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NON-AGRICULTURAL ENTERPRISE
IN THE COMMUNAL LANDS OF ZIMBABWE
PRELIMINARY RESULTS OF A SURVEY

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1. INTRODUCTION

Since independence considerable attention has been given to the development of the Communal Lands. Basic public services such as education and health have been expanded rapidly to cover all districts. Conditions for peasant agricultural production have been improved via a reorientation of parastatals such as the Grain Marketing Board, Cotton Marketing Board etc. Availability of small farmer credit improved, so also did extension. Given the already existing population pressures in many communal areas and the agro-ecological limits in many areas, considerable emphasis has also been put on the need to diversify the communal lands economically, to develop the non-agricultural sides of the economy.

The physical infrastructure for such development is being improved via the implementation of the growth point and service centre policy. The Small Enterprise Development Corporation, the Ministry of Community Development and Woman's Affairs and the (now) Ministry of Cooperatives are all active to strengthen supply side conditions for the development of individual and cooperative non-agricultural enterprise.

So far, there have been few studies which analyzed existing non-agricultural enterprise in the Communal Lands. In this paper preliminary results are presented of a survey of non-agric. enterprise which was conducted in 1986. In section 2 an outline is given of the research and the research areas. In section 3 characteristics are discussed of households engaged in non-agricultural activities. Section 4 presents data on time allocation, income and employment in non-agric enterprises and section 5 elaborates on business practices and perspectives. In the final section some policy implications are discussed.

2. RESEARCH PROCEDURE AND RESEARCH AREAS

A key issue in research of this nature is the sampling procedure, which in its design can influence considerably the findings. One common approach would be to use business licence registers (Zehender et.al.,1984). This procedure however may generate considerable bias as it would fail to cover small, part time and unlicensed enterprises. Non-agricultural enterprises of the 'rural rich' would get disproportional attention. Another procedure could be to take sample of business or district centers and to survey all enterprises physically located in these centers (Gottlicher,1984). This certainly would be an improvement over the first procedure, in the sense that one would cover both licensed and unlicensed enterprises. Yet also this

procedure is rather selective, if account is taken of the fact that the level of villagization and 'urbanization' in the Communal Areas is extremely low. One may therefore expect a considerable proportion of non-agricultural enterprise to be dispersed in the countryside. Both procedures, though in different ways, would capture only part of the entire universe.

In our case a different approach was followed. Permission was obtained from the Central Statistics Office to make use of the sampling framework of the Zimbabwe National Household Capability Programme (1). As part of this programme a Demographic Socio Economic Survey (DSES) was conducted in 1983/4. This survey was held in 88 enumeration areas in 43 Communal Lands districts. The DSES covered a range of topics among which household demographics, employment and occupation, housing, land and assets. Lastly, it inquired about cash income generating non-agricultural enterprises. A listing of DSES households with such non-agricultural enterprises became the basis for our "follow up" survey. A total of 8 districts were randomly selected, taking into account the distribution of districts by level of population pressure. For each district a random listing was made of 30 households which declared (in 1983/84) to have one or more non-agricultural enterprises. Of these 25 were interviewed (2). The interviews lasted on average 45 min. and were conducted in Shona. While our approach may have its advantages, it also may have some disadvantages. Particularly, that any inaccuracies in identification of non-agric. enterprises (general survey vs specialist survey) cannot be corrected. On the basis of the DSES a first indication can be obtained about the relative importance of non-agric. enterprise in the communal areas of Zimbabwe.

Table 1
Number of households surveyed and number of households with non agricultural enterprises, by province, Zimbabwe, 1983/84

	(1) Total of HHS surveyed	(2) HHS with NAE's	(3) (2)/(1)*100
Mashonaland West	1560	173	11
Mashonaland Central	1573	177	11
Mashonaland East	2994	439	15
Manicaland	3966	524	13
Masvingo	3728	474	13
Midlands	3733	911	24

Total	17554	2698	15

Note: Matabeleland North and South were not covered in this survey

Source: CSO, 1986, Zimbabwe National Household Capability

Programme, Demographic Socio Economic Survey, (unpublished figures).

In all, 15% of the households in the communal areas of Zimbabwe reported to have some kind of cash income generating non-agricultural enterprise. Thus, rural non-agricultural activity in Zimbabwe is less important than in other African countries (Helmsing, 1987).

Table 2 summarizes some characteristics of the 8 districts in which the survey was conducted.

Table 2
Demographic and agro-ecological indicators, selected districts, Zimbabwe

	Population			Agro- Ecological Zone	Level Population Pressure
	Total 1982	Growth 69-82	Density sq. km		
Batanai	73327	4.3	35	V	desperate
Buhera	167543	2.1	31		extreme
Chiweshe	56960	2.8	66	IIA	great
Gazaland	138701	3.7	42	IIB/III/IV	desperate
Gokwe	226842	4.6	16	III/IV	none
Mashambazhou	109775	3.9	33	III	some
Mhondoro	59771	2.3	46	IIB	great
Murewa	108540	2.7	53	IA/IIB	some

Comm. Lands	4276900	2.7	25	--	--
Zimbabwe	7546000	3.1	-	--	--

Sources:

-CSO, 1984, 1982 Population Census. A preliminary assessment. Harare: Govt. Printers.

-Chavunduka G 1982, Report of the commission of inquiry into the agricultural industry. Harare; Govt. Printers.

-Whitlow, J.R. 1980, Agricultural potential in Zimbabwe. A factorial survey. Zimbabwe Agricultural Journal, 77, 4, 178-182.

The survey covered a wide variety of socio-economic situations, and is expected to give a fairly reasonable picture of non-agricultural enterprise in the communal areas.

3. CHARACTERISTICS OF NAE HOUSEHOLDS

Of the total of 197 households that were surveyed, 145 or 74% were headed by a male. The relative importance of female headed households in this group (26%) is therefore much less than is normally reported for the Communal Lands. For example, the provincial reports of the preliminary DSES

results indicate that the proportion of female headed households varies from 44% in Midlands to 53% in Mashonaland West. Partly this may be due to the fact that our survey was conducted from late January to March i.e. in the middle of the agricultural season, while the DSES was undertaken at the very start of this season, in October/November. Thus, husbands may have returned temporarily to their homes to assist in the agricultural activities. This explanation is however not fully convincing since men usually assist particularly in land preparation and ploughing (which takes place in November/December). Weeding which takes place in January/February (2nd round) is traditionally done by women (and children), hence not requiring the presence of men who have jobs elsewhere. Another possible explanation may be that labour migrancy is less prevalent among NAE household heads.

Table 3 gives information about labour migration among these households.

Table 3
Labour migration among NAE households,
Selected districts, Zimbabwe, 1986.

Number of households in sample	197	100%
Households with members working elsewhere	88	45%
Households with 2 members working elsewhere	26	12%
Households with husband working elsewhere	34	17%
Households receiving remittances regularly	65	33%

Some 45% of the households have members working elsewhere. Overwhelmingly labour migrants are male, working mostly in private industry (41%) and in the public sector (36%), in Harare and Bulawayo (43%) and other towns (33%). However, it is interesting to observe that only 17% of the households have the father/husband working elsewhere. In other (general) surveys this figure was found to be as high as 39% (Callear, 1982). Furthermore, only one third of the households actually received remittances in 1985. These figures are indeed lower than overall Communal Lands estimates (cf World Bank, 1983).

The average household size is 7.2 persons which is slightly larger than the average figure for the communal areas as a whole. A reason for this slightly larger household size may be that the homestead was taken as unit of observation, including polygamous households has one single entity. On average a household has 4.5 economically active persons, with a female representation only slightly greater than that of men.

The heads of households engage in non-agricultural enterprise are mostly (70%) middle aged (40-49, 50+). The youngest age group (20-29) represents only 8% of the total. This suggests that entry into (cash generating) non

agricultural enterprise comes rather late in the household life cycle. This also corroborates the earlier finding that a great proportion of NAE households are male headed who are not engaged (anymore) in labour migrancy.

It is important to emphasize that almost all households that have in non-agricultural enterprises are also engaged in agricultural activities. Only 5 households (2.5%) had no agricultural holdings. A comparison of the distribution of land holdings held by NAE households with the general landholding distribution in the communal areas shows only small differences. Fewer NAE households tend to have no land at all and those who have, tend to hold slightly larger landholdings.

Table 4
Agricultural holdings of NAE households and all CL average,
by size, Zimbabwe, 1986 and 1983/4

	NAE survey	DSES survey
no holding	2.5	7.1
0 - 5 has	49.7	49.2
6 - 10 has	39.6	34.0
more than 10 has	8.1	10.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Notes: first column refers to own survey
second column compiled from DSES figures for the
Communal Lands for 6 provinces (CSO, 1984 DSES
provincial reports).

The importance of agriculture is shown more clearly in Table 5. Not only are almost all households engaged in agriculture, a large majority (70%) also sell agricultural produce. Furthermore, a sizeable number of them 24% have access to agricultural loans (AFC). A figure that is considerably higher than those reported by the DSES. 74% of the households own cattle and 35% of them have income from sale of livestock (all animals). Cattle ownership is also much higher than reported in the DSES. The latter survey found that 49% of the households have no cattle which is significantly more than in our case (25%).

Table 5
NAE households and agricultural activities
Selected districts, Zimbabwe, 1986.

Number of households in sample	197	100%
Number of HH's engaged in agriculture	192	97%
Number of HH's selling agric. produce	139	70%
Number of HH's with agric. loans	47	24%
Number of HH's owning cattle	145	74%
Number of HH's with livestock income	69	35%

These findings confirm field impressions, namely that households engaged in NAE's are relatively speaking more enterprising and better off than other households. They have slightly more land, are more involved in cash cropping, have more cattle and have better access to agricultural credit. Agricultural and non-agricultural activities seem to strengthen each other.

4. NON-AGRICULTURAL ENTERPRISE, EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME

The 197 households covered in this survey were engaged in a total of 288 non-Agric activities. Eighty-two households had two NA enterprises and a small group of 15 households had even 3 such enterprises. Table 6 lists all in major groupings (see also annex).

Table 6
Non-agricultural enterprises,
Selected districts, Zimbabwe, 1986

Primary processing & manufacture	56	19%
Tailoring, knitting & crotcheting	95	33%
Pottery & building materials	24	8%
Construction & roofing	23	8%
Carpentry & wooden products	22	8%
Black-& tinsmithing etc	19	7%
Scotchcart making & other manufacture	6	2%
Repair services	11	4%
Other personal services	6	2%
Retail trade	26	9%

Total number of enterprises	288	100%

There is considerable inter-district variation in the range of enterprises. In districts like Chiweshe and Murewa as many as 17 different kind of enterprises were enumerated. In Mhondoro and Mashambazhou the range was much smaller, only 9 or 10.

Overwhelmingly it is either the head of the household and/or

his wife who are engaged in these activities. Only 8% of the activities surveyed are undertaken by other household members.

54% of all the NAE's are carried out by women, and 46% by men. The proportion of women is therefore much higher than is usually assumed. There is also a clear division as to the type of enterprise in which women predominate, namely, beerbrewing, basketmaking, tailoring, knitting & crocheting and pottery. Typical male dominated enterprises are grain milling, leather tanning & products, brickmaking, housing construction and roofing, carpentry & wood carving, black & tinsmithing, metal products, and all repair services. Other services like Ngangas (healing), mat making and retail activities (hawking) are more equally distributed between the sexes.

Some 38% of the enterprises have been active operational for 15 years or more. Interestingly enough, some 33% of the enterprises have been started since Independence. The liberation war and its economic effects may have curtailed the birth of new enterprises during the intervening years. The enterprises that have increased (proportionally) most since independence are retail trade (stores and hawking), beer brewing, brick making and some personal services.

Most people engaged in non-agric. enterprises have very little formal education. In fact 19% had none at all, and another 51% did not complete primary education. Some 23% cannot read or write.

With regard to barriers to entry or difficulties at the start of the activities, it is interesting to note that 35% of the respondents did not report any major problem. If there were problems 6% could not remember these were mostly financial (25%) and lack of know how (22%). Demand, government policy or other reasons hardly played a role.

This is a somewhat unexpected result. Given the historical situation of the Communal Lands one would have expected demand and pre-independence government policy to have been a constraining factor. We shall take up this point again below.

Skills are considered a serious problem and in this regard it is interesting to examine how skills have been acquired. Table 7 summarises the main results.

Table 7
Acquisition of skills for non-agric. enterprises
Selected districts, Zimbabwe, 1986

Self instructed	39	13%
Passed on by family or close friend	156	54%
Taught by tradesman (paid or unpaid)	20	7%
Previous employment in private sector	13	5%
Previous employment in public sector	1	-
Took course(s)	27	9%
Other	27	9%
Not reported	5	2%

Total	288	100%

In 67% of the cases skills were either passed on by family or friend (54%) or were acquired through self instruction (13%). In sharp contrast with the findings of studies in the urban informal sector (Moyo, 1984), previous employment in either the private sector or government is apparently NOT an important source of skills for rural non-agricultural activities. This may be due to a combination of factors. On the one hand, many people who returned to the communal areas, were previously employed as unskilled labourers. Hence, there would be little scope for survival in whom areas upon termination of contracts. On the other hand, even if in some cases skills were obtained, these may not be of much relevance to non-agric. enterprises in the rural areas.

Skills are recognized to constitute a problem. Improvements in skills training may help to strengthen non-agricultural enterprise.

One of the important issues for judging the potential of NAE's as well as of the specific context in which they are undertaken, is the analysis of time allocation. However, it is extremely difficult to quantify this by means of a single interview survey. In the present survey the matter was approached by estimating the time that would normally be needed to make or deliver a particular product or service and subsequently estimating the physical number of products completed or services rendered per week or per month so as to arrive at the estimated average time spent on the activity.

Table 8
Average estimated time allocated to non-agricultural enterprise, Selected districts, Zimbabwe, 1986

One day per week or less (0-<=8 hrs)	103	36%
Circa two days per week (9-<=16 hrs)	69	24%
Circa three days per week (17-<=24hrs)	38	13%
Circa four days per week (25-<=32 hrs)	23	8%
Circa five days per week (33-<=40 hrs)	10	3%
More than five days per week (>40 hrs)	36	13%
Not reported	9	3%

Total	288	100%

From the above table it can be concluded that a large part of non-agric. enterprises (36%) are relatively marginal in terms of time allocation. It is followed by an equal group (37%) of 'part time' (2 or 3 days per week) non-agric. activities. Only for a small group (16%) do non-agric. enterprises constitute their major time occupation.

There is, not surprisingly, considerable variation in the average estimated time allocation among the various activities. Running the risk of oversimplification one could classify the activities according to three time allocation categories. Thus, marginal (one day per week) NAE's are: baking, beer brewing, basketmaking, blacksmithing, tinsmithing, all repair services and some personal services. Small part time activities (2 to 3 days per week) are tailoring, pottery, carpentry, wood carving, crotcheting and hawking. More substantial part time activities (4 days per week) are scotchcart making and leather tanning products, etc. Only grinding & milling, stores (general, bottlestores and butcheries) are full time NAE's (5 days or more per week). Lastly, there is a group of activities that have variable time allocations, particularly, mat making, knitting, brickmaking, building, roofing, and healing (nganga).

Time allocated to non-agric. enterprises may also be influenced by seasonality. In this context it is important to know the reasons of the seasonality of the non-agricultural enterprises. In a large proportion (52%) of cases NAE's are only undertaken seasonally because of time needed for other activities i.e. for agricultural. Other reasons for seasonality are relatively unimportant. Typical seasonal activities are basket making, mat making, leather tanning, knitting, building and brickmaking, woodcarving and often hawking. Although beer brewing is often thought to have seasonal peaks, the majority of producers engage in it throughout the year. Tailoring, blacksmithing, tinsmithing and other repair services are clearly non-seasonal, as are

stores

Table 9
Seasonality in non-agric. enterprise,
Selected districts, Zimbabwe, 1986

Activity is not seasonal	130	45%
Activity is done in some seasons only	150	52%
Not reported	8	3%

Total	288	100%
If seasonal, reasons:		
- time needed for other activities	114	76%
- seasonal availability of inputs	9	6%
- seasonal variation in demand	12	8%
- combinations of above and other	15	10%

Subtotal	150	100%

Having established that non-agricultural enterprises are largely marginal and part time activities for most of the people involved, it is not surprising to find that the employment capacity is very low. In fact in all 288 enterprises only 17 other people were permanently employed and some 66 persons found occasional employment in the sector. The most important (permanent) employment generating non-agricultural activities are housing construction, stores, and grinding mills. Occasional employment is found in a variety of NAE activities, though again housing construction is the single most important one. Others are, in order of importance, crotcheting, matmaking, brickmaking, beer brewing and tailoring.

How important is the income from non-agricultural activities to the people themselves? In a survey of this nature (single interview) it is difficult to get a clear picture of the amount of actual incomes earned. An attempt was made but one has to be sceptical about the results since some 25% of the households did not/would not/could not respond to this question (3). Households were also asked to give a qualitative assessment of the importance of the income earned viz. other sources of household income. Table 10 gives the results of this assessment.

Thus for only 18% of the households NAE income constitutes the only source of cash income. For almost one third of the households their non-agric. enterprise income is the primary source of income. Equally important is the finding that in half of the cases cash income from the agricultural enterprise(s) is greater than from the non-agric. enterprise(s).

Table 10
Importance of Non-agricultural enterprise income in
comparison to other sources of income, Selected districts,
Zimbabwe, 1986

Only source of cash income	36	18%
Greater than cash inc. agriculture	31	16%
More or less equal to cash inc. agric.	10	5%
Smaller than cash income agriculture	102	52%
Unimportant source of cash income	14	7%
Not reported	4	2%

Total	197	100%

The income pattern just summarized may appear to indicate a limited importance of non-agric. activities. However, if account is taken of the fact that such a small proportion of household devote a substantial amount of time or live exclusively from non-agric activities (see table 8), these figures show a surprisingly high importance of non-agric. cash income.

As to the use of NAE income the survey shows that daily and basic but infrequent household expenditures (e.g. school fees) are ranked highest (54% and 23% respectively). The financing of non-essential consumption, (non)-agricultural expenditures and/or investment and savings are comparatively less important items. It appears that income from non-agric. enterprises constitutes in most cases an integral part of the household budget. Income from these activities is important for the reason that it is a more regular source of income than either agriculture or remittances. For many households it comes in small amounts but it comes frequently.

5. BUSINESS PRACTICES AND PERSPECTIVES

In as far as business practices are concerned a number of specific issues were examined, in particular with regard to acquisition of inputs, maintenance of stocks, sales channels, pricing accounting and investment.

Table 11 shows that procurement of inputs has two main sources. Either purchases are made from retailers in the larger towns outside the district or inputs are self-made or grown, or collected. Local purchase in the business or district center plays a much smaller role. Obviously one can expect the procurement channel to vary by type of activity. That is to say for 'primary' NAE's self procurement plays an important role (e.g. beer brewing, basket making, mat making, pottery, brick making, roofing, wood carving and healing). Similarly certain activities are almost exclusively town supplied, e.g. retail stores, butcheries (though not always!), tailoring, knitting & crotcheting, and some

specialized manufacture, repair, and personal services. Some 44% of the respondents actually maintain some stock of material inputs. A large group (37%) does not keep any stock and buys inputs when needed. The practice whereby a customer advances money to buy inputs is, however, not widespread contrary to popular (and academic) belief. Only in 8% of the cases was this reported to be the main practice.

Table 11
Source of material inputs for NAE's,
Selected districts, Zimbabwe, 1986.

Self made/grown/collected	110	38%
Purchased from other HH's in area	11	4%
Purchased in local business/district centre	32	11%
Purchased in town (outside CL district)	116	40%
Not reported	19	7%

Total	200	100%

A fairly similar situation is found when looking at finished products. If one disregards the 'no response' and 'not applicable' cases (services, construction and trade), then 47% minimize unsold stock by "producing only on order". The remaining 36% keep some stock of finished products. When stocks are kept this is done because sales are irregular rather than for sales promotion or other reasons.

Table 12 shows that rural non-agric. enterprises in Zimbabwe tend to be very localized activities indeed. Sales to intermediary traders or 'exports' to towns are virtually nonexistent. There are of course some exceptions, including very enterprising ones, but on the whole the picture is largely passive and very localized.

Table 12
Sales channels of NAE products and services,
Selected districts, Zimbabwe, 1986

(1) Customers come to buy	156	54%
(2) Go out to sell in the district	30	10%
(3) Go out to sell in town	9	3%
(4) Combination of (1) and (2)	54	19%
(5) Combination of (1) and (3)	12	4%
(6) Sell to traders	1	1%
(7) Not reported	26	9%

Total	288	100%

A related issue which is currently being discussed a lot in Zimbabwe concerns periodic markets. Various interest groups are promoting the idea (some for very different reasons) and recently a "Periodic Market Society" in which government and

business interests are represented was established to study the subject and to commission pilot studies. When asked if the interviewee would go and sell his/her goods or services at such a periodic market (defined as a fortnightly day market), 65% responded affirmatively. Only 8% were against. The remainder could not decide or found the issue not applicable. This might be taken as an indication that NAE households recognize the limits of existing sales channels. However, evidence from other countries shows that periodic markets are not necessarily a solution to marketing problems and that, such periodic markets may actually constitute a considerable threat to local enterprise (4).

It is often argued in discussions about the 'informal sector' that household based enterprises do not adjust prices regularly so as to take into account increases in prices of inputs, or in general costs of living. Such generalisation is deadly not warranted in our situation.

Table 13 shows that in majority of the cases prices are adjusted.

Table 13
Pricing of NAE goods & services,
Total of selected districts, Zimbabwe 1986

Price charged in 1985 lower than in 1984	1	-%
Price charged in 1985 same as in 1984	77	27%
Price charged in 1985 higher than in 1984	193	67%
Not reported	17	6%
	-----	-----
Total	288	100%
Reasons indicated:		
-Same, because of low demand	42	15%
-Same, because of moderate gen. price rises	4	1%
-Higher, due to higher cost of inputs	98	34%
-Higher, due to higher prices of cons. gds	69	24%
-Other reasons	32	11%
-Can't tell/no response	43	15%
	-----	-----
Total	288	100%

Equally interesting are the reasons indicated for the adopted price behaviour. It is notable that in most instances (85%) were stated. A second consideration for saving prices is the concern for maintaining the purchasing power of the household. Prices are raised because the costs of basic household consumer goods have gone up. Cooking oil was several times cited as a price indicator. This notable that most respondents (85%) could motivate their price behaviour. Those that could not, had either left prices unchanged or did not answer. In two third of all cases prices had been raised.

. In more than half of these cases, increased in the costs of inputs motivated the price increase. When prices are maintained constant, the principal reason is that producers are concerned about losing customers. In conclusion, the people clearly have a general awareness of costs even though only a minority (17%) have some form of book keeping like sales records, or make costs specifications.

On the whole, non-agric. enterprises report growing sales. Some 47% said they sold more in 1985 than in 1984. Some 17% their sales had been more or less the same. Lastly, some 36% saw their sales decline. It is interesting to note that there were few differences between the various groups of non-agric. enterprises in this respect. No particular type of activity can be singled out for doing either very well or very poorly.

Market expectations for 1986 were generally favourable i.e. 54% of those responding expected greater sales. However, many are not accustomed to think in these terms. Slightly over 40% of the interviewed could not respond to this question.

The limited optimism regarding sales reflects itself in terms of investments. Seventy four respondents (26%) reported to have invested in buildings and/or tools. In most cases this was financed with earnings from the non-agric. enterprises.

An important question is whether people in the communal areas have increased their attention to non-agricultural enterprises since independence. This would shed light on the development of productive potential in the communal lands. Table 14 shows that a large proportion of non-agricultural enterprise households are indeed spending more of their time on non-agricultural enterprises.

Table 14
Change in time allocated to non-agricultural enterprises,
Selected districts, Zimbabwe 1986

Yes, more time on existing non-agric. enterprises	85	43%
Yes, by starting new non-agric. enterprises	18	9%
Yes, combination of above	1	-
Same or less time	94	48%

Total	198	100%

Has peasants are better able to sell grain output to the Grain Marketing Board since independence, there is a greater amount of cash income in the communal areas, increasing the potential capital and market for non-agric. enterprise. However, there is also a greater need for cash on the part of the NAE households as cash expenditures increase e.g on schoolfees and uniforms, on available consumer goods etc., motivating them to expand their NAE's. From the discussions

in the field one got the impression that this increased time spent on non-agricultural enterprises in most cases did not result in less time spent on agricultural activities.

4. NON AGRICULTURAL ENTERPRISE POTENTIAL AND LIMITATIONS: SOME OBSERVATIONS

History may help to explain why non-agricultural enterprises are not so important in the Communal Lands economy of Zimbabwe. Through land alienation and other discriminating policies aimed at restricting the indigenous economy, the former tribal trust lands were increasingly underdeveloped. Land pressure grew, so did environmental degradation. Household incomes declined (Riddell, 1978) and with that the ability to afford non-agricultural enterprise products. At the same time, labour migrancy increased and with its associated remittances in kind (urban goods) further undermined the local capacity as well as potential of non-agricultural enterprise.

The study of non-agricultural enterprise in post independence Zimbabwe, suggest that for many households non-agricultural enterprise may be a partial alternative to labour migration. Proportionally fewer heads of NAE households engage in labour migration. Furthermore it appears that these households are not doing poorly. On the contrary, the evidence indicates that these households also tend to have more assets like cattle, are heavily engaged in commercialized agricultural production, and have above average access to agricultural credit.

The survey has also established that the role of women in non-agricultural enterprise is much greater than is often suggested. In fact, the majority (54%) of the enterprises surveyed were undertaken by women.

Skills, together with finance are seen as important barriers to start non-agric. enterprises. Most households have had little access to formal training facilities. In fact, in most cases skills are passed on via informal channels or are acquired in an autodidactic way. In any case labour migrancy is clearly not a significant source for diffusion of skills and know how for non-agricultural enterprise.

To a very large extent non-agricultural enterprises are household based and these activities have to compete with other productive activities in the allocation of labour. Most non-agric. activities are 'part time' and seasonal because of other labour demands.

This is also reflected in the relative significance of non-agric. enterprise income. Mostly it is less important

than agriculture as a source of cash income. Rarely, however, is it unimportant and for a sizeable group (30%) it constitutes the major cash income generator.

When examining the non-agric. activities in greater detail a number of conclusions emerge. First of all, the non-agric. activities are of a very localized nature and most serve local demand only. Secondly, there is a low level of production integration within the communal area economy i.e. links with other NAE households. Either the activity is vertically integrated within the household unit itself (in the case of the 'primary' activities) or the activity is linked to the urban economy (inputs from town). Local economy 'inter-industry' linkages are virtually absent. Thus, one cannot expect large ripple or multiple effects to emanate from a rural industry promotion policy

The employment potential of non-agric. enterprise is very small. They are mostly single self-employed personal concerns. Only in a few branches is there some employment generation.

Contrary to widespread belief, there is a clear business awareness among non-agric. entrepreneurs. Prices are, for example, regularly adjusted for rising costs of either business inputs or household consumer goods. When prices are not adjusted, there are also definite reasons (high price and/or crossed elasticities).

Non agric. enterprises appear to be increasing modestly as evidenced by sales, investment and time allocation indicators. However, it is not easy to determine whether this is a cyclical (recovery after 1983/84 drought) or a structural phenomenon (post independence development of Communal Lands economy). It may well be a combination of both. A good agricultural season after a drought boosts demand for non-agricultural enterprise products (e.g. rural housing). In structural terms one can identify at least three factors. Better access to marketing channels (Grain Marketing Board) enables more peasants to sell a larger part of their agricultural production, stimulating rural purchasing power; at the same time there are greater monetary needs which induce people to sell a larger portion of their agricultural production as well as stimulate them to engage in non-agricultural activities. Lastly, it may well be that the rising urban unemployment reduces the job opportunities for labour migrants who subsequently turn to alternative means of local income generation.

Non-agric. enterprise appears to have some potential for the diversification of the Communal Lands economy, but at the same time its low level of specialization and household based nature should be recognized. When considering cooperatives as

a means to strengthen non-agricultural enterprise, one should be careful not to set unrealistic objectives in terms of management, output or sales targets, or employment generation. Involvement is usually part-time and often seasonal.

General measures such as a progressive agricultural incomes policy and 'adult education with production' efforts addressing the skill problem, may be more effective than costly rural industry promotion packages (loans, marketing, management and technical assistance) directed at a minority target group.

APPENDIX

Non-agricultural activities in the Communal Lands, By type, Selected districts, Zimbabwe, 1986

Grinding & milling	2	Blacksmithing	14
Baking	1	Tinsmithing	5
Beer brewing	18	Fencing	2
Basket making	13	Scotchcart making	1
Mat making	18	Other manufacture	3
Hat making	1		
Leather & prod's	3	Vehicle/motor repair	2
Tailoring	40	Bicycle repair	2
Knitting	35	Shoe repair	7
Crotcheting	20	Nganga's (healers)	4
Pottery	19	Photography	1
Brickmaking	5	Hair plating	1
Building	16		
Roofing & thatching	6	Hawking	9
Painting	1	General/bottle store	15
Carpentry	6	Butchery	2
Woodcarving	16	Grand total	288

NOTES

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- (2) The interviews were conducted by three graduates of the Diploma in Rural Development Planning, namely, Msrs B Sandamu, M. Simbabure and J. Manyanya.
- (3) The interviewers tried to help respondents in answering this question in the same manner as with the time allocation question but were specifically instructed not to press respondents to provide an answer.

- (4) Literature on periodic markets in Latin America suggests that the organization of a periodic market system (timing and sequence) has a decisive influence in the distribution of benefits between buyers and sellers and between large (wholesale) traders and local (producer) sellers (cf. Bromley, 1975 and Smith, 1976).

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