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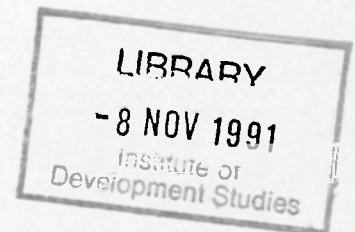
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ZIMBABWE INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Vertical Branch Planning
Horizontal Territorial
Planning

L. Masuko

11



P.O. Box 880 HARARE

DISCUSSION PAPER SERIES

Number 11

**VERTICAL BRANCH PLANNING AND
HORIZONTAL TERRITORIAL PLANNING**

**A REVIEW OF THE APPROACH, PROBLEMS AND
THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PRODUCTIVE
FORCES**

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ZIMBABWE INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Harare, 1990

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"It is conceivable, even likely in many countries, that power at the local level is more elitist, and applied more ruthlessly against the poor than at the centre. Thus, greater decentralization does not necessarily imply democracy let alone 'power to the people'. It all depends on the circumstances under which decentralization occurs."

KEITH GRIFFIN *Economic Development*; page 225

ABSTRACT

This paper is addressed to the question of an appropriate planning technology in Zimbabwe. Note is taken of some of the physical and social manifestations of "Capitalist Planning" in methods borrowed from Eurocentric Social Democracy which still bear the heavy stamp of Keynesianism and welfare state doctrines. History has revealed the latter doctrines to have been social instruments of oppression devised during the Great Depression of 1929 - 1939, to contain social revolution in North America.

Lacking the basic historical base of real experiences that is the social field of inquiry, the paper argues, the missing element in National Planning strategies has been the scant attention paid to the accumulation of social technology. Despite very glib references to the mode of production, Marxists in Zimbabwe have not as yet been able to come up with a National Planning System that goes beyond the imperatives of World Bank and IMF-funded research proposals into the social relations of production. Research proposals emanating from these very eminent world resourceful persons sitting in Washington DC are mere instruments for the containment of the African revolution, whose tornado is currently sweeping over the sub-continent. It is therefore unlikely in the long run that the grey eminence of International Capital can actually sponsor research that is for the common good of the struggling masses of Azania. The paper also seeks to warn against the adoption of imported intellectual fashions. Import substitution projects should surely stop at the material base of society, because clearly in Africa, the limits for the indigenization of the social logic for capital accumulation have been reached. Planners in the political, economic and social sciences should therefore now direct their attention to the whole issue of indigenizing the socialist political economy.

At the most basic level then the debate about planning amongst the left intellectuals in Zimbabwe is still not about the dualism of ideologies in Zimbabwe's superstructure. Rather, it is the articulation of Euro-centric versions of what the best road is to socialism. This is manifested in the fragmentation of the whole academic field of planning into regional and urban planning, social planning, district planning, etc. And despite much talk about political economy, we have not stopped to engage in self-critiques of our own individual planning ideologies or notions of "order".

THE STATE OF THE ART IN NATIONAL DEBATE ON PLANNING

Review of the Approach

The impacts of changes in political and administrative organisation are rarely neutral. They advance the interests of some groups in society over those of others; they alter the patterns of resource allocation among regions and localities, change the distribution of income and wealth, expand or contract the scope of political influence and increase or restrict citizens' access to policymakers and to decision-making processes. Thus no proposal for administrative reform or political change in any state escapes debate. The crucial and recurring debate in the developing world and indeed in Zimbabwe is about the decentralization of Planning and Management, to enhance "equitable" development of the National Economy and particularly of different provinces and hence a more optimum distribution of wealth.

The increasing interest in decentralizing authority for planning and administration purposes to provinces, districts, etc, arose from three converging forces;

first, from disillusionment with the results of Central Planning and control of development activities during the 1950s and 1960s; and second, from the implicit requirements for new ways of managing development programmes and projects that were embodied in growth-with-equity strategies that emerged during the 1970s; and third, from the growing realization that as societies become more complex and government activities begin to expand, it becomes increasingly difficult to plan and administer all development activities effectively and efficiently from the centre.¹

In what kind of economic and socio-political environment has decentralization of planning and management been practised in many developing countries? By whom and for the benefit of which social class? Here, clearly, the guiding force behind this practice has been a reformist one. At international level this reformism has been articulated by the forces of neo-colonialism which stress "Law and Order", "Divide and Rule", "Education" and "Christian Passivism". All such slogans have served to exploit territorial resources. Thus in developing countries, the dominance of professional operatives trained to appreciate Western concepts of physical design lead to the production of finite and rigid master plans which fit into the free-market type of economy only as supportive instruments, i.e. they cannot regulate the anarchy of international market forces or even prevent the imposition on the people's culture of capitalistic relations of production. These master plans, instead of bridging the gap between the rich and the poor, end up widening it. This ever-widening gap, despite much UN sloganeering on all sorts of developmental issues, makes it imperative for a new system of National Planning that leads to the material welfare of the majority of Zimbabwe's working households to be devised.

A broader, comprehensive and scientific approach based on the principle of DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM should be implemented if the decentralization of planning and management is to benefit economic growth in general and the living standards of the people in the rural areas in particular. Failure to encompass such vital concerns has in some fashionable technocratic circles led to an attempt to conceptually fragment the national project of development into local issues and national issues. As Shopo says, this has meant:

1 Rondinelli D.A; Cheema G. Shabbir. Decentralisation and Development: Policy implementation in developing countries. Beverly Hills, Sage 1983.

The local issues by implication being non-political and technical. But even more dangerously such dualism can only divert the national effort for development into an unco-ordinated series of petty and regionally chauvinistic projects for municipal socialism. Such an assertion should not, however, be interpreted to suggest that all technical experts should be given an explicit and formal role in the affairs of state. Rather, what is being called for is a clear conceptual framework which patterns local/district issues with national issues, in such a manner that no confusion arises as to cause and effect.²

Planning is a unique system in which the following three objective economic levels should be integrated: national economy as a whole, the regional and sectoral enterprises, co-ordinated by the REGIONAL PLAN, i.e. at national, provincial, district level, etc. Thus the elaboration of the National Economic Plan is based on the principles which are determined by the objective economic laws which should prevail during the transition to socialism. The long, medium, and short-term plans rest, among others, on the principle of combining the SECTORAL and REGIONAL aspects, departing from the National Economy objectives.

The economic necessity of combining sectors and territories is conditioned by the fact that the sector plans determine the volume, type and quality of production in conformity with the demands of the National Economy, the productive capacity and labour productivity, based on the utilization of the sectors' internal reserves. The plans also stipulate the application of a specific technology policy in each respective sector. In addition, the sector plans cannot cover and provide solutions to intersectoral problems, i.e. they do not include the development and specialization of production for intersectoral co-operation, transport sectors, etc. These cannot determine the proportions and distribution of production according to the resources and socio-economic peculiarities of a particular region and they cannot guarantee the integral use of local resources (raw materials, land, water, human, etc.).

Seen in this way, a plan that is based on only a vertical approach will not reflect, for example, the provinces' levels of economic development, the provincial distribution of social production nor make use of the labour resources. The question here is what would be the results of this vertical branch structure contextualized in a capitalist environment...? In such a capitalist environment the National Plan assumes a merely indicative character; the law of value acts as a spontaneous regulator of social production, the law of surplus-value is the directing motive of production and the general law of capitalist accumulation determines the socio-economic status of different societal groups. To cite Marx on this universal law of capitalist accumulation:

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... But the greater this reserve army in proportion to the active labour-army, the greater is the mass of a consolidated surplus population, whose misery is in direct proportion to the labour put in. The more extensive, finally, the lazarus-layers of the working-class, and the industrial reserve army, the greater is official pauperism. This is the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation.³

This is usually referred to as rural/urban migration, internal migration, etc; but most statements by both policy-makers and researchers have not gone beyond the mere cognition that rural/urban migration is undesirable. This will be looked into in the next sections of the paper.

Shopo, Thomas D, "Some Perspective on Administrative Accountability for National Building and Development". Page 5. Paper presented at UZ Seminar, hosted by Department of Rural and Urban Planning, February, 1987.
Marx, Karl; Capital Vol 1, Progress Publishers. Moscow 1977, page 603.

Towards A Horizontal Territorial Planning Model

In each socio-economic formation there prevails a system of economic laws which determine the essence of the concrete social mode of production, all its principal peculiarities and thus the base for its development. Zimbabwe chose at independence, scientific socialism as its goal and therein it implicitly defined the position of the Zimbabwean working masses in the projected new society. As the structure of the economy becomes more complex, e.g. through the proposed decentralization of industry to rural areas, so too will be the tasks of mobilization or organization of local human resources, the exploitation of local raw materials, financial resources as well as the efficient utilization of existing capacities and their gradual expansion; social services, etc. The co-ordination of all the intersectoral portions at provincial, district levels, etc, has therefore acquired a primary importance in the State's attempts to initiate primary socialist accumulation.

This complexity can be effectively tackled through the implementation of comprehensive HORIZONTAL TERRITORIAL PLANS which unite political, economic and social concerns of socialist development. The Horizontal Territorial Plans (HTPs) are elaborated in certain combination with the sectors and this combination can be illustrated in two ways:

First, territorial Plans are drafted with a view to achieving intersectoral linkages even at the lowest levels, thus avoiding "enclavization" of the national productive base. This undoubtedly would motivate all sectors interested in this debate to see how this would work in the context of the Zimbabwean economy which is still dominated by a capitalist logic. Table 1, which highlights the sectoral and ownership breakdown statistics, shows that 77% of all the economic activities in Zimbabwe are in private corporate hands.

In the more decentralized economic sectors, e.g. agriculture/forestry and mining, due largely to their peculiarities (heavy dependence on the ecological zone in the case of agriculture and the existence of mineral deposits in the case of mining) the ownership in these sectors is highly privatized and stands at 87% and 100% respectively. This, beyond doubt, features, as the major problem, especially in the process of information collection (data) and the actual implementation of the territorial plans, etc. The resistance of agrarian capital to the politico-legal environment, for example, and their eagerness to continued individual accumulation of wealth perpetuates the polarization of society and acts as a brake on the diffusion of material wealth. This was emphasized by the Prime Minister, Cde Robert Mugabe, in his speech which appeared in *Parade*, July 1986:

This presents us with a painful contradiction of abject underdevelopment going side-by-side with one of the sectors boasting of the highest capacity of generate income throughout the economy. Commercial farmers should invest more in raising the standards of living of their workers. They should build more clinics, more and better quality housing. Other amenities, such as piped water and electricity, should also be planned for as part of our overall development.⁴

4 *Parade*; July 1986.

TABLE 1
1983 CAPITAL STOCK: SECTORAL AND OWNERSHIP BREAKDOWN
(000,000 1983 Z\$)

Total	Sectoral breakdown		Ownership Breakdown	
	Government	Individual Enterprise	Domestic	Foreign or Foreign Controlled
2 600 Agriculture/Forestry	350	2 250	1 750	500
1 250 Mining	-	1 250	125	1 125
2 600 Industry	100	2 500	1 000	1 500
1 600 Power/Water ¹	100	1 500	1 500	-
300 Construction	50	250	50	200
2 500 Transport/Communications	150	2 350	2 100	250
2 500 Other Services	200	2 300	2 000	300
2 500 Housing	200	2 300	2 000	300
3 350 Public Administration/ Infrastructure	3 350	-	-	-
9 200 ²	4 500	14 700	10 025	4 675 (3 000) ³

1. *Basic water control works other than commercial power or water projects under infrastructure; roads/bridges are also included in infrastructure.*
2. *Fixed Assets Only (excludes inventories/net financial assets). 1983 Z\$ value at 31-VII-83.*
3. *Foreign owned equity and proprietorial capital adjusted for domestic and external borrowing (\$350), domestic minority interests (\$1 000), enterprises foreign managed but domestically owned (\$325).*

Secondly, the plans are elaborated with a view to providing a data bank for the National Plans. In the process of compiling a plan it becomes necessary to determine the sequence of particular items of the planning agenda and their correlations, i.e. it is always necessary to validate the selected logic of the macro-economic plan. Therefore, even the act of choosing what item on the planning agenda to begin with is a crucial methodological issue.

The Zimbabwean Government embarked on its First Five-Year National Development Plan (FNDP) in 1986. The compilation of this plan from the selection of planning targets for development of particular sectors is indicative of the underlying concept of the plan. It is thus clear that the planning logic corresponds to:

the prevailing concrete situation of the Zimbabwe society, the country's geopolitical position and available resources.⁵

Implicit in all this is the cognition that planning is a learning process, i.e. an exhaustive assessment of the achievements and failures of the Transitional National Development Plan (TNDP) which created the base for this learning experience. The planning logic implicit in the elaboration of the TNDP did not sufficiently account for the teething problems of planning on a national scale. Thus the underlying concept of the TNDP was "the rapid and sustained economic growth of 8 percent over the plan period".⁶ The logic of scientific planning thus adopted was society's needs:

The objectives, development strategy and priorities outlined in this chapter are the results of purposeful and deliberate choices by Government. They satisfy the political imperative for a socialist transformation and egalitarianism but fully recognise that to achieve this it is essential for the economy to be sound, strong and rapidly growing. There is also the recognition that to be meaningful the development effort must aim at meeting the real needs of the people and must be based on mobilized and self-reliant efforts of Zimbabweans - the means and end of development.⁷

Social interests are bound with and in the final analysis determined by socio-economic conditions. In other words, it is necessary to ensure that economic units at all levels, and those working in them, have an economic interest in tackling the tasks facing the economy as a whole. Thus planning is not just a mechanical exercise based on a mere sequence of objective procedures in the decision-making process, but has to be based (given the present stage of development in Zimbabwe) on clear sectoral projections of ranked priorities both at the micro and macro level of the spatial distribution of productive forces.

The effective combination of economic, social and political factors is a prerequisite in achieving the laid-down objectives and plan targets. The combination of these factors cannot be looked for only in the vertical structures but also in the horizontal territorial structures.

The First Five-Year National Development Plan shows commitment by the Government to decentralization and to achieving balanced economic growth during the plan period. On the subject, the FNDP document reads:

As part of decentralization as well as Government's deliberate effort to achieve balanced economic development during the plan period, Government will promote regional development with a view to raising the living standards of the people in all regions. In promoting regional development, maximum utilization of each region's natural and human resources will be taken into account since they constitute the backbone of economic and social development.

The document continues:

Regional development plans will seek to redress imbalances such as differences in standards of living between urban and rural areas. In order to achieve this, regional plans will develop productive and social sectors as well as infrastructure. Raising the standard of living of the population and environment protection are two cardinal principles governing regional development.⁸

6 Republic of Zimbabwe, Transitional National Development Plan, Volume 1, Harare 1982, Page 22.

7 Ibid Page 28.

8 Republic of Zimbabwe; First Five Year National Development Plan. Volume 1. Harare 1986. Page 20.

The main problematic with regard to the above general policy statements is the lack of comprehensive, convincing and systematic inter-linkages between the overall economic plan (at national level) and the provincial plans. This issue has been dealt with more at the level of systematising decision-making processes but without the articulation of the specific economic and social platforms for the plan. The provincial plans at the wider socio-economic level should provide a data bank for the elaboration of more binding plans at national level, i.e. vertical branch plans that are elaborated at the central level should take into account the provinces and their characteristics.

The Provincial Planning Committees, which are close to the local centres of production and distribution of services, should be actively involved in compiling detailed plans for subsequent integration into the National Plan. Thus the planning system which comprises a set of institutions, procedures and economic instruments, jointly specifying how a given planned economy is managed as well as outlining how it functions, must be coherent. Such coherence would be enhanced if the component parts combine specific modalities which will tend to be mutually reinforcing rather than creating antagonistic competition for the "national cake". On the development of society as a dialectical process in his foreword to the TNDP, the Prime Minister had this to say:

The course of that process and its successful accomplishment will depend firstly on whether the objectives of the development plans embraced by society have been clearly defined and given a correct orientation, and secondly, on whether the means have also been clearly defined and given the same orientation as the objectives to which they should apply.

The relationship between the procedures for setting objectives and their transformation into targets is determined by the complicated inter-linkages within the National Economy. This case holds more weight if planning authorities from different levels are involved in the planning process, and if those authorities are given statutory responsibility for the achievement of the plan targets. This responsibility is related to the achievement of a strong interest in achievable and consequently reliable plan targets.

Given that provincial plans should be elaborated after the approval of the main lines of development by the national authorities, the linkages between the current Five-Year National Development Plan and the provincial plans require further debate that concentrates on the relative contribution of the provincial plans to the achievement of goals set out in the FNDP. Whichever way the debate goes, what must be emphasized is that the position and role of the provincial plan within the National Economy should constitute the starting point. It is therefore crucial that this paper briefly addresses itself to this central point.

The provincial plan is supposed to be an instrument which creates compatibility between the plan of all sectors, enterprises and economic units of a given province with respect to such aspects as finance, standard of living, human resources and local natural resources and other material indicators of the quality of productive forces located within the province. The provincial plan should therefore in itself be an important indicative instrument for determining the social division of labour throughout the economy.

It would be important therefore to see to what extent the individual provincial plans enhance or detract from the achievement of an equilibrium between production and consumption. Thus for the decentralization of planning and management in Zimbabwe to be meaningful, a new approach based on the principles and the laws of socialist political economy and socialist methods of social accounting must be implemented.

The decentralization of Planning and Management from the State to province, etc, provides a structure through which the activities of various Central Government ministries and agencies involved in development could be co-ordinated more effectively with each other and with those of local leaders and NGOs within regions. Such an approach based on the highest principle of socialist political economy will be able to effectively integrate into the national social economy those enclaves of underdevelopment that constitute the collective inheritance from the historic uneven patterns of the growth of monopoly capital in Zimbabwe. Provincial, district or local administrative units may also have greater opportunities to test technological innovations and to experiment with new programmes in selected areas, without having to justify them for the whole country. The mobilization of local resources, especially the masses, is the key to the success of the development plans. Thus the already decentralized governmental and Party structures are also required to institutionalize participation of the local masses in development planning and management; to facilitate the exchange of information about local needs and channel political demands from the local community to Central Government. In such a systematic manner it is hoped that Government policies will penetrate the entire national social economy. In such a scenario the resistance by local elites to the diffusion of socialist development should by no means be underestimated.

Change may be slower than desirable, but projects which do more than keep in step with demographic growth are directly beneficial to the national fiscus not as in the past through a free-wheeling system of voluntary resource transfer but by means of direct or indirect Government intervention (control) and initiatives (incentives).

Therefore, by assigning Central Planning Board/Central Government officials to the local level, their know-how of and sensitivity to local problems and needs can be increased. Closer contact between them and the local population would allow both to obtain better information with which to formulate more realistic and effective plans for Government projects and programmes!

TERRITORIAL/REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES

A Descriptive Overview of the Provincial Distribution of the Population

The nature of the population problem is embodied in the production-consumption structural deficiencies that are natural in developed capitalist societies and post-colonial (neo-colonial) states. The distribution of products in any capitalist social formation is determined by the anarchy of the market place. The "informal" sector is not even a social and economic category, but just a reflection or manifestation of the incompatibility between the prevailing industrialization strategies in Africa, and the quantitative growth of urban populations, without a corresponding qualitative improvement in the social consumption of working households, both in rural and urban areas.

The population of a given territorial unit, regardless of the nature of its socio-economic formation, plays a fundamental role in the economy. Its importance is due to its dual participation in the economy, i.e. on one hand this social community of labour constitutes a resource for the social production (an active component, labour-power) and on the other hand it is the receiving end thus affected by economic organization and activity (a passive component, consumer). This dual character of the population therefore makes it incumbent to understand in a dialectical fashion how the demographic structure and its regional distribution is affected by the present distribution of production.

The distribution of the population is primarily determined by the territorial distribution of social production. Nevertheless, in each given period, the existing distribution of the population might be a result of the previous decentralization strategies. This is more than self-evident in Zimbabwe whose indigenous population has been subject to "deliberate distributory patterns since the invasion by market forces of production in the year 1890". Oppressive and racist legislation was designed to forcibly distribute the Zimbabwean population in "Labour Reserve Areas". This selfish, greedy and thus unscientific approach to regional distribution of the population has been ignored by nearly all local regional planners and interested officials, who for certain ideological reasons, are still bent on confusing the masses through populist phrases and slogans, which become effusive whenever "aid" packages are signed. Local regional planners must analyze the factors which influenced the present regional decentralization of production. The understanding of the relationship between these factors will help in the search for a far-reaching answer to the problem of regional development and planning and also enhance the knowledge of regional scientists working to bring about a socialist transformation of societal processes in the country.

Without a detailed study and thus understanding of population migration patterns, their causes and consequences in Zimbabwe, it is impossible to have a valid perspective or even a calculation of the number of inhabitants and labour resources in each given region. It will therefore be difficult to elaborate an optimum regional investment plan. construct labour balances and, therefore, to define the relationship between them.

The concentration of industries, commerce and other activities is one of the most effective and the more realistic motives for the spatial movement (especially rural to urban) of the population. Table 2, "Population Distribution by Province: 1969 and 1982 Censuses", extracted from the Republic of Zimbabwe First Five-Year National Development Plan, Volume I, shows the geographical/provincial distribution of the population, population density and percentage distribution and the area/km². The population density and percentage distribution columns provide a more analytical base for the study of such population movements. The population density per km² as indicated in the Table increased in all provinces from 1969 to 1982 with a national average growth of about 48%. The most significant figures are those for Mashonaland East and Matabeleland North where one finds a population density/km² increase of more than half, i.e. 69% and 51% respectively, and that for Matabeleland South which registered the least increase of only 28%, well below the national average. Logically, this reflects the uneven increase in the population growth in different provinces. Manicaland, Mashonaland West, Midlands, Masvingo and Mashonaland Central had a more or less uniform

Table 2
POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY PROVINCE: 1969 AND 1982 CENSUSES

	POPULATION		POP.DENSITY/KM2		%DISTRIBUTION		AREA/KM2
	1969	1982	1960	1982	1969	1982	
Zimbabwe (Total)	5 099 340	7 546 759	13,0	19,3	100,0	100,0	390 759
Manicaland	766 380	1 099 202	22,0	31,5	15,0	14,6	34 870
Mashonaland Central	375 580	563 407	13,8	20,0	7,4	7,5	27 284
Mashonaland East	877 720	1 495 984	35,3	60,0	17,3	19,8	24 934
Mashonaland West	617 300	858 962	10,2	14,3	12,1	11,4	60 467
Matabeleland North	578 820	885 339	7,9	12,0	11,4	11,7	73 537
Matabeleland South	406 370	519 636	6,1	7,8	8,0	6,9	66 390
Midlands	754 110	1 091 844	12,8	18,5	14,8	14,5	58 967
Masvingo	721 010	1 031 697	16,3	23,3	14,1	13,7	44 310

Source: Republic of Zimbabwe: First Five-Year National Development Plan., Volume 1. Harare 1986. (Table 4, p.47)

percentage growth of 43%, 40%, 45%, 43%, and 45%, respectively. In emphasizing these disparities, the *1982 Population Census: A Preliminary Assessment*, states:

While the area remained constant, the population size and population density increased in the provinces from 1969. The province of Mashonaland East, which had the largest share of the National Population (17.3%) in 1969, also experienced the largest increase of 70.1% in population from 1969 to 1982.

The document goes on to state:

While the share of Mashonaland Central, Mashonaland East and Matabeleland North in the National Population during the same period increased, the share in the remaining five provinces decreased.⁹

⁹ Central Statistical Office: 1982 Population Census: A Preliminary Assessment: CSO, Harare, 1984 (III 2.1 Inter-Provincial Variation), Page 44.

Thus it can be demonstrated that the size of a particular population in a particular province, indeed of its rate of growth, is related to several different factors, e.g. the resources that the population has at its disposal, the standard of living that the population considers to be desirable and the capacity of that population to make use of these resources in order to achieve the optimum standard of living.

The percentage distribution column also enables one to analyze the participation/share of each province in the National Population and therefore the correlation between these provinces. This can be deduced from the increase or decrease in their proportion of the National Population between 1969 and 1982. It can be observed from Table 2 that Mashonaland East, with a 15% increase in its share of the National Population (from 17.3% in 1969 to 19.8% in 1982), had the largest share increase. Matabeleland North, which followed, had a 3% increase while Mashonaland Central had a 1% increase. Matabeleland South, with the least population density growth, had the highest percentage decrease of 14%. Mashonaland West with 6%; Manicaland and Masvingo with 3% each and the Midlands with 2% also experienced decreases in their share of the National Population. This clearly shows alterations in the share of each province of the National Population (now of 7 546 759 people) in this period (1969 to 1982).

The problem is on the causes of these specific weight fluctuations with regard to the total Zimbabwean population. These causes might be found in the different fertility regimes in the different provinces at a given time; the relationship between birth and infant mortality rates, internal migration, etc, but in this paper much emphasis is given to internal migration due to its direct relationship with the present distributive structure of the productive forces. Thus this paper makes the implicit assumption that these other factors are essentially constant so that it can focus on internal migration and its impact on the development of the rural areas.

Internal Migration

Table 3 provides a visual picture of inter-provincial movement of the population. The absolute figures show the total number of emigrants from the respective provinces; while the percentage figures reflect the relative distribution of the out-migrants to the corresponding provinces. These figures, far from contradicting the above overview, strengthen the argument that this uneven inter-provincial variation of the population has its underlying causes in the socio-economic development of a particular province as compared to the other. Mashonaland East received the highest percentage of out-migrants from all the provinces except those from Matabeleland South, Masvingo and Matabeleland North provinces. In spite of this, Mashonaland East still had a consistently higher percentage than the other provinces.

Of the total out-migrants from Matabeleland South, 67% were accommodated by Matabeleland North. The Midlands received 40% and 31% of all the emigrants from Masvingo and Matabeleland North, respectively. The demographic structure of this migrating population has not been looked into in this paper.

At this juncture it becomes necessary to analyze the inter-district trends. Two provinces have been chosen for this purpose, given their degree of concentration of economic activities, relative to the other. These are Mashonaland East and Matabeleland North. If one would have access to, or get hold of only the inter-district variation figures with the inter-province variable constant, a more concrete conclusion of the nature of this uneven population variation could be drawn, but nevertheless this reality is implicit

Table 3
RELATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF IN-MIGRANTS BY PROVINCE - PERCENTAGES

PROVINCE OF BIRTH	PROVINCE OF ENUMERATION							
	MANICA LAND	MASHONA LAND	MASHONA LAND	MASHONA LAND	MATEBELE LAND	MATEBELE LAND	MID LANDS	MASVI NGO
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Manicaland	*101 460	9	32	9	11	2	11	27
Mashonaland Central	6	123 490	15	23	2	1	3	2
Mashonaland East	37	46	407 390	27	6	6	13	10
Mashonaland West	6	20	16	189 360	4	*6	13	4
Matabeleland North	7	4	*4	6	222 470	57	13	7
Matabeleland South	*1	1	4	2	46	38 870	9	6
Midlands	14	8	16	22	20	22	242 020	45
Masvingo	29	12	13	11	11	6	38	87 300

* Total In-Migrants - OTHERS

Table 4
RELATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF OUT-MIGRANTS BY PROVINCE - PERCENTAGES

PROVINCE OF BIRTH	PROVINCE OF ENUMERATION							
	MANICA LAND	MASHONA LAND	MASHONA LAND	MASHONA LAND	MATEBELE LAND	MATEBELE LAND	MID LANDS	MASVI NGO
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total out-migrants								
Manicaland	235 790	4	55	7	11	1	12	10
Mashonaland Central	50	122 800	49	35	3	0	6	2
Mashonaland East	19	28	199 650	25	10	1	15	4
Mashonaland West	4	17	45	142 260	7	2	22	3
Matabeleland North	7	5	18	11	101 360	22	31	6
Matabeleland South	1	1	12	2	67	151 550	14	3
Midlands	6	5	29	19	20	4	222 660	17
Masvingo	12	6	22	9	10	1	40	236 290

Table 5
POPULATION BY PROVINCE OF BIRTH AND PROVINCE OF ENUMERATION 1982

PROVINCE OF BIRTH	PROVINCE OF ENUMERATION								TOTAL BORN
	MANICA LAND	MASHONA LAND	MASHONA LAND	MASHONA LAND	MATEBELE LAND	MATEBELE LAND	MIDLANDS	MASVINGO	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Manicaland	899 040	10 780	131 000	17 580	25 110	780	27 320	23 220	1 134 830
Mashonaland Central	5 990	496 280	60 500	42 790	4 230	380	6 810	2 100	619 080
Mashonaland East*	37 050	56 660	849 240	50 740	13 850	2 140	30 550	8 660	1 048 890
Mashonaland West	5 840	24 890	64 720	561 160	9 620	2 480	31 060	3 650	703 420
Matabeleland North**	7 270	5 040	18 130	11 010	589 850	22 130	32 100	5 680	691 210
Matabeleland South	1 070	1 100	18 000	3 200	100 990	494 000	22 100	5 090	645 550
Midlands	14 360	10 200	64 040	41 660	44 830	8 670	820 290	38 900	1 042 950
Masvingo	29 800	14 820	51 000	22 380	23 840	2 290	92 080	870 500	1 106 710
Other	51 860	58 210	79 240	72 980	28 900	5 270	16 430	15 560	328 450
Total Enumerated	1 052 360	677 980	1 335 870	823 500	841 220	538 140	1 078 740	973 360	7 321 170

Source: 1982 Census, 10% Sample, Tables 05, 06 and 07.

*Notes: *The population figures for Mashonaland East Province include Harare and Chitungwiza.*

***The Population figures for Matabeleland North include the City of Bulawayo.*

in the following data. Harare and Chitungwiza districts, which include the City of Harare and its satellite town of Chitungwiza, received most of the emigrants from other districts and at the same time experiencing low levels of emigrants. Goromonzi and Mudzi districts also registered net migration rates of 8.4% and 55.9% respectively. Bulawayo and Hwange districts, which also include Bulawayo City and the coal mining town of Hwange have net migration rates of 78.4 and 39.1% respectively. Binga, Bubi and Nyamandhlovu, with net migration rates of -24.6%, -76.4% and -20.3%, raise some questions as to the extent and prospects of their socio-economic development, as compared to Bulawayo and Hwange or even to Lupane and Nkayi districts with 2.2% and 0.4% net migration rates.

Relationship Between Population "Distribution Pattern" and the Distribution Production

Now, one would question the relationship between the population "distribution pattern" and the distribution of production in Zimbabwe and thus the factors which were considered in the macro or micro-localization of production before independence.

Historically, the production distribution formula in Zimbabwe was mainly directed/conditioned by the settler thirst for profit since their arrival in the last quarter of the 19th Century; the spatial distribution of productive activities has thus been a reflection of the anarchical demand and supply structures of settler capitalism.

Table 6

POPULATION OF MASHONALAND EAST PROVINCE BY DISTRICT OF BIRTH AND DISTRICT OF ENUMERATION AND MIGRATION RATES

DISTRICT OF BIRTH	POPULATION ENUMERATED	POP. BORN AND LIVING IN DISTRICT	POP. BORN IN DISTRICT	IN MIGRATION	OUT MIGRATION	NET MIGRATION	IN MIGRATION RATE%*	OUT MIGRATION RATE%	NET MIGRATION RATE%
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5) 5 = (2)-(3)	(6) 6 = (4)-(3)	(7) 7 = (5)-(6)	(8) 8 = (5) + (2) x 100	(9) 9 = (6) + (4) x 100	(10) 10 = (7) + (4) x 100
Goromonzi	94 320	51 530	87 000	42 790	35 470	+ 7 320	45.4	40.8	+ 8.4
Marondera	96 080	50 770	100 380	45 310	49 610	-4 300	47.2	49.8	-4.3
Murewa	164 670	112 700	187 700	51 970	75 000	-23 030	31.6	40.0	-12.3
Mutoko	89 630	75 010	147 420	14 620	72 410	-57 790	16.3	49.1	-39.2
Mudzi	67 370	40 380	43 210	26 990	2 830	+24 160	40.1	6.5	+55.9
Seke	22 160	15 870	27 980	6 290	12 110	-5 820	28.4	43.3	-20.8
Wedza	52 630	36 830	71 230	15 800	34 400	-18 600	30.0	48.3	-26.1
Harare	621 100	203 910	374 420	417 190	170 510	+246 680	67.2	45.5	+65.9
Chitungwiza	107 910	7 150	9 550	100 760	2 400	+98 360	93.4	25.1	+1 029.9

Table 7

POPULATION OF MATABELELAND NORTH PROVINCE BY DISTRICT OF BIRTH AND DISTRICT OF ENUMERATION AND MIGRATION RATES

DISTRICT OF BIRTH	POPULATION ENUMERATED IN DISTRICT	POP. BORN AND LIVING IN DISTRICT	POP. BORN IN DISTRICT	IN MIGRATION	OUT MIGRATION	NET MIGRATION	IN MIGRATION RATE %*	OUT MIGRATION RATE %	NET MIGRATION RATE %
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5) 5 = (2)-(3)	(6) 6 = (4)-(3)	(7) 7 = (5)-(6)	(8) 8 = (5) + (2) x 100	(9) 9 = (6) + (4) x 100	(10) 10 = (7) + (4) x 100
Binga	47 670	45 320	63 190	2 350	17 870	-15 520	4.9	28.3	-24.6
Bubi	6 310	4 530	26 760	1 780	22 230	-20 450	28.2	83.1	-76.4
Lupane	71 930	5 180	70 360	66 750	65 180	+ 1 570	92.8	92.6	+ 2.2
Nkayi	112 190	83 630	111 760	28 560	28 130	+ 430	25.5	25.2	+ 0.4
Nyamandhlovu	90 780	78 510	113 930	12 270	35 420	-23 150	13.5	31.1	-20.3
Hwange	115 840	72 880	83 300	42 960	10 420	+ 32 540	37.1	12.5	+ 39.1
Bulawayo	396 500	138 770	221 910	257 730	83 140	+ 174 590	65.0	37.5	+ 78.7

Source: 1982 Census, 10% Sample, Tables 06, 07, 08 and 09.

Growth points and townships were designed, small industries established and labour recruiting mechanisms for extracting indigenous labour power were implemented. The indigenous population was recruited to satisfy the needs of capital and thus were recruited in small numbers as capitalist firms did not assume responsibility for bearing the social costs for the reproduction of indigenous labour power. Such elements as the health, length of the working day and life of the worker were thus assumed to have a marginal utility of zero, and the labour was accounted for as just one of many other overhead costs that could be manipulated by the laws of supply and demand, as any other inorganic commodities that went into the production process. Thus

the capitalist process of production, therefore seen as a total, connected process, i.e. a process of reproduction, produces not only commodities, not only surplus values, but it also produces and reproduces the capital relation itself; on the one hand the capitalist, on the other the wage-worker.¹⁰

The slow and low level of industrial development in the early years limited the penetration of capital in all spheres of social life. But with the growth of industries at the turn of the century, in Harare, Bulawayo, Mutare, etc, market forces began to know no borders and the real and "uncontrollable" nature of capitalism manifested itself. Most of the industries set up in Harare and Bulawayo were workshops to service the mining industry, and "these concerns were family ventures or partnerships".¹¹ Large-scale British and South African interests were content to leave such limited and uncertain pickings to local capital. The expansion of capitalist agriculture in the first decade of the century was followed by the establishment of creameries in Bulawayo and Gweru in 1909 and 1913. The settler economy was not by this time isolated from the international economy: thus when the war broke out in Europe in 1914 the destruction of various international trading relationships and the interruption of others initiated a period of unprecedented opportunity for Southern Africa's secondary industries. Freed from international competition they had domestic and regional markets to themselves. But this opportunity was not to benefit the local investors alone in the case of Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). This period was like a ripe fruit to the potential investors in South Africa.

The early 1920s witnessed continued industrial growth despite economic recession in 1921-22;¹² and this meant continued concentration of the industries in places like Harare and thus the continued proletarianization of the indigenous population. Between 1932 and 1938 the value-added of secondary industries increased threefold, while the sector's annual rate of expansion over the whole period from 1928-38 was 7.5%, even higher than that of mining which stood at 7.2%.¹³ This phenomenon cannot be isolated from the 1930s Great Depression.

0 Marx, Karl; Capital. New Left Review. London. 1979, Page 724.

1 Abstracted from Phimister, I.R. "Industrialization in the Periphery: Southern Rhodesia and South African Trade Relations Between the Wars". 1986, page 2. Paper earmarked for presentation at planned ZIDS Seminar (not presented)

2 Ibid; page 3

3 Abstracted from; Ibid page 8.

These early years of "industrialization" had their trend of population distribution. While the settlers were engaged in mining activities and small-scale agricultural activities on the land expropriated from the African population, the indigenous labour force worked on the land producing grains, etc. Still many of the indigenous population lived on/occupied the fertile lands (Highveld) "within easy access of the main European markets and the line of rail".¹⁴ Thus for many years following the turn of the century, the myth was created that an endemic "shortage" of labour supplies existed in Southern Rhodesia.¹⁵

And under the auspices of private recruiters, the Rhodesian Native Labour Bureau (1903 -1933),¹⁶ contractees were brought to Rhodesia from neighbouring states. But at the same time systematic attempts were made to extract labour supplies from the local domestic economies.

Colonial policy in the early years prevented the emergence of an urban labour reserve. But this subjective trajectory of social development was undermined by the desire to maximize profits on the part of the British South Africa Company whose directors, two years after setting up the Land Settlement Committee in 1905, concluded that it was essential to diversify the economy and that the best way of doing this was to encourage European farming, thereby promoting greater economic self-sufficiency, cutting the import bill, and raising the value of land and providing more traffic for the railway, both of which at the time were owned by the Company.¹⁷

This move, dubbed "White Agricultural Policy", was racist in character and was directed at shifting peasant agriculture from the market to subsistence, but the move was met with some resistance because on the whole the Imperial authorities tended to favour the retention of adequate reserves as a sanctuary for those being evicted from European farms, and in order to protect "tribal society" and build up some form of local self-government. The expansion of European agricultural activities in Matabeleland (cattle ranching) and Mashonaland (grain production) gave birth to "the squeezing-out process".

European agriculture was labour intensive and thus the demand for labour grew rapidly. The white farmers needed large supplies of seasonal labour, at precisely the time when local Africans needed to tend to their crops. Repressive and expansionist mechanisms were imposed on the African population to evict them from their land.

14 Palmer, Robin; and Parsons, Neil; *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa*. Heinemann Educational. London 1983. Page 229.

15 Clarke, D.G; *Unemployment and Economics Structure in Rhodesia* (Mambo Occasional Socio-Economic Eeries No. 9). Mambo Press 1977. page 8.

16 Ibid.

17 Palmer, Robin; *Land and Racial Domination in Rhodesia*. Heinemann Educational. London 1977 Page 86.

The British South Africa Company and white landowners had demonstrated their power and ability to pressurize the African peasantry, with the intention of persuading the Imperial authorities to agree to a "final solution after their earlier attack on reserves had been repulsed".¹⁰ In the 1915 - 1925 decade European agriculture expanded rapidly and thus the settlers, in fact, greatly enhanced their economic position whilst simultaneously achieving political control and they were able to mount a further and increasingly successful attack upon the African peasantry in order to safeguard their position.¹⁹ Their demands for the segregation of land ownership were to culminate in the Land Apportionment Act of 1930.

This shows that the trends in the distribution of population in the period 1900 - 1930s had a forced racial and spontaneous character. In the 1940s up to the time of independence, reserves were tactfully planned as labour reservoirs. This move limited the peasants productive capabilities and thereby their economic structure became less and less capable of meeting the necessary subsistence consumption as more productive labour was pushed into the urban areas and settler farms and dependency ratios in the labour reserves increased.

This new phenomenon in the economic development of Southern Rhodesia; accelerated by the racist and discriminatory legislation, e.g. the Land Husbandry Act, Maize Control Act, etc, which restricted to the minimum the productive, marketing, and transport capabilities of the peasants, thereby affecting their income generating and buying capacities; took the form of largely rural to urban transformation of values, from agricultural production to industrial output. Industrial enterprises in the towns, including those that were agro-based, leaped ahead, leaving the peasantry in the countryside and methods of agriculture that are unchanging.

These erroneous and subjective policies formulated by short-sighted colonial regime physical strategists/planners and supported by the whole package of suppressive legislation created antagonisms between the towns and the countryside or, in other words, divorced 70% of the population from 70% of the total production which became concentrated in the big towns. In 1958, some 28 years after the 1930 Land Apportionment Act, "efforts were made to find more jobs for locals".²⁰

Socio Economic Series No. 9). Mambo Press. 1977. Page 21, The economic system had moved from a condition of "labour scarcity" in the days when viable peasant production was sustained, to one of "labour surplus" after the war when the reserves became more peripheral to the economic system.

1) Ibid; page 98.

1) Ibid; page 132.

1) Clarke, G.D; Unemployment and Economic Structure in Rhodesia (Mambo Occasional Papers

It is thus clear that population distribution patterns in the colonial era had a forced, racist and capitalist character and were subordinated to the interests of capital. The overcrowded "labour reservoirs"; the unproductive soils (Natural Regions IV, V, etc), discriminatory prices for their little value-added outputs, underdeveloped or neglected socio-economic infrastructure; the recession, diminished foreign capital inflows and labour policies of the past all conspired to force thousands of peasants to the flock to the towns to compete in the market and thus increase the "urban labour reserve". As of 1969 two different calculated figures suggest some identifiable unemployment existed, at least as high as 24 900 adult men, according to Census and quite possibly as many as 56 960 such persons, according to the Hawkins method of estimation.²¹

The rural areas lost and are still losing in terms of human resources. Every urban-migrating male/female (usually more adept, healthier and skilful than those they leave behind) represents at the same time two less arms to produce food and one more mouth to feed in the city through the efforts of those who stayed behind (mostly women, children and elderly men). In an article by Grace Tangwena, "*Women and Food Production*", one of the interviewed women was quoted as saying:

Many men are at work in town, very few have local jobs. Men spend a lot of time in townships drinking beer. They send us women to agricultural group meetings. If we followed what men do the children might starve, so we women are keen on farmer groups in order to feed the children.²²

Cash remittances from members of the households in urban areas do, of course, help cash-starved rural families, but if the resourceful young have already fled this will probably end up as ostentatious rather than utilitarian expenditure because the young, as potentially better qualified members of the labour force, are drawn away, and the workforce left behind tends to be relatively older, less educated and less adaptable to new technologies and production methods. Therefore, at such expense, cities and towns (which are the already rotten cores) will continue to deteriorate if the countryside does not prosper. Thus the correlation between the growth of the cities and industrialization should be looked into radically if the solution to this antagonistic contradiction between the urban and the rural areas is to be found.

Some Factors to be Considered in the Macro and Micro Localization of Production

The spatial decentralization of industries to growth points (not necessarily referring to statutory growth points) has been one of the issues on the agenda since 1980. The problem is not only that of industrial decentralization but of an effective distribution of productive capacities in order to utilize more efficiently the raw materials, transport and human resources as well as give proper service to the local population. The distribution of production is a complex problem which demands the consideration of a great number of aspects or factors whose influence can be illustrated in a number of ways. These factors can be divided into the following groups: Natural conditions, the reserves of labour power and its territorial distribution, transport, the level of technology progress, energy and service centres (markets).

21 Ibid, page 21

22 Sibanda Arnold, Joyce Kazembe, Tafi Chigudu (Editors); *Social Change and Development*. Issue No. 14, 1986. Page 20.

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21 Ibid, page 21

22 Sibanda Arnold, Joyce Kazembe, Tafi Chigudu (Editors); *Social Change and Development*. Issue No. 14, 1986. Page 20.

Between these conditions exists a dialectical interdependence, i.e. the influence, for example, of the natural conditions (geographical factors) in the distribution of production substantially alters in correspondence with the forms and degree of socialization of production; the same goes for the level of development of production, transport and technology. The influence of transport in the distribution of production also varies depending on the level of technological progress and on the forms of social organization of production (and on the rhythm in which these develop). At the same time, a change in the transportation conditions (expansion of the transport network, utilization of high transport technology, etc) introduces modifications in the forms of the socialization of production, e.g. in the economically rational limits of specialization or in the dimensions of a given enterprise. Equally, changes in the conditions of the transport sector affect the possibilities of using certain labour power reserves and introducing changes in the market-zoning of some products. As a general rule, the influence of some factors or conditions can also intensify or weaken in correspondence with the varying degrees in the utilization of energy.

If the natural conditions and their role in the production distribution pattern are taken into account, it is possible to observe that certain economic activities are greatly influenced in their localization (and sometimes exclusively) by these conditions, while with respect to other activities "natural" factors can exercise little or no influence at all. Thus in this sense the localization of investment can occur in the case of those industries which transform the products, e.g. the agricultural sector which is the mainstay of the rural population.

Different natural conditions determine the differences in agricultural labour productivity, i.e. certain products (groundnuts, soyabeans, cotton, etc) require adequate soils, humidity and other conditions which are not equal in all parts of a given territory. As a result, the distribution of agricultural production cannot be uniform in all areas of the country and therefore the territorial difference in the agricultural labour productivity necessarily influences the distribution of food and light industries which transform agricultural raw materials. One would, therefore, be drawn to analyze determining factors in the macro and micro localizations of these two groups of industries, given their particular role within the national economy.

With respect to light industry, some of the essential characteristics are the existence and supply of raw materials which mainly correspond to products of agricultural origin; market zones or outlets; energy and fuel needs and the availability of labour power reserves. The last aspect refers to collective labour resources, then structure and distribution. Investment in this type of production (industries) must be localized to accord with the functions of these zones where adequate female labour reservoirs exist and possess high rates of masculine activity. Together with these factors, water consumption by these industries must not be overlooked as well as the volumes of contaminating residue which some of these firms release.

As for the food industry, although most of the already mentioned factors exert their influence, its micro-localization is determined mainly by the geographical distribution of the population and the marketing zones within a given territory. Generally, the finished products of this industry are not easily transportable (except for the canned) and thus require additional conditions for their carriage or transportation. This situation therefore demands that they be situated in the vicinity of the market zones. On the other hand, some of the raw materials consumed by the food industry are perishable. Such a situation can effectively hinder the localization of the affected industry in the vicinity of

the marketing zones, and also poses difficulties in the organization of the agricultural areas which produce these raw materials and therefore affect increases in their transportation and conservation costs. Confronted with this situation the enterprises consuming raw materials of this nature can be divided into two phases, i.e. situating the first transportation phase next to the agricultural areas and the final phase of the productive process next to the marketing zones. This can contribute to the reduction of social labour costs and also of fabrication costs.

Unfortunately the aim of this paper is not to analyze or explain factors which condition the localization of all different types of industry in Zimbabwe, but rather to briefly attempt to explain the unscientific approaches used in the past with regard to the distribution of productive forces in Zimbabwe. Rather that aim has been to demonstrate the spatial location of socio-economic activities, which created unequal enclaves in the NATIONAL ECONOMY, and to identify the areas towards which the planning system must be directed at and also the major problems in addressing these areas.

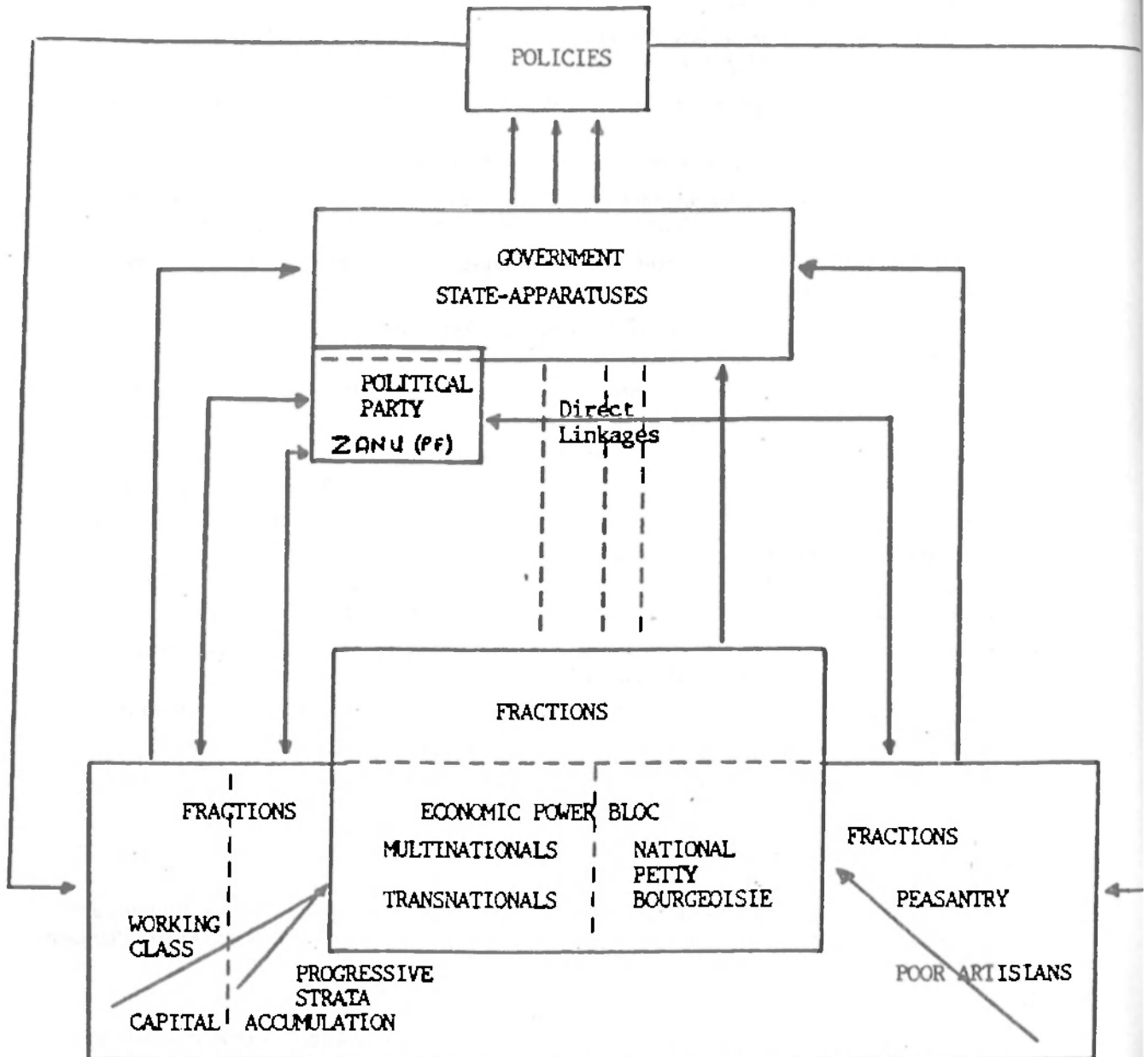
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APPENDIX

Appendix 1

The Diagram presents some of the more important relationships between STATE and the Private Sector in this period of transition



Arrows indicate influence emanating from, and affecting Class Struggles on the economic, ideological and political Levels and also shows the economic strenght of the private sector.

- **ECONOMIC POWER BLOC** An obstacle to Decentralisation of Planning and Management.