterprises not yet proven credit-worthy. Other observations furthermore reflect upon the need to re-assess credit facilities and services for small-scale enterprises as projects and co-operatives.

Record Keeping

A large majority (80 percent) of the co-operative/income generating projects appear to keep records of their business. This is different from the individual entrepreneurs where only 32 percent reported that they kept records. The apparent greater "formality" of co-operatives/groups on this point would seem to indicate a good potential for increasing the utilization of credit, if appropriate institutions were present. The predominant form of record keeping was the recording of sales purchases (71.0 percent), followed by the recording of debtors (5.0 percent). Only 2.0 percent stated that they recorded inventories of their products. 5 percent reported that they did not know how to keep records.

Of those 13 percent (7 respondents) who stated that they did not keep records, two reported that the group planned to keep records, two stated that they had no need for record keeping. Two stated that the idea never occurred to them and one stated that they did not keep records because they were illiterate.

7.11 Markets

Sales

63 percent of the respondents stated that they were satisfied with the present marketing outlets, 32 percent said they were not. This points to a greater degree of satisfaction with markets than that shown by individual entrepreneurs.

The predominant reasons given by most of the respondents who expressed satisfaction with the present marketing outlets were that there was generally high demand where the project was located (8.1 percent); guaranteed markets (37.8 percent); that their supply matched the demand for groundnuts (27.0 percent) and a number of other reasons including "monetary gains" (27.0 percent).

Of those who displayed dissatisfaction with the present marketing outlets the large majority said the reason was a lack of demand (66.6 percent) while 2 respondents (11 percent) felt the main trouble was the uncertainty. Two respondents also stated that their main difficulty was to get their payment from customers.

A majority of the respondents could not name any category of customers to which they mostly sold (86 percent). This indicates a higher degree of variation of customers than registered among individuals. There would appear to be scope for improvement of marketing by various pre-purchase arrangements, utilizing the official status of co-operatives/groups to link up with sources of demand in the public sector.

Product Pricing

The majority of co-operatives/groups are market-oriented in the way their products are priced. They set their own price, but do so by adjusting to those of competitors. A relatively small share (14.0 percent) stated that they arrive at a price through bargaining with their customers. The amount of pre-arranged marketing is indicated by the 16.0 percent which have a formal agreement with other sellers. 5.0 percent have informal market sharing agreements with their competitors. Only 9.0 percent stated that their products were priced as a result of production costs assessment. Only 2.0 percent stated that their rice was dependent on the world market prices. 4.0 percent of those responding did not know how pricing was done since they did not have responsibility for this in their group.

Some aspects of competition

Whereas 72.1 percent of the individual women entrepreneurs reported to be in contact with other entrepreneurs, this was only the case for 30.0 percent of the respondents interviewed for co-operatives/groups. This reveals a certain insularity that the projects operate under and consequently lack of shared experiences with other ventures and underlines the scope for organisation of information networks to increase the exposure of rural women's groups to new ideas and methods in production as well as co-operation.

Are there men engaged in the same activity in your area?

As found in the case of individual entrepreneurs, men and women operate in different product spheres, so that competition between them is not considered a difficulty.

On the question of whether the women felt that, in general, that men were more successful than women, the non response was 86 percent. Only 5.0 percent of the female respondents felt that the men were more successful than them, while 9 percent expressed the opposite. Only three of the respondents gave a reason why they thought men were more successful. One said that men tended to be more specialised and two said that they had access to better equipment.

7.12 Growth Points and women's participation

The majority of the population in the rural areas are women. The reasons for this are partly that Zimbabwe's population structure has a substantial overall majority of women and partly an after-effect of the control of the influx to urban areas which was exercised during the colonial times. The most important factor, however, is the presently accepted role of the woman as the homemaker with the responsibility of running the family household and bringing up of children.

A large majority of Zimbabweans still consider rural or peri-urban areas their home base. Many families have for economic reasons had to adapt a lifestyle with one cash income earner (usually the man) located in an urban area, the rest of the family members supporting the family's economy with traditional agriculture in rural areas. Women as mothers and de facto household heads play a pivotal role in this system which binds them to the family homestead.

General field survey group discussion impressions unveil one major problem as inhibitive to women's activities; that of marketing outlets. As the women themselves noted; "We make things but the buying process is very frustrating...it is too interspaced... yet we keep on making things. This is not satisfying because it is too undependable". The problem of marketing outlets is not helped when we note that the element of high intra-competition exists since the majority of the women all seem to be engaged in similar activities.

Many women were in favour of having industries set up in their areas such as clothing and textile plants, bakery, pottery/ceramics, jam/fruit/meat canning and agro-industries. Present government policies for the decentralisation of industry may improve women's opportunities for participation in formal as well as informal manufacturing activities by contributing to the location of job opportunities and markets nearer to villages where most women live.

Industries needing to invest should liaise with local government authorities so as to explore the responsibility of opening up (as part of the rural industrialisation/decentralisation programme) industries.

7.13 Some Comments on the Case of Export-Oriented Industrialisation

There is a belief in some development quarters(14) that export-oriented industrialisation (i.e. manufacturing industries producing goods for export to consumer markets in the industrialised countries) can be a development strategy. As a result of such a belief, numerous export-processing zones have been sprouting throughout the Third World/Developing countries over the past decade. Accompanying this belief is the underlying hope that the problems of employment and foreign exchange earnings would also be simultaneously addressed.

Export-oriented industrialisation, specifically export-processing has been praised in some countries as a form of employment

creation (via the use of local labour especially women's labour) and to expand the industrial base, as a foreign exchange earner as well as being a catalyst to create the conducive environment for industrialisation to occur. Furthermore, the case has been made that women are the ideal candidates (cheaper labour costs, generally docile and not prone to unionisation, etc.) for employing in the export-processing industries. By and large, these processing industries are usually labour intensive enclaves. Studies done elsewhere(15), however, have revealed that there are problems with the use of export-oriented industrialisation as a model for both employment creation and industrialisation. Some of the problems highlighted being that export-oriented industrialisation tends to confine women into lowly-paid occupation; that the general working conditions in these industries are below acceptable occupational safety standards. Furthermore, the general tendency is that there is no training provided to upgrade the skills levels- the assumption being that there is no need since the jobs themselves are dead-end and unstable- perhaps reflecting the unstable world market relations as well as protectionist measures by the industrialised consumer countries, especially with reference to the types of commodities generally produced by export-oriented industrialisation (e.g. textiles and electronic goods).

The argument has also been made(16) that export-oriented industrialisation as a development strategy has come to rescue the perceived failures that import substitution strategies have created. Earlier on, import substitution strategies as a development strategy had been advocated as a remedy to the fledgling dependent Third World economies by the structuralists/dependencia theorists championed by Raul Prebisch of UNCTAD among others.(17) In the structuralists view, protectionism and import substitution were viewed as efficient and employment creating development strategies. Apparently, the export-oriented industrialisation 'development strategy' the presumption goes, can be efficient as well as create employment opportunities for the unemployment burdened Third World countries.

It is crucial to note and dispel at this point the myth that manufacturing for purposes of export need not solely be an exclusive enclave of trans- and multi-national concerns. We contend that the state as an agent of change can and should play a meaningful and pivotal role in the direction of industrial development in Zimbabwe.

Against the backdrop of unending drought, recession, increased expenditure on capital projects (primarily to repair and maintain); decline in productive sectors GDP; increased expenditure on consumer non-productive expenditure (i.e. social development programmes); forex shortages and the dominant role of foreign monopoly capital, the case is made for state intervention so as to provide the direction for a viable industrialisation policy package for the nation as a whole. As already noted elsewhere in the paper(18), moves to this effect can be discerned from the current decreases in private sector expansion and investment as well as in the relative increases of government equity shares in some industries (albeit on a somewhat smaller scale as of yet).

A call for increased investment has been made(19) and this is in respect of:

- (a) rural areas
- (b) equity participation/joint ventures
- (c) limits on repatriation of profits
- (d) incentives for re-investment

On the issue of the possible role of export-oriented industrialisation in Zimbabwe, it should be borne in mind that this may not necessarily lead to the development of skills or resources, e.g. improved managerial efficiency and effectiveness nor technological leaps. But that what we need to view this industrialisation/development strategy within the confines of the world division of labour along capitalist intensive and capitalist exploitative relations of production as currently obtains. And in the case of women's place within an export-oriented industrialisation strategy, the issue is not that of simply understanding the plight of women, but to really begin to concretely analyse why women are relegated to their status in society as a result of the effects of capitalist relations of production in general and in capital's quest to internationalise the division of labour on a gender basis.

To this extent, we need to be aware of the costs on women (i.e. what will the costs or benefits be to women and to the nation's development) in the process of a national "structural-industrialisation 'adjustment'" programme overall.

FOOTNOTES TO SECTION IV

1. See ILO on Women's Employment Patterns, Discrimination and Promotion of Equality in Africa: The case of Zimbabwe, Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa, Addis Ababa, 1986
2. Republic of Zimbabwe, Growth with Equity - An Economic Policy Statement, February 1981
3. Republic of Zimbabwe, The Transitional National Development Plan (TNDP) 1982 - 1983 - 1984 - 1985, Vol.2, May 1983.
4. TNDP, op. cit. p.14
5. ILO/SATEP Study, 1983
6. Socio-Economic Review of Zimbabwe, 1980-1985, Ministry of Finance, Economic Planning and Development, Harare, Zimbabwe, 1986, p. 103
7. Makamure, K. 'The Legal Constraints on the Informal Sector in Zimbabwe', Draft paper presented at the Informal Sector Study Seminar, Harare, Zimbabwe, September 1983
8. Brand, V. RSH 'One Dollar Workplaces'; op. cit, 1982
9. See Growth with Equity, 1981; Transitional National Development Plan (1982 - 1985), 1983; First Five Year National Development Plan (1986 - 1990); and the recently published document, Socio-Economic Review (1990)
10. Ministry of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Settlement, Government Policy on Co-operative Development, 1984, p. 1
11. Ministry of Finance, Economic Planning and Development, op cit 1986.
12. Else J., Gamanya Z., & Jirira K. "Economic Development in the African Context: Opportunities and Constraints, "Journal of Social Development", Harare, Zimbabwe, Vol. No.2, 1986
13. Chimedza, R., "Saving together, spending together : Zimbabwe's Rural Savings Clubs" The Courier, No.99. September-October 1986.
14. World Bank, IMF.
15. Commonwealth Secretariat: Women and Development Programme, London.
16. Ibid.
17. Prebish, Raul, Towards a New Trade Policy for Development, (New York: United Nations, 1964).
18. See Chapter II:" Human Resources and Industrial Development in Zimbabwe", Section 3.1.
19. See Five Year National Development Plan

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Women need to enhance their own participation in/and contribution to the economy of Zimbabwe. Women themselves have to take the lead in doing so, through their own organisations.

2. Within government, the responsibility for policy co-ordination and for the inclusion of women's concerns in all relevant fields of policy is the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs (CD & WA). To increase the effectiveness of the Ministry in the execution of these tasks and give it greater impact, both short-term and long-term measures are recommended. It is firstly, for the long-term, necessary that the Ministry becomes fully staffed and the present vacant posts are filled. In this process, there must be emphasis on the proper selection of staff and inter-ministerial training programmes. Secondly, to improve on the inclusion of women, policy aspects in important fields of general policy, a co-ordinator of women's affairs, working closely with the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs should be placed in the Ministry of Finance, Economic Planning and Development.

3. At present, there are several small women's groups engaged in various forms of manufacturing. The groups are not yet ready to form proper co-operatives. It is recommended that the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs, the Ministry of Co-operative Development, Non-governmental and Church groups should get together and find ways to ensure that these groups can benefit from the same types of support as those given to co-operatives.

4. "Women's World Banking", which supports women entrepreneurs should liaise and work with the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs.
5. Support systems for small-scale commodity producers; individuals or groups is presently biased against female investors. The Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries (CZI); the Zimbabwe National Chamber of Commerce (ZNCC); the Small Enterprise Development Committee (SEDCO) and the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs should discuss this problem and recommend on the improvement of existing support channels or establishment of new ones.
6. Motivation and awareness campaigns should be started to make women aware of the support they can get in starting industrial activities. It is important, however, that before such campaigns are started, an appropriate system of extension and credit is built up. It is recommended that a campaign first be attempted in a limited geographical area with good potential.
7. It is necessary, with the evolving of the structure of regional (provincial, districts, wards and villages) planning institutions, that women be given appropriate place at all levels as they represent a human resource potential that can be used in industrial activities. However, the present trend whereby women are active at ward and village level should not only be welcomed, but that greater female representation needs to be encouraged at district and provincial levels.

8. There is need to strengthen the cadre of community development workers. It is recommended that there be an evaluation of the cadres' effectiveness, activities and functions, both generally and in relation to industrial production activities.

9. Both multi-lateral and bi-lateral donors have been supporting various types of income-generating projects for women. Particularly when working with women's groups, the emphasis has been on very small-scale activities in the informal sector. Often these projects have collapsed when the donor stopped the support. Also there has been little systematic effect in Zimbabwe to accumulate the experience from such projects in a way that future projects can benefit from past mistakes.

It is, therefore, recommended:

- (a) that donors are encouraged to support also larger women-oriented income-generating projects in the informal sector;

- (b) the overriding aim for all projects must be that they become self-sustainable in the long-run;

- (c) to create a focal point for the accumulation of experience CDWA should establish a centralised information data base on women's activities. The data base would be built-up gradually and aimed at using modern information technology. It would be necessary to build it up gradually starting, perhaps, with a library of evaluation reports on women's projects.

Central Statistical Office, together with Information data base recommended to be established in CDWA, should form a system for measuring progress in women's participation in industry.

10. Agro-industries, including processing and post-harvest activities have great potential for women's activities. The chances that women become more involved in this area, could be increased by explicit consideration of the role women can play in this field by the agricultural research institutions.
11. To help women choose an education or training in fields where there is need in industry, improved labour market information is essential. It is recommended that women's organisations be used as conduits for this type of information.
12. Whereas earlier technical training was almost exclusively given to men, the recent past has seen a change here towards more women in the technical institutes by way of introducing career guidance and counselling in primary, secondary and university schools. The latter process could be complimented in the long-run if such counselling were also aimed at re-orienting gender roles and gender socialisation from pre-school onwards.

There is a need to undertake research on technical training so that more women can be encouraged to participate in this area which has been predominantly male-dominated.

13. Women's Leagues in the trade unions would play an important role in improving women's conditions in formal industry and their activities should be supported by government and Trade Unions.
14. Worker's committees take decisions taht relate to working conditions. Women are under-represented here so that women's concerns (maternity Provision, breast-feeding breaks, creches) are not focused to the extent desired. Worker's committees should be encouraged to have more women representatives.
15. Attitudes among employers and employees often imply a gender classification of jobs which has little to do with relative abilities of ~~the~~ sexes and, therefore, act as a barrier to the better utilisation of human resources, change of these attitudes are necessary and can be effected through campaigns in the labour market organisation and media.
16. One particular area where attention should be focussed so as to allow for greater female participation, is in the new areas of technology. This will be easier in new fields than in traditional ones where attitudes already imply clear gender classification. Examples are the information technology and systems analysis. Micro-computers are, and will be spreading rapidly in Zimbabwe. A major emphasis on the training of women as programmes and systems analysts at this point in time will give a different sex composition of this rapidly growing sector for the future.
17. Gender classifications can also be broken down in traditional fields.

An example would be the concerted effort to train women in servicing and repairing of machinery which they themselves are likely to use, e.g. water pumps, sewing machines, knitting machines, etc.

During the National Master Water Plan encouraging progress has been made in the training of women pump repairing. Such encouragement can be extended to other fields.

18. A wide range of both technical and administrative training institutes have an under-representation of women among their students and would need to be encouraged to launch special drives of enrolling women. Both the serving institutes and their clients' organisations need to liaise with each other to ensure greater female representation.
19. It is recommended that the Central Statistical Office (CSO) improve the scope for analysis on women's role in industry, re-introduce the gender breakdown of industrial employees in the Annual Census of industrial production. This breakdown was discontinued in 1982.
20. The government's aim for the decentralisation of industry is very welcome in the context of improved opportunity for women's participation in formal as well as informal industry. The problem for many women is that they are bound to their family and ~~homestead~~ and cannot seek work through local community. If industrial jobs become available in the local community, these barriers to their contribution will disappear. Rapid progress in decentralisation will rapidly increase

the contribution of women.

In view of the decentralisation of industry (industrial estates and growth points strategy) it is recommended that a monitoring mechanism be incorporated to ensure that women are not marginalised from industrial activities.

ANNEXES

Annex 1: Terms of reference

(Excerpt from the project proposals section on objectives).

Development objectives

The development objective of the project is the accelerated development of human resources for industrial development and specifically the participation of women in and their contribution to the industrial development process in Zimbabwe.

Immediate objectives

The immediate objectives are:

(i) to assess the current role of women in the process of the country's industrial development;

(ii) on the basis of trend projection and the established industrial strategic goals and priorities, in particular as laid down in the Transitional National Development Plan and the National Plan, as well as of emerging new challenges to and pattern on industrialisation, to assess the implications for human resource development and in particular for women's participation in industry in the coming years;

(iii) to outline policies and measures conducive to enhancing the role of women in the framework of human resource development for industry;

(iv) to identify areas and key issues for bilateral and multilateral co-operation in this field.

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ANNEX 3: QUESTIONNAIRES

1. Formal Sector

Management

Female employee

Worker's Committee

2. Informal sector/Co-operatives

WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN INDUSTRY

FORMAL SECTOR QUESTIONNAIRE

Part A : With Management

Name and title of Interviewer.....
 Name of establishment.....
 Address.....
 Phone.....

(1) Type of Manufacturing Sub-sector

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------|
| Foodstuffs | <input type="checkbox"/> | 311 - 312 |
| Drink and Tobacco | <input type="checkbox"/> | 313 - 314 |
| Textiles including cotton ginning | <input type="checkbox"/> | 321 |
| Clothing and Footwear | <input type="checkbox"/> | 322 - 324 |
| Wood and Furniture | <input type="checkbox"/> | 331 - 332 |
| Paper and Printing & Publishing | <input type="checkbox"/> | 341 - 342 |
| Chemical and Petroleum Products | <input type="checkbox"/> | 351 - 356 |
| Non-Metallic Mineral Products | <input type="checkbox"/> | 361 - 369 |
| Metals and Metal Products | <input type="checkbox"/> | 371 - 383 |
| Transport Equipment | <input type="checkbox"/> | 384 |
| Other Manufacturing Groups | <input type="checkbox"/> | 385 - 390 |

(2) Nature of Ownership

- 1
Zimbabwe owned
(Foreign equity less than 1%)
- 2
Foreign equity between 1% and 50%
- 3
Majority Foreign Shareholding

(3) Extent of State Involvement in Organization

- 1
Parastatal (i.e. Statutory Corp)
- 2
Majority Government Shareholding
- 3
Minority Government Shareholding
- 4
No Government Participation

(4) Main Products

Specify:

(5) Main Markets

- 1
Domestic
- 2
Export
- 3
Equal Weight for Domestic/Export

(8) Of the Production line employees number of men who are:

Skilled	<input type="checkbox"/>
Semi-skilled	<input type="checkbox"/>
Unskilled	<input type="checkbox"/>

(9) Of the Production line employees, number of women who are:

Skilled	<input type="checkbox"/>
Semi-skilled	<input type="checkbox"/>
Unskilled	<input type="checkbox"/>

(10) Problems encountered in the hiring of women by the firm:

1 Skill level 1

Specify:.....

2 Educational level 2

Specify:.....

3 Non-response of women to certain jobs 3

Specify:.....

4 Unavailability of Qualified women for certain job openings 4

Specify:.....

(1) Number of men in:

	(T) TOTAL	(B) BLACK	(W) WHITE	(A) ASIAN	(C) JOB.
1. Top management	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Middle management	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Staff function	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Supervisory functions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Production line role	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Others (specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(7) Number of Women in:

	(T)	(B)	(W)	(A)	(C)
1. Top management	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Middle management	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Staff function	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Supervisory functions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Production line role	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Others (specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(6) Number of men in

	(P) TOTAL	(B) BLACK	(W) WHITE	(A) ASIAN	(C) OTHER
1. Top management	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Middle management	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Staff function	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Supervisory functions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Production line role	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Others (specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(7) Number of Women in

	(T)	(B)	(W)	(A)	(C)
1. Top management	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Middle management	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Staff function	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Supervisory functions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Production line role	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Others (specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(8) Of the Production line employees number of men and are:

- Skilled
- Semi-skilled
- Unskilled

(9) Of the Production line employees, number of women who are:

- Skilled
- Semi-skilled
- Unskilled

(10) Problems encountered in the hiring of women by the firm:

- 1 Skill level 1

Specify:.....

2 Educational level 2

Specify:.....

3 Non-response of women to certain jobs 3

Specify:.....

4 Unavailability of Qualified women for certain job openings 4

Specify:.....

17

Women's career orientation

Explain:.....
.....
.....

(11) Advantages of hiring women

1

Women perform better

Explain:.....
.....
.....

2

Women make better team members

Explain:.....
.....
.....

3

Women are good trainers/trainees

Explain:.....
.....
.....

(12) General problems in promoting women to higher posts.

1

Skill level

Specify:.....
.....
.....

2

Educational level attained

Specify:.....
.....
.....

3

Unavailability of Qualified Women for certain Job openings

Specify:.....
.....
.....

5

Women's Attitudes with regard to specific jobs

Specify:.....
.....
.....

6

Company culture towards hiring women

Specify:.....
.....
.....

7

Social perceptions of women in certain job categories

Specify:.....
.....
.....

8

Marital Status

Specify:.....
.....
.....

9

Women likely to remain on the job for a short while

Indicate why so:.....
.....
.....

10

Women have higher absenteeism and turnover rates

Indicate why so:.....
.....
.....

11

Necessity for child care/creche provision

Explain:.....
.....
.....

4 Women's unwillingness to take up higher authority/responsibility jobs

4

Specify:

5 Company culture

5

Specify:

6 General Employee Resistance to promoting women

6

Explain:

7 Marital Status

7

Explain:

8 Higher absenteeism and turnover rate

8

Explain:

9 Necessity for child-care/creche provisions

9

Explain:

10 Women's career orientation

10

Explain:

(13) The Practice of hiring women

No skills needed - casual

	Perma		Seas/Casual
A	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	<input type="checkbox"/>
B	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	<input type="checkbox"/>
C	<input type="checkbox"/>	6	<input type="checkbox"/>

At low level skill with training to follow

Initially with high skills and educational level

Varies with job

(14) The Practice of promoting women

Filling vacant posts with women from outside

1

Promotion from within

2

(15) On-the-job-training

Does the company provide any type of on-the-job-training

1
Yes

2
No

If Yes, fill below:

Level	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)
	Type of training	Duration	Formal Cert.	Equal Access by men & women	
Top Management				1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No
Middle Management				1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No
Supervisors				1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No
Production line				1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No
Others				1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No

(21) Working Conditions

(A) Category of Employee	(B) Type of Benefit	(C) Availability	(D) Equal Application to both men and women.
(i) Top Management	a) Pension Benefits	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No
	b) Medical Aid	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No
	c) Insurance/ Assurance	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No
	d) Accommodation	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No
	e) Canteen Facilities	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No
	f) Leave conditions	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No
(ii) Middle Management	a) Pension Benefits	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No
	b) Medical Aid	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No
	c) Insurance/ Assurance	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No

Category of Employee Type of Benefit Availability Equal Application to both men and women

...Middle Management(d) Accommodation		1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	
	e) Canteen Facilities	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	
	f) Leave Conditions	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	
	(iii) Supervisors	a) Pension Benefits	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No
	b) Medical Aid	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	
	c) Insurance/ Assurance	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	
(iv) Production level employees	d) Accommodation	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	
	e) Canteen Facilities	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	
	f) Leave Conditions	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	
	a) Pension	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input type="checkbox"/> No	

Category of Employee Type of Benefit Availability Equal Applicability
 To both men and women.

.....Productive Level b) Involvement Allowance

1 Yes 1 Yes

2 No 2 No

c) Insurance/Assurance

1 Yes 1 Yes

2 No 2 No

d) Accommodation

1 Yes 1 Yes

2 No 2 No

e) Canteen facilities

1 Yes 1 Yes

2 No 2 No

f) Maternity Leave

1 Yes

2 No

If the answer is No for (C) or (D), explain.....

(22) Do the following facilities exist in the company?

a) Maternity Leave

Yes 1

No 2

If the answer is Yes, specify:.....

If the answer is No, explain:.....

Child care/crèche provisions:

Yes: 1

No: 2

If Yes, Specify:.....

.....

.....

If No, explain:.....

.....

.....

(73) To what extent do women actually make use of the maternity leave and child-care provisions?

.....

(74) Do the child-care provisions provide for a time to breastfeed?

.....

Yes 1

No 2

If Yes, specify:.....

.....

.....

If No, explain:.....

.....

.....

(75) To what extent do women actually make use of the breastfeeding time allowed?

(76) Are there any legal constraints to the employment of women?

Yes 1

No 2

If Yes, specify:.....

.....

.....

LINKAGE

(77) Labour Utilization

A) Full time

Male

Female

Specify as to areas of deployment and why.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

B) Part time

Male

Female

Total

Male

Female

Coloured

(B)

(M)

(F)

(A)

Coloured

Male

Female

Coloured

Specify as to areas of deployment, why and when.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

C) Casual

Male

Female

Total

Male

Female

Coloured

(B)

(M)

(F)

(A)

Coloured

Male

Female

Coloured

Specify as to areas of deployment, why and when.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

(78) Sources of labour

Commercial employment

(a) Agencies

Full-time

 1

(9) Inputs:- Raw Materials:

- (a) Sub-contracting arrangement 1
- Direct purchasing: 2
- (b) Formal Sector Firms
 - Domestic Firms 1
 - Foreign 2
 - Domestic and Foreign 3
- (c) Informal Sector Firms
 - Domestic 1
 - Foreign 2
 - Domestic and Foreign 3

- Part time 2
- Seasonal 3
- Casual 4

(b) Government Employment Agencies

- Full-time 1
- Part-time 2
- Seasonal 3
- Casual 4

(c) Directly Employed

- Full-time 1
- Part-time 2
- Seasonal 3
- Casual 4

(d) Other - specify.....

- Full-time 1
- Part-time 2
- Seasonal 3
- Casual 4

(10) Inputs:- Capital (Machinery, Equipment etc.)

- (a) Formal Sector Firms
 - Domestic Firms 1
 - Foreign Firms 2
 - Foreign and Domestic Firms 3
- (b) Informal Sector Firms
 - Domestic 1

Give orders of magnitude

(11) Outputs (Markets)

- 1. Main products
 - (a) Informal Sector 1
 - Export 1

	Domestic	<input type="text" value="2"/>
(b)	Formal Sector	<input type="text" value="1"/>
	Export	<input type="text" value="1"/>
	Domestic	<input type="text" value="2"/>
(c)	<u>By-Products</u>	<input type="text"/>
	(i) Informal Sector	<input type="text" value="1"/>
	(ii) Formal Sector	<input type="text" value="1"/>

Give indication of magnitudes

(12) Are there any other forms of contact with the informal sector, e.g. technological?

Specify:.....

No.
E. I.

PART B: WITH FEMALE EMPLOYEES

1. NAME OF COMPANY.....
2. NAME OF PERSON.....
3. AGE
4. MARITAL STATUS
 - Monogamous 1
 - Single - Never married 2
 - Polygamous 3
 - Divorced 4
 - Widowed 5
 - Separated 6

5. Employee's occupation in the company.
 - Specify:.....
 -
 -
6. Level of employee in that occupation
 - Specify:.....
 -
 -

7. Source of information concerning the existence of the job
 - Word-of-Mouth 1
 - Advertisement 2
 - Employment Agency 3
 - Other 4

8. How did you apply for the job?

- Phone 1
- Letter 2
- Commercial employment agency 3
- Government employment agency 4
- Other 5

9. How were you recruited to the firm?

- Interview 1 On site 4
- Wrote an examination 2 Other 5
- Medical examination 3

10. In your opinion, was the selection procedure fair?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

If No, specify:.....

.....

.....

11. What are your educational qualifications?

- None 1
- 1-5 years primary school 2
- 6-10 years primary school 3
- 1-2 years of secondary school 4
- 3 years of secondary school 5

'O' Level: 6

'A' Level: 7

University Int Degree 8

Masters Degree 9

Doctorate Degree 10

Diploma 11

12. What are your skills?

Specify:
Type of skills:
Source of skill:

13. What skills were considered necessary for the job that you have?

Specify:
.....
.....

14. What is your employment history?

Name of Company	Dates	Number of years

15. Do you consider that any of the working experience you had before your present job is relevant for your present job?

1 Yes

Specify:
.....
.....

No

Specify:
.....
.....

16.1 Salaries

Do you consider the provision of the following items by the company
(i) adequate
(ii) fair in their application between men and women of same occupational level

	Adequate	Fair in Application
2. (a) Pension Benefits	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 1 No <input type="checkbox"/> 2 If No, explain	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 3 No <input type="checkbox"/> 4 If No, explain
3. (b) Medical Aid - dental, etc.	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 1 No <input type="checkbox"/> 2 If No, explain	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 3 No <input type="checkbox"/> 4 If No, explain

4 (c) Insurance/Assurance Yes 1 No 2
 If No, explain

5 (d) Accommodation Yes 1 No 2
 If No, explain

6 (e) Canteen facilities Yes 1 No 2
 If No, explain

7 (g) Other (Specify)
 Yes 1 No 2
 If No, explain

(17) Do you consider the provision of the following items by the adequate?
 (a) Maternity Leave Yes 1 No 2
 If No, explain.....

(b) Childcare/creche facilities Yes 1 No 2
 If No, explain.....

(18) Are you provided with time to breastfeed?
 Yes 1 No 2

(19) If Yes, are you actually able to do that?
 Yes 1 No 2
 If No, explain.....

(20) Have you ever been promoted?
 Yes 1 No 2
 If Yes, list your promotions in the last five years:.....

(21) For your last promotion, indicate what the previous grade scale was and what the promotion salary was.

Previous Grade Salary \$

Promotion Salary \$

(22) Have you personally considered that promotion was given to a man when you deserved it?

(a) Yes 1
 No 2

(b) If Yes, explain:.....

(23) If you thought unfairness was practised, did you take any steps to redress the situation?

(a) Yes 1
 No 2

(b) If Yes, Indicate what steps were taken and the results.

(c) If No, explain why not:.....

(24) In general, do you feel that the company's promotion practice is fair to both sexes?

(a) Yes 1
 No 2

(b) If No, explain:.....

(25) What do you think of your promotion opportunities within the company?

Good 1
 Bad 2
 Uncertain 3
 Other (Specify) 4

(26) Where do you see yourself within the company 5 years from now?

In Top Management: 1
 In Middle Management 2
 In a Supervisory role (Foreman) 3
 As a Production Line Employee 4
 Other (specify) 5

(27) What is the highest position you think you can attain?

Top Management 1 Other 5
 Middle Management 2
 Supervisor 3
 Production line employee 4

(28) What is the highest position you think any other woman can attain?

Top Management 1 Other 5
 Middle Management 2
 Supervisor 3
 Production line employee: 4

(29) Are you active in any organization in or related to your work in the company?

Yes 1

you with your employment problems and opportunities?

Not at all

1

Explain:.....

Useful

2

Explain:.....

Very useful

3

Explain:.....

(33) If you had a choice, would you prefer to do any other work than the one you are doing now?

(a) 1 Yes

2 No

(b) If either Yes or No, explain:.....

(34) Have you ever considered self-employment

1 Yes

2 No

For either Yes, or No, specify and explain:.....

(35) What are the chances that you could find a job with another company and in the process improve your level of occupation?

No 2 Explain why not:

If Yes, which one?

Worker's Committee

1

Trade Union

2

Women's League of Trade Unions

3

Other (specify)

4

(36) Do you hold any office in any of the organizations?

Chair

1

Secretary

2

Treasurer

3

Office holder

4

Other (specify)

5

(37) Have you ever been proposed for office?

(a) Yes 1

No 2

(b) Did you accept the proposition?

Yes 1

No 2

If not, explain:.....

(c) If Yes, were you then elected?

Yes 1

No 2

(38) How frequent or do you think these organizations are in helping

6
 In-laws
 7
 Son(s)
 8
 Daughter(s)

(39) How you manage with your children when you are at work?

1
 They go to school
 2
 Taken care of by in-laws
 3
 Taken care of by your partner
 4
 Taken care of by husband
 5
 Taken care of by sister(s)
 6
 Taken care of by brother(s)
 7
 Go to day-care centres/crèche
 8
 Taken care of by maid
 9
 Other (specify)

(40) How long do you take to travel to get to work?

1
 Less than 1 hour
 2
 1 - 2 hours
 3
 2 - 3 hours
 4
 3 - 4 hours
 5
 Over 4 hours

1
 None
 2
 Very slight
 3
 Moderate
 4
 High
 5
 Don't know

(16) What is the kind of accommodation you have?

1
 Company-owned
 2
 Rented (whole house or flat)
 3
 Self-owned
 4
 Lodger
 5
 Stay with family
 6
 Other

(17) Are you the only one employed in your household?

4
 Yes
 2
 No

(18) If no, who else?

1
 Husband
 2
 Father
 3
 Mother
 4
 Sister(s)
 5
 Brother(s)

Other (specify) 7

How long do you take to travel home from work?

- Less than 1 hour 1
- 1 - 2 hours 2
- 2 - 3 hours 3
- 3 - 4 hours 4
- Over 4 hours 5

Have you ever been unemployed?

- Yes 1
- No 2

If yes, (a) when (give dates)

(b) why (explain):

.....
.....

How did you survive when you were unemployed/what was your source of income?

- Subsistence farming 1
- Relatives 2
- Friends 3
- Immediate family 4
- Social Welfare 5
- Boyfriends (Prostitution) 6

(44) Do you think that you and women of other races are treated equitably with respect to same occupational level?

- (a) Pay Yes 1 No other races 3
- No 2

If No, explain:.....
.....
.....

(b) Working conditions

- Yes 1 No other races 3
- No 2

If No, explain:.....
.....
.....

(45) What kind of assistance and creative measures would you like to see the government take to deal with the problems you face at work?

KEY INFORMAL SECTOR QUESTIONNAIRE

KEY INFORMAL SECTOR QUESTIONNAIRE CODE

1. Q1 Field Supervisor's name

Q2 Interviewer's name

Q3 Age

Q4 Sex: Female Male

01

02

Q5 District (Specify

Q6 Location (Specify

Q7 Type of main activity:

Foodstuffs

Drink and Tobacco

Textiles and Leather Products

Clothing and Footwear

Wood and Furniture

Paper, Paper Products; Printing and Publishing

Chemical and Petroleum Products

Non-Metallic Mineral Products

Metals & Metal Products

Transport Equipment

Other, Specify

01

02

03

04

05

06

07

08

09

10

11

Q1 Name

Q2 Address

Q3 Age

Q4 Marital Status (Specify actual age)

Never Married

Married

Polygamous

Monogamous

Widowed

Divorced

Separated

Q5 How many children do you have? (State number)

Q6 Where were you born? (State District

Q7 Since when have you lived here? (State number of years)

Q8 Educational level:

At School

Left School

Never been to school but literate only

Q9

Q10

Q11

Q12

Q13

Q14

Q15

Q16

Q17

Q18

Q19

- 04 Never been to school but numerate only
- 05 Never been to school but literate and numerate
- 06 Never been to school and illiterate
- 07 Been to school but illiterate
- 08 Been to school but not numerate
- 09 Been to school but illiterate and yet numerate
- Q9 How many years of primary education do you have?
- Specify
- Q10 How many years of secondary education do you have?
- Specify
- Q11 What is your highest Academic Level reached? Specify
- Q12 Do you have any vocational training? Specify
-
- Q13 Do you have any adult literacy education? Specify
-
- Q14 Training level: What specific skills do you have?
-
-
- Q15 Where did you learn them?
- In the home
- Outside

4/...

Q16 If outside, where? Specify

Q17 If at home, from whom? Specify

Q18 Is your main activity:

- Full time
- Part Time
- Seasonal

Q19 Do you have a secondary activity?

- Yes
- No

Q20 If yes, specify what

Q21 Is secondary activity

- Full Time
- Part Time
- Seasonal

Q22 Type of Ownership:

- Sole Owner
- In Partnership
- Manager

Q23 Are you a worker?

01		
02		

Yes
No

Q24 If yes, Specify what you do

.....

Q25 If in Partnership, specify:

01		
----	--	--

Co-operative

Do you know what a Co-operative is? Explain:

.....

.....

02		
----	--	--

Private Enterprise Partnership

Q26 When did you establish your business/ activity? Specify exact data

(Last two digits)

--	--	--

Q27 Other than working in your business, do you currently participate in:

(a) any other occupation:

01		
02		

Yes
No

If Yes, why? Specify

.....

(b) Employed in the formal sector:

01		
02		

Yes
No

If Yes, which - Specify

.....

(c) Participate in any other informal sector activity

01		
02		

Yes
No

If Yes, specify which

.....

(d) Engaged in subsistence farming

01		
02		

Yes
No

If Yes, which? Specify

.....

(e.g. type of livestock, type of crop production, etc)

Q28 How did you get involved in your present business/ activity?

01		
02		
03		
04		
05		
06		

Started it on your own

Started it with others in co-operation

Inherited it

Was given it

Bought it from previous owner

Other

Specify

Q29 What were you doing before starting or joining present business/activity?

- 01 Subsistence farming
- 02 Agricultural labourer
- 03 Seasonal Worker
- 04 Casual Labourer
- 05 Urban Unemployed
- 06 Rural Unemployed
- 07 Working in Formal Sector
(Specify
- 08 Similar Enterprise/Activity
- 09 Refugee/displaced person
(Specify where from
- 10 Migrant
(Specify where from

Q30 Have you ever looked for work in the formal sector?

- 01 Yes
- 02 No

If Yes, specify where?
and type of job

u/...

Q31 Why did you decide to work in the Informal sector?

- 01 Could not find another job
- 02 Earn more than on regular job
- 03 Like to be independent
- 04 Need to supplement Income from Another job
- 05 Need to supplement Subsistence Income

Q32 What is the source of your subsistence income?

- 01 Agricultural (Specify, e.g. Type of Livestock, type of crop)
- 02 Remittance (Specify type, e.g. cash or in kind and from whom or where)
- 03 Family Support
- 04 Drought Relief (Specify periods/dates)
- 05 Pension/Insurance
- 06 Other, Specify

Q33 How many people do you support from the income you get in your business/activity? Actual number:

- Partial
- Full Support

Q36 What would you be doing if not engaged in your present business/activity? Specify

.....

.....

.....

Q37 If sole owner of business/activity, do you wish to continue as sole owner? Yes

If Yes, what advantage do you see? Explain

.....

.....

.....

No

Q38 If No, specify type of ownership preferred and why

.....

.....

.....

Q35 What types of organisations and why would you like to be involved with? Specify, e.g. Savings Clubs, Burial Societies, Co-operatives

.....

.....

.....

.....

Q37 When away from Business/Activity, who is in charge?

Husband	01	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mother	02	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Father	03	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In-Law	04	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sister	05	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Brother	06	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Son	07	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Daughter	08	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other, Specify	09	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Q.1 What are the major products made/produced by your activity?
List Products.

	Products/Articles
I	
II	
III	
IV	
V	
VI	
VII	
VIII	
IX	
X	

Q.2 How long does it take to produce each article? List articles

	Article	Hours	Days	Weeks
I				
II				
III				

TYPE OF MAIN ACTIVITY

Q1 What are the major products made/produced by your activity? Specify?

Q2 How long does it take to produce each article? in Weeks/Days

Q3 In a given week, how many do you make/produce? Specify

Q4 How much do you sell each item for? Specify actual price.

Q5 How many days per week do you work? Specify actual days. " " hours.

Q6 How much do you estimate your income is a. per week? b. per article

Q7 If you are a worker, how much do you get paid a. per hour b. per week

Q8 Which product do you like making most

- 177 -

	Hours	Days	Numbers	Hours	\$	\$	\$

.....
 Show, specify

Article	Hours	Days	Weeks
I			
II			
III			
IV			
V			
VI			
VII			
VIII			
IX			
X			

3.a In a given week, how many do you make/produce? List number of products/per week

Products/Articles	Week	Months*
I		
II		
III		
IV		
V		
VI		
VII		
VIII		
IX		
X		

Only in names where articles take one month to complete.
 Q.3.b How much do you sell each item for? List products and prices.

Product	Price	
	Dollars	Cents
I		
II		
III		
IV		
V		
VI		
VII		
VIII		
IX		
X		

Q.4.a How many days per week do you work?

Q.4.b How many hours per day do you work?

Q.5. How much do you estimate your income is?
 * per week

- 11(d) -

Q.5.b Per article

	Article	Income	
		Dollars	Cents
I			
II			
III			
IV			
V			
VI			
VII			
VIII			
IX			
X			

Q.5.c If difficult to say specify how

Q0 What are the main materials used by your business activity

Local natural resources 01

Scrap material 02

Second hand material 03

Imported material 04

All of the above 05

Other, specify 06

Q9 Where do you get these materials from?

a. If from rural areas

Commercial farms 01

Non commercial/subsistence farms 02

Cooperatives 03

Own home 04

Other homes 05

Formal sector 06

Other, specify ----- 07

b. If from urban areas

Factories 01

Wholesalers 02

Retailers 03

Informal sector

--	--

04

Other, specify.

--	--

05

Q10 a. How far do you have to travel to purchase /buy your inputs? Specify distance.

--	--

km

b. How much does it cost you to travel to get these inputs

\$	
	2
	50

i. One way

ii. Both ways

\$	
----	--

Q11(a) How much do you spend on travel for your business/activity per day?

--	--

(b) How much does it cost when selling your goods?

--	--

Q12 Do you deliberately purchase inputs from:

--	--

01

Women only

--	--

02

Does not matter

--	--

03

Q13 What is the total cost of materials per week/per product? Specify product and its price?

.....

Q14 How many hours do you spend travelling in your business

--	--

a. per day

No. hours

b. per week

--	--

No. hours

Q15 a. Does your business own any capital equipment?

--	--

YES

01

--	--

02

Q.13 What is the total cost of materials per week/per product? Specify product and its price.

	Product	Cost	
		Dollars	Cents
i			
ii			
iii			
iv			
v			
vi			
vii			
viii			
ix			
x			

Actual Number

Q17 How many members of your household (excluding yourself) participate in the business/activity on a regular basis?

a.

Fulltime	
Females	
Males	
Juveniles	

b. Part time

Females	
Males	
Juveniles	

Q18 a. How many hours per day do they work? specify

hrs	181
-----	-----

b. Do you pay them?

YES	01
NO	02

c. If YES, how much do they earn? Specify total wage bill per month.

\$	
c	

d. If none, why not? Explain

.....

.....

b. If YES, specify including value

Hand tools	
Power driven tools	
Machines	
Furniture	
Vehicles	
Other, specify: -----	
TOTAL	

Q16 a. How did you obtain your equipment?

YES	01
NO	02

b. If yes, what? specify

.....

.....

c. Have you added to it since?

YES	01
NO	02

d. If so, what? specify

.....

.....

e. How did you finance it? specify

.....

.....

.....

Q19 How many other helpers does the business/activity have (i.e non household labour)

a. Full time:

Female	
--------	--

Male

Juveniles

b. Part time:

Female

Male

Juveniles

Q20 Do you find your business returns worthwhile to justify your efforts?

a. In kind, what?

b. In money?

Q21 Are any of the following utilities used by your business/activity?

a. 1. Water Yes 01

No 02

ii. Cost per month

b. 1. Electricity

YES 01

NO 02

ii. Cost per month

17/...

6. 1. Coal/Charcoal YES 01

NO 02

ii. Cost per month

4. 1. Wool YES 01

NO 02

ii. Cost per month

9. 1. Market stalls YES 01

NO 02

ii. Cost per month

f. 1. Transport facilities YES 01

NO 02

ii. Cost per month

6. 1. Premises (Permanent) YES 01

NO 02

ii. Cost per month

h. 1. Paraffin YES 01

NO 02

ii. Cost per month

\$

i. Diesel/Petrol (tick appropriate one)

YES

01

NO

02

ii. Cost per month

\$

j. Storage facilities (Permanent)

YES

01

NO

02

ii. Cost per month

\$

Q22 Where do you carry out your activity

At home

01

Elsewhere (Specify)

02

Q23 Are the premises adequate?

YES

01

NO

02

If NO, specify why not (e.g. storage etc)

Q24 a. How do you market your goods?

Go out and look for customers

01

Customers approach business/activity

02

b. How far do you travel to market your goods?

Specify actual distance (kms)

km

Q25 What is the main way in which customers get to know about your goods?

See them displayed

01

Word of mouth

02

Advertise (specify)

03

Other (Specify)

04

Q26 a. Do you receive subcontracts?

YES

01

NO

02

b. If YES, where?

From similar enterprises

01

From other companies

02

Elsewhere (Specify)

03

c. If YES, roughly what proportion of your work comes from subcontracts?

Half

01

Less than half

02

More than half

03

All

04

Q27 Do you subcontract?

YES

01

NO

02

Q28 If YES, to whom do you subcontract? Specify ...

.....

.....

Q32 What type of customer do you sell mostly to?

- low-income 01
- High-income 02
- Tourists 03
- Other small enterprises 04
- Companies 05
- Other, (Specify) 06

Q33 How much money did you need to get started with?

- Savings from formal sector employment 01
- Odd jobs 02
- Money from other household members, Specify 03
-
-

Q34 What was the source of money?

- Borrowed from relatives 04
- Borrowed from friends 05
- Savings from agriculture 06
- Borrowed from financial institutions 07

Q35 If borrowed from financial institutions, state if.

- b. Why do you subcontract to them? Specify ..
-
-
- c. When do you subcontract to them? Specify ..
-
-
- d. How do you subcontract (Arrangement)?
-
-

Q29 How many other women do you know of in your area selling the same products? Give actual numbers.

--

Q30 a. Are you in touch with them?

- YES 01
- NO 02

b. If YES, specify whether

- Regularly 01
- Irregularly 02

Q31 What is the main way in which you price your products?

- a. By negotiation and bargaining with customers 01
- b. By adjusting your price to those of your competitors 02
- c. By formal agreement with other sellers 03
- d. By informal agreement with other sellers 04
- e. Other (specify) 05

Commercial Bank, specify which one

01

.....
.....
Building Society(ies), specify which one(s)

02

03

SEDCO

04

Savings Club(s), Specify

05

Money Lenders, chimbado, Specify which

06

Government, Specify

Other, specify

07

Q)6 What kinds of problems have you encountered in trying to secure credit facilities from:

Commercial Banks, specify problem

Building Society(ies), specify problem

Savings Club(s), specify problem

Other, specify problem

Q37 Can you save from the income that you make in your business?

Yes 01

No 02

Q38 If Yes, how much do you save:

(a) per week \$ C

(b) per month \$ C

Q39 If No, why not? Explain

Q40 Are you a member of a Savings Club(s)?

Yes 01

No 02

Q41 If No, why not? Explain

Q42 If Yes, is the credit sufficient?

Yes 01

No 02

Q43 How much credit do you get?

Per month \$ C

Per Year

Q44 Are the credit terms satisfactory?

Yes 01

No 02

Q45 If No, specify why

Q46 Do you keep records of your business?

Yes 01

No 02

Q47 If Yes, specify how

Q48 If No, why not? Specify

Q49 Would you like to expand your business?

Yes 01

Q52 What measures would you like to see the Government take in order to support your business/activity?

Eliminate government regulations in regard to licensing; location; permit, etc (state what exactly) 01

.....

.....

.....

.....

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Providing marketing outlets (e.g. guaranteed purchases from the informal sector; by government; schools, etc (state) 02

.....

.....

.....

Offering credit on easy terms and simple lending procedures 03

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Providing information regarding improvement on business operations (e.g. production, access to credit; marketing; transport; prices; etc, specify 04

.....

.....

.....

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Q50 If Yes, what are the main constraints in doing so?

Inefficient money from own sources 01

Lack of access to utilities 02

Lack of know-how 03

Lack of access to credit facilities 04

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Government regulations with regards to licensing; location; permit, etc (Please underline appropriate response) 05

Lack of skilled workers 06

Lack of unskilled workers 07

Lack of available premises (e.g. building space) 08

Lack of demand for the goods 09

Other, specify 10

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Q51 If No, why not, specify 20/...

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.....

.....

By encouraging large companies to buy more

of the informal sector goods

06

By eliminating government support of

large companies

07

By eliminating government support of

formal sector small-scale enterprises

08

Q53 Are you satisfied with the present marketing outlets?

Yes

01

No

02

Q54 If Yes, explain why

Q55 If No, explain why

Q56 If a co-operative of a small business in your activity were started, would you become a member?

Yes

01

No

02

Q57 If Yes, explain why

.....

.....

.....

Q58 If No, explain why

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.....

.....

Q59 Would you be interested in joining a co-operative engaged in another business/activity other than the one you are presently engaged in?

Yes

01

No

02

Q60 If Yes, specify which one

.....

.....

.....

Q61 If No, specify why

.....

.....

.....

Q62 What advantages do you foresee in becoming a member of a co-operative? Specify

.....

.....

Q63 Would you be willing to give up your present business?

(a) If offered a regular job and a wage comparable to your present income?

01
Yes
02
No

(b) If offered a regular job above present income?

01
Yes
02
No

(c) If offered a regular job and a wage below present income

01
Yes
02
No

(d) Unwilling to give up business for any reason?

01
Yes
02
No

(e) Other (specify) e.g. continue working in the informal in spite of regular job

01
Yes
02
No

Q64 Are there men engaged in the same business as you in this area?

01
Yes
02
No

(A) If Yes, are there many of them around? Specify

Q66 Do you think that they are more successful than you?

01
Yes
02
No

Q67 If Yes, why? Specify

Q68 If No, why? Specify

Q69 (a) What are your present aspirations regarding your business? Explain

WORKERS' COMMITTEE QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What do you see as your general aims and purposes in this Company?
2. What is the organisational structure of the workers' committee?
3. How many of the office holders are women?
4. Are there any special problems faced by women which the workers' committee deals with?
5. If any special women problems, what successes have been achieved in their attainment?
6. What is the general attitude of men towards women's active participation in the committee?
7. What are the problems faced by women active in the workers' committee?
8. Is there an organiser for women on the shop floor?
9. If there is more than one trade union in the industry, must women belong to one and not the other? What problems arise from this?
10. Does the working relationship between the workers' committee and trade union for that industry result in any problem which, in turn affects the solution of problems faced by women?

ANNEX 4: ZIDS RESEARCH SUPPORT TEAM

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ANNEX 5

Potential Products for Manufacturing in Informal Sector

There are several possible products that have a potential in rural and urban areas. From our analysis the range of products which can be manufactured are numerous.

There are numerous products that can be manufactured for use by the agricultural sectors and non-agricultural in the rural and urban areas of Zimbabwe.

For example, small scale farm implement plants can be set up either via industrial cooperatives who are in full control or via non-exploitative sub-contracting relations. These implements can be:

- Hoes
- Sickles and harrows
- Shovels and spades
- Irrigation pipes and water tanks
- Hand pumps e.g. (Maldev, Afridev TARA^{*1} type pumps which have been found successful in such countries as Malawi and Kenya).
- Wooden fruit and/or vegetable crates.
- Wooden ladder and metal ladder.

- Wooden Barrows or Scotch carts.
- Wooden racks for drying farm products e.g. fruits and vegetables.
- Metal containers e.g. buckets, bakery utensils (e.g. bread, roll, cake trays etc).

*1. Co-operation South, UNDP, TCDC, 1987, No. 2 pp 3 - 4

Rural areas via small scale (or even large scale industrialisation) can be set up for nail production, cog production etc. i.e. can be sub-contracted to do "small jobs" which can then free the much more established large-scale industries to engage in intermediate and capital goods production.

Other rural-based industries can be those that make saws, heater, grain or meat storage equipment.

In other words, rural-based industries can be set up either exclusively for metals/metal work production and/or wood-based production in order to effectively maximise the equipment necessary in the production of either metal or wood-based products.

At the moment, the manufacture of metal and wood doors and window frames is an extensively urban-based industry; Rural industries can be set up to cater for the ever-expanding demand for housing facilities (both for homes, schools and clinics).

There is also the matter of creating large rural based cement or brick making industries to cater for the ever growing demand for shelter and social services.

What prevents rural industries from manufacturing such badly needed items as rulers, pencils, chalks, ink, blackboards, drawing boards, chart boards etc.

There is an abundance of raw materials in Zimbabwe which, through planning, can be mobilised for possible industrial production. For example, tanning-leather - a production whose demand and financial returns is quite promising since numerous by-products can be made such as leather chairs (wood-based); leather clothing and can also be exported to bring in sizeable forex.

The shoe industry can also benefit from an extensive leather tanning industry. There is also bamboo or cane which can be used to manufacture rattan/bamboo-based furniture. A successful project along these lines is that of Fiji whereby Chinese experts were involved in the training of Fijians at the Taveuni Rattan workshop² in the making of furniture which now is earning the crafts people involved sizeable income. Large tracks of land can be planted with bamboo (spreads and hence is profitable in the long-run) so as to encourage large scale bamboo/rattan furniture production. One successful wicker manufacturing enterprise is done at Capote school of the Blind in Masvingo province. The experience of these people can be shared with others so as to create the base for a more lucrative industry.

As for cotton (of which Zimbabwe ranks among the best internationally) how can textile production be encouraged in rural-based industries? Perhaps the experiences of such countries in West Africa (Nigeria and Ivory Coast) and Kenya in East Africa can help lay the basis for profitable tie dye and batik factories. The textile industry can become one of the most powerful employment creation industries as well as forex earner. There is a constantly rising demand for fabric and clothing locally, regionally and internationally. As it is, there are numerous local textile and clothing companies who are sub-contracting to the international companies. Further investigations need to be systematically amounted to unveil the potential contribution of the textile/clothing industry to employment generation.

Another possible lucrative area can be that of extraction of fat animal from cattle (for example) since this is a crucial ingredient in the soap making industry. As it is, this is still being exclusively provided by Botswana to Zimbabwe. More research needs to be done so as to analyse the viability of such a project.

2 Ibid., pp. 6 - 7