

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

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

INSTITUTE  
OF  
DEVELOPMENT  
STUDIES  
LIBRARY

THE WORKING CONDITIONS OF FEMALE WORKERS IN  
THE FOOD PROCESSING INDUSTRY  
IN ZIMBABWE (WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CANNERIES)

By

E. BATEZAT, L.M. SACHIKONYE AND A.E. SIBANDA

IDS Information Resource Unit  
University of Sussex  
Falmer, Brighton BN1 9RE, UK

PLEASE RETURN BY

21/5/92

Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies  
October 1986.

## CONTENTS

## PAGE

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

1

1.	Introduction	3
2.	An Overview of the Food-Processing Industry	7
3.	Size and Importance of Canning in Food-Processing	12
4.	Composition of the Wage Labour force	14
5.	Casual, Seasonal and Permanent Labour	19
6.	Content of Work Processes	24
7.	Technology and Prospects of Mechanization	28
8.	Conditions of Work	31
9.	Trade Unions and Workers' Committees in Canning Industries	42
10.	Observations on the Capital - Labour relations in Canning Industries	45
11.	International Capital and the Food Industry	55
12.	Conclusion	58
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	61

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In undertaking this study we incurred many debts to the numerous people who generously provided us with administrative assistance, methodological insights and empirical data. We express our special thanks to the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies (ZIDS), particularly to the Acting Director, Dr. A. Rukobo and the Ministry of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare, and specifically its Department of Research and Planning for kindly permitting and encouraging the International Labour Organisation - (ILO) sponsored project to be undertaken jointly by their research officers, Dr. T. M'kandawire, then Consultant at ZIDS, and Mr. B. Raftopoulos, then Assistant Secretary in the Department of Research and Planning, assisted us on methodological issues relating to the study and showed keen interest at every stage of the research. The then Director of Research and Planning, Mr. S.V. Chinyoka generously provided us the administrative assistance we sought; Mr. Frank King with the retrieval of empirical data from the National Manpower Survey Report of 1981. We are grateful to all officers at ZIDS and the former Ministry of Manpower Planning and Development for their kind help with regard to the provision of transport and other logistic support.

We also wish to express our sincere thanks to the management staff of the firms we visited for allowing us to tour their factories and interview their workers and the staff themselves. We are most grateful to the trade union officials who provided us with invaluable information, advice and introduction to the firms, workers' committees and workers in the places covered in the field-work.

We specifically mention here the officials of the United Food and Allied Workers' Union of Zimbabwe (UFAWUZ) in Harare, Bulawayo and Mutare; and the Food and Edible Oils Workers Union in Mutare for their most useful assistance.

We feel deeply indebted to members of workers' committees, all the workers we interviewed, and particularly all the female workers who interrupted their tea and lunch-breaks to talk to us whole-heartedly. We cannot forget that group of women workers in Bulawayo that travelled in inclement wet weather to talk to us after working hours!

The Central Statistical Office (CSO) in Harare allowed us access to its extensive library resources and we are thankful for that privilege.

The carrying out of research of this nature, its quality and our ability to meet the deadline all hinged upon prompt and efficient administration, particularly with regard to the provision of transport. We are grateful to those who made possible the provision of transport for us; we mention here the CMED Harare who provided vehicles for us in Harare, Bulawayo and Mutare.

Finally, we cannot forget all our typists who typed this or that portion of our work. To the unmentioned ones, who are too numerous to name individually here, we feel deeply indebted all the same!

A preliminary seminar on the findings of the research was held on the 27th of January 1984. The contribution and participation of the research staff at ZIDS and from the Department of Research and Planning was most stimulating. To them, we are very grateful. It merely remains to point out that we alone bear the responsibility

for any faults and shortcomings in this study.

### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

This study constitutes the findings of a two-month long research into the working conditions of female workers in the food-processing industry with particular reference to canneries in Zimbabwe. The objective of the study was to analyse both the working conditions and the specific problems experienced by female workers and the character of the canning industry itself. Most of the problems and issues examined in previous ILO-sponsored studies on the food-processing industries had tended to be treated in a general and global manner. This Zimbabwean case-study had therefore a specific focus which yielded extremely useful insights into the structure of the canning industry and into female working conditions and problems in particular.

The significance of the food-processing industry to the national economy is obvious. The linkages between manufacturing industry and agriculture are clearly indispensable. The significance of the industry assumes an international character in its demonstrated capacity to produce for external markets. In spite of the diversity which characterizes the Zimbabwean economy, food-processing accounts roughly for about a quarter of the value of the total output of the manufacturing industry.

Canning emerges as a crucial sub-sector of food processing: fruit, vegetables, fish and meat products are the major commodities that are processed for both domestic and export consumption. Although it was obvious that canning was not the major employer of wage-labour in food-processing, there

was sufficient evidence to sustain the observation that it was the major employer of casual, seasonal and contract female labour in the industry. To that extent, the particular concern and focus on the problems and conditions experienced by female workers was both warranted and revealing.

## 1.2 THE FRAMEWORK FOR THE RESEARCH

The research outline spelt out in the ILO Project Proposal "Conditions of Work and Life of Women in the Food-processing Industries in Africa with special reference to Canneries" provided the framework within which the study was conducted. However, underlying our theoretical perspective towards the issues pertaining to the study was our awareness of the class-rooted divergence of interests between the capitalist proprietors of the canning firms and the wage-labour force. The polarity of interests assumed a multiplicity of forms: on the one hand, strict forms of labour control; denial of training and promotion opportunities to the labour force but especially to female workers; strategies to maximize productivity while minimizing labour costs; and the flouting of the letter and spirit of government employment regulations. On the other hand, incipient collective worker institutions such as trade union branches and workers' committees were emerging to represent and defend the interests of workers.

Most canning firms were controlled and owned by international capital whose objectives were determined and set outside Zimbabwe. Such a firm as LEMCO, a subsidiary of Lyons Brooke - Bond held a formidable monopoly position in canning in competition with increasingly powerful rivals such as Willards, part of the Cairns

Group affiliated to the food transnational corporation, Dalgety. Smaller firms included GIBCAN into which the tobacco conglomerate, Rothmans, had been investing; D.A. Bloomberg which had links in Zambia and South Africa; Gourmet Fine Foods which was partly owned by Swiss capital, and Super Cannery which had links with distribution networks linked to international capital. Their methods of labour control and in particular their conditions of recruitment of female labour were systematically geared towards the maximisation of the output of that labour and its shedding when it became unproductive to retain.

### 1.3 METHOD OF RESEARCH

This study was undertaken between November and December 1983. The method of research consisted of an initial analysis of existing primary material which comprised mainly of the Censuses of Production and the Monthly Digests of Statistics compiled by the Central Statistical Office in Harare. The National Manpower Survey Report published in mid-1983 contained useful material on patterns of the distribution of female workers in the food-processing industry. The Ministry of Labour provided some valuable assistance by way of material in that respect. Employment regulations gazetted by the government provided a framework within which regulations stipulating working conditions in plants were discussed during interviews. Trade unions and workers committees were approached for both background and specific material on working conditions and problems of both male and female workers with the emphasis on the latter. Company reports were perused for their value as data-sources on the history, ownership, conditions and objectives of the companies visited and studied.

The field - work involved visits to canning and other food-processing plants in Harare, the capital; in Bulawayo, the second largest city;



Mutare and Rusape, important centres of a fruit and vegetables - producing province; West Nicholson, a centre of the live-stock industry in the South-West of the country, and Kariba, a lake-side town that has a significant fishing and fish-processing industry. The firms visited were the major ones with canning as their predominant activity and with female workers as a sizable component of their labour force. Interviews were based on the set of questions contained in the ILO research outline but they were also extended to such issues as unionisation, female participation in workers' committees, the effects of the 1981-83 drought and the international recession on the food-processing industry, management and male attitudes to the issue of extension of opportunities of training, promotion and supervisory roles to female workers. Whenever it was possible, representatives of management and workers' committees were interviewed separately to avoid structured and timid responses. The plants were toured during working hours and workers were interviewed on the spot. The cross-checking of the information gathered continued by telephone after the visits and the interviews.

#### 1.4 FORMAT OF PRESENTATION

The first section of the study discusses in general terms the significance of the food-processing industry in the economy, the character of the canning industry in particular and the composition of the labour force in the sector.

The nature of employment and of status of workers, the content of work, the level of technology and the division of labour are examined in the sections 4 - 7 respectively.

In the 8th section, the mode of and differentials in remuneration and issues pertaining to maternity and child-care are discussed together with the nature of welfare facilities where these existed. Forms of collective labour organisation, observations on the capital - labour relation in canning and the current process of concentration of international capital in the food industry are assessed in sections 9-11. The final section contains the overall observations stemming from the research findings and suggestions for possible and desirable further research in related areas.

## 2. AN OVERVIEW OF THE FOOD-PROCESSING INDUSTRY

2.1 The food-processing industry in Zimbabwe constitutes a significant sector in the economy as a whole, given the importance of agribusiness as an expanding economic growth-sector. During the past ten years, the industry has consistently contributed roughly twenty-five percent of the output of the entire manufacturing sector of the economy. In 1978 and 1979 the industry was the second largest contributor in value added of the manufacturing sectors output after mining. It is also a major employer of wage-labour.

The major aspects of the industry consist of:

- (a) slaughtering and the processing of meat;
- (b) the canning and preservation of fruit and vegetables;
- (c) grain mill products and animal feeds;
- (d) bakery products;
- (e) chocolate and sugar confectionery;
- (f) processing of fish;
- (g) dairy and other products.

Table 1 provides information on the total gross output, the average number employed and the net capital expenditure of these sectors in 1972 and 1981.

It emerges from the table that in terms of gross output, net capital expenditure and the numbers employed, canning is the smallest sub-sector of the industry. The sub-sectors producing grain mill products, dairying and other dairy - based food products, and slaughtering and meat processing easily emerge as the largest sectors employing the highest numbers of wage labourers. Their phenomenal expansion during the past ten years is reflected in the increased capital expenditure they have undertaken. The grain milling and dairy industries have expanded significantly to cater largely for the burgeoning domestic consumption. The grain milling industry caters largely for the staple food (maize-meal) market for both the urban-based and rural-based populations.

2.2 It is important to stress that the food-processing industry, like the whole manufacturing sector and most other sectors of the economy such as mining and Finance and Real Estate, is characterized by foreign ownership and control. There is just a miniscule indigenous food-processing industry to speak of : the processing of staple foods such as maize, millet and groundnuts is still being carried out on a modest scale in some rural households. The subsidiaries which are prominent in the processing of meat, vegetables, fruit and grain products are owned by Western-based transnational corporations. Some of the subsidiaries engaged both in the production of the commodities which they process and distribute. Such intra-firm integration of upstream and downstream activities in the industry has the effect of maximising profits and minimising costs.

TABLE 1 a. GROSS OUTPUT SALES, AVERAGE NUMBERS EMPLOYED AND NET CAPITAL EXPENDITURE IN THE FOOD INDUSTRY 1972 AND 1981

Sub-sector	Gross Output Sales (\$0000) 1972	Gross Output Sales (\$0000) 1981	Percentage change	Average No. Employed 1972	Average No. Employed 1981	Percentage change	Net Capital Expenditure 1972	Net Capital Expenditure 1981	Percentage change
Slaughtering and meat processing	62 792	144 799	131	3 716	5 169	39	600	2 560	327
Canning and Preservation of Fruit & Vegetable	2 623	5 345	104	690	650	6	61	309	407
Grain Mill Products and Animal Feeds	39 104	213 389	446	3 206	5 735	79	350	16 216	4 533
Bakery Products	20 735	69 025	233	3 796	4 950	30	866	3 855	345
Chocolate and Sugar Confectionary	4 158	15 347	269	952	1 076	13	194	2 027	945
Dairy and other Food Products	45 170	163 346	262	4 917	7 643	55	2 997	9 305	210
TOTAL	174 582	621 251	256	16 477	25 222	53	5 138	32 262	528

DATA SOURCE C.S.O. Census of Production 1981/82

TABLE 1b

GROSS OUTPUT SALES, AVERAGE NUMBERS EMPLOYED AND NET CAPITAL EXPENDITURE  
IN FOOD INDUSTRY IN 1983 AND PERCENTAGE CHANGE FROM 1981

	Gross Output Sales (\$000)	Percentage Change	Average No. Employed	Percentage Change	Net Capital Expenditure (\$000)	Percentage Change
Slaughtering and Meat Processing	288,869	100	6,218	20	4,059	59
Canning & Preservation of Fruit & Vegetable	2,912	-7	206	-68	81	-74
Grain Mill Products and Animal Feeds	303,046	42	6,230	9	10,821	-33
Bakery Products	96,041	39	4,782	-3	3,318	-14
Chocolate & Sugar Confectionery	19,756	29	1,057	-2	1,579	-22
Dairy & Other Food Products	256,426	57	8,648	13	26,154	181
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>977,050</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>27,141</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>46,012</b>	<b>43</b>

Source: C.S.O., (1986) The Census of Production : Mining, Manufacturing, Construction, Electricity and Water Supply 1983/84.

Such transnational firms as Anglo-American and Lonrho (in the grain industry); Rothmans, Lonrho and Dalgety (in the production, processing and distribution of food products); Unilever and Nestle (in the manufacture of edible oil and milk-based food products); Lyons Brooke-Bond and Liebig's (in the processing and canning of meat, fruit and vegetable branded products); Heinz and Dalgety (in the processing and canning of vegetable based products) are involved in processing in a dominant manner. Their priorities and interests with regard to decisions on investment and re-investment, research and so forth are defined in boardrooms in the metropolises

TABLE :

Some Agribusiness Firms with Subsidiaries in Zimbabwe

Firm	Country	Field of Production in Zimbabwe
Allied-Lyons	UK	Tea and Coffee, Convenience Foods.
Anglo-American	S. Africa	Sugar and Fruit; Milling, Mining and Finance.
Lonrho	U.K.	Coffee; Agricultural Inputs; Milling; Mining.
Commonwealth Development Corporation	UK	Coffee and Tea; Dairy
GMHL Investments	UK Zimbabwe	Palm Oil Production.
Dalgety	UK	Food-Processing; Fish Farming and Wine Production.
Heinz	US	Food-Processing; Pea beans and Tomatoes.
Ciba-Geigy	Switzerland	Agricultural Production-Inputs Distributio
Tate and Lyle	UK	Sugar
Shell	UK Holland	Agrochemical Inputs' Distribution
Booker	UK	Poultry
William Bain	UK	Agricultural Implements
Unilever	UK Holland	Edible Oils and Meat
Imperial Chemicals	UK	Fertilizer
Reckitt Coleman	UK	Food-Processing
Spillers	UK	Edible Oils and Grain Milling
Associated British Foods	UK	Bakery and Confectionery Products
Rio Tinto	UK	Agricultural Implements
Rothmans	UK	Food Distribution
Massey-Ferguson	Canada	Agricultural Implements
Cadbury Schweppes	US	Beverages
Coca-Cola	USA	Beverages

TABLE 3

OUTPUT

Year	Food Stuffs \$ Million	All Manufacturing Groups \$ Million
1972	174 6	829 6
1973	214 1	967 7
1974	231 9	1 198 6
1975	260 0	1 318 8
1976	295 8	1 350 8
1977	327 4	1 369 6
1978	351 3	1 470 0
1979	415 7	1 771 3
1980	505 3	2 301 3

Source: C.S.O. Census of Production January 1983.

Table 4

PRODUCTION LINES OF THE MAJOR CANNING ESTABLISHMENTS

<u>Firm</u>	<u>No of Production Line as at January 1984</u>
LEMCO (Mutare)	50
LEMCO (West Nicholson)	12
GIBCAN	25
SUPER CANNERS	6

Source: Field work

3. SIZE AND IMPORTANCE OF CANNING IN FOOD-PROCESSING

3.1 In comparison with other sectors of the food-processing industry, canning occupies a modest niche. It is a small sector that on the average employs less than a thousand permanent workers in any given year. Nevertheless it is necessary to add that although the figures contained in the census of production issued by the Central Statistical

Office should be deemed reliable, it is unlikely that the numbers of casual and seasonal workers are adequately reflected, if at all, in the annual averages in the census. It is also necessary to note that the average number of workers employed refers only to those engaged in the canning and preservation of fruit and vegetables and precludes those engaged in the canning of meat, fish and dairy products. However, on the basis of the available figures on workers employed in the canning and preservation of fruit and vegetables, the observation that the canning industry is relatively small in addition to being a comparatively modest employer of labour would still be legitimate. In 1972, a total of 690 workers were employed in canning and in 1979 the figure had increased to some 704. The increase in the number of workers over the seven year period was therefore only 14. By 1981, the total number of workers employed in fruit and vegetable canning had dropped to 650. There were fewer workers in the industry in 1981 than there had been in 1972. It is, nevertheless, important to point out that whereas the numbers of workers employed in the industry remained static and actually declined in 1981, the total gross output in the form of sales has demonstrated a consistent upward increase during the past 10 years. This underlines the steady growth of the sub-sector. It is, however, still early days to provide an accurate assessment of the impact of the recession and the drought on the industry. The major canning establishments have pointed out that their procurement of raw materials had been affected by the three-year consecutive drought in the country.

In 1972, the total gross output of the fruit and vegetable canning and preservation industry amounted to about \$3.80 million and in 1981 to about Z\$5.34 million. Net capital expenditure by the industry rose from \$61 000 in 1972 to \$309 000 in 1981.

- 2 As is the case with other sectors of the food-processing industry canning is dominated largely by subsidiaries of transnational corporations.



These range from suppliers of inputs such as the cans and the necessary research and development to LEMCO ( Liebig's Extracting Meat Company), the largest canning firm which runs an integrated livestock, canning and marketing industry and to subsidiaries of Dalgety and Rothmans which distribute the branded canned products. The branded canned products have tended to have a confined market within the urban sector and when the export markets contract, factories tend to work under capacity when stocks pile up in their warehouses.

LEMCO is part of the multi-million dollar ranching and food-processing company, the giant Lyons Brooke Bond Group. In addition to being the largest canning firm in terms of size of its output and labour force, it was one of the earliest plantation and ranch owners as from 1910. It was one of the first companies to employ African women in industrial jobs in 1951 and still employs a fairly large number of female workers the majority of whom are, however, employed on a casual basis. Its Mutare factory which specialises in the canning of fruit and vegetable products was established in 1956. The branded meat lines it produces such as Corned and Leox Beef are nationally famous brand names. LEMCO therefore has the canning capacity to jealously guard its monopoly of the canning industry. Some of the effects of its monopoly were being felt in such smaller canning establishments as Gourmet Fine Foods.

#### 4. COMPOSITION OF THE WAGE LABOUR FORCE

4.1 It has been shown (in Tables 1a and b) that in numerical terms, the wage earners in the canning industry form only a small proportion of the entire work-force in the food-processing sub-sector of the manufacturing industry. In terms of the criteria of conventional skills and qualification, the majority of the workers in the canning industry have been employed mainly as "unskilled" manual labourers. Academic qualifications by and large, were not considered as a basis in the recruitment and assigning of job tasks to the workers. Nor was there a systematic method or practice of upgrading those workers who have over the years acquired skills and experience in handling tasks which require these. In the context of the overall national manpower,

workers in the canning industry formed a crucial, if numerically small, component of that manpower. They constitute a crucial component because in spite of their being lowly graded, they do perform both manual and mechanical tasks while some of them possess unregistered skills as, for example, mechanics, laboratory helpers and so on, which are indispensable to the existence and running of the industry.

#### 4.2 THE FEMALE LABOUR FORCE

A significant feature of female employment is the low proportion of women in industry even in those branches of production where female labour is usually predominant. Women are concentrated in clerical and related occupations. Few are engaged in production.

Apart from Health and Finance and Real Estate where forty two percent of the trained workforce were women, female workers constituted less than one quarter of the trained workforce in all sectors. Thirty two percent of the women in the trained workforce were engaged in clerical and related occupations, twenty eight percent in professional and related occupations (mainly nursing and teaching) and twenty seven percent in sales and related occupations. Only three percent of all trained female workers were engaged in production. Since it is mainly the semi-skilled in production, women were less strongly represented in this category (eleven percent of total number of semi-skilled) than they were

among the skilled (fifteen percent) and professional twenty one percent (National Manpower Survey, 1981).

Unfortunately for the purposes of this paper, the NMS did not extend to those workers classified as "unskilled" who constituted the bulk of the labour force. It was therefore difficult to make an accurate assessment of the gender composition of the unskilled workforce. It can be assumed however, that the proportion of women in this category is not different to that of the semi-skilled. There were virtually no female unskilled labourers in major sectors of the economy such as mining, transport and construction. For example, of the 9 000 odd unskilled workers in the National Railways of Zimbabwe, one of the largest employers in the economy, less than one percent were female. The same could be said for the major mining and construction enterprises and certain branches of manufacturing such as furniture manufacture, leather and footwear, paper and paper products, chemical and plastic and basic metal working industries.

- 4.3 The low representation of women in the labour force, especially in material production, must, to a large extent, be attributed to the migrant labour system which arose from the introduction of the capitalist mode of production in Zimbabwe. In Zimbabwe, as in other labour reserve economies in Southern Africa generally, men were coerced into wage labour on capitalist mines, farms and later manufacturing industry while women remained in the rural areas reproducing the labour force. McFadden has observed that because the state used female labour, located in the rural areas, to reproduce the families

of workers and provided capital with cheap and abundant labour, the proletarianisation of women was delayed until after World War II (McFadden, 1983). The late entry and low participation of women in industrial employment was seldom seen by workers themselves and employers in the food industry as the result of a certain historical process. Rather, it was perceived as 'natural' that few women were employed in industry as industrial work was viewed as inherently male work.

The historical confinement of African women to agricultural production in the rural areas resulted in a low proportion of African women in the industrial labour force. The NMS showed that African women who comprise more than ninety five percent of the female population constituted thirty nine percent of the trained female workforce as opposed to European women, who comprised nearly three percent of the female population but fifty four percent of the trained female workforce. Racial discrimination barred the few women who constituted part of the African petit-bourgeoisie from employment in industry. The only occupational opportunities open to them prior to independence were largely in the teaching and nursing professions. The result was that the female labour force in industry was comprised mainly of European, Asian and 'Coloured' women in the professional and skilled categories and in clerical occupations. Most African women occupied mainly the semi-skilled and unskilled categories.

- 4.4 Table 5 compares the gender composition of the manufacturing sector to that of food processing sub-sector in the professional, skilled and semi-skilled categories.

TABLE 5

GENDER COMPOSITION OF TRAINED WORKFORCE IN FOOD-PROCESSING AND MANUFACTURING AS AT JULY 1981

SECTOR	OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY												Total Employees
	Professional M	Professional F	Total Professional	Skilled M	Skilled F	Total Skilled	Semi-Skilled M	Semi-Skilled F	Total S/Skilled	Total M	Total F		
Food-Processing	788	101	889	2218	221	2439	6024	472	6506	9042	796	9836	
Percent of total in category	89	11	100	91	9	100	93	7	100	92	8	100	
Manufacturing	5519	644	6203	21215	1878	23093	41675	3249	44924	68489	5771		
Percent of total in category	90	10	100	92	8	100	93	7	100	92	8	100	

Source: N M S Data 1981

The characteristics of female employment in food-processing is a reflection of those of the manufacturing industry as a whole. Women comprised eight percent of total trained work force in both food-processing and manufacturing. The percentage representation of women in professional and skilled category was higher than in the semi-skilled category. In food-processing women accounted for eleven percent of professional, nine percent of the skilled and seven percent of the semi-skilled, much the same as the proportions for manufacturing as a whole (ten percent , eight and seven percent respectively).

Figures for the unskilled category are not yet available but our field-work appeared to indicate that the proportion of women in the unskilled category in food-processing was not much higher than 10%. The two major milling companies, Blue Ribbon and National Foods, with workforces of over 2 500 and 4 000 respectively, employed only a few women but mostly in clerical and administrative occupations and none in the unskilled category. Lever Brothers, another giant in the food-processing sub-sector had a total labour force of 1 700 of which 20 were women mainly engaged in clerical work. Such examples were numerous. In the course of field work a general observation was that though women formed the largest component of the casual and seasonal labour force, the permanent workforce in canning industry was predominantly male. Male permanent workers constituted a majority in all the major canning companies. At one company, Colcom (Harare) where canning of meat was carried out among other activities, none of the 78 workers engaged in canning were women.

CASUAL, SEASONAL AND PERMANENT LABOUR

TABLE 6

CANNING COMPANIES: SIZE AND STATUS OF WAGE LABOUR FORCE AS AT JANUARY 1984

Companies with Canning as Major Economic Activity	Permanent		Casual		Total		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	
ISIC 31113/4							
Border Streams	17	3	10	19	27	22	49
D.A.B. Marketing	10	13	4 (10)	98 (140)	14	111	125
Gibcan Products	38	8	-	57 (130)	38	65	103
Gourmet Fine Foods	21	1	-	5	21	6	27
LEMCO Mutare	152	57	15	186 (700)	167	243	410
LEMCO W. Nicholson	152	51	-	- (120)	152	51	203
Nutresco Foods	50	20	63	33	113	53	166
Super Cannors	92	19	-	6	92	25	117
TOTAL	532	172	92	404	624	576	1 200
TOTAL Potential Maximum Capacity			(98)	(1153)	(630)	(1325)	(1 955)

Source: Fieldwork

- (i) Figures in brackets indicate potential maximum capacity.
- (ii) The term 'casual' labourer has been used in general terms and is inclusive of seasonal, temporary and daily labourers.

TABLE 7

-21-

Selected Food-Processing Companies: Size and Status of Wage Labour Force  
in January 1984

Companies in Food-Processing	Permanent		Casual		Total		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	
General Meat Products	21	9	9	-	30	9	39
Mitchells Bakery	25	9	-	-	25	9	34
Andora Fisheries	40	-	-	5	40	5	45
Payns Kariba Ltd	25	-	25	38	50	38	88
Irvin and Johnson (Kariba)	262	-	58	-	320	-	320
Irvin and Johnson (Bulawayo)	35	32	-	-	35	32	67
TOTAL	408	50	92	75	500	93	593

Source: Filed-work.

Table 8 illustrates the importance of female casual labour in the canning industry. It must be noted that field-work was carried out in November/early December, a relatively slack period for canning enterprises. Workers in these establishments were predominantly male permanent workers but in peak periods when the maximum number of casual workers were employed, female casual labour became the largest component of the labour force.

The situation was slightly different in the other food-processing establishments covered in the field-work. Numbers of women in the permanent labour force were negligible. Four establishments had no female permanent employees. One establishment in Kariba had an entirely male labour force. Although the proportion of women was higher in the casual labour force, they were still outnumbered by men.



The contrast of this situation, with the canning companies, where casual labour is virtually synonymous with female labour, is an indication that canning, or at least certain aspects of the canning process, is designated as "women's work". A Mutare company, General Meat Products which employed temporary female workers in the past when it was involved in canning had, on the discontinuation of its canning operations, terminated the employment of temporary female workers.

5.2 Casual female labour was hired mostly for fruit and vegetable canning. Super Cannery, one of the meat canning companies did not have a casual labour force of any significance.. Another company, Colcom, which engaged in some canning of meat (a minor part of Colcom's productive activities), had a labour force of 78, all of whom were male. LEMCO West Nicholson, mainly a meat canning enterprise, also engaged in canning of citrus fruits had up to 120 women employed as casual workers in the citrus season for the canning of citrus fruits.

Since industrial employment regulations did not extend to casual workers, the workers provided an extremely cheap and convenient source of labour. Employers did not have to take account of minimum wages, working hours, maternity leave and general conditions of work when hiring casual labour. Recently introduced legislation which forbids the dismissal of workers in the absence of a written application to the Ministry of Labour increased the preference, on the part of employers, for the more vulnerable casual labourers who could be hired and dismissed at will.

5.3 Employers placed much emphasis on the seasonal nature of the canning industry and the fishing industry. Contrary to the assertion by employers that there were long periods when there was no need for casual labour at all, it became increasingly obvious during the course of field work that casual labour was

engaged almost continuously throughout the year, save a period of about three weeks in October in some companies and up to two months in others, so that casual labourers were, in effect, permanent workers. It appeared that employers followed a deliberate strategy to ensure that casual workers never became permanent. They found various ways to evade section 13.3 of the Food-processing Industry Employment Regulations (Statutory Instrument 716 of 1982, (hence-forth referred to as the Employment Regulations) which stated that a casual worker who worked for more than six weeks in any three calendar months should be accorded the status of permanent worker.

One way of avoiding the employment of workers for a consecutive six-week period was through the rotation of casual labour. Some companies employed casual labour for five weeks after which the labourers were dismissed and a new set of workers engaged. In companies where the workers' committee was strong as at LEMCO Mutare, workers called for re-employment of former casuals so that they could become permanent.

5.4 At Border Streams, ten male workers were taken on for two weeks on contracts which were not renewable. Another set of workers was hired when the fortnight expired. LEMCO Mutare and Payns Kariba had two shifts of casual workers per day. Workers at Super Cannery complained of constant changing of casual workers by management so that they would not become permanent.

Some casual workers, such as those at Andora Fisheries and Payns Kariba were taken on for continuous stretches of about two months with a break of two to three days in-between so that they would not serve for six consecutive weeks. Some women at Payns had been working more or less continuously since November 1981. They were daily workers who did not even have contractual relationship with the company.

Male casual fishermen in the same company did sign contracts. Male and female workers in the packing section at Andora Fisheries had not signed any contract. There was a general problem regarding the status of workers in the fishing industry. Confusion existed as to whether they were agricultural or industrial workers. Andora Fisheries, Payns Kariba and Irvin and Johnson classified their workers as agricultural workers. Casual workers at Gourmet Fine Foods were also classified as agricultural rather than industrial workers.

5.5 Another strategy to keep workers in the casual labour category was that used by Gibcan whereby workers signed different contracts for different 'seasons'. For example a worker signed a three month contract for the peach season, another contract for the mango season and yet another for the apple season. In this way they worked for continuous periods of much longer than three months but the period of employment was not recognized as continuous because they were on different contracts.

Some workers such as those at Andora Fisheries and Payns Kariba were employed on a daily basis. Border Streams employed 19 women on a daily basis. At Nutresco there were two types of casual workers, those employed as daily workers and those on six weekly contracts. The workers on contract left at the end of six weeks and new workers were hired in the seventh week.

Many women had worked for four to five years as casual workers. Some casual workers did eventually become permanent but with the recession and resultant retrenchment of workers, the chances of increased job security for casual workers were bleak. Increases in the permanent labour force were likely to be small even with increases in production. An example of this was the situation at Border Streams which had recently secured a major contract to

export seville orange marmalade to Britain. The manager estimated that the permanent labour force would only increase by 10 as a result of the contract. It was obvious that the company would need more than the stipulated 10 workers for such a crucially important contract. What was likely was that such extra labour as would be necessary would be hired largely as casual labour.

## 6. CONTENT OF THE WORK PROCESS

6. 1 the majority of women employed in the food-processing industry were casual labourers classified as 'unskilled' in Grade 1, the lowest grade in the occupational hierarchy. In some companies they were not graded at all. The main tasks of female workers were as follows:-

- cleaning of cans;
- preparation of raw materials (trimming, sorting, peeling or cutting of fruits and vegetables in preparation for canning or freezing);
- filling of cartons and containers by hand;
- sealing of containers;
- weighing and packing; and
- hand labelling.

There were a few women who were permanent workers in higher grades. At Border Streams there were two women involved in labelling and weighing. At LEMCO Mutare, there were some women in Grade 3 operating filling or labelling machines. There were six skilled female machine operators at LEMCO West Nicholson. There were cases of women doing skilled jobs but not being graded accordingly. Two telling cases were those of the female laboratory helpers at LEMCO. Both women had started work as casual labourers, one as a bottle washer at LEMCO

West Nicholson and the other as a casual labourer in the warehouse at LEMCO Mutare. From the warehouse the woman at LEMCO Mutare was promoted to casual helper in the laboratory. After independence her status was raised to that of permanent laboratory helper. Her counterpart at LEMCO West Nicholson worked as a laboratory assistant when the male incumbent was in jail. These women carried out the tasks of Grade 7 laboratory assistants but were not graded accordingly because they allegedly did not have the necessary educational qualifications.

6.2 The tasks outlined have been designated as 'women's work' because women were believed to be better at these tasks than men. One factory manager had placed both men and women on the labelling section and from this little 'experiment', had observed that female workers were at least four times faster than male workers. He attributed this to the more 'nimble' fingers of women and the fact that "they became bored less easily than men". The spuriousness of his conclusions as demonstrated by the existence of a male worker at D.A.B. who hand-labelled cans faster than any female worker, so fast in fact that he was described as "a human machine, the envy of all other companies".

The patience of women resulting in their ability to concentrate on boring and repetitive tasks and their creativity which enables them to make dull tasks interesting were further reasons given for the sex-ordered task division. One employer believed that women were equipped to cope with the most tedious tasks because they were accustomed to the dull and repetitive nature of housework. At Gourmet Fine Foods, the only permanent female worker on staff was delegated the task of cleaning because, according to the manager, she was better at

cleaning than men because "it came naturally to her".

6.3 Thus women were restricted to the most monotonous tasks at the bottom of the occupational ladder. Women were mostly confined to the preparation and packing stages. This was the case in the making of jam at D.A.B.; at Mitchells Bakery they were mainly engaged in packing of biscuits and cakes, the final stage of the baking process referred to as 'table-ending'. There were no female workers trained to operate the ovens! The manager intimated that although women were capable of being trained to operate the ovens, there were 'no vacancies' at the time.

The exclusion of female workers from the operation of machinery was a notable feature of all the companies visited with the exception of LEMCO. The manager of LEMCO West Nicholson said men performed better as machine operators because they could easily learn to repair and adjust machines and added that the repairing and adjusting of machinery was much too complicated for women as they had no mechanical aptitude.

An example of an irrational justification for barring women from working on machinery was put forward by a factory male supervisor who said women could not operate the machine for sealing cans because it was 'too dangerous'.

When asked if it was not also dangerous for male operators, he replied that men could wear protective gloves which women could not wear because their fingers were 'too small'. At one company in Harare, a male worker argued that women could not work on sealing machines because

there was steam and heat around from which they were not protected with overalls, The worker inadvertently revealed the fear of competition from female workers: "If we could be allowed to give women overalls then that would be alright. But it is not good for a woman to be in overalls. The men would say 'now that you are like us, come and do the off-loading too!'" Men would be angry because their jobs would be challenged". The only female workers who wore overalls were a few women at LEMCO.

6.4 Another reason for the exclusion of women from the operation of machinery was that it required a degree of training which employers were not prepared to give to women. One manager asserted that even a sealing machine which was relatively simple to operate required some mechanical knowledge since it was semi-automatic and required adjustment from time to time. An in-house training course was necessary to operate the machine and the manager believed that any attempt to train women to operate machines would face strong resistance from male machine operators. The male workers denied the manager's allegation saying they did not object to the training of women. However, male resistance to the idea of women operating machines was evident at LEMCO West Nicholson where one male repairing mechanic jealously guarded his skills by refusing to train women. Despite the denial of some, male workers strove to maintain the hierarchical sexual division of labour while managers deliberately encouraged this hierarchy in the production process, playing off workers against each other to maintain their own power.

6.5 Managers and some workers expressed the view that heavy manual labour was unsuitable for women. At LEMCO Mutare 32 women were employed on a casual basis in the warehouse. They were engaged in lifting heavy

bags and the workers committee had bargained against this. Consequently the 32 women had been replaced by 8 permanent workers who had authority over other female workers. In the two fisheries visited, casual workers were always supervised by a male permanent worker. At LEMCO some female supervisors were theoretically in a position to supervise male workers but in practice they exercised authority only over female workers. Employers and workers alike generally believed that it was impossible for women to supervise men due to 'cultural reasons'. Only one employer said he would place a woman in a position of authority over men who would have to accept orders whether they liked it or not. Since a female supervisor has not yet been empowered to supervise men it was difficult to gauge the sincerity of this statement.

6.6 Male workers at Gibcan strongly denied their manager's allegation that they would resent orders from a woman. Once again, since no woman had ever been placed in a supervisory position over male workers it was difficult to assess whether male workers would be reluctant to accept orders from a woman or whether the manager was ascribing chauvinism to the male workers for his own predilections.

At Nutresco, the reason given for the reluctance to have female supervisors apart from the alleged contradiction of African culture was said to be "disruption of production when she goes on maternity leave, or to attend to some sick child". Clearly women's reproductive role placed constraints on the type of work they could undertake. It was subject to manipulation by management to deny them supervisory roles to which they were entitled on the basis of merit.



## 7. Technology and Prospects of Mechanization

7.1 Much of the technology in food-processing and the accompanying research and development (R and D) has tended to lag behind technology in other industries. This was the case even in developed countries. Lall observed that previous ILO studies had demonstrated that food-processing industry had a variety of technology ranging from the crudest of processes to capital-intensive methods of producing highly refined, processed and packaged foods for the developed countries. He remarked that: "although the suppliers of capital goods for industries have ... produced devices to replace labour, raise productivity and employ more tightly controlled production methods, innovations within the food firms themselves have mainly concentrated on products rather than processes. All the available evidence indicates that the industry is, in terms of Research and Development, a very low technology industry, and such innovation as does taken place is with some exceptions, relatively trivial as far as the basic properties of the product are concerned". (Lall, 1981 p. 89).

In Zimbabwe, the food-processing sub-sector was affected by sanctions which prevented the replacement of obsolete machinery as was generally the situation in other branches of manufacturing industry. The manager at LEMCO West Nicholson complained that the company could not then export canned meat products to the European Common Market because the machinery of the factory was about 18 years old. Furthermore, European markets would not accept products from a factory which did not match world standards. Renovations were accordingly planned so that the company would meet EEC specifications, which were expected to cost \$4-5 million.

The other major meat-processing company, Super Cannery, exported to the EEC and was one of the major sanctions busting firms during the UDI period.

It was highly secretive about its production process and would not allow the research team to tour the factory. The Rusape based Company, Gibcan, which was engaged in the canning of fruit and vegetables had recently purchased new machinery from Italy.

7.2 Indications were that there was a move to replace old machinery, as there has been in other branches of industry. It seemed likely that new machinery would result in displacement of labour. Since it was mostly female workers who were engaged in those tasks which could be most easily mechanized, the question of the possibility of the displacement of labour (mainly female) was posed. Employers argued that it was unlikely that workers could easily be displaced by machinery mainly because of the cost factor. The manager of Nutresco said the company would continue to be labour-intensive as long as it was competitive. In the event of increased mechanization, the strategy of the company would be to take on new machinery and extra labour.

The manager at Gibcan endorsed the suggestion that increased mechanization did not necessarily result in the displacement of labour. On the contrary, speeding up of production at one stage created jobs at another stage. The stage where the preparation of raw materials (for example, peeling, sorting, trimming and cutting of fruits and vegetables) took place, could not be easily mechanized. It was therefore possible to hire extra labour and purchase new technology. The machinery which Gibcan had recently purchased from Italy had, according to the manager, resulted in the creation of twenty more jobs. It was however, pointed out by a number of employers that highly capital-intensive production was not profitable because the small consumer population in Zimbabwe could not support greatly increased production.

Moreover, export markets were highly competitive and difficult to penetrate.

## 8. CONDITIONS OF WORK

### 8.1 Remuneration

The levels of remuneration in food-processing and particularly in the canning sub-sector underscored the low-wage structure of the industry. Although the dominant firms in the industry are subsidiaries of transnational companies that have experienced a steady accumulation of profits over the years, the wages paid to workers are some of the lowest in the manufacturing sector. During the fieldwork a number of important trends were identified with regard to remuneration.

Firstly, most permanent workers in the food-processing industry were paid according to their grades at the rates laid down in the Employment Regulations. The manager of LEMCO in West Nicholson for instance, pointed out that the minimum wage for Grade 1 workers was slightly higher than the stipulated minimum wage of \$125. However, an official of the United Food and Allied Workers' Union of Zimbabwe (UFAWUZ) complained that it had been the union's experience that in Industrial Board negotiations, LEMCO argued for the fixing of the minimum wage at a lower rate than they were actually paying their workers. The objective of LEMCO in this regard was that workers could be promoted to higher grades without a corresponding increase in salary. Female workers at LEMCO (West Nicholson) complained too that even when they were promoted to higher grades their wages were not increased. The trade union's position was that there was a pressing need for wage surveys before the fixing of minimum wages.

In most companies, workers were paid according to the rate for the job but no account was taken of the length of service and educational qualifications. Male and female workers generally did receive the same job but overall, females, earned less because they were concentrated in the lower grades.

In one company where the length of service was taken into consideration, the wage rates for males and females were the same. However, male workers received higher wages than females because they had usually been longer in service. Secondly, temporary workers, most of whom were female, were normally paid less than permanent workers. Female temporary workers at the Border Streams canning factory were paid on the basis of the amount of the fruit they cut. They received six cents per kilogram of strawberries and four cents per kilogram for the pineapples they cut or peeled. If they lost any tools on the job, deductions were accordingly made on their salaries.

In the fish-processing industry, casual workers were also paid on a task-work basis. Male and female workers at Andora Fisheries were all paid the same rate of \$2 for every 25 kilogram bag which they packed. Their average weekly earnings stood at slightly higher than the minimum \$25. Those who were slower in packing could earn less than the minimum. Female packers at Payns (Kariba) were paid \$3,64 per day which totalled about \$18 for a five-day week, well below the stipulated minimum for permanent workers in the food-processing industry. Workers in the weighing section of the same company were paid 75 cents for every packet of Kapenta fish packed. At Gourmet Fine Foods, female casual workers were classified as agricultural workers and so were paid wages less than 50 percent of those received by workers in the food-processing industry.

Thirdly, in one of the fish-processing firms the piece-work system was operated on a group basis. A lump wage was paid out for the collective work done by the workers: the lump wage was then divided equally amongst the workers. Intense pressure amongst workers resulted as any slackening by individual workers penalized the whole group. Task-work figured prominently at Border Streams and Gourmet Fine Foods and the workers who finished tasks in record time became the standard by which employers set their targets for their work-forces.

In addition to being paid less than permanent workers, casual workers were not entitled to bonuses, allowances and paid leave. Where strong workers' committees existed, as at LEMCO, paid leave was secured for casual workers! At that company, casual workers were entitled to one day's leave after every 120 working hours. Casual workers were mostly confined to the lowest grades and as they did not gain any length of continuity in service, were thus paid less than permanent workers.

## 8.2 Working Hours

Most establishments operated on a conventional 8-9 hour day, commencing work at 7 am and ending at 5 pm. There were some establishments where workers had to endure longer hours of work. Workers at LEMCO Mutare complained of a 48 hour week and reported that their efforts to obtain a 45 hour week were in vain. Casual workers worked on two shifts and despite the prohibition on night work for women, female casual workers commenced work at 4 am. In order to fulfill a government contract, workers at Nutresco were required to operate on a shift-basis 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. In keeping with the prohibition on night work for women, there were no women on night shift. Female workers were confined to shifts between 7.30 am and 9 pm.

At Payns Kariba, however, 19 female workers in the packing section worked on night shift. Fishermen on contract at the three fisheries also worked at night.

Workers at Border Streams sometimes worked for longer hours without over-time payment. Both male and female workers, permanent and casual, were allocated daily tasks and those who failed to complete their tasks had to continue working outside working hours, a practice which was in contravention of section 12 of the Employment Regulations which stated that no employer should require permanent employees to perform work on a task-work or piece-work basis or on a ticket system.

Not all workers enjoyed a full hour's break at lunch. Some companies allowed workers a half-hour lunch break on the premises whether there were canteen facilities or not. There was no evidence of any form of arrangement of working hours to help female workers to cope with their family responsibilities and their jobs. Few women were aware of breast-feeding regulations which allow a nursing mother two half-hour periods a day to nurse her baby. None of the female workers that we interviewed took advantage of this regulation.

Female workers at Super Cannery who used to do much of the lifting and sorting of meat had also been replaced by men. Women at Nutresco said the only work which they could not do was the off-loading of 90 kg bags of soya beans from the trucks. If the bags weighed less - 50 kg for example - they did not mind off-loading them.

One employer complained that male workers tended to push unpleasant and difficult tasks onto women and he tried to stop the tendency as far as possible.

However, despite employers' assertions to the contrary, heavy manual work was not confined to men. Women did often carry out physically exacting tasks such as lifting and carrying. At Payns Kariba, women lifted sacks weighing up to 25 kg for a distance of roughly 50 metres,

### 8.3 Training and Promotion Opportunities

There was generally little prospect for training or possibilities for promotion for unskilled labourers. The only form of training in the canning sector was on-the-job training. Most female workers believed that they could do male dominated jobs if they were given the necessary training. The manager of Super Cannery said women could be trained to do any job in the factory and claimed that he knew similar factories in South Africa which employed most women. He said he had no objection to the advancement of women and would not hesitate to appoint a female supervisor, but in practice it was obvious that opportunities for training and advancement of female workers were non-existent.

LEMCO and Nutresco were the only companies which gave some modicum of training to female workers. Nutresco gave in-house training courses to both male and female workers. On-the-job training was given to some women to enable them to advance to Grade 3. These women were employed as leading hands and supervised women in Grade 1. According to the manager this was a major advancement for women because five years before then it was unheard of for a woman to advance farther than Grade 1. Generally, however, all jobs which required some degree of training were monopolized by male workers.

Many female workers were aware of the gender discrimination to which they were subjected and they complained that women were always in the lower grades, even if they performed similar jobs.

For example, female charge-hands at LEMCO were in a lower grade than male charge hands. Women were seldom in a position of authority and even when they were appointed as supervisors, they supervised other women and rarely men. In most companies there was at least one female supervisor (at Gibcan and Super Cannery referred to as 'head girl').

Fourthly, some female supervisors complained that they were paid less than their male counterparts in similar positions. At Nutresco, the women pointed out that female supervisors received at least 10 dollars less than their male counterparts. In spite of her supervisory functions as 'head girl', a female supervisor at Super Cannery was paid only a few cents more than other female workers; she earned much less than male supervisors. Similarly, female laboratory workers were paid lower than their grades entitled them to. In one instance, a female assistant was not properly graded for the job she did.

Discriminatory laws with regard to equal pay between male and female workers were repealed in 1979/80. Prior to the changes, female workers in the lowest grades were paid about two-thirds of wages received by males in the same grades. A trade union official asserted that before the repeal of the discriminatory wage scale there had been female workers in food-processing and that the introduction of the minimum wage and maternity leave had the effect of reducing the number of female workers that companies used to employ. The strategy of companies was viewed as an attempt to minimize labour costs.

#### 8.4 Maternity and Child Care

In 1980, new maternity leave and breast feeding regulations were



promulgated in Zimbabwe. In terms of sections 126d and 126e of the Industrial Conciliation Act Chapter 267, a female employee is entitled to 42 days unpaid leave before the birth of her child and 42 days after, or an aggregate of 84 days. On return to work she could assume her previous post at the same salary or wage and not lose any benefits as a result of taking such maternity leave. She is also allowed to breast-feed her child for at least two half-hour periods in a working-day without any deduction of pay. These regulations, however, applied only to permanent employees.

Most permanent workers were granted maternity leave without much problem. Workers at Super Cannery could stay away for longer than the stipulated 84 days and still return to work. Replacements were hired on the understanding that their employment would end when the permanent worker returned from maternity leave. One company which did not allow its workers maternity leave was Border Streams. The manager claimed that women who left to have babies simply did not return to work but the workers denied that women left of their own accord. They said the manager would not take back women who returned from maternity leave.

One manager voiced the general view that maternity leave was a nuisance especially in the case of a supervisor because another worker had to be trained in her place. There was a general lack of awareness of the breast-feeding regulations and few women took advantage of them. Companies did not provide any child-care facilities. At the clinic run by LEMCO in West Nicholson a family spacing facility was provided and lessons in breast-feeding were given to mothers. Apart from this, there were no special provisions for those on maternity leave and expectant mothers generally. Women working in canneries and in the food-processing industry as a whole, did not enjoy better protection

in terms of maternity rights than that accorded to female wage earners in other industries. In fact, the casual workers who comprised the larger part of the female wage labour force, did not have any protection of their maternity rights at all.

#### 8.5 Accommodation

Few companies provided accommodation for their workers. Border Streams, Gourmet Fine Foods and LEMCO (West Nicholson) were the only companies providing compound accommodation. The workers at Border Streams complained that the accommodation provided allowed male workers of the firm only and no families. This meant that their families had to live apart from them either in Mutare about 20 kilometres away or at their even more distant home areas. The reason given by management in this firm for not allowing married women was that there was no accommodation for them.

LEMCO (West Nicholson) provided houses for workers. These houses varied in sizes from 1 to 4 rooms and were very old. Workers complained of company reluctance to improve and repair these facilities. The management argued that lack of finance was the reason for failure of the company to do so. Gourmet Fine Foods provided overcrowded accommodation facilities at the compound adjacent to the factory. This inadequate accommodation forced some workers to live on nearby farms. A Rusape firm which was three years old on the site, (having moved from Harare) provide accommodation for the workers it had moved with from Harare. These workers paid for that accommodation. D.A.B. in Harare had been providing accommodation for its married male workers. This practice has been stopped by recent local government regulations which forbade companies to own houses in townships.

Provision was however, set for workers already residing in the company houses to buy them over. All fisheries visited provided no accommodation for workers.

## 8.6 Canteen Facilities

Most companies, especially the small ones in canning and the fisheries, had no adequate canteen facilities. However, Mitchell's Bakery (Mutare) had a canteen where workers were served tea and bread free of charge. There was also a discount for purchases of bakery products by workers. LEMCO (Mutare) workers bought their own food at the canteen and were given 'mahewu', a traditional drink, free of charge. D.A.B. in Harare provided a building with canteen facilities and workers ran the canteen themselves. Gibcan in Rusape had no canteen facilities. The management explained that since the firm was new on the site, canteen facilities would be built once funds were available.

With the exception of Mitchell's Bakery, workers generally did not buy food from their employers, or if they did, most firms did not extend to them any buying privileges. LEMCO (Mutare) workers received a smaller discount on company products than did salaried staff. At Irvin and Johnson (Kariba) workers had been allowed to buy fish from the company but this was abruptly stopped by the management forcing them to buy fish on the open market like everyone else. At Border Streams, some female workers were dismissed from work for tasting fruit while working.

Workers who were being sent on temporary lay-off at LEMCO West Nicholson were provided credit from the company for 50 kg mealie meal per month and 5kg meat per week, until such time as they returned to work.

Workers were required to make an undertaking that they agreed to repay what was credited to them within six months of resumption of work. There was a pervasive fear that the company might avail itself of the privilege of re-application for renewal of the "temporary lay-off" to the Ministry of Labour.

#### 8.7 Transport:

There were generally no transport facilities for workers. An exception was only two firms, Nutresco in Harare and Supper Cannery in Bulawayo which provided transport for workers to central bus stations if they worked overtime. Sometimes night duty allowances for transport were given to the workers. Supper Cannery provided transport to workers working at odd times but only when the manager was in a good mood! All the fisheries covered in the research provided no transport for their day and night workers. At Irvin and Johnson (Kariba) workers complained that if they worked odd hours and could not find buses or friends to accommodate them for the night, they slept in the factory.

There was no need for transport for workers who lived in compounds adjacent to factory premises such as in LEMCO (West Nicholson) and Border Streams. At the latter, although casual labourers did not live in the compound but on neighbouring farms, no transport was provided for them. At Gourmet Fine Foods there was no provision for transport for the labour force despite the fact that some of the workers lived on adjacent farms due to overcrowding and bad living conditions in the farm compound.

#### 8.8 Occupational Health and Safety

Provision of protective clothing by employers is a requirement stipulated in Section 23.1 of the Employment Regulations.

The very damp conditions of the canning factories made protective clothing and footwear an absolute necessity. Most companies adhered to the regulations with a few exceptions such as Gibcan where casual workers were not given gumboots and worked on wet floors in open-shoes. The same was true of Gourmet Fine Foods. At Gibcan also, workers were not supplied with soap to wash their uniforms. This contravened Section 23.2 of the Employment Regulations which stated that if the uniform remained the property of the employer, the employer was responsible for the mending and laundering of the garment.

Workers at General Meat Products complained that the oversized gumboots provided for female workers were extremely uncomfortable and management was at pains to explain why proper sizes were not supplied for women. All the cold-room workers suffered from cold because they were not supplied with adequate warm clothing. Women at Super Canners complained too that the boots supplied were hurting them. The women were not given stockings. Black markings could be seen round their lower legs, indicating the uncomfortable condition of the boots they wore. The women at Irvin and Johnson (Bulawayo) also complained that the company did not provide them with socks for the boots they wore. Andora Fisheries provided only aprons rather than full uniforms for the workers on the packing. At Payns, the workers committee had been negotiating for uniforms for three years but the management was still not forthcoming.

There were no health facilities at the small fisheries visited. Almost all the bigger firms had health facilities even if some did not go beyond a First Aid Kit.

Border Streams had no clinic in the compound except for a First Aid Kit in the factory. LEMCO (Mutare) had medical services overseen by a nurse. There was also a woman in charge of laundry facilities - i.e. cleaning the protective clothing. LEMCO (West Nicholson) had a clinic staffed by a qualified nursing sister. The company also paid a doctor who visited on a weekly basis. The clinic served everybody, whether company employees or rural dwellers and farm workers from the surrounding area but the latter paid a small charge. A regular baby clinic was also run with nurses coming from the nearby town of Gwanda. Child Spacing experts stationed at West Nicholson gave lessons to women in the compound. The management however, expressed regret that the firm had a problem with supply of medicines since it had no access to Government Central Stores. The management thought there was justification for government assistance since the clinic served other patients besides company employees. The company planned to store vaccine in the not too distant future.

## 9. Trade Unions and Workers' Committees in Canning

9.1 Most of the workers in the canning industry were aware of the important value of trade union membership and the majority of the workers were unionized. Workers at Border Streams and General Meat Products belonged to the Food and Edible Oils Workers Union whilst the majority of workers in the industry belonged to the United Food and Allied Workers Union of Zimbabwe (UFAWUZ). Though aware of the union, many female workers at LEMCO (West Nicholson) had not joined either because they did not understand fully the usefulness of unions or could not afford to pay union dues. Women interviewed at Super Canners suggested that men discouraged women from joining the union because they thought it was useless! Women said, interestingly, some of those men were union members themselves.

However, the majority of female permanent workers were unionized and some of them belonged to the recently formed Women's League of UFAWUZ chaired by a female worker based at Nutresco (Harare). \*

At each canning company there was at least one permanent woman worker on the workers' committee. Casuals could not sit on the workers' committee nor were they eligible for union membership. According to trade union officials, the grievances of casual employees were to be relayed to the union through the workers' committee. This meant that if there were no permanent female workers on the committee, the only channel to the trade union would be through an all-male workers' committee which might not always be sympathetic to, nor knowledgeable about, the special problems of female workers.

9.2 The workers' committee at LEMCO (Mutare) has the "biggest" female representation: there were two women on the workers' committee of 10! Another permanent woman worker was a member of the Women's League of UFAWUZ. In addition, casual workers were represented by two sub-committees consisting of 3 women casual employees from each of the two shifts. This type of representation ensured that grievances of casual workers were relayed and presented to the committee and the union. Evidence of this was the successful bargaining for a one day's leave for casual workers after every 120 hours worked - a significant achievement in view of the fact that previously casual workers had not been entitled to any leave.

---

\* In Bulawayo, a women's league was formed on 24th February 1983 in the United Food and Allied Workers' Union. The Harare branch of the union formed a women's league in November 1983. The Harare branch of the Clothing Union formed a women's league in September 1984. Women themselves formed these leagues as a means of organising themselves to discuss their problems as women and to gain confidence and support before attending meetings". Langerstrom and Made 1984 : 22 - 23.

In some firms' workers' committees and even unions could not prevent the harrassment of employees. At one company for example, all the workers were unionized but they lived in constant fear of dismissal. There was one woman with seven men on the workers' committee. Women generally were reluctant to be active on the workers' committee or in the union. Some women, though they thought things were changing for the better, still thought men wanted to dominate in workers' committees. Fear had actually led to one woman refusing to serve on the workers' committee. The manager of this particular company was a particularly unpleasant and abrasive character who did not hesitate to assault workers. This made workers too frightened for their jobs to report incidents of assault to the union. Fortunately for the women, his physical violence was confined to the male workers!

A few weeks after the research team had visited this firm, the same manager had summarily dismissed 15 meat cutters and employed new ones. The union intervned to have them reinstated. This dismissal had occurred even without permission from the Ministry of Labour as the relevant regulations required, only serving to illustrate the hot-headedness of the "further" of that firm.

9.3 Workers at Border Streams were subjected to another variety of crude harassment. A sweat shop system operated in the firm whereby the worker was made to increase his 'intensity of labour' to maximise production without an increase in the rate of pay. A board was put up in the factory announcing in bold print the names of the 'Best Worker of the Week' and the 'Worst Worker of the Week'. The manager emphasized that this was the best way to improve production. Workers competed and wore themselves out as non wanted the accolade of 'Worst



Worker of the Week' as it cost the workers his/her job if it happened twice in four weeks. To ensure maximum production, conversation or laughter while working was forbidden. Workers were allowed to sing since this allegedly did not interfere with their pace of work.

Workers in the fisheries covered in the fieldwork were not members of the union. In fact workers at Payns and Andora know little about the unions and were not sure whether they were industrial workers in the food-processing industry or were classified as agricultural workers.

## 10. Capital-Labour Relations in Canning: Some General Observations

10.1 In the introduction to this study, reference was made to our framework of analysis which identified the deep-rooted antagonism between capital and labour as its central focus. The relations of exploitation and domination which characterize the interaction between the firms and workers interviewed stem from the capitalist structure of the economy, and in this particular instance, of the canning industry. The relations assume various forms which we elaborate upon in this penultimate section. Most firms had a high degree of labour-intensive production which was characterized by a marked incidence of casual contract labour predominantly provided by women. Indeed only a few firms (LEMCO and Gibcan) had resorted to considerable mechanization in the canning sub-sector. As we have already illustrated above, the bulk of the permanent labour force consisted of male workers. There was inevitably a greater upward mobility for males than for females since most of the former who were hired initially as casual labour did become permanent workers and learnt skills on-the-job.

10.2 Thus canning represented a sub-sector in which there was a more glaring

manifestation of casual labour as a mechanism to reduce production costs by keeping labour costs as low as possible. The rate or degree the exploitation of such casual labour yielded greater returns to capital, hence its attraction. Furthermore, the costs of the reproduction of such labour were negligible to capital. Casuals had no access to maternity leave, sick leave, annual leave, housing, bonus and related welfare benefits. From the standpoint of capital, casual labour was very cheap. Therein lay the rationale of the companies in preventing casual or contract workers from working for them for longer than a period of six weeks in any three calendar months which according to statutory regulations transformed such workers into permanent labour. Various tactics to nullify the regulations included temporary recruitment of labour restricted to two, four or five-week contracts. These resulted in such a rotation of the casuals so that they did not spend more than six weeks in three calendar months in the firm. In some instances, workers had been coerced into signing separate contracts for different product lines, and in others, they had been classified as agricultural rather than industrial (food-processing) labour. The firms exploited the fact that the statutory minimum wage for agricultural workers was lower than that for industrial workers.

- 10.3 Although there was a certain degree of seasonality in production in canning, especially in the production lines of fruit and vegetables (fruits ripen seasonally and the volume of production would be determined by size of the raw material available), this characteristic which seemed to be of major significance, was overplayed by firms who used it to justify the incidence of casual labour. From our observations, production seemed to decline for only about three weeks in some firms and two months in others in a year. Firms which possessed many product lines and received supplies of raw materials from irrigated sources and those which could import them were kept busy almost throughout the year.

Yet in those particular firms there was just as much a problem of a 'continual service' of labour classified as 'casual' as in the remainder of the firms.

10.4 That women constituted the bulk of both the unskilled labour force and the preponderant casual labour has been amply illustrated in the preceding sections. Female workers were therefore subjected to much cruder forms of exploitation by capital in canning. Indeed, little training if any, was provided to women to operate machines and attain other skills. A notable exception was LEMCO which employed female machine operators and laboratory helpers who were said to be 'on-the-job-training'. However, some firms invoked traditional sexist stereotypes to justify their unwillingness to train women for more skilled and responsible tasks. Some male workers were also not keen to train their female counterparts on skilled jobs. Although most women felt that they could undertake any job except heavy lifting, some feared that males would resent supervision by female workers. They were therefore not keen to supervise their male counterparts.

10.5 Although no specific educational qualifications were required on engagement of labour, some women assumed that their low educational level prevented their promotion or training into skilled tasks. It was not clear, however, whether males recruited for on-the-job-training had educational qualifications higher than those of their female counterparts; it was not too far-fetched to assume that there were little, if any, differences in educational qualifications. Women at Nutresco and LEMCO (West Nicholson) alleged favouritism towards men with regard to the award of opportunities for further specialized training and promotion.

As a consequence of their disadvantaged position, few women possessed formal supervisory roles. Some firms had women 'charge-hands' and 'leading hands' while some used such school or college titles as 'head girl' to avoid formal titles like 'supervisor' or 'assistant supervisor'. Women supervisors with such titles were not remunerated for them, it was often only 'a few cents' more than the other female workers. Furthermore, these women were required always to report to a male supervisor.

10.6 There appeared to be a low organic composition of capital in canning and as a consequence there seemed to have been little technological effect on employment and the role of labour in the production process. Firms explained the low organic composition of capital as an effect of a conjunction of several factors. The factors included the small-scale nature of the firms' operations and the general problem of the scarcity of investment capital in developing countries. In that respect one firm pinned its hopes for investment capital from a foreign investor to help it become competitive. Some firms alleged that high labour costs and security of employment for workers (which restricted dismissals by managers) explained the low organic composition of capital.

The other crucial factors which affected the levels of accumulation in canning were the inherent hiccups in the capitalist market system. Thus, although most firms produced for the domestic market, canned products constituted a 'luxury' to the majority of the population. The firms were affected by the crisis of 'decline in demand' in periods of inflation and recession. Exporting firms faced stiff competition and protectionism: the South African market had shrunk while it was said that the regional market could not absorb the products. The market problem, it was alleged, meant little returns on invested capital and expansion was therefore curbed.

Furthermore the drought in 1981-84 adversely affected the volume of available raw materials. In the meat industry, it had necessitated the over-slaughtering of cattle while the market did not expand significantly. The fish industry was also negatively affected by the drought which resulted in a scarcity of fish supply.

There did not exist great pressure to mechanize production processes. Some tasks such as the peeling of tomatoes were said not to be mechanizable yet. Most firms stated that there was plenty of labour for such manual tasks so that as long as they remained 'competitive' they would continue to employ manual labour.

However, technological inputs were viewed as necessary for 'creating more jobs', imparting labour skills and providing 'channels for upgrading' rather than displacing labour. Most of those in management did not seem to appreciate that the trends in global R and D towards minimising costs in production processes would eventually lead to a virtual mechanization of such processes and tasks in production at nearly all stages from raw material production and transportation to processing and storage, with the real prospect of displacement of labour-power from production or reduction of the complex, skilled labour of the producer to simple, repetitive and low-remunerated tasks.

10.7 From the field research it was fairly clear that firms invested very little in the reproduction of the labour-power of their workers. This emerged in their attitude towards such aspects of workers' lives as maternity leave, accommodation and canteen facilities.

Until the promulgation of the Labour Relations Act in 1985, permanent female workers were not entitled to paid maternity leave. At Border Streams, workers who got pregnant lost their jobs. Only one firm granted unlimited maternity leave without loss of job to female workers. None of the firms provided child-care facilities such as creches, some of them violated state regulations which entitled a working mother to one hour per day for baby-feeding. At Border Streams, casuals could only feed their babies at lunch-time while in other firms female workers were ignorant of their entitlement to this baby-feeding time.

With respect to canteen facilities, some firms provided these while others did not. In one firm workers voluntarily and independently ran such a facility in a building provided by the firm. Few firms provided accommodation for their workers. Some of the firms which provided it (apart from LEMCO -West Nicholson and D.A.B.) were located in areas distant from the main cities. Border Streams and Gourmet Fine Foods were quite some distance from Mutare and Harare respectively. Casual workers were usually not provided with accommodation facilities. There was nevertheless nothing impressive about any of the accommodation provided. Workers complained of old, overcrowded houses and, at Border Streams, of not being allowed to share such accommodation with their families. Most firms did not provide transport facilities for their workers where such facilities were obviously necessary.

- 10.8 The significant level of the unionization of workers in the canneries should be interpreted as one of the major responses of labour to the relations of exploitation and domination which capital has structured in the industry.

The mobilization of the workers under the auspices of unions is one form of organized representation of collective interests of workers as a social class vis-a-vis those of capital. Most of the workers interviewed belonged to the United Food and Allied Workers' Union while others belonged to the Food and Edible Oils Workers Unions. Although UFAWUZ was the more dominant union in terms of membership size, the co-existence of two unions in the industry was a source of weakness to the interests of wage labour as a whole.

A number of problems were identified as obstacles to full participation of women in trade union activities. They included a lack of understanding of the essence of trade unions, meagre finance to pay union dues and conflict between active unionism and domestic roles. There were difficulties experienced in attending union meetings after working hours and some husbands were alleged to discourage their wives from union membership. Their casual employee status barred women from membership. Nevertheless some permanent women workers had become active members and office bearers of a newly formed Women's League of UFAWUZ. Furthermore, in every cannery there was at least one woman on the workers' committee. In one firm, LEMCO (Mutare) casual workers had begun to be represented in the workers' committee. Such representation had shown usefulness as casual workers had gained one day's leave for every one hundred and twenty hours worked.

In most fisheries there was little or no unionisation at all.

Part of the problem lay in the unresolved occupational classifica-

tion of the workers in the industry. It had been left unclear whether or not they should be defined as agricultural or industrial workers under meat and fish processing. According to the Ministry of Labour, under the Industrial Conciliation Act (as it stood in 1981) workers in the fish industry were defined as agricultural. There was, however, a special provision which classified workers in this industry differently, depending on the stages of production in which they were involved. Workers who undertook the actual fishing remained agricultural. A special provision had been made for those in Kapenta fishing to receive a different minimum wage from those classified as agricultural : they (then) received \$110 per month. Workers in fish-processing were classified as industrial workers under meat, fish and poultry-processing. This resolution of the problem, though it settled classification problems might have weakened the bargaining position of workers in the industry. It could have retrogressive effects on unionization in the industry as workers could be split between several unions in terms of membership.

## 11. International Capital and the Food-Processing Industry

11.1 The process of increased concentration of capital in agribusiness in Zimbabwe has been alluded to in the first section of this study. As an integral aspect of agribusiness, the food-processing industry including the canning sub-sector, has been undergoing that process. Broadly speaking, such a concentration of capital has largely entailed increased penetration and consolidation



of international capital in the food industry in recent years. The forms of that penetration have often assumed the acquisition of domestic food companies by transnationals. Instinctively some of the instances of that penetration have included the absorption of local capital based in canning (the acquisition of Sunrho by LEMCO); of Border Streams and Willards by Cairns which itself is affiliated to the transnational corporation, Dalgety; of Olivine Industries by the American group, Heinz Corporation jointly with the Zimbabwe Government; and of Palte and Harris by National Foods which is owned by Anglo-American, Spillers and Tiger Oats. These few examples which are far from exhaustive underscore the logic of the expansive development of international capital, its propensity to absorb smaller capitals engaged in profitable production lines and to eliminate potential rival capitals.

The post-independence period has witnessed much more competitive strategies of penetration into the food-processing sector. Some of the pre-eminent corporations engaged in production include Allied Lyons, Dalgety, Heinz, Nestle and Unilever. In the supply and distribution of production-inputs for agribusiness, such corporations as Ciba-Geigy, BP Shell, Windmill, Imperial Chemicals and others have been highly active. The competitive thrust of their economic interests in branded foods and canned products (between Dalgety and Lyons Brooke Bond); and grain products including maize-meal (between Anglo-American and Lonrho); in

edible oil products (between Heinz and Unilever) could herald further bouts of intensive struggles over the acquisition of nascent local capitals and indeed between the giants themselves. Towards the end of 1984, for example, Unilever gobbled Lyons Brooke Bond, thus further enhancing what had become its immense clout in the Zimbabwe agribusiness sector.

11.2 An important aspect of the process of concentration is the diversification by the transnationals of their branches of production. Such corporations as Anglo-American, Lonrho, Rio Tinto and Union Carbide which have significant mining interests also possess a tremendous stake in agribusiness. The Anglo-American Corporation has large interests in citrus and sugar production; Lonrho in ranching and coffee; Rio Tinto in the manufacture and distribution of agricultural equipment and Union Carbide in the production of pesticides. At one level, such diversification represented a barometer of struggles for monopoly which characterized the relationships between the various corporations. At another, it illustrated the continuation of the process of the international division of labour in fields in which the corporations derived considerable profits either through the production of "cash crops" or the distribution of the necessary inputs to contracted producers. The diversity of the corporate interests and operations also underlined the dynamism and technical innovations - of the transnationals - which have in most instances improved the level of productive forces in those operations.

It was described in the latter sections of this study how in the processing of raw materials, more recourse was being made

to capital-intensive technology ostensibly to reduce labour costs. In sugar extraction and refining, Anglo-American and Tate and Lyle, had modernized their plants by introducing some of the latest technology in these fields. The milling operations of National Foods Holdings relied on imported milling technology and its oil extraction plant on machinery from Switzerland and West Germany. With the entry into the agribusiness sector by Dalgety and Heinz in the post-independence period, the introduction of even more capital-intensive techniques was assured. The effects of their introduction on employment were bound to be widely and negatively felt.

- 11.3 Increasingly joint ventures in agribusiness between transnationals and the state have become respectable. The joint acquisition of Olivine Industries by Heinz and the Zimbabwe state might become a pointer to the character of future and similar ventures. Such ventures would suit the corporations as they limited their exposure to the vagaries of climate, political risks (including nationalization) and those of the international market-place. At the same time, however, through their provision of management and consultancy services, intermediate and high technology, licenses and trademarks, distribution channels and heavy promotion, they would still engage in lucrative business. Thus, joint ventures do not at all lessen the grip of international capital on the domestic industry!
- 11.4 The conditions in the global market-place have remained volatile and prone to slumps. Developing economies which relied primarily

on the export of raw materials and semi-processed products were particularly vulnerable to frequent fluctuations in international commodity prices. Zimbabwe's own food products - grain, sugar, coffee and canned foods among others were no exception. Trans-national corporations themselves were not above suspicion in the manipulation of commodity prices and intra-firm transfer pricing. The wealth of entire economies depended on the exchange relations of those commodity markets located where the headquarters of the corporations were based. When the international recession bit, the primary producers were bitten even harder. The imperialist circle of capitalist production which encompassed the manufacture of basic agricultural inputs, the processing and distribution of food products closed at the global market-place where the monopolies made the crucial decisions on pricing.

## 12. Conclusion

In this study, a modest attempt was made to explore and assess the particular problems and working conditions which female workers encountered in the canning industry. The bulk of the study assumed field-work which entailed visits and prolonged interviews at canning establishments at various centres in the country. It was appropriate, however, to provide an overview of the structure of control and ownership of the food-processing industry on the basis of an analysis of primary, updated material. The capitalist character of the control of the industry was illustrated as was that of the canning sub-sector. In our survey of the composition of the wage labour-force in manufacturing, it was demonstrated that female labour constituted only a small segment of the labour force largely because of historical and

economic factors which enshrined sexist forms of discrimination in the allocation of training and job opportunities. Female workers and particularly black female workers occupied the lowest rungs in the various employment categories in industry. In canning, the highest proportion of casuals were female workers; their opportunities for advancement beyond casual or seasonal labour or above the lowest permanent "unskilled" categories were extremely limited.

In our analysis of both the composition of the wage-labour force in canning, the sexual division of labour and the content of labour processes, it was shown how extremely useful female casual labour is to capital in terms of the minimization of labour costs and circumvention of corrective labour legislation. It was still early days to assess whether the enactment of the Labour Relations Act (1985) and its explicitly anti-sexist provisions relating to recruitment would have a positive effect on the repressive aspects of the treatment of female labour in canning. In the discussion on the general conditions of work, the role of capital in minimizing as much as possible its contribution to the reproduction of the labour-power of female workers was described in detail. With respect to casual labour, capital simply had very little interest in the subsidization of its reproduction. As long as the reserve pool of such labour existed, legislation that sought to ameliorate the position of casual workers did not appear strong enough to restrict that capital from its super-exploitation of this lowest category of workers.

Our observations with respect to unionization of workers focused on the potential that existed for the mobilization of workers under unions to promote their interests vis-a-vis capital.

The co-existence of several unions within the industry mitigated somewhat against the full realization of that potential. The fractured character of the unions and the problem of the very limited participation of female members in them and in the workers' committees needed addressing urgently and promptly.

Finally, our assessment of the process of increased concentration of international capital in food-processing was both a confirmation of similar trends in other capitalist societies and a source of deep concern for those committed to a socialist development alternative. The structure of ownership and control of agribusiness was largely premised on that international capital, which in addition to its preponderance in food-processing, had begun to develop ancillary strategies of joint ventures with the state in this activity and in the mobilization of smallholders in the production of certain commodities such as tomatoes, pea beans and sugar. It is within these broader social processes that the problems and working conditions of female workers need to be further explored not only in canning as we attempted, but also in the textile, grain milling, tobacco and baking industries. Such studies would undoubtedly broaden and deepen our understanding of the relations between capital and wage-labour in Zimbabwe if only to enhance our endeavour to establish an alternative and national-popular oriented road of development.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Official Sources

Central Statistical Office (1981/82) Census of Production, Harare.  
(1983/84) Census of Production, Harare.

Government of Zimbabwe (1982) Food-Processing Industry Employment Regulations (Statutory Instrument 716).

Government of Zimbabwe (1985) Labour Relations Act. Harare.

Ministry of Manpower Planning and Development (1983) National Manpower Survey. Vol. 1. Harare.

### Books, Articles and Unpublished Papers

E. Batezat (1984) "Female Labour in Zimbabwe : Reflections on the National Manpower Survey Findings" Manpower Information Services 3,3.

S. Lall (1981) Developing Countries in the International Economy  
London : MacMillan.

P.A. Made (1984) "Unskilled Women Workers in Zimbabwe's Trade Unions"  
Manpower Information Services, 3,3.

P. Made and B. Lagerstrom (1984) Zimbabwean Women in Industry  
Harare : Zimbabwe Publishing House.

P. McFadden (1983) "Women and Revolution : Women Workers in Southern Africa" Journal of African Marxists 4.

S. Moyo et.al. (1985) The Roots of Hunger ZIDS Working Paper

L.M. Sachikonye (1986) "State, Capital and Unions in Zimbabwe" in  
I. Mandaza (ed.) Zimbabwe : The Political Economy  
of Transition. Dakar : Codesria.

(1986) "State and Agribusiness in Zimbabwe : A Research  
Agenda" ZIDS Working Paper (forthcoming)

(1986) "State and Agribusiness in Zimbabwe : Structures and Processes of Integration" Paper presented to a Research Workshop in the Department of Politics, University of Leeds.

A. Sibanda (1984) "The Conditions of Work and Life of Female Workers in Canning" (The article is based on the findings of this joint study). Manpower Information Services, 3,3.

T. Shopo (1985) The Political Economy of Hunger, ZIDS Working Paper.

V. Tickner (1979) The Food Problem Gweru : Mambo Press.

R.H. Thomas (1984) "Women and Labour" Manpower Information Services. 3.3

United Nations (1981) Transnationals in Food and Beverage Processing  
New York : UN Centre for Transnationals.