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THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND  
NEEDS OF EX-COMBATANTS:

THE CASE OF MASVINGO PROVINCE

Sam Moyo

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## SUMMARY OF STUDY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study on the socio-economic status of ex-combatants in Masvingo Province was based on a questionnaire survey, informal interviews with Government Officials and a review of government documents. The following is a summary of the findings and recommendations.

1. The major finding of the survey was that the socio-economic status of the ex-combatants in terms of educational and skills levels, gainful employment and incomes, and cultural and recreational participation was very poor.
2. Ex-combatants tended to be disadvantaged in terms of access to formal and technical training due to their educational status, entry requirements and the lack of special training programmes.
3. After demobilisation, ex-combatants received minimal support in the form of finance, technical services, education and preferential access to economic activities from various arms of government. This in some ways was related to the lack of concrete and formal procedures to channel such assistance.
4. A small minority of the ex-combatants were involved in cooperatives and of those who were, incomes were low. The feasibility of current cooperative activities was questionable and required further investigation.
5. It appeared that the meaning and operation of cooperatives was very little understood by ex-combatants, due in large measure to the manner in which these were introduced.
6. Quite a large proportion of the ex-combatants were married and had at least one child to support, although a simple majority of the ex-combatants were below 30 years of age.
7. The status of female ex-combatants was not fully recorded in the study due possibly to the study approach and the social position of women in society.

8. Most of the above findings varied quite significantly among the districts as shown in chapter III.
9. It was found that although policies on cooperatives and ex-combatants' re-integration exist, they lack the specificity necessary for clear-cut implementation programmes.
10. Also, the range of support institutions (financial, educational, legal and administrative) and services which could benefit ex-combatants' cooperatives are yet to be fully established and utilised. This reflects both government resources, constraints and practical procedural arrangements to assist ex-combatants.
11. The study concluded that the involvement of provincial governors and district administrators in re-integrating ex-combatants needed to be increased in order to facilitate district level projects.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

1. It was recommended that ex-combatants be treated as family units in the formulation of projects in order to provide for their wives and children.
2. It was recommended that district local government officials play a central role in the coordination, support and implementation of ex-combatants' projects.
3. It was recommended that special technical training arrangements for the ex-combatants be developed taking into account their socio-economic status and stated needs.
4. It was recommended that assistance to ex-combatants be more focused on economic aspects, especially employment creation and productive cooperative activities in agriculture, construction and mining.

(viii)

5. A host of district level projects was identified and recommended for further feasibility investigation.
6. Finally, it is recommended that the whole programme to re-integrate ex-combatants be reviewed at the national level.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

This document attempts to investigate and assess the developmental progress and requirements of one specific social group of Zimbabwe - "ex-combatants". It is hoped that this effort among others will contribute to developments which will finally obviate, in the near future, the need to refer to the Zimbabweans concerned as "ex-combatants". This term must unfortunately be used in the meantime because the problems faced by ex-combatants have not so far been fully appreciated by the society at large and development promoters. It has been assumed that simple solutions will erase the otherwise complex socio-psychological problems faced by ex-combatants within the particular political economy of Zimbabwe.

The study focusses particularly on the socio-economic status of ex-combatants in Masvingo Province and it is hoped this exercise will be useful in developing a framework within which similar work will be done throughout the other provinces. Although the focus is limited to ex-combatants, it should be noted that most of the issues addressed are also relevant for the development of other groups, including; the youth in general, the unemployed and school-leavers.

#### STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The liberation war involved a large percentage of the youth. Some abandoned schools, both primary and secondary, colleges and the university. Others left employment and families to join the forces of liberation in neighbouring states. As such, the liberation forces included the literate and illiterate, unskilled, skilled and semi-skilled, trained and highly qualified cadres of all walks of life, varied age groups and people with various capabilities.

At independence in April 1980, the total military force in Zimbabwe numbered 100,000, including former Rhodesian, ZANLA and ZIPRA forces. It was therefore clear to everybody concerned, that Zimbabwe could not afford to keep and maintain such a large force and equally that not all trained personnel could be absorbed into the national army. Also there were quite a number of people who did not wish to pursue military careers for different reasons.

As a result and in conjunction with both national and individual aspirations the Government decided to offer those who wished to leave the national army a demobilisation package which aimed at giving those concerned adequate opportunity to return to civilian life. The package consisted of four main items of assistance, namely - further education, technical training, business advice and a demobilisation allowance.

By 1984, 36 000 people had been demobilised but only 16 000 had obtained employment or training in different fields. Although efforts have been made to follow up progress made by demobilised people, very little is in fact known about their economic and social activities. As a result, numerous attempts made to try and assist ex-combatants have been done without adequate knowledge of their socio-economic situation. Indeed there have been limited attempts made by the department of demobilisation and relevant authorities to relate the socio-economic environment of ex-combatants to the existing and proposed schemes of rehabilitation of all displaced peoples. This has resulted in failure and frustrations for both ex-combatants and those Government organisations responsible for rehabilitation. For example, the actual participation of ex-combatants in cooperatives, especially agricultural cooperatives, has been very limited due to a host of problems, some related to capital requirements, skills and organisational problems, which have not been fully appreciated in the development efforts.

After several appeals made by the government of Zimbabwe to the International community and in realisation of technical and financial constraints facing Government, a number of non-governmental organisations (N.G.Os), among them the Lutheran World Federation (LWF), have tried to assist in the rehabilitation and development process through such projects as, the "builders cooperatives programme" in Masvingo Province, water supply in Matebeleland and assistance given to small industrial cooperatives in Mashonaland East. These N.G.Os - assisted projects however, have also been confronted by the same problems and difficulties of inadequate information upon which to base plans for future programmes. In fact the need for feasibility studies has always existed, and both Government and non-governmental organisations have always realised the need for such studies within the wider socio-economic context as a pre-requisite for development programmes and projects.

The Lutheran World Federation has therefore contracted the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies (ZIDS) to carry out such a background study of the socio-economic requirements of ex-combatants in Masvingo Province. The objectives of the study are:

- (i) to recommend to Lutheran World Federation, technical areas of project development in order to facilitate and speed up the rehabilitation of ex-combatants and youths in Masvingo Province.
- (ii) to serve as background information and guidelines for the identification of specific projects in the rural areas of Masvingo Province in terms of functional and geographical emphasis.
- (iii) to serve as the general framework for project feasibility studies to be undertaken (under a separate arrangement) once projects have been identified. (See the Appendix for the terms of reference).

This research project undertaken for the Lutheran World Federation in Masvingo is a pilot project and is the first comprehensive and scientific approach to the study of problems confronting the demobilised persons referred to as ex-combatants.

One of the main problems, however, is that planning capabilities and infrastructural development in Zimbabwe are at their infancy, particularly at the provincial level, so that provincial level data tends to be scanty and scattered. In fact since independence the central statistics office has embarked on a massive programme to collect such data, especially on the communal lands. This data is, however, not yet available. The provinces themselves are similarly engaged. Z.I.D.S. therefore has set out on behalf of Lutheran World Federation, as part of the contract, to gather basic background information desired for a meaningful identification of prospective viable projects throughout Masvingo Province.

## SPECIFIC RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND STUDY APPROACH

The study approach involved a number of procedures and methods, the most important of which were:

- (i) To carry out a review of major Government policy documents in order to objectively assess Government policies and practices on the re-integration of ex-combatants.
- (ii) To review secondary sources of literature, Government statistics and documents in order to gather information on agricultural activities, industrial development, the mining industry, regional economic potential, manpower resources, health and education facilities in Masvingo Province.
- (iii) Formal interviews with several officials including the Governor of Masvingo Province, the Ministries of Education, Lands, Sports and Culture, Agriculture and Health, in order to evaluate programmes developed for ex-combatants.
- (iv) Structured questionnaire interviews on the socio-economic status of 632 ex-combatants, administered on the 27th and 28th October 1984 in Mucheke Hall - Masvingo Town, intended to build a socio-economic case-load of the ex-combatants.
- (v) Informal interviews with a number of developmental organisations.

Prior to the interviewing of ex-combatants, a study tour of the province was carried out to assess and test the response of ex-combatants and provincial Government officials to the study. The Masvingo Provincial Governor was of great assistance and it was on his advice and personal assistance that the questionnaire was administered in Masvingo town. His advice was found most valuable in assessing the calibre of interviewers that could cope with ex-combatants and this pre-empted possible political and social "inconveniences" to ex-combatants, whose distribution at the time was as follows: hundred and ninety-six in Bikita, six hundred in Chibi, one thousand in Chiredzi, hundred and six in Gutu, eight hundred

and twenty-four in Masvingo, hundred and twenty-six in Mwenezi and seven hundred and fourteen in Zaka, - thus giving a grand total of three thousand five hundred and sixty-six throughout Masvingo Province. These numbers indicated that there were rather too many ex-combatants to interview at district level within a period of one month, and problems of mobility and communication in general.

It was therefore decided to act as suggested by the governor, that is to administer the questionnaire in Masvingo town and to utilise Local Government Promotion Officers (L.G.P.Os) and other Government Officials in administering the questionnaire. The ex-combatants were invited to Masvingo through the district administrators, and accommodated for three days at the expense of the Lutheran World Federation and were fed by Christian Care. Although the study aimed at a complete census of the ex-combatants, in the end only those who reported to Masvingo were interviewed.

The questionnaire was administered by members of the research team, four ZANU-PF Provincial youth officers, two L.G.P.O's and three Department of Employment and Employment Development (D.E.E.D.) officials. At the end of the exercise, a total of five hundred and seventy-two ex-combatants had been interviewed: ninety-eight from Bikita, one hundred and nine from Chibi, one hundred and twenty from Chiredzi, twenty-six from Gutu, sixty-seven from Masvingo, ninety-six from Mwenezi and fifty-six from Zaka. Subsequently, more completed questionnaires were sent to the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies, bringing the total interviewed to six hundred and thirty-two. The provincial governor had hoped that other ex-combatants, who had not been interviewed, would be interviewed as time went on, but such responses came too late to be incorporated into the analyses.

The questionnaire was then decoded and information tabulated for frequencies and cross-tabulations were made to assess various associations. Most of the latter were not of particular significance and are therefore not presented in this report.

However, there were a number of problems encountered by the team in the course of study. These included: inadequate transport, delays in providing relevant information and statistics by various ministries

and statistics which were either incomplete or contradictory. Also, a few ex-combatants did not always readily submit correct information.

## STUDY LAYOUT

The results of this study are presented in the following manner: Chapter II begins with a brief introduction to Zimbabwe which is followed by a district level synopsis of the social and economic environment of Masvingo Province. In the same chapter, an attempt has been made to identify salient developmental needs and plans of the province that might be of relevance to prospective projects envisaged for ex-combatants. In Chapter III, social, economic and other characteristics of ex-combatants and their aspirations are presented at the overall provincial and district levels. In the fourth chapter, Government policies and practices are discussed in relation to the survey findings and recommendations for future action are made. The last chapter summarises the findings and concludes the study.

## CHAPTER II

### INTRODUCTION TO ZIMBABWE AND MASVINGO PROVINCE

This chapter attempts to provide social and economic background information on Zimbabwe in general and Masvingo Province in particular. (See the appendix for maps depicting some of this information).

#### ZIMBABWE

##### The Environment

Zimbabwe lies south of the Equator within the Tropic of Capricorn. It covers a total area of four hundred thousand km<sup>2</sup>. The altitude varies from a maximum of two thousand five hundred and ninety-four metres in the Eastern Highlands to one hundred and fifty-two metres above sea level in the South Eastern corner of the country. The central plateau lies at an average height of between one thousand two hundred metres and one thousand five hundred metres and is characterised by fertile soils. Most of the large towns and industrial centres are situated along this plateau which generally separates the drier southern and western parts of the country from the wetter northern and eastern parts. The annual rainfall varies from areas with less than four hundred millimetres in Matebeleland to between areas with over one thousand four hundred millimetres in the Eastern Highlands. Masvingo Province lies mostly in the drier parts of Zimbabwe. The average winter temperatures are between fifteen degrees centigrade and twenty degrees centigrade and summer average temperatures are between twenty-five degrees centigrade and thirty degrees centigrade. In October, the hottest month of the year, temperatures often exceed thirty-two degrees centigrade in some regions of the country, especially the south-eastern lowlands and most of the Zambezi valley. The country may be divided into five agro-ecological regions as shown in the maps presented in the appendix.

##### Political, Demographic and Social Aspects

The first post independence population census in 1982 gave a total of approximately eight million people and an annual growth rate of 3.1%.

According to this census, over fifty per cent of the total population are under the age of fifteen years, thirty-eight per cent under the age of nine years and only three per cent above sixty years of age.

Zimbabwe has eight administrative provinces comprising fifty-five districts which are mainly responsible for Local Government administration and communal lands development programmes.

The proportion of the African population living in the rural areas is approximately eighty per cent although the 1982 Census identified some major changes in settlement patterns in the last decade. The most pronounced are the movement into urban areas from communal lands leading to a five point five per cent increase in urban population and the movement of part of the communal population into resettlement schemes on former commercial farmland. The majority of the black population is, however, resident in communal areas and largely dependent on individual small-scale farming.

Central statistics office data released in 1982 show that Zimbabwe had two thousand nine hundred and fifteen primary schools and five hundred and thirty-nine secondary schools in district council areas, three hundred and twenty-four clinics giving an average of forty per province and seventy-one hospitals were in operation with a total of five thousand in-patient beds for a population of four million people.

There were six health workers per district and the approximate ratio of medical doctors per head was one to eleven thousand and of the registered four hundred and ninety-one medical doctors in the country, eighty-two per cent were based in urban areas.

Only fifty per cent of the twenty-one thousand six hundred and ninety-six kilometres motorable roads in the rural areas is tarred and these are serviced by two hundred and fifteen petrol stations. There are a total of forty-three postal services and eleven thousand retail outlets in these rural areas.

TABLE 1

Distribution of Agricultural Land by Natural Region and Agricultural Subsector (in hectares)

Natural Region	Communal (1) %	LSCF* (1)	Resettlement Model A (2) %	Resettlement Model B (2) %	SSCF** (1)	State (3) %
I	119 882 0,7	418 900 3,0	6 783 0,4	14 471 21,7	7 300 0,5	6 457 8,2
II	1 427 739 8,7	3 982 997 28,6	308,840 18,5	32 663 48,9	252 100 17,8	1 042 1,3
III	2 798 955 17,1	2 438 772 17,5	782 187 46,9	19 641 29,4	536 100 37,9	14 614 18,6
IV	7 780 382 47,6	3 519 098 25,2	506 702 30,9	- -	523 000 36,9	22 609 28,7
V	4 228 622 25,9	3 583 679 25,7	64 721 3,8	- -	97 600 6,9	33 980 43,2
TOTAL	16 355 580	13 943 446	1 669 233	66 775	1 416 100	78 702

## Sources:

- (1) Agritex Planning Branch, Ministry of Agriculture. LSCF figures adjusted for resettlement for period up to August 1983.  
 (2) Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rural Development (MLRRD). For period up to August 1983.  
 (3) Agricultural and Rural Development Authority (ARDA). For period up to July 1984.

\* LSCF Large Scale Commercial Farmers

\*\* SSCF Small Scale Commercial Farmers

## Agriculture

More than seventy per cent of Zimbabwe population depends on agricultural production for survival, either as producers or farm labourers. Just thirty per cent of the national labour force is employed by the sector. Zimbabwe has approximately thirty million hectares of farmland which is distributed among six subsectors, namely: Communal Areas (CA), Large Scale Commercial Farm Sector (LSCF), Individual Resettlement Schemes (Model A), Cooperative Resettlement Schemes (Model B), Small Scale Commercial Farms (SSCF) and State Farms. The hectareage distribution of these subsectors according to agro-ecological potential is highly differentiated (table I). It can be seen that the majority of peasants (seventy three point five per cent) who live in communal sub-sectors are mostly located in the poorest natural regions IV and V and that although since Independence there has been a modest amount of resettlement of peasants into resettlement schemes this has largely been in natural regions IV and V. This demonstrates that the potential for agricultural projects where the majority of peasants including ex-combatants live is constrained environmentally. Prospects seem to exist in such areas only if there were to be a substantial investment in irrigation and agro-chemicals. The provinces in the Southern Regions of Zimbabwe, including Masvingo, are therefore the most vulnerable provinces in terms of basic food production and self sufficiency.

## Industry and Mining

Zimbabwe has a fairly broad based industrial structure, based mostly on the processing of agricultural raw materials and on import substitution. Following a sharp boom at independence resulting largely from the utilisation of excess capacity there has been a decline in output in the sector. By 1983 industrial output was down one point eight per cent over 1982 which has a decline of two point four per cent over 1981 and real growth in 1982 was put at two per cent. Increases in output for 1983 were only recorded for metals, foodstuffs and chemicals and a total of eight thousand jobs was lost between June 1982 and June 1983.

Much of this decline has been attributed to the global recession and problems resulting from consecutive years of drought. More

than fifty minerals are mined commercially in Zimbabwe among them, the world's finest deposits of chromite, asbestos and lithium. In 1983, the mining sector experienced a twenty-two point eight per cent increase in production value which was largely due to a result in unit prices since the volume of production in fact decreased by three point six per cent.

In general the industrial and mining sectors and overall rural development projects were greatly slowed down by the recession and drought. For example, drought relief alone had by 1984 used up fifty-six million dollars with cattle rescue plans in the southern region having accounted for ten million dollars. Rural Development projects were further slowed down by the fact that government had to spend huge sums of money just to purchase land for resettlement. Although a few external organisations and countries had by June 1984 assisted Zimbabwe to the tune of eighteen million dollars for water supplies development, the drought and recession in fact exacerbated the dependency relationship of foreign aid and debt.

The balance of payments position and the effects of the rising debt-service ratio. have thus together placed heavy constraints on the achievement of social and economic development targets set by the government in its Transitional Development Plan. Drought prone areas like Masvingo Province have therefore lagged behind in their rural development efforts and suffered serious losses in incomes and assets (especially cattle) useful for production and food security. Already costs of maintaining water supply facilities developed during the drought period are soaring high and eating heavily into local government development budgets and threateningly increasing the dependence on foreign aid.

The Zimbabwean economy therefore remains largely "dual" in character due to the constraints faced by Government in its transformation objective. The role of financial institutions in retaining the colonial character of the economy and therefore the structural changes which are pre-requisites for socialisation of the economy cannot be over-emphasized, given the state of the economy since independence. The result has been that some programmes, such as those directed at ex-combatants have not

taken-off as well as was expected.

## MASVINGO PROVINCE

### The Environment and Population

Masvingo Province is situated south-east of Zimbabwe and is one of the biggest of the eight administrative provinces of this country. The province has a total population of eight hundred and seventy-five thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight (1982 Census) distributed over an area of thirty thousand and fifty-two kilometres (see table two for the district level population distribution). The population density varies among the districts from twelve kilometres in Chiredzi to fifty-one kilometres in Bikita, while Gutu district has the largest number of people. Masvingo Province is one of the few with a number of pockets of land under very high population pressure and yet it also has some of the most drought-prone districts. Only fifty-six per cent of the communal lands population is within the working age group, while females predominate the population in the age group above nineteen years (C.S.O. 1984).

TABLE 2

### MASVINGO POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

DISTRICT	POPULATION FIGURES	AREA (km <sup>2</sup> )	POPULATION PERCENTAGE	POPULATION DENSITY
Bikita	134 863	2 631	15,39	51,3
Chibi	137 708	3 195	15,72	43,1
Chiredzi	108 093	8 803	12,34	12,3
Gutu	177 131	4 413	20,22	40,1
Masvingo	116 913	2 667	13,34	43,8
Mwenezi	63 169	5 592	7,21	11,3
Zaka	137 891	2 751	15,74	50,1
<b>TOTALS</b>				

The entire province of Masvingo lies within natural regions III, IV and V and approximately fifty per cent of the province lies under six hundred metres below sea level and only the extreme north of the province lies above one thousand two hundred metres, which gives most of the province average temperatures of about thirty degrees centigrades in summer. Rainfall ranges from five hundred millimetres to eight hundred millimetres per annum. There are however slight variations with some areas just below five hundred millimetres or above eight hundred millimetres. The vegetation of Masvingo is largely light to medium woodlands. There are forests of mixed medium mopane especially in Chiredzi, a few reverine species on riverbanks and some acacia woodland.

The soils of Masvingo are largely sandy loams which in some places are greyish to reddish-brown and moderately shallow, coarse-grained sandy loams, dark-brown loams, and clay soils which are either red or black to blue black in colour. The rocks in the province are mainly granite and ironstone.

There are a few rivers in the province which are mainly dry in winter. These are: Dewure, Mwenezi, Lundi, Tokwe and Nyazvidzi rivers. The extreme south of the province is partly served by water from the Sabi river which forms the boundary to South Africa. (See the Appendix for further information about the Masvingo Communal Areas)

### Agriculture

Agriculture is the mainstay of Masvingo province which is dominated by large estate farming in the Chiredzi area, where most of the country's sugar production occurs. Estate farming is largely in hands of transnational corporations (in Triangle) although the government also has five state farms in the area. These are: Angus Nanch, Tshovane, Naudi, Rutenga and Gonakudzingwa.

The large Commercial Scale farm sector is the second most important agricultural sector, which is largely focused on ranching and mixed farming. There are approximately three hundred and forty-one Large Scale Commercial Farms, with a total area of two thousand one

hundred and sixty-one point four hundred and thirteen hectares and only forty-two thousand four hundred and fifty-seven hectares cropped. Most of the cropped area, however, is under irrigation since the majority of these farms are in natural regions IV and V. Cotton, groundnuts and maize are the more common crops in the area.

TOTAL NUMBER OF LSCF BY DISTRICT, AREA CROPPED AND NATURAL REGION IN MASVINGO PROVINCE

TABLE 3      LARGE SCALE COMMERCIAL FARM SECTOR, MASVINGO

DISTRICT	CROPPED AREA (HECTARES)	TOTAL AREA OF FARMS	NATURAL REGION	TOTAL NO OF FARMS
Gutu	738	96 846	III	22
Chatsworth (Gutu)	727	66 846	III	22
Sabi Valley (Bikita)	440	168 667	IV	8
Mwenezi	306	1 051 433	IV	74
Chiredzi	36 062	486 215	IV	73
Masvingo Central	1 229	76 787	II	44
Masvingo Umshadige	574	44 009	IV	19
TOTALS	42 457	2 161 413		341

The estate and large scale commercial farm sector employ approximately twenty-five thousand people, over ninety-five per cent of which are male approximately three per cent of which are seasonal, casual or piece-rate workers (table four). Over thirty per cent of the latter however are female workers.

#### NUMBER OF LANDOWNERS AND FARM EMPLOYEES IN MASVINGO

TABLE 4

	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
Land-owners	226	46	272
Employees (permanent)	19 871	618	20 489
Seasonal, Casual or Pieceworkers	2 296	1 566	3 868

SOURCE: Ministry of Lands, Rural Development

The Small Scale Commercial Farm Sector (SSCF) is also well represented with two thousand one hundred farms, which amounts to over twenty-five per cent of the national number of farms in this sector (table five).

#### SMALL SCALE COMMERCIAL FARMS IN MASVINGO

TABLE 5

DISTRICT	NUMBER OF FARMS	NATURAL REGION	AVERAGE FARM SIZE ha
Gutu (Nyazvidzi)	460	III	80
Gutu (Dewure)	480	IV	80
Bikita (Nyahunda)	305	IV	120
Masvingo (Mushawasha)	421	IV & V	100
Masvingo (Zinyaningwe)	167	IV	90
Masvingo (Mushagashe)	276	IV	120
TOTAL	2 109		590

(SOURCE: Ministry of Lands & Rural Development)

The average farm size of the LSCF is quite large (five hundred and ninety hectares) although over ninety per cent of them are in natural regions which is mainly suitable for ranching so that the average size is relatively small for normal commercial ranching. The numbers of employees in this sector is not available although it is believed that the sector does employ much temporary labour from communal areas as well as extended family labour residing on such farms.

The Communal land farmers are largely peasant producers producing mostly maize, rapoko, groundnuts, sorghum, pearl millet, mhunga, nyimo and nyemba for home consumption. The main cash crops produced are groundnuts, sorghum, maize, oriental tobacco, soya beans and cotton. According to the Central Statistics, National Household Capability Survey in 1984 there were total of one hundred and fifty-two point nine hundred and twenty-three households in the Masvingo Communal areas, ninety per cent of which are engaged in peasant farming. The average household sizes is five point seventy-five persons per household, while thirty-eight per cent of the population was below ten years of age which indicates a relatively high dependency ratio in the Communal Areas.

Forty-six per cent of the households are headed by females and thirty-four per cent of the overall heads of households are over fifty years of age. This situation has obvious implications for the viability of peasant farming, suggesting a relative weakness of the communal areas due to the absence of males, aging of the heads of households and high dependency ratios.

The average farm holding size in Masvingo Province was five point three acres in 1984, which places a definite limit on the extension of cropped production area and emphasises the need for productivity increases, through the systematic utilisation of agro-chemicals. More importantly because the province is largely situated in natural regions IV and V the main source of crop productivity increases has to lie in the intensification of irrigation.

The Masvingo Communal Lands have a clear pattern of social differentiation in terms of agricultural assets and social aspects. Well

over fifty per cent of the households have less than five acres each, while seven per cent of them have less than one acre. In terms of cattle ownership, forty-three per cent of the households own no cattle at all while another thirty-five per cent own less than five cattle. This reveals a high level of poverty, especially for an area suited to livestock rearing. On the other hand, twelve per cent of the households have over ten acres while seven per cent of them have more than ten cattle per household and only two point eight per cent of the households had been granted loans by the Agricultural Finance Corporation in 1984.

The levels of poverty also vary among the communal lands in regard of, for example livestock ownership (table six). In this, Masvingo and Bikita Communal lands tend to be better off compared to Dewure Communal Land.

#### LIVESTOCK AND POULTRY IN MASVINGO COMMUNAL LANDS

TABLE 6

COMMUNAL LANDS	CATTLE	GOATS	SHEEP	PIGS	DONKEYS	POULTRY
Denhere	3 300	-	-	-	-	-
Bikita	87 000	15 000	4 000	500	1 500	-
Matsai	17 700	2 500	600	20	145	-
Masvingo	64 700	12 500	3 700	500	2 000	18 100
Mtshikwe	Not Provided	-	-	-	-	-
Zimuto	" "	-	-	-	-	-
Matibi	35 400	1 000	500	-	300	-
Maranda	31 000	-	-	-	-	-
Gaza Komani	Not Provided	-	-	-	-	-
Sengwe & Matibi	" "	-	-	-	-	-
Chibi & Mashaba	105 350	15 840	2 308	-	1 867	-
Sengwe	Not Provided	-	-	-	-	-

Livestock are an important measure of relative poverty within an area because they are a source of food (meat and milk) and instruments of production (manure and drought power). The drought, however, took a large toll of livestock in the last three years.

It has not been possible to get accurate figures of food and livestock production and sales in the Communal Areas, due to the preponderance of internal localized sales which are not recorded by the marketing agencies due to their infrastructural set-up.

As a result of the spatial variation in production systems and infrastructural investment, the social differentiation and the standard of living also differs among the districts like Gutu, services are generally good and there is considerable infrastructural development underway, including markets, bus depots, schools, clinics and roads. Masvingo communal land is the most developed because of its relative nearness to the major commercial centre (Masvingo town) and good road links. It has sixteen boreholes and twenty-nine small dams as against Zimuto Communal Land with a few dams and no irrigation schemes, and yet this is where water is generally a great problem.

It is clear from the above that there is a wide disparity in prosperity among the communal areas with Bikita and Masvingo farming relatively quite well. This is all related to the qualitative distribution of land, previous patterns of infrastructural investment and production activities.

The agricultural sector of the communal lands of Masvingo Province therefore tend to pose difficulties which can best be resolved by water related development projects.

#### Mining and Industry

Masvingo Province is not part of the major mining complex of Zimbabwe, which is clearly visible in the nearby Midlands area and is probably the destination of most migrants.

There are, however, twenty-one active mines which mainly produce gold, emeralds, tungsten and bery (see the appendix for details). The majority of these are in Masvingo and Gutu districts (see table seven).

TABLE 7

DISTRIBUTION OF MINES IN MASVINGO PROVINCE

DISTRICT	NUMBER OF MINES
Bikita	2
Masvingo	9
Gutu	8
Chiredzi	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>21</b>

There is little data on the employment situation in the mines in Masvingo Province and the provincial development plans tend not to emphasize mining development. It is thus unclear what potential exist for engaging ex-combatants in mining projects, although the evidence from other provinces suggest that mining cooperatives can be quite viable where initial equipment is provided and the labour process is well organised.

Apart from sugar and ethanol processing in the Chiredzi area, there is very little large-scale manufacturing in Masvingo province, due of course to the general spatial concentration of industrialisation in Zimbabwe's two major cities, Harare and Bulawayo. There is however, a growing small scale and informal industrial sector development taking place, mainly in milling (there are up to six hundred and eleven mills), carpentry (thirty-three workshops), tailoring and repairs (table eight).

TABLE 8

DISTRIBUTION OF SMALL SCALE INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL ESTABLISHMENTS BY DISTRICT (1982)

DISTRICT	GRINDING MILLS	BLACKSMITHS	CARPENTRY	CYCLE REPAIRS	TAILOR	ERECTING HOUSES	INNS & HOTELS	PETROL STATIONS
Batanai	19	1	2	1	5	12	1	1
Bikita People's	112	1	9	2	9	46	2	7
Gaza Komanaï	23	-	-	-	3	8	-	2
Gutu	163	-	8	10	8	53	3	6
Masvingo	104	-	2	1	3	30	-	3
Nyaningwe	76	63	9	3	9	55	3	3
Zaka	114	-	3	4	2	29	1	-
TOTAL	611	65	33	21	39	233	10	29
COUNTRY TOTAL D.C.	4 097	52	157	63	95	821	71	215

SOURCE: Central Statistics, 1982,  
Community Land Registry in the Ministry of Local Government and Town Planning.

Black smithing is surprisingly poorly developed. Gutu, Bikita, Masvingo and Zaka districts are clearly more advanced in small scale industrial development than the other three districts.

Another important industry in Masvingo is the Tourist industry which is based on the Great Zimbabwe Ruins and Lake Kyle. These tourist sports are well connected to Harare, Bulawayo and Mutare. There is a growing arts and crafts industry to service the tourists and it is likely that there is more scope for expansion in this. The hotel industry has also grown in relation to tourism. According to the Ministry of Tourism, in 1980 Masvingo town hotels had an occupancy rate of thirty-eight per cent, having sold thirty-two thousand five hundred bednights out of a total of eighty-five thousand bednights available.

Judging from general productive activities in the area, Masvingo Province could offer opportunities for the development of a variety of industries based on locally procured raw materials. Such industries include bakeries, oil pressing, maize milling, sugar refinery, tobacco processing and cigarette manufacture, leather tanning and shoe making. Other potential industrial activities dependent on raw materials and/or components imported into the province include welding, fence making, car repairing and so forth. Industries geared towards beneficiation of nickel from Bikita and gold from Renco are also ideal for the province although these require heavy capital investment. Based on the nature of the rural economy, products which have potential in Masvingo's rural areas include: accessories for handlamps, sanitary ware, water containers, garden tools, and leather products.

There is need, however to conduct in-depth feasibility studies on the viability of these potential industries in order to enhance their development, particularly at growth points.

The plans for future industrial development in Masvingo province in fact seem to be based on seven growth points namely: Mpandawana, Nyika, Jerera, Mwenezi, Chiredzi, Chibi and Nemwana. Such plans

and the existing industrial establishments and resource base could be used to identify potential industrial and commercial activities which could be run by ex-combatants cooperatives, following further feasibility studies. According to the Ministry of Industry and Technology, the following industries seem to have best potential at the given points in Masvingo province.

Mpandawana Growth Point is in Gutu District, which has a population of about one hundred and seventy thousand people. The growth point is served by a tarred road, electricity supply, a post office, borehole water supply, a Grain Marketing Board Depot, a Post Office Savings Bank, and a sheltered market place. The main agricultural activities in the surrounding district include maize, tobacco and ground-nut growing and cattle grazing. Small-scale brick making, car repairing, bicycle repairing, tinsmithing, fence making, welding, clothing manufacturing, carpentry and shoe repairing comprise the main existing industrial activities.

Nyika Growth Point is in Bikita District, which has a population of one hundred and thirty-four thousand people. This growth point is served by a tarred road (running across from Masvingo to Mutare), borehole water supply and electricity from a generator. The main surrounding agricultural activities include maize and ground-nuts growing, cattle grazing and forestry plantations. At present there is minimal level of industrial activity although there is a potential for development of clothing, bakery and furniture manufacturing.

Jerera Growth Point is located in Zaka District, which has a population of about one hundred and thirty-eight thousand people. The growth point is served by a gravel road, electricity, water supply, a Grain Marketing Board Depot and several general dealer shops. Current small-scale industries include carpentry, welding and tinsmithing. Since Jerera is an agricultural district where cattle are reared, maize and ground-nuts are grown, there is potential for the development of relevant small-scale agro-industries.

Although at Mwenezi, industrial activities are still at a minimal level, the vast agricultural potential of the surrounding district can give rise to oil pressing, spinning and weaving, cattle feed and maize milling enterprises.

There are no significant industries yet at Chiredzi growth point, although there is potential for saw milling and agro-industries based on the processing of maize, ground-nuts and timber grown in the area.

The current main industrial activities at Chibi growth point, include welding, carpentry and service industries such as bicycle repairing and shoe repairing. Chibi is a business centre with a cluster of general dealer shops, Government offices and a fertiliser depot.

Nemanwa Growth Point is located in the Masvingo District and at present there are a few people who live there. Accordingly, there are no industries yet although there is a potential for agro-industries at a small-scale level.

Overall therefore, the industrial potential of Masvingo is far from realized and needs to be systematically investigated in order to maximize the regional efficiency in relation to local markets and district level resources. The main area of development could be in the processing of agricultural products given the application of appropriate technology.

#### Infrastructure and Community Development

Masvingo province suffered a great deal of damage to its infrastructure during the war. A great deal of effort has been made therefore to rehabilitate the infrastructure necessary for development bearing in mind the province's special needs due to repeated droughts. The reconstruction of major services has shown improvements throughout the province. By June 1983 the province had twenty-seven salepoints, the highest in all the provinces, six hundred and sixty-two boreholes, five pipe schemes, four thousand seven hundred kilometres of roads, one thousand two hundred and three culverts, one hundred and twenty-three bridges and causeways, three hundred and forty-three dips were reconstructed and three hundred and forty were operating (table ten).

TABLE 9

COMMERCIAL SERVICES: WHOLESALE AND RETAIL LEASES OF MASVINGO PROVINCE BY DISTRICT COUNCIL MAY 1982

DISTRICT	WHOLESALE	GENERAL DEALER	BOTTLE STORE	BUTCHERY	BAKERY	GREENGROCER	TOTAL
Batanaï	-	78	8	1	1	-	88
Bikita People's	3	247	33	34	-	2	316
Gaza Komanani	-	58	11	2	-	-	71
Gutu	-	351	93	88	-	6	538
Masvingo	-	239	77	39	-	-	350
Nyaningwe	-	212	38	23	2	8	283
Zaka	-	302	38	55	2	-	397
TOTAL	4	1 482	298	242	5	16	2 043
COUNTRY TOTALS D.C.	29	8 080	1 728	1 456	36	72	11 372

SOURCES: Central Statistics, 1982  
Communal Land Registry in the Ministry of Local Government and Town Planning

TABLE 10

## PROVINCIAL RECONSTRUCTION PROGRESS IN COMMUNAL LANDS (JUNE 1983)

PROVINCE	SALEFONS	BOREHOLES	DAYS	PIPED SCHEMES	ROADS (Km)	CULVERTS & INVERTS	BRIDGES & CAUSEWAYS	DIPS OPERATING
Matebeleleland North	12	1 205	113	2	1223.4	449	17	186
Matebeleleland South	25	1 257	42	15	3161	594	29	254
Mashonaland Central	1	290	10	-	1421.7	760	105	90
Mashonaland East	3	126	28	-	1887.5	575	37	159
Mashonaland West	4	613	60	-	1712	411	56	103
Midlands	15	1 847	51	3	4211	430	65	268
Masvingo	27	662	51	5	4700	1 203	123	340
Manicaland	13	662	7	-	2804.7	1 560	124	225
GRAND TOTAL	100	6 662	362	25	2112.1	5 932	556	1 625

SOURCE: District Development Fund, 1984.

TABLE 11

## DISTRICT DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNITY SUPPORT PERSONNEL (1962)

DISTRICT	COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS	HOME ECONOMICS DEMONSTRATORS	LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROMOTION OFFICERS	SPORTS PROMOTERS
Batanai	4	8	4	1
Bikita People's	6	10	4	1
Gaza Komanai	15	9	4	1
Gutu	7	9	4	1
Masvingo	11	17	5	1
Nyaningwe	4	10	3	1
Zaka	6	12	3	1
TOTAL	53	76	27	7
COUNTRY TOTAL D.C.	287	424	119	55

SOURCE: Ministries of Community Development and Women's Affairs, Youth, Sport and Recreation and Local Government and Town Planning.

TABLE 12

## DISTRICT DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOLS AND ENROLMENT IN MASVINGO

DISTRICT	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS		ENROLMENT IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS	ENROLMENT IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS	NO. OF PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHERS	NO. OF SEC. SCHOOL TEACHERS	NO. OF PRIMARY CLASS- ROOMS	NO. OF SECONDARY CLASSROOMS
	PRIMARY	SECONDARY						
BIKITA	86	25	48 827	8 998	1 223	300	888	185
CHIBI	79	27	48 186	9 187	1 205	306	948	196
CHIREZI	82	9	40 383	2 910	1 010	97	649	68
GUTU	145	50	61 249	15 711	1 531	524	1 389	392
MASVINGO	115	39	53 142	14 732	3 329	491	1 048	352
MWENEZI	38	10	26 430	2 300	661	77	343	65
ZAKA	84	28	48 605	9 329	1 215	311	875	198
GRAND TOTAL	629	188	326 922	63 168	8 174	2 809	6 140	1 456

When the infrastructure of Masvingo province is compared to other provinces on a per capita basis, Masvingo has less boreholes and dams (given the water problems there) but is relatively well off on dip tanks. However, it is not surprising since there was considerable damage in that area during the war.

Other community support services are also being developed. Community development has been speeded up by the fifty-three community development officers throughout the province, seventy-six home-economics demonstrators, twenty-seven local Government promotion officers and seven sports promoters (see table eleven).

The province however, still required substantial infrastructural and community services development within the communal areas as opposed to rural council areas.

#### Education and Ex-combatant Training

Masvingo has a total of six hundred and twenty-nine primary and one hundred and eight secondary schools (see table twelve) with one to thirty-five teacher-student ratio at primary school level. The major structural problem however is the capacity of the secondary schools to absorb primary school leavers as is generally the case throughout Zimbabwe.

Regarding teachers, there is a high proportion of untrained teachers, hence the drive to recruit expatriate teachers for rural schools and large scale teacher training. Other problems include accommodation shortages, inadequate facilities and shortages of furniture and books.

All districts of Masvingo have been faced with increased accommodation shortages which has led to teachers squeezing more than one class in single rooms. Poor accommodation for teachers also contributes to teachers abandoning some schools in preference to those in urban areas.

The inadequacy of sanitary facilities has been made worse by the drought that swept the whole country. However, the district development plans make it clear that they all are determined to have this problem solved by the end of the decade. On the other hand poor supply of clean water has in some cases led to the closure of certain schools in the country. Masvingo province, assisted by the Government and non-governmental bodies has embarked on a programme to improve this situation.

The shortage of school furniture and books continues to be a problem as it has always been a problem prior to independence. The Government and Local Authorities have thus encouraged parents and teachers to establish self-help schemes aimed at producing furniture locally. Again in adult education the facilities are not adequate and the district officials are trying to develop this aspect. Technical and Vocational Training have been critically neglected in Masvingo for, although the District Development Fund generally trains lower level mechanics, builders and maintenance staff, in Masvingo they have only been training builders (table thirteen). Also, this training only occurs in Masvingo town and could do well if it were further decentralised, especially the training of maintenance staff which is desperately needed for the expanding water supply programmes.

#### Special Educational Programmes

After independence, the government attempted to develop special educational programmes for the returning refugees and ex-combatants (table fourteen). These schools, however, were meant mostly for refugees and a few of them enrolled ex-combatants. Masvingo Province did not have such a school established and in fact very few ex-combatants were actually sponsored by the Ministry of Education to pursue their formal education in the ordinary schools (table fifteen) even though special funds were allocated for this at central government level.

CLIENT	GRADE 4 MECH.	GRADE 3 MECH.	GRADE 2 MECH.	GRADE 4 BUILD.	GRADE 3 BUILD.	GRADE 2 BUILD.	T. TEST MECH.	T. TEST BUILD.	PUMP MAINT	FIELD OFFIC	PAIN- TING	WEL- DING	PLUM- BING	CARP- ENTRY	TOTAL
Domboshava	-	25	39	-	-	-	-	-	45	62	-	-	-	-	171
Mutare	44	18	-	23	51	-	30	30	-	-	11	-	16	-	223
Tsholotsho	60	-	-	44	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	29	-	-	167
Hunyani	-	-	-	44	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	85
Masvingo	-	-	-	36	78	39	-	-	16	-	-	-	-	-	169
Benga	-	-	-	22	35	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	57
Benga	-	-	-	53	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	53
TOTAL	104	43	39	222	228	39	30	30	61	62	11	29	16	11	925

SOURCE: District Development Fund, (1984).

TABLE 14

## PROVINCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF EX-COMBATANTS SCHOOLS

PROVINCE	SCHOOL	LOCATION
Manicaland	Mavudzi Primary	Nyazura
Midlands	Nkululeko Primary	Battlefield (between Kwe Kwe and Gweru)
Mashonaland Central	Rusununguko High	Broomely
	Chindunduma High	Shamva
	Chindunduma Primary	Shamva
Matebeleland	Mbongolo G Silundika High	Kwe Kwe
Matebeleland South	Fatima Primary	Lupane
	Fatima Secondary	Lupane
	Majoda Farm	West Nicholson

TABLE 15

## MASVINGO EX-COMBATANTS EDUCATION SPONSORSHIP

NAME OF SCHOOL	NUMBER OF STUDENTS	ANNUAL FEES	EDUCATION STANDARD
Christian School Mashoko	1	\$280	Form 3
Gokomere High	1	\$350	Form 6
St Anthony's High	1	\$350	Form 4
Gutu Mission	1	\$350	Form 6
Chatikobo High	1	Pending	Form 2

One of the more successful special educational programmes which has benefited returning refugees and a few ex-combatants is Majoda Farm School. The school which was started in 1981 by the Lutheran World Federation under an agreement with the Ministry of Education was handed over to government early this year. It has seven hundred secondary school students, studying under a ZIMFEP curriculum on a former commercial farm where they are trained in practical skills. The school has the following laudable aims:

1. Learning aspect; to familiarise students with basic agricultural and construction work so that they may later build their own houses and feed themselves.
2. Production aspect; to reduce the cost of setting up the school and decrease the schools' running costs.
3. Educational aspect; to encourage students to regard manual labour as worthwhile and to balance intellectual and manual abilities.

Some of the vocational skills that are acquired in the process are: plumbing, building, carpentry and various farming techniques.

It appears that the experiences so far gained from Majoda High School can be readily transferred in general to other special educational projects and be adapted for the general need of ex-combatants.

A few ex-combatants have also been trained on-the-job and fully employed by other ministries, especially as police and customs officers and in health services.

### Health Services

The population growth rate in Masvingo has not been matched with a corresponding development of basic social services. This unfortunate situation is worsened by the concentration of medical services in the urban areas leading to a deterioration of health services in the rural areas. Most local medical doctors also prefer to settle in urban areas.

Other problems that are currently confronting health services in Masvingo are: inadequate clinics, few trained staff, poor medical equipment, lack of sanitary facilities, inadequate clean water supplies, shortage of ambulance service, insufficient accommodation for medical staff, inadequate village health education, public transport and shortage of medicines.

Table sixteen which shows the district level distribution of health services illustrates the sparseness of services. The ratio of medical personnel to the population is alarmingly low. The effects of the general poor level of services in Masvingo province is reflected in its comparatively poor health status (see the appendix for national data).

In 1983, Masvingo had the highest number of diarrhoeal cases with fifty-one thousand three hundred and forty-one people from all the districts affected, most of which were in Chiredzi (twelve thousand one hundred and seventy-five cases), Bikita (eleven thousand and seven cases) and Zaka (eight thousand seven hundred and seventeen cases). The other dominant diseases are typhoid, amoebiasis, schistosomiasis, haematobium hepatitis, clinical malaria, malaria and trachoma and the national data also depict Masvingo as one of the worst-case provinces. A total of nine hundred and ninety and seven hundred and twelve amoebiasis cases were recorded in 1982 and 1983 respectively. Twenty-two thousand seven hundred and fifty out of national grand total of twenty-five thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine cases of haematobium were recorded in Masvingo, while six hundred and forty-two out of a grand total of nine hundred and sixty-two people suffering from amoebiasis in 1983 were in Masvingo and of the thirty-three thousand six hundred and fifty-one cases of malaria recorded throughout Zimbabwe in 1983, twenty-three thousand eight hundred and forty-nine were recorded in Masvingo Province.

To curb the decline of the health situation, Masvingo Province has embarked on a programme aimed at improving clinic water supplies and protecting water supplies for communal areas, the betterment of sanitary conditions in communal areas by the construction of Blair latrines through aided

TABLE 16

## DISTRICT DISTRIBUTION OF HEALTH SERVICES (1992)

DISTRICT	APPROVED CLINICS	VILLAGE HEALTH WORKERS	NOS.	DOCTORS NURSE AND MEDICAL ASSISTANTS	APPROVED HOSPITALS	BEDS
Batanai	-	6	1	-	5	26
Bikita People's	5	6	4	2	29	416
Gaza Komanai	4	6	-	-	-	-
Gutu	6	6	3	-	20	233
Masvingo	5	6	1	2	23	240
Nyaningwe	4	6	1	-	-	-
Zaka	8	6	3	3	49	476
Provincial Total	32	42	13	7	126	1 391

SOURCE: Ministry of Health

The data on health facilities in the Province indicates that Zaka District, Bikita People's and Masvingo are the three districts with facilities encouraging but with Nyaningwe lagging behind.

self-help schemes, qualitative improvement of clinics and hospitals, the construction of new clinics and hospitals, providing adequate medical equipment at all clinics and hospitals, including at least one ambulance for each district hospital and each health centre, improving accommodation for staff at all clinics and hospitals, training of staff including Village Health Workers (VHW) to reach the required target of one VHW per five hundred people, the installation of either a telephone or a radio communication system at all clinics and hospitals and the upgrading of some of the clinics into health centres. However, it is noted local authorities indicate that the priority order of problem solution will be determined by the motivation and preparedness of each community, demand for facilities, motivation of the community and level of self-reliance.

Some of these problems have already received practical attention from local communities together with non-governmental authorities in cooperation with government. For example, Lutheran World Federation water supply programmes in Masvingo province have generated keen local interest with communities spontaneously digging wells on their own (in Rewa a community dug up to seventeen metres) and then approaching the Lutheran World Federation for assistance. These programmes are currently being incorporated into government structures in preparation for Lutheran World Federation departure.

It thus appears that there is much scope for community-based action programmes in Masvingo Province and that this needs to be tapped by local authorities to speed up the numerous health and related problems in the district. Such programmes could be strengthened and motivated further by trained cadres, who could readily be drawn from the ex-combatants.

In actual fact, ex-combatants have been called upon to take part in the attempt to combat the health situation in Zimbabwe. Former military medics have been trained at various centres in the different provinces. Three grades A, B and C in order of excellency were established and deployed as shown in Table seventeen. Again, Masvingo province seems to have the lowest number of ex-combatants who have benefited from this form of re-integration.

TABLE 17

DEPLOYMENT OF EX-MILITARY MEDIC'S BY PROVINCE 1980-81

PROVINCE	GROUPS			TOTAL
	A	B	C	
Masvingo	18	22	37	77
Manicaland	24	16	71	111
Mashonaland	61	69	114	247
Midlands	20	40	44	104
Matebeleland	96	239	100	453
National Total	219	386	396	1 001

On the whole therefore it appears that the area of health services could offer many employment and project activity opportunities for ex-combatants if relevant training programmes are developed.

Development Plans

It has been mentioned in the "Statement of the problem" that the provincial level planning infrastructure and capabilities in Zimbabwe have not yet been developed to a satisfactory level. A survey of individual district development plans of Masvingo province reveals that "The plans" are more of general statements of intentions or a shopping list of infrastructural requirements by the districts than concrete programmes. However, it is important to note that the districts are aware of their problems as this is the first step in the planning process.

In trying to give a summary of development plans of Masvingo province therefore it has not been possible to obtain data to back-up the plans which are of vital importance, nor has it been possible to assess the progress in development programmes. In the following however, the areas given priority for development and the associated objectives are summarised.

All districts are oriented towards the uplifting of the standard of education. They generally plan to construct more primary and secondary schools in order to provide adequate education for all. Under this scheme, parents are encouraged to do self-help projects for example the moulding of bricks and digging of wells to provide water. However there is no mention of how school leavers can effectively be absorbed in provincial productive employment.

All district development plans point out that health services are inadequate and that existing centres of health are not enough to treat an increasing population. According to the development plans from all the districts, the following problems dominate the health sector in Masvingo Province: uncontrolled infectious diseases, inadequate transport, poor means of communication, a big shortage of trained medical staff and shortage of medical equipment. The development plans however are not clear on the measures to be affected to improve the situation nor are priorities defined.

Independent of the effects of drought in the past years, all districts point out that agricultural output must be increased in both quantity and quality. Some districts like Gutu aim at establishing irrigation schemes to achieve agricultural self-sufficiency. In trying to improve agricultural productivity, the districts aim at working closely with the Ministries of Agriculture and Water Development.

The districts aim at developing their infrastructure in the area of roads, bridges, electricity, posts and telecommunications and primary water supplies. It appears that, at the moment priority is given to service Government establishments and improving linkages. Again, in this regard programmes are not clearly formulated.

There is therefore need to support the planning activities of the district level government offices.

### Chapter Summary

Masvingo Province is largely in the drought prone zone of Zimbabwe and yet it tends to have many pockets of relatively high population density. Demographically the Communal Lands are characterised by high male migrancy among the active age cohorts which together with the predominance of population in the young age cohorts has created a high dependency ratio in the province.

Although the majority of the people depend on agriculture for their livelihood, there appears to be an increasing shortage of land and animal drought power, which emphasises the need for leaps in general productivity. Of importance in achieving this is the need to invest in irrigation schemes and the diffusion of agro-chemicals.

The industrial base of the province is rather scanty and needs to be developed particularly around growth points, following further feasibility studies. The potential for small scale mining also requires further exploration.

The educational, health and infrastructural services of the Communal Lands needs serious attention as the host of bottlenecks cited earlier indicate.

The prospects for re-integrating the ex-combatants in the province abound but the projects initiated need to take account of some of the features of the economy that were brought out in this chapter.

## CHAPTER III

### SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS AND ASPIRATIONS OF EX-COMBATANTS

This chapter describes and analyses the demographic, economic, educational and cultural characteristics and aspirations of the interviewed ex-combatants in Masvingo Province. First a provincial profile of the ex-combatants is developed and this is followed by the presentation of a district level case-load of the ex-combatants. An annex to this chapter presents the various tables discussed here to facilitate separate inspection of the data.

#### PROVINCIAL PROFILE OF EX-COMBATANTS

##### Demographic Characteristics

The sex composition of the ex-combatants turned out to be very skewed, with only five point four per cent female respondents. (Table nineteen). The study could not ascertain why there was such a low turn-out of female ex-combatants even though it is known that their original proportions have always been low. It is unclear whether in this particular case there was a low turn-up of females because of the methods used to solicit their participation, whether the females were disinterested or whether females do not regard themselves as part of the ex-combatants' target groups due to their incorporation into the patriarchal ambit under fathers and husbands. This of course, requires further investigation, as it is necessary to understand the female ex-combatants' situation and needs regardless of prevailing systemic norms.

The majority of the ex-combatants (eighty-nine per cent) were well below thirty-five years of age with only five per cent being between fifteen and twenty while seventy-one per cent were between twenty and thirty years of age. The ex-combatants in Masvingo were therefore quite young.

On the other hand a very high proportion, seventy-seven per cent were married, while seventy-four per cent of the ex-combatants had children. These dependents, province-wise, added up to 1,065, giving a crude dependency ratio of 1.7 children per ex-combatant.

Moreover, most of their children are quite young with seventy-four per cent of these being three years and less. This generally indicates that most of the ex-combatants have settled down and integrated themselves into the social milieu and that they have taken on serious family responsibilities.

These demographic characteristics also suggest that the notion and practice of dealing with ex-combatants as single persons instead of as heads or members of households is out of step with reality. It would therefore be reasonable to expect the qualitative and quantitative needs of ex-combatants to differ widely from the situation immediately after independence, given the types of responsibilities they have taken on. Moreover, those concerned with assisting ex-combatants in future need to develop a dynamic perspective regarding the possibilities for the social and economic development of this largely young group of ex-combatants.

In sharp contrast to the responsibilities shouldered by ex-combatants only twelve per cent of them reported having any occupation at all. The reasons for this situation were not clearly evident from the survey.

The majority of those who reported that they were working (thirty-two) were engaged in agriculture, either as commercial or peasant farmers (Table Twenty). It is of interest here to note that most of the ex-combatants could not be peasant farmers given the fact that, in the communal areas, most married adults are allocated land to farm for their own households. It is not clear whether this situation arises out of land shortages within the high density zones of Masvingo Province, negative community responses to ex-combatants' land needs or the disinterest in peasant farming among the ex-combatants. Obviously this situation requires more detailed investigation as it could possibly indicate a tendency of aspirations geared towards occupations in more remunerative organisational structures or situations of economic activity other than peasant farming. The range of other occupations of the ex-combatants was quite wide, while only two per cent of them were either pupils or students.

Regarding health, the study reveals that very few of the ex-combatants suffer from major diseases or disabilities with the majority (fifty per cent) reporting good health (Table Twenty-five).

From the above demographic and occupational information, it is clear that the ex-combatants surveyed are in a serious predicament, being largely un-occupied economically and yet having to cater not only for themselves but also for growing households.

#### Educational Characteristics

As would have been expected of a group which had left the country at younger ages, the level of education of the ex-combatants was very low with fifty-five per cent not having attained a primary school certificate, while twenty-five per cent had attained the same and only two per cent having reached the 'O' level standard of education (Table Twenty-six).

The ex-combatants were also asked about skills that had been acquired in various fields and it was found that only eighty-three (thirteen per cent) had certificates. These skills ranged from agricultural skills (which had the highest of those certified at twenty-three per cent) to welding, carpentry, building, sewing, business and home-economics (table twenty-seven). This data indicates a very low level of skills acquisition amongst the ex-combatants since independence as well as a rather narrow range of fields within which skills were acquired. The emphasis on agriculture, building and welding however, indicated a fairly practical orientation in skills acquisition among the ex-combatants.

In view of the low level of skills acquisition and in order to assess the kinds of training programmes needed by ex-combatants, the study investigated the types of skills that the ex-combatants would like to acquire. A very large number of them, eighty-two point nine per cent, indicated the desire for skills training (Table twenty-eight) and again the most popular field of training was agriculture (with twenty-nine per cent) followed by metal work, building and carpentry. Quite clearly from the above the ex-combatants in Masvingo Province are keen to get training, although the range of skills required is fairly narrow albeit useful.

In contrast to the desire to train, a surprisingly low proportion (eight per cent) of the ex-combatants had in fact applied for training at various colleges (Table twenty-nine). Not surprisingly, however, the majority of the ex-combatants indicated that they could not finance their own training, with only thirty-six of them affirming that they could do so (Table thirty).

Of interest to note also is the fact that by far the largest proportion viewed their training career as a service to the nation (Twenty-eight point five per cent) while a fairly large group wanted to train in order to simply establish an income and for job security (Table thirty-one).

The educational characteristics of the ex-combatants indicates that they are necessarily a seriously disadvantaged group in terms of literacy, formal education and skills as well as ability to finance their education. It follows also from this that they are disadvantaged, in terms of qualifying for skills training since their formal education is well below form two, which is normally accepted as qualifications in technical colleges.

If we look at the situation in terms of other demographic characteristics such as age and family status, we find that the ex-combatants are in an even more serious predicament. For the ex-combatants are generally too old to comfortably attend formal schools with children below twelve years of age. Also as family people, the majority of them cannot afford to go through the normal formal educational channel as they need to have incomes to support their wives and children.

That the range of skills acquired or desired is narrow also reflects another possible constraint in the lack of broader training facilities in Masvingo Province, adequate career guidance and prospects for sponsorship. This could also explain why so few of the ex-combatants applied for training.

It is encouraging however, that the desire for training is there (and mainly in agricultural fields although these were not specified). This would suggest the need for special educational and training

programmes designed for the peculiar circumstances of the ex-combatants outlined above. That is, programmes which enable them to acquire both elementary educational training (reading, writing, etc.) and specific skills as well as enabling them to continue generating incomes for their households, within an adult dominated environment.

This is important, for as indicated in chapter two, the available special educational and training facilities were mainly meant for refugees and the support schemes by the Ministry of Education did not enrol many ex-combatants. Clearly, this also means that there should be coordination between the Ministry of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Services (regarding the technical college entry requirements), the Ministry of Education (regarding certification in "special schools"), the district, Development Fund (regarding the enrolment of the least educated groups or those disinterested in the formal aspects) and other Ministries, in order to facilitate the training of ex-combatants.

Regarding the occupation of ex-combatants, and considering the type of skills desired by ex-combatants it is not surprising that not many of them were engaged in peasant farming as an occupation. Clearly their social and economic orientation has transcended that generally held in Communal Areas. This needs to be taken note of in the formulation of general economic programmes to assist ex-combatants.

#### Economic Activities and Incomes

The survey also interviewed the ex-combatants about their involvement in any economic activity over the preceding twelve-month period and their incomes as opposed to current occupations. Only one hundred and sixty three ex-combatants (twenty-six per cent) reported having been engaged in some economic activity during this period. The discrepancy between this statistic and the current occupations reported are an indication that either the economic activity was done on a part-time basis or it had been abandoned before the administration of the survey.

Again the majority of the ex-combatants seventy-two per cent (one hundred and eighteen) who had been engaged in economic activities did so in the area of agriculture. The rest were fairly evenly divided among building, trading, carpentry and dress-making (Table thirty-two).

An attempt was also made to investigate the level of incomes earned by the ex-combatants during the last twelve months in terms of paid employment, farming and participation in cooperatives.

It was found that well below hundred of the ex-combatants received any income at all (table thirty-three, thirty-four and thirty-five), with twenty-three of them having received incomes from cooperative activity, (table thirty-three), twenty-one from paid employment (table thirty-four) and sixteen ex-combatants from farming activities (table thirty-five).

The gross income received by all the ex-combatants earning an income amounted to \$63 048,00 which gives the crude annual per capita incomes of less than \$100,00 per person for the total sample of ex-combatants and well below \$300,00 per person for those who reported having been engaged in some economic activity over the previous twelve months.

The major portion of the gross annual income earned by the ex-combatants (forty-eight per cent) was earned by those engaged in paid employment while forty per cent of the incomes were from cooperatives (table thirty-six). Those engaged in paid employment received an average the highest per-capita incomes with seventy per cent of them receiving over \$1 000,00 each, while only twenty-five per cent of the cooperatives received incomes over \$1 000,00 and thirty-three per cent of those farming received the same. (Tables thirty-three, thirty-four and thirty-five). In contrast however, sixty per cent of those engaged in farming received incomes below \$200,00 each.

The findings related to economic activities indicate that a rather low proportion of the ex-combatants were engaged in any gainful activity during the last twelve months.

Although most of those who were engaged were involved in agricultural activities, they do not regard this as an occupation per se since not so many ex-combatants cited farming as an occupation or that they had been engaged on a temporary basis.

Overall therefore the ex-combatants have not been able to establish dependable incomes for themselves besides that received from the Demobilisation programme.

The incomes that are received by ex-combatants are on average very low, being well below the minimum wage levels (both rural and urban wages) and even below the target set for families in the resettlement programme organized by Government. The lowest incomes were achieved in the agricultural field even though most of the ex-combatants had participated in this, while it appears that cooperatives had done comparatively well (although the incomes are still very low) considering these are new ventures. The fact that thirty-two per cent of those in cooperatives still expected incomes, having reported that they had "not yet" had any income, underlines the above point and suggests that it is probably too early to fully assess the economic impact of the ex-combatants' cooperatives. This point is belaboured because on the whole, cooperatives as a form of organization are new and they require fair amounts of capital and management skills for the cooperators to realize reasonable incomes. The ex-combatants did not possess these resources.

Overall the low level of engagement in economic activities and low incomes among the ex-combatants suggest that there is a wide scope for organizing many ex-combatants into economic activities. The need to do so is critical particularly in view of the fact that most of them are responsible for maintaining households and yet they do not have marketable skills.

The latter point is underlined by the fact that although incomes from paid employment constituted the largest proportion of incomes, on average, the per capita incomes are low, being comparable to the wages of unskilled labourers in the national labour force.

This is of course not surprising given the low level of education and skills attainment shown earlier. This suggests the need for general skills training especially for those who are not interested in cooperative activities.

Regarding the low level of participation in cooperatives by the ex-combatants, although it has been indicated that the ex-combatants are constrained by lack of capital and skills necessary to succeed, there is need to consider problems of motivation. During the survey there was an apparent pessimism among some of the ex-combatants about the viability of cooperatives. This is not surprising given the low incomes attained so far (considering the constraints mentioned above) but it appears that the understanding of the nature of benefits that can be attained from cooperatives is wrongly construed. Clearly most cooperatives cannot be expected to achieve profits and high incomes over such short periods as three years, especially with the nature of support these have received from outside the cooperatives themselves. Unfortunately, this study could not investigate in detail the various problems faced by cooperatives such as capital requirements, support structures, management, and organizational aspects, work incentives and other specifics. This kind of research is desperately needed in order to adequately back-up ex-combatants' cooperatives. (See further discussion below).

Also it would appear that there is need for more relevant promotion programmes which explain the short and long term reality of the viability of cooperatives. This needs to be done under practical conditions where ex-combatants are exposed to operationally viable schemes which could be organized on a pilot basis in the area. Only then can more ex-combatants be expected to join cooperatives and realise reasonable incomes.

#### Characteristics of Cooperatives

The survey attempted to investigate the status of the ex-combatants' cooperatives through further questions addressed to the sixty-seven ex-combatants who had reported that they were members of cooperatives.

The findings reveal that the few cooperative members (ten per cent of the total sample) were widely spread among eight types of enterprises (see table forty-six) namely: crop production (fourteen per cent) poultry production (twenty-six per cent) livestock production (three per cent) building (five per cent), welding (sixteen per cent) carpentry (seventeen per cent), trade (nine per cent) and dress-making (six per cent). This shows that agricultural cooperatives are overwhelmingly the most popular type of cooperative with forty-three per cent of all cooperators.

In order to assess some of the reasons why members of cooperatives in general received relatively low incomes, the ex-combatants were asked to identify the types of constraints faced by their cooperatives and the nature of assistance required by them. Surprisingly fifty-eight per cent of the cooperators did not positively identify constraints, while the major constraints cited were inadequate equipment to run production activities (twenty per cent), finance (eighteen per cent), marketing problems (fifteen per cent) and technical skills was seen to be by far the least constraint (table forty-seven).

Regarding the type of assistance required by the cooperatives, again up to thirty-eight per cent of the cooperators did not specify requirements, while the majority (forty per cent) reported that they required various types of equipment for production (table forty-one). Another seventeen per cent of the cooperators indicated that their priority need was finance and the remaining three per cent cited technical assistance. None of the cooperators indicated that they needed land in spite of the fact that most of the cooperatives were agricultural, suggesting that the various quantities of land already allocated to them (table thirty-eight) was probably adequate. This in fact seems to be the general situation with cooperatives nationwide. That is, because the government has had to spend greater sums of money to purchase land than expected, due to escalating land prices and unfulfilled foreign pledges to assist in land acquisition, and because of the general economic recession and drought-related spending, there has been very little finance available to equip and adequately support cooperatives and resettlement schemes in general.

In terms of skills among cooperators the study reveals that only twenty-two (thirty-three per cent) of them had certified skills (table forty-eight) and the majority of these were skilled in welding and building. The level of skills within the cooperatives is therefore very low as has been found to be the case among cooperatives in general throughout the country.

It is clear from the above scanty evidence that the ex-combatants' cooperatives are faced by a range of constraints similarly confronting cooperatives in general although it was not possible to ascertain the specific magnitude of these problems. As suggested earlier this would require detailed case studies of the ex-combatants' cooperatives in Masvingo Province. It suffices to say that the picture revealed above explains fairly well the low incomes reported by cooperators and the general low level of involvement of ex-combatants in cooperatives.

We may conclude this sub-section by pointing out that the economic status of the ex-combatants requires critical attention and that even though cooperatives have not been an important avenue followed by the ex-combatants to improve their situation, there is scope for the government to explore the possibilities further. This is particularly true in the area of cooperative policy and government practices at various levels. Some of these issues will be considered in the next chapter.

#### Assistance To Ex-combatants

Given the general socio-economic problems confronted by ex-combatants after demobilisation, government and various non-governmental and external organisations have been assisting the ex-combatants to re-integrate and establish themselves in society. (Some of the forms of assistance were explained in Chapter two). The study therefore attempted to assess the nature of assistance the ex-combatants had received so far.

In response to the questions concerning which organisations or authorities the ex-combatants primarily sought assistance from, it

was found that the majority (forty-three per cent) tended to contact the local government authorities (the District Administrator and Local Government Promotion Officers (table thirty-nine). This is not surprising considering that the District Administration is the lowest tier of government which should on average be most accessible geographically to the ex-combatants. The emphasis on the District Administrators also seems to reflect the importance placed on material needs (equipment and finance) which are "visible" at such offices as opposed to assistance related to the procurement of employment. The second most popular organisation contacted was the Department of Employment and Employment Development (fourteen per cent of the contacts) which suggests, that a fair proportion of the ex-combatants were actively searching for paid employment. The absence of contacts with educational organizations is glaring and tallies with the earlier finding that very few ex-combatants applied for training. Other contacts were the police and army (one per cent each) and non-governmental organizations (three per cent).

The above evidence indicates that the range of authorities contacted by ex-combatants is very narrow. This is not surprising given the fact that most of the ex-combatants are poorly educated (communication problems) and would not ordinarily be expected to afford to make numerous trips to various organizations (hence the use of local government authorities) and departments which are mostly located at provincial capital towns. Conversely this probably reflects the lack of grass-roots level channels for communication by various ministries and organisations. This point should not be taken only to refer to the lack of physical decentralization of officers of various organizations and government departments but also modes of communication. The evidence suggests that there are very few organized and routinized procedures available for the ex-combatants to utilize in seeking assistance. Some of these issues need further investigation so as to establish the nature of communication channels convenient for the ex-combatants in their search for governmental assistance.

Similarly, there is need to establish clear reporting procedures for the local government officers to follow in pursuing the requests by ex-combatants at higher levels. This is important because some ex-combatants had become fatalistic about soliciting assistance.

Regarding the nature of response by authorities contacted by ex-combatants, the majority of the latter (fifty-nine per cent) did not answer the question, while thirty-four per cent of them indicated that authorities responded positively (table forty). As far as the duration of the periods over which ex-combatants were assisted by the various departments and organizations, up to seventy-one per cent of the ex-combatants pointed out that they had been assisted over a one to two year period while the rest had received assistance for four years. The assistance referred to in most cases, however, was the Demobilization payments which is fixed assistance not that solicited separately by the ex-combatants.

These findings are quite mixed and it is therefore difficult to comment further on them, except to say that there is need to further investigate actual procedures of communication on the needs of ex-combatants.

#### Cultural Activities

A final social characteristic of the ex-combatants investigated was their cultural and recreational activities. Their cultural interests ranged from reading (with thirty per cent interested) cultural and other music (nineteen per cent), watching sports (thirteen per cent), watching films (nine per cent) and playing sports (see table thirty-eight). Over half of the ex-combatants usually play football, while thirty-two per cent were disinterested in sport and the rest play four other games (table thirty-seven).

The results therefore indicate that quite a sizeable proportion of the ex-combatants did not participate in cultural and sporting activities, while those who participate are involved in a fairly narrow range of activities.

This situation reflects the general lack of or inadequacy of cultural and recreational facilities in provinces in general and district centres in particular. There is therefore need to expand facilities at the district level in general as indeed the government aims to and to consider the integration of cultural (for example, therefore) and recreational activities into development projects.

### Future Plans

As a follow-up to the economic status and activities of the ex-combatants the survey enquired about their future plans in terms of where the ex-combatants intended to settle after training if they were to receive any and how long they intend to settle on on-going projects or even projects they aspired towards.

Only twenty-nine per cent of the ex-combatants would not commit themselves to indicate where they intended to settle, while forty-seven per cent of them intended to settle in their district of origin within Masvingo Province (table forty-three). It was interesting to note that less than ten per cent of the ex-combatants had any intentions to migrate to Harare or any other urban centres in Zimbabwe, while only seven per cent hoped to move to Masvingo town and the rest intended to stay in other parts of the province. Regarding the length of period of settlement on the projects, approximately seventy-three per cent of the ex-combatants intended to stay for twenty or more years, while less than six per cent would stay for less than ten years and the rest would not commit themselves to an answer.

The evidence on future plans therefore indicates that the ex-combatants are generally committed to residing in their province of origin and are not attracted by the major urban centres of development. This, of course, has to be read together with their stated desire to receive training in skills and other needs. These results are encouraging because they suggest the wide scope for initiating local level projects for the ex-combatants by government in general and provincial authorities in particular.

The latter authorities should take this seriously because the results suggest that any skills training programmes for the ex-combatants would have a high local retention level, judging from the ex-combatants' stated plans.

### Summary of Findings

The provincial profile reveals that the ex-combatants in Masvingo Province had a fairly poor socio-economic status in terms of educational and skills levels, incomes, cultural and recreational participation. They are also disadvantaged in terms of being qualified for training in formal technical and other fields, have serious household support responsibilities and tend to receive little and localized assistance mainly at the local government authority office levels. Very few of them engaged in cooperative forms of economic activity, which are mainly agricultural and seem to require substantive material, financial and skill training support. Overall, therefore, although there have been many constraints facing the government in the reintegration of the ex-combatants, there is wide scope for increased assistance, which needs to be backed up by further indepth studies, especially on the cooperatives question. Some of the general policy and practical problems surrounding such work need clarification and it is this that chapter four addresses.

In the following section, the district level case-load of the ex-combatants' socio-economic characteristics is presented, mainly in the form of data tabulations and brief inter-district comparisons.

## DISTRICT LEVEL CASE-LOAD

As the provincial findings have indicated, most of the ex-combatants prefer to stay in Masvingo Province and that therefore it is imperative to promote local level projects for the ex-combatants. To this end, it is necessary to further evaluate the comparative socio-economic status of the ex-combatants at the district level. This is necessary in order to get an impression of the needs and types of projects/activities which require emphasis within each or groups of districts. In order to achieve this therefore, the demographic, educational economic and social features of the ex-combatants are tabulated by district in tables twenty-one to forty-nine and the discussion below highlights some of the salient features. These features should be interpreted together with the discussion on the provincial profile in order to derive their fuller significance. As can be seen from table eighteen, there was an uneven distribution of respondents from the various districts, the highest response having been from Chiredzi and Chibi and the lowest from Gutu.

### Demographic Aspects

The sex distribution of the ex-combatants by district show that most of the females were from Chibi and Bikita (table nineteen) while the age distribution shows that Chibi district had the highest percentage of those aged between fifteen and thirty years. Gutu had the lowest percentages of the same age groups. On the other hand, Chiredzi had thirty-six per cent of the respondents aged thirty-six to forty years and forty-five per cent of those between forty-one to forty-five. Bikita, Chiredzi and Masvingo had even proportions (twenty-five per cent) of respondents between the ages of forty-six and fifty, and forty-three per cent of those over fifty years came from Chiredzi (table twenty-one). Regarding marital status and children, Chiredzi district had twenty-five per cent of the married ex-combatants and over twenty-two per cent of respondents with one dependent each, twenty-three per cent of dependents aged between two and three years and forty-three of respondents with dependents above six years. On the other hand twenty-three per cent of unmarried ex-combatants came from Chibi which also had the least number of dependents (table twenty-two).

Bikita had twenty-four per cent of the dependents or children over four years old, while Gutu only had three per cent in the same age group and fifteen per cent of those with dependents of two to three years. Overall, most of the ex-combatants' children are located in Chiredzi (twenty-seven per cent) and Gutu has only four per cent of them.

The inter-district comparison revealed that the state of health among ex-combatants was worst in Chiredzi which had the highest number of ex-combatants with bullet wounds that were neither treated nor healed well and those with tuberculosis. Bikita reported the highest number of disabled ex-combatants.

In terms of state occupations, Masvingo District has seventy-seven per cent of its respondents involved in commercial farming whilst thirty-six of those from Bikita had sixty-seven per cent followed by Chibi with thirty-three per cent, which also had forty-three per cent of its respondents engaged in building. Out of all those engaged in red-cross and health services, forty per cent came from Gutu. There was also a few combatants who had drivers' licences, but these were not employed (table twenty).

Overall, therefore, the demographic characteristics of the ex-combatants varied fairly widely and therefore needs to be noted in fuller detail by development organizers.

#### Education Characteristics

The district level findings indicate that most of the respondents who did not attend school beyond Grade Four, were from Chiredzi and Mwenezi and the majority of respondents that went beyond Grade six, were from Zaka. The majority of certificate holders in agricultural skills came from Bikita and none were from Chibi and Mwenezi, while most of those with certificates in carpentry and welding were from Chiredzi (sixty-four per cent). Bikita had fifty-five per cent of those with building certificates.

An analysis of all training requirements, shows that the majority of those who preferred agricultural training came from Chiredzi (thirty-one per cent), while Chibi had the highest overall number of those wanting training, with thirty-two per cent interested in carpentry, twenty-six per cent in Home Economics, thirty-four per cent interested in formal education. On the other hand, however, Bikita had the highest proportions of those able to finance their courses and these being thirty-eight mainly in agriculture, metal work and carpentry. Masvingo, Chibi and Zaka have fifty per cent and twenty-five per cent each who could support their building courses. In Gutu, Mwenezi and Zaka, respondents had no funds to finance their courses in Agriculture (table thirty).

#### Economic and Cooperative Activities

An inter-district comparison revealed that Bikita and Gutu had the largest number of respondents who were occupied in the last twelve months, and these were mainly involved in building, welding, trade and agriculture. Masvingo had the second largest proportion of those occupied while Mwenezi and Zaka had the lowest proportions of those occupied. Masvingo district registered the highest number of incomes from cooperatives while Bikita and Chibi had most of the paid employment incomes and Bikita and Masvingo had most of the agricultural incomes.

In contrast to incomes received from cooperative activities, Bikita had the highest proportion (twenty-five per cent) engaged in cooperatives and was followed closely by Chibi (nineteen per cent) and Masvingo (seventeen per cent). Zaka and Gutu had the smallest number of cooperative members (table forty-six). Most of the Bikita cooperatives were farming, welding and carpentry, while Chibi had an even distribution of types of cooperatives and all the Masvingo cooperatives were in poultry.

In terms of constraints faced by cooperatives, Bikita and Masvingo cooperatives reported most of the constraints, followed closely by Chiredzi (table forty-seven). It is interesting to note that Bikita which had most ex-combatants in farming, carpentry and welding cooperatives cited financial constraints mainly and this was followed by equipment.

The Bikita cooperators also indicated that finance and equipment were the main forms of assistance required.

In contrast to this situation, the Masvingo district cooperators, who are on the whole engaged in poultry cooperatives, all cited marketing as their only constraint, yet over ninety per cent of them indicated that they required equipment (table forty-one, forty-six and forty-seven). It may be that the major requirements here are transportation and storage for the marketing aspects of the cooperatives. This result is interesting because Masvingo district is near the main town. It is likely, however, that the daily deliveries create transport bottlenecks. It is also interesting that marketing constraints in this case does not refer to lack of markets or organizational problems needing assistance in expertise or preferential market security. It is also noteworthy that those districts without many cooperators (Zaka and Gutu) hardly identified any constraints or forms of assistance required.

The district level analyses of ex-combatants' cooperatives therefore reveals a fair degree of geographic concentration in participation and a variety of constraints and needs which need closer scrutiny in any attempts to promote cooperatives among the ex-combatants.

#### Assistance to Ex-combatants

Chiredzi and Chibi districts had made most of the overall contacts for assistance from different organisations and departments, with twenty-three per cent and eighteen per cent of the contacts respectively (table thirty-nine). Conversely, Gutu and Zaka had made the least contacts. The majority of contacts with Local Government Authorities had been made in Chiredzi and the least in Zaka and Masvingo, while the greatest number of contacts with the Department of Employment and Employment Development had been made in Bikita (twenty-seven per cent and the least of these were made again in Gutu. Most of the contacts with the police and district councils were made respectively in Chibi and Chiredzi.

Of interest to note is that, by far the greatest number of contacts with N.G.O.s was made in Masvingo district (seventy per cent of these). This suggests that the earlier observation made about the tendency by most organizations to locate in the provincial capitals influences the degree of contacts made, may be true as Masvingo district is on average the most accessible to this town.

Regarding responses received from authorities contacted, Chiredzi and Chibi reported most of the positive assistance and this seems to correlate well with the general district level pattern of contacts made (table thirty-nine and forty).

The findings therefore reveal a clear pattern of contacts for assistance at the district level, with two extremes of contact-makers: the keen districts, Chiredzi and Chibi in contrast to the indifferent districts of Zaka and Gutu. This suggests special discriminatory approaches to the promotion of development assistance in the province.

#### Social Aspects

The majority of ex-combatants who engaged in cultural and recreational activities were in Chibi and Bikita and Gutu had the lowest participants (table thirty-eight). The districts which had the majority of ex-combatants interested in a given activity are as follows: Reading (Chibi), Swimming (Masvingo), Football (Chibi) Films (Bikita), Music (Mwenezi) and Cultural Music and Dance (Bikita).

The results here also show a concentrated pattern, where Chibi, Bikita, Masvingo and Mwenezi are the most active participants in Cultural and recreational activities compared to the other districts. As it was not possible to get information about the distribution of related facilities among the various districts, these patterns of participation cannot be explained here. The findings, however, indicate the need to explore further these geographic variations and to take them into account when projects are formulated.

### Future Plans

Earlier it was indicated that most of the ex-combatants intended to stay for long periods within the province. The district level findings reveal that the majority of those who reported wanting to stay within their home district were from Chiredzi, while the majority of those who wanted to stay in other districts in the province were from Zaka. The majority of those who wanted to move to Masvingo town and to local growth points were from Chibi and Bikita respectively. Interestingly most of those who intend to move to Harare were from Masvingo district. Chiredzi and Chibi had the largest proportions intending to stay for the longest periods on their projects after training, while fifty-two per cent of those who did not intend to stay long came from Zaka alone.

The future plans of the ex-combatants at the district level therefore reveal that most of the districts have a majority of ex-combatants who want to basically stay where they are or move locally (that is, to local growth points or other districts in Masvingo province), while Chibi has the largest numbers of ex-combatants who want to move to major towns. However, the numbers of those intending to move are not high at all.

### District Findings Summary

The district case-load revealed clear geographic variations in the socio-economic characteristics of the ex-combatants in Masvingo. Some of these which deserve the attention of government development agencies are:

1. Chiredzi had most of the older, married ex-combatants with most of the children while Gutu had most of the young single and the least children.
2. Zaka and Gutu had the lowest employed ex-combatants and the smallest number of cooperators, while Masvingo and Bikita had most of those employed and cooperators.

3. Bikita and Chiredzi generally had most of the educated and skilled ex-combatants while Gutu had the least of these.
4. Ex-combatants in Gutu, together with Zaka made the least contacts for assistance while Chiredzi and Chibi districts had made most of the contacts.
5. Masvingo district had the most active searchers for assistance from N.G.Os.
6. Ex-combatants in Chibi were the most willing to move from their localities in contrast to those in Chiredzi.
7. All the districts placed their skills training priority in agricultural aspects except Zaka, which favoured building.

Although it was not possible to fully explain these variations at the present moment, the geographical patterns encountered suggest the clear need for district-specific programmes in any attempts to assist the ex-combatants.

In this chapter the provincial and district level demographic, educational, social and economic characteristics were discussed. It was found that overall the ex-combatants had a low socio-economic status and were generally at a disadvantage in efforts to improve themselves due to a wide range of constraints they faced. In all this, there was a clear geographic patterning.

These problems were seen to arise out of their own status, the nature of programmes at their disposal, general inadequacy of facilities and partly from their own motivation as well as the resource constraints faced by the government itself. Most of these issues, however, are also deeply related to existing government policy and practices which themselves need to be reviewed in order to improve on the specific attempts to assist ex-combatants. The following chapter therefore addresses some of these issues.

ANNEX: CASE-LOAD TABULATIONSTABLE 18DISTRICT DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES

DISTRICT	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Bikita	104	16
Chibi	123	19
Chiredzi	136	22
Gutu	29	4
Masvingo	81	13
Mwenezi	98	16
Zaka	61	10

TABLE 19SEX DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT	MALE	FEMALE
Bikita	97	7
Chibi	112	11
Chiredzi	133	3
Gutu	26	3
Masvingo	78	3
Mwenezi	94	4
Zaka	58	3
TOTAL	598	34

TABLE 20

TYPES OF OCCUPATION	BIKITA	CHIBI	CHIREZI	GUTU	MASVINGO	MWENEZI	ZAKA	PROV. TOTAL
COMMERCIAL FARMING	3 3%+	23%			10 12%	77%		13 2%
SUBSISTENCE	7 7%	36%	2 1%	2 7%	3 4%	16% 4%	1 1%	19 3%
RETAILER	2 2%	67%	1 1%	33%				3 1%
BUILDER	3 3%	43%	2 2%	29%	1 1%	14%		7 1%
PUPIL/STUDENT			5 4%	42%	1 1%	8%	1 2%	12 2%
OTHER	5 5%	33%	1 1%	7%	2 2%	13%	1 2%	15 2%
DRIVER			2 1%	67%	1 3%	33%		3 1%
NOT AVAILABLE	84 80%	15%	112 91%	15%	126 92%	23% 80%	4% 80%	555 88%
	104		123	136	29	81	61	632



TABLE 22

MARITAL STATUS	BIKITA	CHIBI	CHIREZDI	GUTU	MASVINGO	MWENEZI	ZAKA	PROV. TOTAL
SINGLE	21 17%	34 27%	10 9%	8 6%	19 15%	15 13%	16 13%	123
	20%	27%	7%	28%	23,5%	16%	26,5%	
MARRIED	79 16%	81 17%	123 25%	20 4%	58 12%	81 17%	45 9%	487
	76%	66%	91%	69%	72%	83%	73,5%	
DIVORCED	1 50%				1 50%			2
	1%				1%			
WIDOWED		1 50%				1 50%		2
		1%				1%		
NOT AVAILABLE	3 17%	7 39%	3 17%	1 5%	3 17%	1 5%		18
	3%	6%	2%	3%	3,5%	1%		

TABLE 24

TOTAL NUMBERS OF CHILDREN OF EX-COMBATANTS BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT	NUMBER OF CHILDREN	PERCENTAGE
BIKITA	195	18
CHIBI	132	12
CHIREZI	281	27
GUTU	41	4
MASVINGO	129	12
MWENEZI	164	15
ZAKA	123	12
TOTAL	1 065	



LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF RESPONDENTS PERCENTAGE BY PROVINCE AND DISTRICT

TABLE 26

STANDARD OF EDUCATION	BIKITA	CHIBI	CHIREZI	GUTU	MASVINGO	MWENEZI	ZAKA	PROV. TOTAL
GRADES 2 - 4	21 12% 20%	29 16.5% 24%	59 34% 43.5%	3 0.5% 10.5%	14 8% 17.5%	39 23% 40%	10 6% 16.5%	175 28%
GRADES 5 - 6	42 25% 41%	34 20% 28%	22 13% 16%	6 4% 20.5%	20 12% 25%	30 17% 30.5%	16 9% 26.5%	170 27%
GRADE 7 CERTIFICATE	32 20% 31%	30 19% 25%	18 11% 13%	14 9% 48%	31 19% 38%	17 10% 17.5%	19 12% 31%	161 25%
FORM 1		5 36% 4%	4 29% 3%	1 7% 3.5%	1 7% 1%	1 7% 1%	2 14% 3%	14 2%
FORM 2	4 8% 4%	11 23% 8.5%	5 10% 4%	2 4% 7%	9 18% 11%	6 12% 6%	12 25% 20%	49 8%
FORM 3	2 29% 1.5%	1 14% 0.5%	2 29% 1.5%		1 14% 1%		1 14% 1.5%	7 1%
FORM 4	1 8% 1%	5 38% 4%		2 15% 7%	3 23% 4%	1 8% 1%	1 8% 1.5%	13 2%
NOT AVAILABLE		8 19% 6%	26 60% 19%	1 2% 3.5%	2 5% 2.5%	4 9% 4%		43 7%
DISTRICT TOTAL	104 16%	123 19%	136 22%	29 4%	81 13%	98 16%	61 10%	632

DISTRIBUTION OF SKILLED MANPOWER AND TYPES OF SKILLS

TABLE 27

CERTIFIED TECH FIELDS	BIKITA	CHIBI	CHIREZDI	GUTU	MASVINGO	MWENEZI	CAKA	PROV. TOTAL
AGRICULTURE	6 28%	32%	3 14%	1 33%	4 24%	21%	5 61%	19 23%
WELDING	2 10%	18%	7 33%			1 20%	1 13%	11 13%
CARPENTRY	1 5%	17%	2 10%		1 6%	17%		6 7%
BUILDING	6 28%	55%	1 12%		3 17%	1 20%		11 13%
SEWING		3 38%	2 10%		3 17%		1 13%	9 11%
BUSINESS	1 5%	33%			1 6%	33.3%		3 4%
HOME ECONOMICS	4 10%	80%			1 6%	20%		5 6%
OTHERS		2 25%	5 23%		2 12%		1 13%	10 12%
TOTAL	23	8	21	3	17	5	15	83

COURSES REQUIRED BY EX-COMBATANTS IN MASVINGO

TABLE 28

COURSES	BIKITA	CHIBI	CHIREDDZI	GUTU	MASVINGO	MWENEZI	ZAKA	PROV. TOTAL
AGRICULTURE	23 22%	35 28%	58 43%	12 42%	16 18%	34 35%	8 15%	186 29%
CARPENTRY	15 14%	17 14%	6 4%	2 7%	5 6%	4 4%	5 8%	54 9%
BUILDING	19 18%	10 8%	6 4%	1 3%	6 8%	7 7%	20 32%	69 11%
HOME ECONOMICS	9 9%	9 7%	6 4%	1 3%	5 6%	4 4%	1 1%	35 6%
EDUCATION	4 4%	12 10%	3 2%	4 14%	5 6%	4 4%	4 6%	36 6%
METAL WORK	9 9%	16 13%	35 26%	3 10%	4 5%	12 12%	6 10%	85 13%
OTHERS	8 8%	8 7%	13 10%	4 14%	10 13%	7 7%	9 15%	59 9%
NCT AVAILABLE	17 16%	16 13%	9 7%	2 7%	30 38%	26 27%	8 13%	108 17%

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO APPLIED FOR TRAINING

TABLE 29

COURSES	BIKITA	CHIBI	CHIREDZI	GUTU	MASVINGO	MWENEZI	ZAKA	PROV. TOTAL
AGRICULTURE	3 3%		5 3.5%	1 3.5%	3 4%		3 5%	15 2%
CARPENTRY								
BUILDING	2 2%						1 1.5%	3 0%
HOME ECONOMICS	2 2%	1 1%	1 1%		1 1%			5 1%
METAL WORK	4 3.5%	1 1%	1 1%	1 3.5%	2 2.5%		1 1.5%	10 2%
EDUCATION		3 2.5%	1 1%	1 3.5%			1 1.5%	6 1%
OTHERS	3 3%	1 1%		1 3.5%	5 6%	1 1%	3 5%	14 2%
NOT AVAILABLE	21 15%	28 22.5%	16 11.5%	2 7%	30 37%	28 28.5%	11 18%	136 22%
NO	69 66.5%	89 72%	112 82%	23 79%	40 49.5%	69 70.5%	41 67.5%	443
								632

## DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS ABLE TO PAY FOR THEIR TRAINING

TABLE 30

COURSES	BIKITA *	CHIBI	CHIREZI	GUTU	MASVINGO	MWENEZI	ZAKA	PROV. TOTAL
AGRICULTURE +	4 4%	1 10%	2 2%	20%	3 30%			10
CARPENTRY	1 1%							
BUILDING		1 25%			2 50%		1 25%	4
HOME ECONOMICS		1 1%			2 2.5%		1 1.5%	5
METAL-WORK	3 3%	1 12%		2 25%			1 12%	8
EDUCATION	1 1%				1 33%		1 34%	3
OTHER		1 20%	1 20%		1 20%	2 40%		5
N/A	96 92%	116 20%	132 22%	27 5%	74 12%	92 15%	59 10%	596

KEY: \* = ROW PERCENTAGES  
+ = COLUMN PERCENTAGES

SPECIFIC REASONS GIVEN BY RESPONDENTS FOR NEED OF SPECIAL COURSES

TABLE 31

REASONS GIVEN FOR NEED OF TRAINING	BIKITA *	CHIBI	CHIREZDI	GUTU	MASVINGO	MWENEZI	ZAKA	PROV. TOTAL
1	16 15%	24 19%	38 28%	7 24%	12 15%	15 15%	16 27%	128
2	34 33%	34 28%	42 31%	11 38%	16 20%	26 27%	17 28%	180
3	12 12%	8 7%	18 13%	5 17%	4 5%	12 12%	13 22%	75
4	15 14%	24 19%	17 13%	2 7%	4 5%	12 12%	5 8%	80
5	2 2%	5 4%	5 3%	2 7%	-	1 1%	-	15
6	25 24%	28 23%	16 12%	2 7%	45 55%	32 33%	9 15%	145

KEY: 1. Establish Income source.  
2. Serve the Nation.  
3. Job Security.

4. Improve Education.  
5. Others  
6. Not available

\* Row Percentages

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF EX-COMBATANTS IN MASVINGO DURING THE LAST 12 MONTHS

TABLE 32

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES	BIKITA *	CHIBI	CHIREDCI	GUTU	MASVINGO	MWENEZI	ZANA	PROV. TOTAL
FARMING +	21 20%	19 18.5%	15 11%	5 11%	10 12%	13 13%	7 11.5%	90
POULTRY	7 7%	5 4%	4 2.5%	2 7%	7 9%		3 5%	28
BUILDING	3 3%	1 0.5%	1 1%			1 1%	1 1.5%	7
CARPENTRY	1 1%	1 0.5%	1 1%		2 3%			5
CRAFT		1 0.5%						1
WELDING	2 2%	1 0.5%	1 1%		1 1%			5
DRESS MAKING		2 1%	1 1%	1 3%	1 1%			5
NONE AT ALL	27 26%	39 31%	20 14.5%	6 21%	12 15%	33 34%	17 28%	154
NOT AVAILABLE	38 36%	54 43%	92 67%	9 31%	42 51%	51 52%	29 48%	315
CO-OPERATIVE	1 1%		1 1%		3 4%			5
TRADING	4 4%				1 1%		2 3%	7
PART TIME WORK				6 21%	2 3%		2 3%	8

KEY: \* ROW PERCENTAGES

+ COLUMN PERCENTAGES

## ANNUAL INCOME OF RESPONDENTS FROM CO-OPERATIVES

TABLE 33

AMOUNT IN Z\$	BIKITA	CHIBI	CHIRENJI	GUTU	MASVINGO	MWENEZI	ZAKA	PERCV. TOTAL
BELOW 200			1 11%					1 2%
201 - 300	1 6%	50%			1 8%	50%		2 3%
301 - 400								
401 - 500								
501 - 600	1 6%	2 15%	67%					3 4%
601 - 1000								
1001 - 2000	1 6%	1 8%	33%				1 50%	3 4%
2001 - 3000	1 6%	34%	1 11%	1 33%	33%			3 4%
3001 - 4000								
4001 - 5000		1 8%	100%					1 2%
5001 - 7000								
8001 - 10000								
TOTAL CO-OP MEMBERS	16	13	9	3	13	12	2	68

ANNUAL INCOME OF RESPONDENTS FROM OTHER SOURCES (INCLUDING EMPLOYMENT)

TABLE 34

INCOME IN Z\$	BIKITA	CHIBI	CHIREPI	GUTU	MASVINGO	MWENEZI	ZAKA	PRCV. TOTAL
300 and below		2						2
301 - 400	1	100%						1
401 - 600								
601 - 1000		1	50%					2
1001 - 2000	1	8%	1	4	3		1	12
2001 - 3000	1	100%						
3001 - 4000	2	67%					1	1
TOTALS	5	5	2	4	3	0	2	21

ANNUAL INCOME OF RESPONDENTS FROM FARMING

TABLE 35

INCOME IN Z\$	BIKITA	CHIBI	CHIREDCI	GUTU	MASVINGO	MWENEZI	ZAKA	PROV. TOTAL
100 & Below	3 100%							3 20%
101 - 150	1 20%			1 20%		1	2 40%	5 33%
151 - 200							1 100%	1 7%
201 - 550								
551 - 600					1 100%			1 7%
601 - 1000								
1001 - 2000			2 50%					4 26%
2001 - 3000					2 100%			1 7%
TOTAL NO.	4	0	2	1	5	1	3	16

GROSS PROVINCIAL ANNUAL INCOME FROM EMPLOYMENT, FARMING AND CO-OPS BY DISTRICT (ZS)

TABLE 36

GROSS INCOME	BIKITA	CHIBI	CHIREDZI	GUTU	MASVINGO	MWENEZI	ZAKA	PROV. TOTAL	%
EMPLOYMENT	7294,56	4089,00	2796,00	6252,00	4360,00		5136,00	30427,56	48
FARMING	322,60	NIL	2400,00	115,00	4272,00	115,00	436,50	7661,10	12
CO-OPS	4440,00	7332,00	3048,00	1440,00	7500,00	1200,00	NIL	24960,00	40
TOTAL	12057,16	11421,00	8244,00	7807,00	16632,00	1315,00	5572,50	63048,66	

TYPES OF SPORTING ACTIVITIES DESIRED OR PRACTISED BY RESPONDENTS

TABLE 37

	SIKITA	CHIBI	CHIRENJI	GUTU	MASVINGO	MWENEZI	ZAKA	PROV. TOTAL
FOOTBALL	54 52%	84 69%	65 48%	15 50%	44 55%	64 65%	38 63%	364 10%
HANDBALL	4 4%	5 4%	2 1%	3 10%	3 4%	1 1%	1 2%	19 5%
TENNIS		1 0.5%	1 1%			1 1%		3 33%
RUNNING	6 6%	3 3%	5 4%			3 3%		19 18%
VOLLEY BALL	8 7%	1 .5%	2 1%	2 6%		1 1%	4 7%	23 17%
TOTAL	72	94	75	20	52	70	43	428

TYPES OF HOBBIES PREFERRED BY RESPONDENTS

TABLE 38

TYPE OF HOBBY	BIKITA	CHIBI	CHIREDZI	GUTU	MASVINGO	MWENEZI	ZAKA	PROV. TOTAL
CULTURAL MUSIC/ DANCE	10	6	10	1	6	2		35
	29%	17%	29%	29%	17%	5%		12.5%
MUSIC IN GENERAL	8	8	3	3	4	12	4	45
	18%	18%	7%	7%	9%	26%	9%	16.2%
FILMS	7	5	2	1	3	1	5	24
	29%	21%	8%	4%	13%	4%	21%	8.6%
WATCHING	9	14	6	1	5		1	36
FOOTBALL	25%	39%	17%	3%	14%		2%	12.9%
HANDBALL								
SWIMMING	2	2		3	6	1	3	17
	12%	12%		18%	34%	6%	18%	6.1%
READING	9	19	12	3	17	10	12	82
	11%	23%	15%	4%	21%	12%	14%	29.5%
OTHERS	6	1		1	1		1	9
	67%	11%		3%	11%		11%	3.2%
NONE	5	3	12	1	4	1	4	30
	17%	10%	40%	3%	13%	3%	13%	5%
TOTAL RESPONSE	51	55	36	12	42	26	26	278

TABLE 39  
AUTHORITY OR BODY CONTACTED BY RESPONDENTS FOR ASSISTANCE

NAME OF AUTHORITY	BIKITA *	CHIBI	CHIREMI	CHYI	MASVINGO	MWENEZI	ZAKA	PROV. TOTAL
LOCAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY +	45 17% 43%	48 18% 39%	61 22% 45%	15 5% 51%	26 10% 53%	52 19% 53%	25 9% 41%	274 43%
DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT AND EMPLOYMENT DEV.	24 27% 23%	17 19% 13%	19 21% 13%	2 2% 7%	12 14% 15%	7 8% 7%	8 9% 13%	89 14%
ZIMBABWE NATIONAL ARMY			1 25% 1%			2 50% 2%	1 25% 2%	4 1%
DISTRICT COUNCILS	1 4% 1%	4 15% 3%	10 37% 7%	3 11% 10%	2 7% 20%	3 11% 3%	4 15% 7%	27 4%
ZIMBABWE REPUBLIC POLICE		4 57% 3%	1 14% 1%				2 29% 3%	7 1%
NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANISATION	1 6% 1%	1 6% 1%	2 12% 2%	1 6% 4%	12 70% 15%			17 3%
ZANU (PF)		5 33% 4%	6 40% 4%			1 7% 1%	3 20% 4%	15 2%
TOTAL NUMBER	71 16%	79 18%	100 23%	21 5%	54 13%	65 15%	43 10%	433 68%

KEY: \*ROW PERCENTAGES  
+COLUMN PERCENTAGE

RESPONSE GIVEN TO EX-COMBATANTS BY AUTHORITY IN QUESTION

TABLE 40

RESPONSE	BIKITA	CHIBI	CHIREDDZI	GUTU	MASVINGO	MWENEZI	ZAKA	PROV. TOTAL
VERY POSITIVE	4 13%	5 16%	9 29%	4 13%	4 13%	3 10%	2 6%	31 9%
POSITIVE	19 21%	12 13%	17 19%	6 7%	13 14%	5 6%	18 20%	90 25%
INDIFFERENT	1 6%	4 24%	4 24%		6 35%	2 11%		17 5%
NEGATIVE		2 100%						2 1%
VERY NEGATIVE								
NONE	2 40%			3 60%				5 1%

ASSISTANCE REQUIRED BY EX-COMBATANTS IN CO-OPERATIVES BY DISTRICT

TABLE 41

TYPE OF ASSISTANCE	BIKITA *	CHIBI	CHIREDEZI	GUTU	MASVINGO	MWENEZI	ZAKA	PROV. TOTAL
FINANCIAL AID	6		3		1	1		11
	55%		27%		9%	9%		17%
	+ 35%				8%	10%		
TECHNICAL AID		1	1					2
		50%	50%					3%
		11%	9%					
SEWING MACHINES				1				1
				100%				2%
				33.3%				
EQUIPMENT	5	3	4	1	11	1		25
	20%	12%	16%	4%	44%	4%		40%
	30%	33%	37%	33.3%	92%	10%		
NOT AVAILABLE	6	5	3	1		8	1	24
	25%	21%	13%	4%		33%	4%	38%
	35%	55%	27%	33.3%		80%	100%	
								63

KEY: \* VERTICAL - DISTRICT PERCENTAGES  
 + HORIZONTAL - PROVINCIAL PERCENTAGES

DURATION OF ASSISTANCE GIVEN TO EX-COMBATANTS BY AUTHORITY CONTACTED

TABLE 42

DURATION OF YEARS	BIKITA	CHIBI	CHIREDEZI	GUTJ	MASVINGO	MWENEZI	ZAKA	PROV. TOTAL
1	2	3	1	1	3	1	2	13
	17%	25%	8%	8%	25%	8%	17%	28%
2	13				4		3	20
	65%				20%		15%	43%
3								
4	2	5	1		2	2		12
	17%	41%	8%		17%	17%		25%



TIME INTENDED TO STAY ON PROJECT BY RESPONDENTS IN YEARS

TABLE 44

TIME IN YEARS	BIKITA %	CHIBI	CHIREZI	GUTU	MASVINGO	MWENEZI	ZAKA	PROV. TOTAL
1 - 4	2 1.5%	7 6%	2 1.5%	1 3.5%	1 1%	4%	14 20%	27 43%
5 - 10	2 1.5%	1 1%	3 25%	1 3.5%	3 4%	25%	2 3%	12 1.9%
11 - 15	1 1%			1 3.5%	1 1%	33%		3 0.5%
16 - 20			1 100%					1 0.2%
26 - 30	1 1%		2 67%					3 0.5%
FOR LIFE	88 79%	73 59%	92 21%	18 62%	42 52%	9% 76%	41 58%	453 71.7%
NOT AVAILABLE	18 16%	42 34%	36 20%	8 27.5%	34 42%	32 24%	13 19%	183 29%

KEY: \* ROW PERCENTAGES  
+ COLUMN PERCENTAGES

LENGTH OF TIME INTENDED TO STAY IN MASVINGO AFTER OBTAINING TRAINING

TABLE 45

TIME IN YEARS	BIKITA	CHISI	CHIREDJI	GUTU	MASVINGO	MWENEZI	ZAKA	PROV. TOTAL
1 - 5 months +		7 5%	4 3%	1 3%	1 1%			13 2%
6 - 11 months			1 1%					2 0%
1 - 5	1 1%	5 4%	2 1%	1 3%			1 10%	10 2%
6 - 10	2 2%							2 1%
11 - 15							1 2%	1 0%
16 - 20							1 2%	1 0%
21 - 25			1 1%					1 0%
26 - 30			1%					
31 - 35								
36 - 40		1 1%						1 0%
Over 40	88 85%	92 81%	107 79%	25 87%	70 87%	68 69%	56 91%	506 80%

KEY: \* ROW PERCENTAGES - COLUMN PERCENTAGES

DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF CO-OPERATIVE BY DISTRICT

TABLE 46

TYPE OF CO-OPERATIVE	BIKITA	CHIBI	CHIREZI	GUTU	MASVINGO	MJENEZI	ZAKA	PROV. TOTAL
POULTRY	1 6%	3 17%	1 6%		11 65%	1 6%		17 26%
BUILDING	2 67%			1 33%				3 5%
WILDLING	3 30%	2 20%	4 40%			1 10%		10 16%
CARPENTRY	3 28%	2 18%	2 18%			3 27%	1 9%	11 17%
DRESSMAKING	1 25%	2 50%		1 25%				4 6%
LIVESTOCK	2 100%							2 3%
COMMERCE		2 33%	1 16%	1 17%			1 17%	6 9%
FARMING	4 45%		1 11%			4 45%		9 14%
COOKING		1 100%						1 2%
NOT AVAILABLE				1 100%				1 2%
TOTAL	16	12	9	4	11	9	2	64

TABLE 47  
TYPES OF CONSTRAINTS FACED BY EX-COMBATANTS CO-OPERATIVE IN MASVINGO

TYPE OF CONSTRAINT	BIKITA	CHIBI	CHIREDCI	GUTU	MASVINGO	MWENEZI	ZAKA	PROV. TOTAL
MARKET					10 100%			10 15%
FINANCE	7 58%		3 25%	1 8%		1 8%		12 18%
TECH. SKILLS		1 100%						1 2%
EQUIPMENT	3 23%	3 23%	3 23%	1 8%		3 23%		13 19%
OTHER	1 33%		1 33%				1 34%	3 4%
NONE	6 20%	6 20%	5 17%	3 10%	1 3%	8 27%	1 3%	30 43%
TOTAL RESPONSE	17	10	12	5	11	12	2	69

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CO-OPERATIVE MEMBERSHIP AND CERTIFIED SKILLED MANPOWER

TABLE 48

CO-OPERATIVE STATUS  SKILLED MANPOWER	CO-OPERATIVES				PROV. TOTAL	
	MEMBERS		NON MEMBERS			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture	2 4%	10	18 4%	90	20	4
Welding	5 11%	29	12 2.5%	71	17	3
Carpentry	3 6%	33	6 1%	67	9	2
Technical			9 2%	100	9	2
Building	6 2%	8	12 2.5%	92	13	2
Sewing			10 2%	100	10	2
Business			1 0%	100	1	0
Home Economics	2 4%	40	3 1%	60	5	1
Others	4 9%	15	23 5%	85	27	5
Unskilled	30 67%	7	380 80%	93	410	79
TOTAL	47	9	474	91	521	

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CO-OPERATIVE MEMBERSHIP AND OCCUPATION

TABLE 49

CO-OPERATIVE STATUS OCCUPATION	CO-OPERATIVE				PROV. TOTAL	
	MEMBERS		NON MEMBERS			
Commercial Farming +	25 39%	* 86%	4 1%	* 14%	29	5%
Subsistence Farming	5 8%	10%	44 9%	90%	49	9%
Retailer	2 3%	** 50%	2 0%	50%	4	1%
Builder	4 6%	50%	4 1%	50%	8	2%
Pupil/Student			11 2%	100%	11	2%
Redcross			5 1%	100%	5	1%
Driver	2 3%	33%	4 1%	67%	6	1%
Others	26 41%	58%	19 4%	42%	45	8%
None			390 81%	100%	390	71%
TOTAL	64	12%	483	88%	547	

KEY: \* Row percentages

+ COLUMN PERCENTAGES

## CHAPTER IV

### GOVERNMENT POLICY AND PRACTICE - CONCLUSIONS

The preceding chapters depicted the ex-combatants as a relatively disadvantaged group, particularly in terms of education, employment and participation in cooperatives. The attempts to explain the situation suggest that their educational status and their qualifications and the manner in which special educational programmes were arranged for them made it difficult for the ex-combatants to benefit much. In other words the available programmes tended not to suit the objective circumstances of the ex-combatants. The same could be said about employment opportunities for them, in view of the lack of special occupational programmes, which if introduced could be of immense benefit to them.

Although the resource constraints faced by the government, due to the recession and three-year drought, were emphasized in explaining the generally poor level of re-integration of the ex-combatants, there is need to assess the situation further. For some of the problems faced in the re-integration programme also related to certain limitations in government policies and practices, which need to be resolved for the improvement of the re-integration exercise. Some of these limitations also need to be assessed in terms of the receptiveness of communities and administrators to the overall national transformation programme, of which the ex-combatants' re-integration is only a part.

### GENERAL POLICY AND PRACTICES

The main government policy documents which spell out the overall transformation and re-integration objectives with direct relevance to the ex-combatants are: Growth With Equity: The Transitional National Development Plan (Vols. I and II) and Demobilization within the Zimbabwean National Army. These documents together with evidence submitted by various government officials at the Central and Local level were reviewed, in light of the survey findings, in order to explain the progress of the re-integration exercise.

The review revealed that most of the policy documents are rather general in nature, containing broad statements of intentions to rehabilitate the ex-combatants, without clearly stated objectives and specified re-integration programmes. The documents therefore do not specify any special role for the ex-combatants in society and they appear to be treated together with the youths and the generally displaced. For example, the most direct statement on the ex-combatants can be found in Growth With Equity, which states that the special urgent task is:

"to complete the programme of resettlement and rehabilitation of combatants and all people displaced during the war". (p.3)

This general policy statement, however, was translated into a specific policy and programme document which focuses on the actual demobilization of ex-combatants from the army. The policy enunciated here did not leave the choice to be demobilized wholly to the combatants and offered assistance to the demobilized over a two period in further education, technical training, business advice and a demobilization allowance (Demobilization within the Zimbabwean Army, p.2)

Again this document lists the type of education, technical course and advice to be given but does not specify binding procedures for the related assistance to be actually granted to ex-combatants. For example, it states that; "schools will be directed by Government to take all interested ex-soldiers" (p.2) "skills training will be offered at Technical Colleges" (p.2) (p.3), Government will ensure that its Ministries and Departments will employ ex-soldiers in any suitable vacancies which may arise", (p.3) and "even the private sector will be urged to cooperate and take on the ex-soldiers not only in their training schemes but also in their employment", (p.3).

Also apart from counselling services to be offered in the four main towns of Zimbabwe, the Ministry responsible was not granted powers to enforce the cooperation from various other government Ministries, organisations, school or even local government authorities.

Quite obviously although these documents are quite general in their statements, the policies were enunciated in the good faith that all those concerned would offer as much assistance as possible to the ex-combatants. It is however not certain that this spirit has been generally accepted and practices have militated against the smooth provision of the assistance envisaged.

In the sphere of education and training, schools and colleges have not been able to bend their policies on entrance requirements for the ex-combatants only nor have they had the financial wherewithal to create special programmes for them. This is quite evident from the educational data on the Masvingo Province ex-combatants. The same applies to the creation of job opportunities where the study reveals that it is mainly the ministries of Health and Home Affairs who have responded to the spirit of the demobilisation programme. Furthermore, the interviews in Masvingo do not bear out the assumption that Government practices, in particular at the district level, have given preference to ex-combatants in education and employment programmes. This latter point is borne out by the surprisingly low levels at which ex-combatants seek assistance for the solution of their problems from district and provincial government officials (see Table 41).

The other area of concern regarding policy conflict and contradictions in practices related to the spirit of assisting the ex-combatants is in the formation of cooperatives. In order to understand why ex-combatants have not been very much involved in cooperatives, there is need to review the more general government policies and practices on the development of cooperatives for Zimbabwe as a whole.

In this connection the general policy on cooperatives states that government is:

"Committed to the establishment of cooperatives in productive enterprises and will, therefore, seek to set up training facilities for cooperative personnel so as to ensure democratic, orderly and profitable functioning of cooperative enterprises.

Other support activities will be undertaken, such as research, the designing and construction of appropriate technologies and processes for rural production with a view to reducing the burden of labour and rendering work more enjoyable and respectable. Government will promote the establishment of communal and cooperatives farms in agriculture, and provide general assistance to ensure their economic viability. In particular, assistance will be given to those in communities which are democratically organised and run, and farms in which local initiative is highest. Even under the individual freehold/leasehold system, there is ample room for selective cooperatives in input procurement, produce marketing, credit, land preparation and production. In this area, Government will be building upon the traditional cooperative approach in the Zimbabwe culture in facing up to the technological challenges of tomorrow". (Growth With Equity, February, 1984).

The importance of co-operatives in the rural and agricultural development strategy of the Government was furthermore underlined in 1982 when government re-emphasized that:

"Cooperatives will be encouraged and supported by introducing an appropriate legal framework; personnel training and finance". (TNDP, Vol. 1 p. 25).

It is with this orientation in mind that Government decided to pursue a three-pronged strategy to "enhance the economic viability and equity of the rural and agricultural sector" (TNDP, Vol. 1 p. 23). This Government strategy aimed at implementing its policy on cooperatives declares that:

- (i) "it will adopt measures designed to maximise output, enhance food security in the country and the region, and fully exploit export potential and the sector's strong forward linkages with manufacturing;
- (ii) it will adopt measures to reduce existing unjustified differentials in physical infrastructure between commercial and peasant agriculture and will accelerate land resettlement schemes; and
- (iii) it will restructure the scale, character and spatial order of agricultural production to make better use of natural endowments". (TNDP, Vol. 1 p. 25).

It is in this framework that efforts to involve ex-combatants have largely been pursued, yet not many of them overall are engaged in cooperatives and fewer still are involved in the agricultural types. Some of the following aspects may explain the situation:

- (1) Both the excombatants and Government had limited resources to launch profitably competitive cooperative enterprises. That means, at their infancy, ex-combatants' "socialist-oriented" cooperatives had not only limited capital and high overhead expenditure requirements, but also had to struggle in competition with small or large scale well established capitalist enterprises. In this connection it should be noted that it is only in the last two years that government had been able to establish new financial institutions (for example, The Zimbabwe Development Bank and the Small Enterprises Development Corporation) to Support transformation and to re-orient colonial financial institutions (for example, The Agricultural Development Corporation) in order for all of these to help finance the type of programmes in question. However, the lending criteria of these has still not been fully oriented towards supporting the circumstances of infant cooperatives which can only begin to make profits sufficient to repay loans in the long term. The need for capital in the ex-combatants cooperatives is therefore far from resolved.
  
- (2) The support services required by cooperatives for example, preferential credit technical advice, pricing schemes, market contracts, foreign exchange and other aspects have also been insufficiently provided or arranged. Here again, the problem in policy conflict lies in legal arrangements (for example in the Acts on cooperatives tender board regulations, lending policies) as well as a special overall policy on cooperatives which ensures their preferential treatment in the economy. Cooperatives have therefore been more or less forced to complete on equal footing with the rural petty-bourgeoisie

operating on profit for decades. Also local government, especially at the district level have not given preferential treatment to ex-combatants cooperatives.

- (3) The general orientation of the types of cooperatives which ex-combatants got involved in, such as supermarkets or bottlestores, especially in big towns could not viably compete with existing outlets. On the other hand a focus on agriculture would, given good rains, have had more chance of success and thus promote the spread of the movement. This, however, also relates to the heavier capital requirements of establishing agricultural cooperatives, the heavier risks involved and probably the type of promotional campaigns. Indeed, the promotion of cooperatives has not clearly emphasized the long term nature of profitability, especially in agriculture.
- (4) In relation to the above, the extent and quality of feasibility studies of cooperatives, leave much to be desired, given the level of education and training of cooperators.

The picture that emerges from the above, therefore, is that although there has been commitment to re-integrate ex-combatants through various types of programmes, especially in cooperatives, there has not been much success due to resources constraints, policy conflicts and contradictions in practice. The latter point needs to be emphasized in terms of district level support, for, although there is no evidence which suggest that ex-combatants are discriminated against, by local government authorities, there is certainly much scope at that level for positive action in favour of ex-combatant programmes. In fact, the very absence of representatives of various government ministries at the district level calls into question the extent of assistance that could be given to the ex-combatants who largely live in the outlying district areas.

It would thus appear that the whole re-integration programme relies too heavily on the District Administrator's office. This entails the understanding of contradictions that arise out of conflicting objectives among local politicians, elites and bureaucracies vis-a-vis national bureaucracies and capitalists, in the support for and faithful implementation of special re-integration programmes, particularly those of a socialistic orientation in a capitalist economy.

This kind of situation makes it imperative that any interventions on behalf of ex-combatants be spelt out in clear detail, as to the level of intervention, officials responsible, procedures and the specific objectives to be achieved. It would appear that Provincial Governors as political leaders in a decentralised polity, are best placed to intervene at the level of practice in the implementation of the programme for the re-integration of ex-combatants. This would entail effective coordination of various Ministries at the provincial level and effective project administration via the District Administrator and Local Government Promotion Officers. At the same time, there is need for increased policy dialogue at central government level and together with Provincial Governors, in order to sharpen the policy direction of ex-combatants' programmes and implementation procedures.

It is only within such a framework then that other international and non-governmental organizations can best assist in local programmes to integrate ex-combatants. Moreover, this would ensure that government actually runs the programmes and continues to do so in the absence of non-Governmental Organisations.

### CONCLUSION

This chapter had drawn attention to some of the limitations of policy on the re-integration of ex-combatants. These included the overly general nature of policies, the absence of specific targets related to clear objectives for the re-integration process, the existence of constraints imposed by co-terminus policies (in education, financial institutions and legal aspects of cooperatives), general resource

constraints, problems related to government practices in the implementation of policy and the lack of specific practical procedures to ensure that the re-integration objective is achieved. This needs to be cast in the light of the constraints arising out of the ex-combatants own general lack of education, skills to maximise the job and cooperative enterprise opportunities, and their perceptions of cooperative activity.

It has also been pointed out in this and earlier chapters that, apart from the various resources (capital and human), and legal constraints, the re-integration exercise and the cooperativisation efforts have been embarked upon with insufficient local level socio-economic scientific research and that there are many more questions which remain unanswered even after this study.

There is therefore need to recast the assistance provided to the ex-combatants in the light of their socio-economic characteristics described earlier, their aspirations and limitations and the concrete circumstances of Masvingo Province. This needs to be backed-up by further research and the sharpening of the organisational structures involved in this. In the following chapter some of these aspects are elaborated in the form of specific recommendations.

## CHAPTER V

### RECOMMENDATIONS

The study in the foregoing pages demonstrated the complex and serious problems arising from efforts to re-integrate ex-combatants and the extreme deprivation they face. In the following, recommendations are made for action by all concerned. It will be noted that some of the recommended activities may actually be taking place or are in the process of being instituted. It is, however, believed that it is necessary to re-emphasize such issues. The range of aspects recommended is not exhaustive nor are they project analyses. Such feasibility and project formulation work still remains to be done.

The recommendations are divided into four areas namely - social, political, educational and economic aspects. This division has only been necessary in order to simplify the presentation. In reality, however, these aspects are all part of the same process and any organization concerned in assisting ex-combatants should necessarily treat them as such.

#### SOCIAL ASPECTS

1. It is recommended that future programmes should begin to deal with ex-combatants' households not with ex-combatants as individuals only. Such households should be viewed in a dynamic sense in order to keep pace with their growth in size and age.
2. In this context, programmes designed for the ex-combatants should incorporate aspects of health, nutrition and education of children and should engage women in the relevant decision-making and implementation.
3. In designing programmes, ample note should be taken of the fact that the average ex-combatant is at the peak of youth and that his needs and expectations are to be expected to differ from those of elderly peasant communities which have had no liberation war experience.

4. There is need to conduct a specific study on the situation and needs of female ex-combatants.
5. Cultural and Recreational needs of ex-combatants need to be further studied if any meaningful recommendations are to be made.
6. Overall, the above social aspects require detailed research to better inform future development programmes.

#### POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ASPECTS

1. It is recommended that government should institute regular policy dialogue, between central and local arms of government, with provincial governors as coordinators. Non-Governmental Organisations (N.G.Os) supporting cooperatives should also be invited to contribute their experience but not play a policy-formulation role.
2. The Provincial Governors, District Administrators (D.A.) and Local Government Promotion Officers (L.G.P.Os) should play a more directly active role in the re-integration of ex-combatants within the context of each district. The D.A.s' office should develop reporting routines on the promotion and progress of the re-integration process in order to ensure accountability and to allow for on-going evaluation of the programme. This would also allow for an assessment of the changing needs of the ex-combatants.
3. The D.A. needs to keep ex-combatants informed about district Development Plans, development programme priorities, pending supplies and works contracts, maintenance work, manpower needs etc. in order for all concerned to respond to such opportunities as they become available at the district level. N.G.Os assisting ex-combatants should also be provided with such information.

4. Ex-combatants should be recruited as L.G.P.Os in order to improve the necessary dialogue between local and other government officials on the needs of ex-combatants. Communication channels need to be greatly improved.
5. The Ministry of Local Government, Urban and Rural Planning should consider a system for granting ex-combatants, especially their cooperatives, preferential consideration in awarding district level contracts on various economic aspects.
6. Central government on its part should speed up the formulation of the legal requirements for providing cooperatives in general and those of ex-combatants in particular with the various special services pointed out above and financial support systems.
7. There is therefore need to improve the coordination between various Ministries, N.G.Os and Local Government in re-intergrating ex-combatants.

#### EDUCATIONAL ASPECTS

1. It is recommended that efforts be made to assist the ex-combatants in acquiring the skills cited in chapter III as their priority needs. Furthermore educational assistance should be geared towards building on those skills which the ex-combatants already acquired.
2. Attempts should be made to encourage ex-combatants to pursue other forms of training such as: repairs and maintenance, health assistantship, community work, conservation and extension work etc. which are badly needed in most of the Masvingo Province Districts. (see chart I)

CHART EDUCATION POSSIBILITIES AND ORGANIZING AGENTS

<u>AREA OF TRAINING</u>	<u>LOCATION AND ORGANIZING AGENT</u>
1. Building and other technical skills	Masvingo Centre (DDF)
2. Repairs and Maintenance (DDF Programme)	Masvingo Centre (DDF)
3. Health assistants and village workers	Ministry of Health (Chiredzi/Bikita)
4. Conservation and Wildlife assistants	Ministry of Agriculture (Chibi/Mwenezi)
5. Community workers	Ministry of Community Development (Province Wide)
6. Formula Education Schemes	Ministry of Education (Province wide)

3. An attempt should be made to formulate special training programmes for the ex-combatants which provide them with elementary skills (reading and writing) and specific skills (technical) at the same time in order that they may pursue academic education if they so desire.
4. Special educational programmes should be designed such that they enable the ex-combatants to continue generating incomes for their families while on training.
5. Efforts should be made to encourage and enable ex-combatants, especially those with the least education to enrol in the District Development Fund technical training programmes, which have the advantages of easier entry requirements and guaranteed job-placement on completion.

6. Special programmes should be designed to train cooperative members or those interested on aspects of the meaning of cooperativisation procedures and management skills.
7. The Ministry of Education needs to review its programme on the support of ex-combatants' formal education in view of the low level of participation in such programmes by ex-combatants in Masvingo Province.
8. Consideration should be given by the Division of Manpower to providing special crash programme training for ex-combatants who wish to enter technical colleges but do not have 'O' Levels.
9. Overall educational programmes should be more closely related to concrete job placement programmes by the department concerned.

#### ECONOMIC AND COOPERATIVE ASPECTS

1. The unemployment status of the ex-combatants calls for close scrutiny of the overall structure of the efforts to re-integrate ex-combatants with a view to ensuring that the material basis of the process is given the greatest emphasis. There should be a move away from the socio-psychological conception of the "ex-combatant problem" and more emphasis be placed on ensuring that ex-combatants realise reasonable incomes.
2. It is recommended therefore that a renewed effort to employ ex-combatants, who do not wish to join cooperatives, in government establishments be made. Such efforts should be backed up by-the-job training especially for the less educated ex-combatants.

3. The major economic aspect of assistance recommended, however, is the creation of viable cooperatives within the political and social context of the recommendations made earlier. It is suggested that cooperatives be established in each district on a pilot and experimental basis with adequate support services in order to develop the "demonstration effect" necessary to attract more ex-combatants.
4. We recommend that the development of cooperative projects should take into consideration the specific resources of each district in order to identify the optimal activities to pursue. Some of the district level aspects and potential projects identified in this study are detailed in the following pages. The suggested projects were identified as a preliminary range of activities which require in-depth feasibility study before cooperatives are established.
5. Specifically therefore, our assessment of potentially viable projects in Masvingo Province and in view of the interests of ex-combatants, strongly suggests that the promotion of cooperatives should be focused on agricultural activities. In making this recommendation we are aware that the majority of cooperators and ex-combatants generally prefer supposedly quick money-making projects, e.g. wholesale and retail activities. In reality, however, such projects have not materialised due to, among other things, competition and the need for large-scale organisational integration which the ex-combatants cannot afford. As a result, we recommend that this type of cooperative projects be discouraged and the focus be placed on "primary" productive activities, for example, farming, small-scale mining (as recommended by the Zimbabwe Mining development Cooperation) building and carpentry.

It should, however, be noted that the greatest potential for projects in Masvingo Province particularly agricultural types is concentrated in a few districts, particularly Masvingo District itself.

Masvingo district has the advantage of optimal location, accessibility, markets, agglomeration effects as well as soil fertility, land and mineral resources. It is precisely this part of Masvingo province which is alienated from the majority of the poor, including ex-combatants. Our project identification is therefore constrained by this reality, although we are aware that there are a few modest plans for resettlement, which in future may be focused around the town of Masvingo.

Despite all this, we emphasize agricultural projects because of their long term prospects for self-reliance in food production and security. We however, think that attention should be paid to the identification of viable types of crops and input mixes which require agronomic and agro-economic assessments - that would match the resource endowment of the areas and labour resource available. (See recommended crop types in Chart II)

## CHART II

### PROJECTS IDENTIFIED BY FUNCTIONAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS

#### FUNCTIONAL ASPECT/PROJECT

#### GEOGRAPHICAL AREA

#### PRODUCTION-ORIENTED PROJECTS

#### I. AGRICULTURAL PROJECTS (Resettlement Cooperatives and other schemes)

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (i) Cash Crop Schemes, producing any of the following crops:<br>Cotton, Sunflower Seed, Groundnuts, Barley<br>Tobacco, Sorghum and Soya Beans | Masvingo, Mwenezi<br>and Chiredzi Areas |
| (ii) High Protein Produce: Poultry and vegetables   | Masvingo District                       |
| (iii) Livestock Ranching  | Chiredzi and<br>Mwenezi Districts       |

CHART II (continued)FUNCTIONAL ASPECT/PROJECTGEOGRAPHICAL AREA

(iv) Wild-Livestock Ranching	Chiredzi District
(v) Outgrower Irrigation Schemes	Chiredzi Estates
(vi) Small-Scale Irrigation Schemes	Gutu and Bikita Areas
(vii) Cattle Grazing Schemes	Mwenezi
2. <u>MINING</u>	
Small Scale cooperative mining Beryl, Emeralds and Tungsten	Masvingo, Gutu and Chiredzi Districts
3. <u>SMALL SCALE INDUSTRY/COMMERCIAL COOPERATIVES</u>	
(i) Grinding/Milling	Gaza Komanai, Batanai Nyaningwe
(ii) Black Smithing	All Areas
(iii) Carpentry (School Supplies)	Bikita, Batanai, Masvingo Zaka, Gaza Komanai
(iv) Tailoring (School Supplies)	Gaza Komanai, Masvingo, Zaka
(v) Repairs (Cycles etc)	Bikita, Masvingo, Nyaningwe Areas
(vi) Bakeries	All Areas
(vii) Wholesaling	All Districts
(viii) General Dealing	Gaza Komanai Areas

SERVICES TYPES1. CONSTRUCTION

(i) Building Teams (Wells, toilets, well aprons, small buildings)	All areas
(ii) Small dam construction	Zimuto Area
(iii) Road Construction (feeder roads)	Gutu and other areas.

2. AFORESTATION AND CONSERVATION PROJECT

Teams to implement and supervise afforestation and conservation schemes	Chibi, Gutu, Bikita and Masvingo
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It will be noted from Chart II that two groups of prospective projects were identified namely economic projects, which include agricultural, mining, industrial and commercial projects and, service type projects which include construction and conservation activities. The recommended projects do not require heavy injection of capital given the low level of financial assistance that is available for this purpose from Government, commercial banks and donor agencies.

An attempt has been made to identify potential cropping patterns within each district because of the varied resource base as shown in Chapter II in order to facilitate project identification. Some of the crops recommended require less technical and capital investment and seem to have growing market opportunities judging from the last decades and would suffer less competition from large-scale commercial farmers (L.S.C.F.). In other words, the cooperative movement in agriculture must find its own niche in the agrarian economy instead of the tendency of trying to appear like the LSCF sector which, it must be remembered, took decades to reach its present status.

We also recommend carpentry, tailoring and building cooperatives because a number of respondents have shown interest in related skills, and the rural market appears to grow steadily especially at growth points, at schools, clinics and Government offices, which could be supplied locally. These are the types of projects which can be directly supported by Local Government Authorities especially by allocating contracts to ex-combatants.

Although it is difficult to identify a durable market for repair projects there is general demand for repair services throughout the province. These include all types of vehicles, boreholes (maintenance and repair) agricultural equipment, domestic utilities and other requirements. These activities may however, prove difficult to harness because of their demand for professional knowledge.

The bread-market is another area of growth throughout the country although commercial baking has been confined to urban areas. It is evident that baking cooperatives could suffer competition for the rural markets from large companies because of the underdevelopment of the means of production. There is scope, however, for applying "low-input" appropriate and cheap technologies developed in other third-world countries which could make bakeries viable. Other potentially viable production projects are shown in Chart II and require no further explanation as they need more detailed feasibility assessment.

It should be mentioned in conclusion of this section, that the above recommendations are made as part of a pre-planning and feasibility assessment exercise. The aim has been to expose the complexity of the problem, raise the diverse issues that need to be considered by the planners and to provide a starting point for ex-combatants' programmes in Masvingo. It should also be re-iterated that the success of such programmes depends on the involvement of the district administrators from the onset in the planning phase, through to implementation and that programmes should be co-ordinated around the District Administrator in order to be of relevance to the needs of each district or community. This co-ordination however, should involve Government officials, Non-Governmental Organisations, ex-combatants and community representatives to ensure maximum success. This calls for a revised approach to the whole question of the re-integration of ex-combatants, particularly because existing policy documents do not specify when they will cease to be considered as a target group for special attention in development programmes, although it is implicit in the document on demobilisation that two years was the threshold.

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