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HUMAN RESOURCES IN ZIMBABWE'S INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT -  
THE CURRENT AND PROSPECTIVE CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN\*

prepared by the

Regional and Country Studies Branch  
Industrial Policy and Perspectives Division

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## P R E F A C E

This study of women's role in industrial development in Zimbabwe which was requested by the Government is one of three studies undertaken by UNIDO with financial support from the Netherlands government as part of an ongoing effort to support and enhance women's contribution to the development of the manufacturing sector.

The immediate objectives of the present study were:

- (i) to assess the current role of women in the country's industrial development process;
- (ii) to assess the implications for human resource development and in particular for women's participation in industry in the coming years; on the basis of: trend projections, established industrial strategic goals and priorities, in particular as laid down in the Transitional National Development Plan and the National Plan then under preparation, emerging new challenges and patterns of industrialization;
- (iii) to outline policies and measures conducive to enhancing the role of women in the framework of human resource development for industry;
- (iv) to identify key areas for bilateral and multilateral co-operation in this field.

Throughout the preparation of the study there was a high degree of co-operation with Zimbabwean Government authorities and with Zimbabwean researchers who executed a major part of the study.

The study was prepared in close co-ordination with the Unit for the Integration of Women into Industrial Development, UNIDO, with the support of the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies (ZIDS, Director: A.M. Rukobo), and the following UNIDO consultants: Ms. Kwanele Ona Jirira and Mr. Ebrahim Jassat of ZIDS, Ms. Theresa Weersma-Haworth and Mr. Paul Hesp. The professionals from ZIDS who participated with advice and various inputs and the field workers are listed in Annex 2.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

For many developing countries, industrialization has been the cornerstone on which their development policies have been based. However, plans and policies have generally not taken full account of the potential role of women and have not been explicitly directed towards removing the obstacles to their full participation. This study is one of a series of country studies on this subject and attempts to provide a general overview of trends and policies in Zimbabwe in this area. Given Zimbabwe's relatively large manufacturing sector and the major role that this sector is expected to play in the country's future economic development, the issue of human resource development and with it the role of women in the industrialization process assume great significance. The aim of the study is to examine the current and prospective role of women within this context and to outline possible measures for enhancing this role.

The report first presents a macro level analysis of developments since Independence and the prospects for economic growth and female employment in the formal sectors of the economy. This analysis is followed by a partial survey on women's participation as employees in the formal sector, as self-employed individuals (particularly in the informal sector) and as workers in co-operative income generating projects. The final part consists of an institutional overview, a brief survey of female participation in government and non-governmental organizations central to implementation of the report, and finally, a summary of recommendations for policies and measures to increase female participation.

## II. HUMAN RESOURCES AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE

### 1. General overview of the economy and human resource utilization

#### 1.1 The formal sector

##### Female employment: constraints

The 1981 National Manpower Survey shows that the female component of the trained work force in Zimbabwe at the time of Independence consisted mainly of European women, a pattern which has left its imprint on the situation of today. The under-representation of African women in the trained labour force can, to a large extent, be attributed to the migrant labour phenomenon which resulted in a preponderance of males in the urban areas (Batezat, 1984). African women, unless advantageously socially placed, were discouraged, through various methods of influx control, from entering the towns so that even today urban areas continue to be predominantly male, with African women largely confined to the rural areas. Discrimination on the basis of sex affected all women, but, among them, it was African women who had the worst access to education and training facilities. Also, the availability of cheap domestic labour did not facilitate the entry of African women into the labour market as much as it did other groups.

The Zimbabwe Women's Bureau Report on the "Survey of Rural Women in Zimbabwe" noted that:

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

Both traditional and colonial structures have formed society's concept of women, and the attitudes among men and women created in the past continue to influence the present status of women. The notion that mere biology determines her present subordination serve to give her inferior access to resources, weaker authority in social relations and limited employment opportunities. Restriction on women's freedom of movement, e.g. prohibitions on women working night shifts, and choice of occupation, e.g. against "heavy" work, derive from ideas of what is regarded as proper for women to do and what they should be "protected" from. Women are still expected to take sole responsibility for nurturing children and managing the household.

##### Current structure of female employment

Female employment in the formal economy of Zimbabwe in 1983 was some 169,000 or 16.3 per cent of total employment (see Table 1.1). Women's participation in agriculture (34 per cent) was more than double the average, whereas in manufacturing (7.1 per cent) it was far below average. In formal employment most women work in the service sector. They are particularly well represented in trade and restaurants, education, health and private domestic

services. These subsectors absorb nearly 43 per cent of total female employment. In one sector, health, women outnumber men as employees with 57.4 per cent of total employment. Other relatively important sectors are finance, insurance and education.

According to a 1985 report (Public Science Bulletin 1985) the total number of women in the civil service was 10,728 in 1983. Women are concentrated at the lower end of the decision-making structure and also of the salary scales. Over 90 per cent of the total of the country's female civil servants work in three Ministries: CDWA, Health and Education. At the Under Secretary and Permanent/Deputy Secretary levels, women constitute only 9 per cent. Community Development and Women's Affairs (CDWA) is the only Ministry where women are in a majority at those levels. In the Ministry of Industry and Technology all 4 Permanent/Deputy Secretaries are men, and of the 15 Under Secretaries/Assistance Secretaries only 3 are women.

Table 1.1: Formal sector employment 1983

	Employment by sector (000s)	Total sector Employ- ment (000s)	Female employment (per cent)	Female employment by sector (per cent)	Distri- bution of female employment
Agriculture	263.5	25.5	57.5	21.8	34.0
Mining	60.4	5.8	1.3	2.2	0.8
Manufacturing	173.4	16.8	12.0	6.9	7.1
Electricity and water	6.9	0.7	0.2	2.9	0.1
Construction	49.4	4.8	0.7	1.4	0.4
Finance, insurance, etc.	15.8	1.5	5.8	36.7	3.4
Trade, restaurants and hotels	80.6	7.8	13.3	16.5	7.9
Transport and communications	49.4	4.8	3.2	6.5	1.9
Public administration	82.5	8.0	7.2	8.7	4.3
Education	78.0	7.5	28.1	36.0	16.6
Health	19.0	1.8	10.9	57.4	6.5
Private domestic	99.8	9.7	19.8	19.8	11.7
Other services	54.7	5.3	8.9	16.3	5.3
All sectors	1,033.4	100.0	168.9	16.3	100.0

Source: Statistical yearbook 1985, Central Statistical Office.

The particular pattern of women's employment in the formal economy shown in Table 1.1 partly reflects a world-wide pattern and partly the particular characteristics of the Zimbabwean economy and society (see Table 1.2). The variations indicated in the aggregate overall figures cannot be explained in terms of a few simple variables but rather through a great number of social, cultural, political and economic factors at the macro and micro levels.

In the international context overall employment levels and the share of female participation in the formal sector are related to overall development levels. As compared to other developing regions, Africa occupied a middle position with regard to female employment shares in 1980. In comparison with Latin America, shares were higher for agriculture and industry, but lower for services; the reverse was true with regard to Asia. The difference between middle and low income countries in Africa is very clear when looking at agricultural and service-sector shares, but the shares for industry are quite similar.

Table 1.2: International comparison of the share of women  
in total employment, by sector and region 1980/83  
(per cent)

	Total employment	Agriculture	Industry	Services
World	34.8	37.0	27.8	37.8
Developed countries	40.2	43.3	29.2	48.7
Developing countries	32.4	36.4	26.5	26.9
Africa (developing countries)	32.0	34.4	19.7	31.6
middle-income countries	28.7	28.9	19.0	34.3
low-income countries	35.3	38.3	20.9	25.7
Latin America and the Caribbean	23.0	9.3	15.8	38.8
middle-income countries	22.8	8.2	15.3	38.3
low-income countries	24.6	14.3	20.6	43.8
Asia (developing countries)	33.6	38.5	28.8	23.2
middle-income countries	38.3	40.7	31.8	38.2
low-income countries	27.3	27.6	27.2	26.5
Zimbabwe 1983	16.3	21.8	4.9	20.3

Source: Data made available by ILO Bureau of Statistics. Agriculture includes forestry, hunting and fishing; Industry includes mining and quarrying, manufacturing, public utilities and construction.

Table 1.2 shows the significant difference between regional averages and the figures for Zimbabwe. Compared to the average of African middle income countries, Zimbabwe is marked by a very low female participation (16.3 per cent as compared to 28.7 per cent for the average). The difference holds for all three aggregate sectoral groups; it is less pronounced for agriculture where the percentage of participation in Zimbabwe is only some 4.5 percentage points under the average and considerably larger in services where on average every third worker in African middle income countries is a woman against every

fifth in Zimbabwe. The most striking difference is however in industry: whereas on average for the middle-income African countries about 20 per cent of the workers in industry are women, the percentage is only five in Zimbabwe. Because of the relative size of employment in the industrial sector in Zimbabwe, higher female participation in industry would have a strong effect on overall participation: if participation in the industrial sector in Zimbabwe were raised to the 20 per cent level (as for the average in the middle income group), total female participation would go up from the present 16.3 per cent to more than 20 per cent.

Table 1.3 compares Zimbabwe to some middle-income African countries for which more disaggregated statistics are available. As compared to Egypt and Nigeria, Zimbabwe's participation rates are rather low. Agriculture, finance and transport are exceptions, but, as Table 1.1 has shown, the latter two sectors are small. Participation in the manufacturing sector is less than half the rate in Egypt and only a small fraction of the Nigerian participation rate.

Table 1.3: Female participation rates by sector  
in selected African countries, 1983

	Zimbabwe	Egypt	Nigeria
Agriculture	21.8	17.0	20.7
Mining	2.2	5.8	-
Manufacturing	6.9	15.0	38.3
Electricity, gas and water	2.9	7.1	14.4
Construction	1.4	2.5	7.5
Trade, restaurants, hotels	16.5	17.1	63.7
Transport, storage, communication	6.5	4.7	1.0
Finance, insurance, etc.	36.7	24.9	11.3
Community, social and personal services	22.4	23.2	23.9
Total	16.3	17.6	31.9

Source: Table 1.1, ILO Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1986.

## 1.2 Trends in the labour market and in female employment

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

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

- The exodus of a number of specialized white workers, particularly in the upper skill categories. This resulted in shortages of various skills which are difficult to replace rapidly;
- Major changes in the racial composition of the professional, skilled and semi-skilled work force;
- A virtual explosion in education, with rapid increases of enrolment at all levels. Tables 1.4 and 1.5 illustrate some of these trends.

Year to year changes in total employment have been closely related to changes in GDP. There was a decline in formal employment from 1975 to 1979, substantial growth during the post independence boom of 1980-1981 and then again a decline as stabilization policy and drought conditions took effect.

Changes in total female employment are the result of changes in output and productivity and of changes in female participation rates. The relative importance of these factors may be gauged, over any period, by splitting the change in female employment into four components: a) the employment growth that would have followed from the recorded growth of output if productivity (defined as output per employee) did not change; b) changes in employment as a result of changes in productivity with no change in output; c) the change in male employment that would have taken place if the ratio of male to female employment had been the same at the end as in the beginning of the period; and d) the change in male employment which resulted from a change in the ratio of female employment to total employment ("female participation rate" or "frequency of female participation"), given the initial employment level.<sup>1/</sup>

Table 1.6 gives the result of such an analysis for two periods, the "downturn" 1975 to 1979 and the "post-independence boom" 1979 to 1982. The table illustrates that changes in the absolute size of female employment is not only a question of changes in female participation ratios but also of output growth and productivity change. For instance, the loss of 8,100 female jobs from 1975 to 1979 took place in spite of an improvement in the female/male ratio which, other things being equal, would have caused a gain of over 2,000 jobs. The main cause for the contraction in female employment was the general economic downturn. Conversely, the loss of female jobs in the next period took place against a net increase in total employment which kept the loss in female employment at 4,300. The lost would otherwise have been much larger.

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<sup>1/</sup> A mathematical explanation may be found in a separate methodological supplement to the present document, available on request from UNIDO, Regional and Country Studies Branch.

Table 1.4: Changes in GDP and employment in Zimbabwe 1975-1983

	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
GDP million Z\$ (1980 prices)	3,220	3,194	2,977	2,951	2,996	3,334	3,754	3,762	3,642
Male employment (1,000)	874.8	864.5	843.5	819.3	816.2	838.5	872.4	881.8	864.5
Female employment (1,000)	176.5	172.1	168.7	167.0	168.4	171.4	165.9	164.1	168.9
Total employment (1,000)	1,051.3	1,036.6	1,012.2	986.3	984.6	1,009.9	1,038.3	1,045.9	1,033.4
Female employment share	16.8	16.6	16.7	16.9	17.1	17.0	16.0	15.7	16.3
<u>Female employment change</u> (per cent p.a.)		<u>-2.5</u>	<u>-2.5</u>	<u>-1.0</u>	<u>-0.8</u>	<u>1.8</u>	<u>-3.2</u>	<u>-1.1</u>	<u>-2.9</u>
<u>Total employment change</u> (per cent p.a.)		<u>-1.4</u>	<u>-2.4</u>	<u>-2.6</u>	<u>0.2</u>	<u>2.6</u>	<u>2.8</u>	<u>0.7</u>	<u>-1.2</u>
<u>Change in GDP</u> (per cent p.a.)		<u>-0.8</u>	<u>-7.2</u>	<u>-0.9</u>	<u>1.5</u>	<u>11.3</u>	<u>13.0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>-3.4</u>

Table 1.5: Total enrolments from 1979 to 1984

Institutions	Year					
	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Primary schools	819,128	1,235,994	1,680,143	1,934,614	2,044,487	2,147,898
Secondary schools	73,540	74,966	145,363	224,609	316,438	422,584
Teacher training colleges	3,002	2,824	3,484	4,373	6,481	7,365
Agricultural colleges	171	173	169	530	528	745
Technical colleges	3,663	3,469	6,048	6,962	7,791	9,452
Apprenticeships	805	965	665	942	854	1,436
University of Zimbabwe	1,481	2,240	2,525	3,091	3,620	4,131

Source: Central Statistical Office/NAM, 1984.

Table 1.6: Components of changes in total female employment, 1975-1979 and 1979-1982

Period	Changes in total female employment	As a result of changes in:			
		Output (a)	Productivity (b)	Male employment (c)	Female participation ratio (d)
1975-1979	-8,100	-62,879	-3,821	56,552	+2,048
1979-1982	-4,300	190,111	-128,811	-54,878	-10,722
1975-1982	-12,400	127,232	-132,632	1,674	-8,674

Table 1.7 illustrates how the declines in female employment for the two periods were distributed by sector. In the first period (1975-79) there were declines in output in all sectors, except public administration and health (presumably because of the build-up of the armed forces towards the end of the UDI regime). Because of a decline in productivity, indicating the usual delay in laying off workers under a recession, the effect on employment was not as negative as it could have been. Agriculture was an exception in this regard probably because of the temporary character of agricultural employment. The ratio of female to total employment actually increased over the period as can be seen from the positive figures for female participation in most sectors. The two main exceptions were public administration which became more male dominated, and the sector "private domestic servants." The reason for the latter is likely to have been that male workers who had been laid off in other sectors used the lower paid and lower status domestic work as a last resort and thereby squeezed out women.



Table 1.7: Components of change in female employment by sector, 1975-1979

	Change in total female employment	As a result of changes in:			
		Output (a)	Productivity (b)	Male employment (c)	Female participation ratio (d)
Agriculture	-3,400	-12,654	-15,946	21,650	3,550
Mining	-200	-1,494	-2,806	4,212	-112
Manufacturing	-800	-6,848	4,452	10,431	69
Electricity and water	0	-2,202	1,902	291	9
Construction	-200	-26,070	5,970	19,868	32
Finance, insurance, real estate	-400	-3,393	3,393	0	-400
Distribution, restaurants and hotels	-1,400	-7,975	-1,825	8,114	286
Transport and communications	300	-5,085	3,185	1,783	417
Public administration	1,000	19,511	5,289	-22,518	-1,282
Education	-600	-1,881	-319	1,509	91
Health	1,100	1,071	229	-597	397
Private domestic	-3,600	-15,093	1,393	11,315	-1,215
Other services	100	-766	166	492	208
All sectors	-8,100	-62,879	3,821	-56,552	2,048

The decline in female employment over the "boom" period, 1979 to 1982 (Table 1.8) is largely due to the decline in one sector, agriculture; no other sector except transport and communications showed a decline in total female employment. Despite substantial output increase in the sector, employment declined over the "boom" period. This was partly due to a continuation of a long term trend but it was furthered by substantial increases in agricultural wages just after independence and increasing mechanization as finance became available. A certain under-utilization of labour at the starting point in 1979 also possibly helped strengthen the impression of an increase in productivity as defined above. The loss of some 61,000 jobs fell disproportionately on women: although female participation in the sector was 25.4 per cent in 1979, women constituted nearly 43 per cent of those who lost their jobs between 1979 and 1982. This led to a decline in the ratio of female employment to a mere 21.3 per cent.

For sectors other than agriculture there was an increase in female employment between 1979 and 1982, related to an increase in total employment, rather than to an improvement in female participation. The expansion of employment in the education and health sectors yielded particularly positive results. The female participants actually improved in spite of the already high proportion employed of these two sectors. This appears to have been a result of a relatively greater supply of female teachers and health workers than of male ones. In public administration, where employment expanded by 7,600, all new job opportunities except for 500 were taken up by men, and the rate of female participation declined. The increase in female participation

in private domestic services probably represents a reversal of what happened in the preceding period; men who got better paid and higher status jobs in other sectors left their lower paid domestic jobs and were replaced by women.

Table 1.8: Components of change in female employment 1979-1982

	Change in total female employment	As a result of changes in:			Female participation ratio (d)
		Output (a)	Productivity (b)	Male employment (c)	
Agriculture	-26,500	43,032	-103,932	45,457	-11,057
Mining	200	-1,630	5,830	-4,122	122
Manufacturing	1,300	37,369	-1,569	-33,029	-1,471
Electricity and water	0	-103	3	97	3
Construction	100	3,649	6,751	-10,272	-28
Finance, insurance, real estate	400	5,336	-2,836	-1,467	-633
Distribution, restaurants and hotels	1,400	22,301	-10,001	-10,132	-768
Transport and communications	-200	15,963	-8,963	-6,500	-700
Public administration	500	14,634	-7,034	-7,033	-67
Education	15,200	41,784	-3,784	-25,970	3,170
Health	2,400	4,571	-471	-1,773	73
Private domestic services	300	-6,794	-2,206	7,533	1,767
Other services	-4,300	9,998	-190,437	-50,816	-14,784
All sectors	-4,300	190,111	128,811	54,878	-10,722

### 1.3 Prospects for formal sector female employment

In this chapter present and emerging trends in population growth, education and employment are used to form a background for policy considerations in later chapters. The degree to which an improvement in female participation is likely will determine the need for new policy measures.

Table 1.11 shows the result of a simple labour market projection for 1990 and 1995. The forecast demand for formal sector labour is based on the projections in the First Five-year National Plan 1986-1990 (FNDF). The extrapolation for 1995 assumes a continuation of trends in the 1984-1990 period. Labour supply is forecast on the basis of CSO population projections and indications of expected educational output as indicated by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare. The projection is conservative with regard to sex specific participation rates (in education and work) in that present rates are used unless it is strongly suggested that they will change. (For details of sources and assumptions see the separate methodological supplement).

Out of the about 8 million Zimbabwean population in 1984, slightly less than half were between the ages of 15 and 64, i.e. belonged to the "labour force". Women constituted more than half of this group, the age structure of the population being slightly different between the sexes. By deducting those in this age group who either because of schooling or for other reasons did not actively seek work, the economically active population is arrived at. Because of women's lower propensity to go to school, the sexual composition of this group was even more skewed than for the age group 15 to 64, 53.5 per cent being women and 46.5 per cent men. The economically active less the number of persons who that year found employment in the formal sector are what we may call "work seekers" or "unemployed pool". Of this group women constituted nearly 70 per cent.

In addition to those actually unemployed the "work seeker" category will include three main socio-economic groups: peasant farmers on communal lands, non-farm informal sector entrepreneurs and employees and the so-called "home-makers" consisting mostly of women. Although it has been argued that these groups are not unemployed, available evidence shows that a large majority of them would opt for employment in the formal sector if it were possible. The ILO/SATEP informal sector study and field work in connection with the present study show this clearly for the informal sector. The amount of underemployment in the communal lands testifies to the same. The so-called "home-makers" are to a large extent part of the latter two groups.

The 1990 projection implies that formal sector employment will not grow fast enough to absorb the entire addition to the economically active population between 1984 and 1990. As a whole the number of "work seekers" may increase by some 160,000 but whereas the number of male "work seekers" would be likely to decrease by about 10,000, the number of females in the same group would increase by some 170,000.

This rather dismal conclusion for female employment builds on several assumptions and the numbers arrived at should therefore be considered as indicative only. It is however, given present trends and policies, hard to see any realistic change of assumptions which would lead to a declining female unemployed pool; there is, firstly, little doubt that the female share of the economically active population will increase both for demographic reasons and because relatively more boys in the pertinent age groups will be enrolled in various education institutions (in spite of sexual equalization in secondary school education). Secondly, at present the growth in formal sector employment seems to lie rather lower than that forecast by FNDP. Thirdly, very drastic changes in female participation rates would have to take place to absorb the 170,000 female work seekers; the overall frequency of female participation would have to increase from the present 16.6 per cent to over 30 per cent in 1990. For this to happen, male employment (given FNDP projections for total employment) would have to decrease between 1984 and 1990.

In the period 1990 to 1995 the projection implies an increase in the unemployed pool of both males and females. This has two main reasons: firstly, the age group 15 to 64 will be growing faster than the number of jobs created in the formal sector. Secondly, the surplus will not be absorbed to the same extent as in the former period by increased school enrolment, which in particular limited the growth of male work seekers between 1984 and 1990. The assumption that the female participation rate remains unchanged is a major reason why more women than men will be added to the unemployed pool.

**Table 1.9: Labour market projections for 1990 and 1995**

	1984			1990			1995		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
<b>Total population (thousands)</b>	3,964	4,130	8,094	4,834	5,007	9,842	5,670	5,856	11,527
<b>Number aged 15-64 years (thousands)</b>	1,948	2,080	4,028	2,481	2,624	5,105	2,946	3,121	6,067
<b>Percent aged 15-64 years</b>	49.1	50.4	49.8	51.3	52.4	51.9	52.0	53.3	52.6
<b>School enrolment (thousands)</b>									
Primary schools	1,101.9	1,030.4	2,132.3			2,497.3			2,868.1
Secondary schools	248.1	168.3	416.4	639.9	500.1	1,140.0	652.0	517.7	1,169.7
Teacher training colleges	4.6	2.8	7.4	8.8	5.3	14.1	10.0	5.9	15.9
Agricultural colleges	0.6	0.1	0.7	0.9	0.1	1.0	1.4	0.2	1.5
Technical colleges	9.7	3.8	13.5	14.4	5.6	20.0	18.0	7.0	25.0
Apprenticeships	1.0	0.4	1.4	1.4	0.6	2.0	2.2	0.8	3.0
University of Zimbabwe	3.2	0.9	4.1	6.2	1.8	8.0	7.8	2.2	10.0
Students, trainees abroad	1.0	0.3	1.3	0.8	0.2	1.0	0.4	0.1	0.5
<b>Inactive 15-64 (thousands)</b>									
Students	26.8	17.6	44.5	67.2	51.4	118.6	69.2	53.4	122.6
Other, disabled, aged, etc.	7.8	6.0	13.8	9.5	7.3	16.8	11.2	8.5	19.7
<b>Economically active population (thousands)</b>									
<b>population (thousands)</b>	1,602	1,844	3,445	1,713	2,038	3,751	2,143	2,502	4,645
To: formal sector employment of which:	856	170	1,026	980	193	1,173	1,121	221	1,342
Manufacturing	155	12	167	182	14	196	211	16	227
<b>Active population not in formal employment [work seekers, unemployed pool] (thousands)</b>									
745	1,674	2,419	733	1,845	2,578	1,021	2,281	3,303	
Addition to unemployed pool from preceding period				-12	171	159	288	436	725

Sources: Statistical yearbook 1985, ARM 1984, First Five-Year Plan.

The projections shown in Table 1.9 as well as the analysis in Table 1.11 make it quite clear that increases in female employment and the utilization of the pool of unemployed women are inextricably linked to the expansion of total formal employment and thereby to macro economic policies even if these are not directed towards women or the manufacturing sector in particular. Such policies include e.g. macro-economic policies to achieve higher investment and savings ratios, export promotion, and the strengthening of the small enterprise sector.

The development of formal sector female participation rates will be influenced by a number of factors. Of major significance will be the balance in the labour market for trained personnel. The best opportunities for female employment are within qualifications that are likely to be in scarce supply. It is therefore of interest to consider how the skill structure of the labour force is likely to change over time, and how such changes will match with the skill requirements of a growing economy.

Tables 1.10 and 1.11 show school output, broken down by the educational categories used in the 1981 National Manpower Survey and the projected formal sector requirements for employees in these categories.

There are admittedly weaknesses in the simple methodology used.<sup>1/</sup> In particular, it is assumed that the sectoral requirement for workers in each educational group is fixed in the same relation to total employment in the sector as that found in the NMS 1981. Significant changes in various sector's skill intensity may of course take place. The message from the tables is nevertheless clear: there will be an oversupply of skills as judged in terms of educational levels. Finally, in the shorter term the directly "usable" skills created by appropriate education as well as specific training and practise may of course be in short supply. If these extrapolations reflect reality there would be enough women in each educational category to cover the entire demand for personnel.

This situation partly results from the present educational policies aiming at a 100 per cent transfer rate from primary to secondary levels. The consequences are already noticeable and will be so even more clearly in the nineties. It appears as if a situation may well develop whereby a form 4-5 exam is necessary to get a job at all. A new secondary school system with more emphasis on technical education, which is presently being planned, is likely to improve the situation by reducing the number of school-leavers with only general education (form 4-5) and increase the availability of technically educated students. The overall picture will however remain the same.

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1/ Details of the assumptions made may be found in the methodological supplement (see footnote p.15).

**Table 1.10: Projected additional demand for trained labour and educational output  
by educational category, 1984-1990**

	Total professional skilled and semi-skilled	Educational standard						
		Standard 6 and below	Form 1 - 3	Form 4 - 5	Form 6	Certificate and diploma	Degree and above	Unspecified
Growth related additional demand	62,266	20,850	10,701	9,481	1,222	10,924	1,815	7,272
Replacement/ localization	15,138	5,288	2,329	2,105	270	2,473	399	2,272
Total additional demand	77,404	26,139	13,030	11,586	1,492	13,397	2,214	9,544
Educational output:								
Total	1,415,731	603,138	154,922	603,153	16,652	30,553	7,291	
Male	758,377	309,547	50,611	358,865	11,671	22,120	5,562	
Female	657,354	293,613	104,311	244,287	4,980	8,433	1,730	
Ratio of educational output to requirement:								
Total	18	23	12	52	11	2	3	
Male	10	12	4	31	8	2	3	
Female	8	11	8	21	3	1	1	

Source: See methodological supplement annex to main study, Annex 2.

**Table 1.11: Projected additional demand for trained labour and educational output  
by educational category, 1990-1995**

	Total professional skilled and semi-skilled	Educational standard						Unspecified
		Standard 6 and below	Form 1 - 3	Form 4 - 5	Form 6	Certificate and diploma	Degree and above	
Growth related additional demand	72,137	23,664	12,471	11,154	1,478	12,878	2,199	8,310
Replacement/ localization	12,381	4,325	1,905	1,722	221	2,023	326	1,858
Total additional demand	74,349	27,989	14,376	12,875	1,691	14,893	2,525	10,168
Educational output:								
Total	2,436,760	650,140	260,919	1,422,704	26,463	43,170	13,364	
Male	1,267,165	350,721	80,114	776,406	18,456	31,255	10,213	
Female	1,169,595	299,419	180,805	666,298	8,007	11,915	3,151	
Ratio of educational output to requirement:								
Total	33	23	18	112	16	3	5	
Male	17	13	6	60	11	2	4	
Female	16	11	13	52	5	1	1	

Source: See methodological supplement annex to main study, Annex 2.

## 1.4 The informal sector

### Structural features

Production and income generation in Zimbabwe mainly takes place in a framework regulated and controlled by government, which derives tax revenues from the profits made. However, part of the labour force makes its living from activities in the so-called informal sector outside of the regulated economy.

Since information on the various informal sector activities taking place is scarce, little is known about the development of the sector over time. Its importance in a human resource context is however crucial, and some structural features will be highlighted below.

The size of the informal sector varies with its definition. The Zimbabwean Central Statistical Office measures the sector as the difference between persons registered as employed by the census but not included in the quarterly employment surveys. This results in a figure of 11 per cent of the labour force for men and 5 per cent for women. Another definition includes in the informal sector all persons not formally employed. For Zimbabwe this would at present imply that 53 per cent of the men and 92 per cent of the women are in the informal sector.

Table 1.12: Activities of the labour force in Zimbabwe  
(Percentage of persons over 15 years)

	Men	Women
Formal sector	47	8
Informal sector	10.7	5
Unemployed	9	5
Farming	24	29
Economically inactive	20	53
Total	100	100

Source: Statistical Yearbook 1985.

According to the 1984 ILO/SATEP report a distinguishing characteristic of the informal sector is that it consists of individuals who, faced with financial and legal constraints, utilized their own resourcefulness to generate employment and income. The informal sector is thus seen to be dominated by self-employed individuals and extensively uses the productive potential of people formally considered "unemployed". Indeed, only 19 per cent of those interviewed by the present survey said that they used other workers/helpers. The employment potential of this sector would thus derive more from a numerical increase in the number of informal sector enterprises than from the growth of existing enterprises.



Most studies have tended to point to the low representation of females in the informal sector, but closer examination shows that this is a reflection of the choice of the target population and the activities taken as forming part of the informal sector enterprises. The true significance of the informal sector is obscured by the fact that the activities are neither covered nor properly differentiated in the National Accounts. Clearly the sector is producing goods and services to satisfy the needs of the population. The resilience of informal sector activities is confirmed by the ILO/SATEP review which reports that on average more than half the enterprises have a life span of five or more years and that the majority are multi-product or multi-activity enterprises.

As in other countries, there are various interactions between the formal and informal sectors of the economy. The surveys undertaken in this study indicate inter alia that women in the informal sector are often formal sector employees, purchase a large part of their inputs from formal sector enterprises and are also suppliers of goods to the formal sector, through subcontracting arrangements (see Chapter 5).

Such links between the informal and formal sectors mean that Government policies in support of self-employment will also have a positive impact on industrial development in the formal sector, if accompanied by appropriate policies for the latter sector. The interlocking relationship between the formal and informal sectors can thus be seen to strengthen the country's overall industrial potential.

It is important to note that Zimbabwe is probably the only African country which incorporated the informal sector in its earliest policy statements. Official recognition of the informal sector is pronounced in the National Transitional Development Plan (1982-85) which not only makes recommendations but puts forward an explanation of the roots of the informal sector, its problems and class character. The sector is seen to hold considerable promise:

- firstly, as a creator of employment and self-employment income generating activities and
- secondly, as a means to promote co-operative action consistent with the Government's overall policy for development, to attain higher levels of employment and produce traditional and consumer goods for consumption by the home market.

Zimbabwe's development policies thus recognize that the informal sector is important and that its activities are not separate from the formal sector but are intensely linked to it. As Bromley and Gerry (1979) have observed, separate policies and strategies for the development of the "informal" sector do not make sense: movement between the 'formal' and the 'informal' sectors tends to be continuous. This is borne out by the present study: at different points in time women can be involved in petty commodity production, trade, casual wage work or subsistence agriculture. Different combinations of occupations are possible and the concepts of formal and informal should therefore be used carefully in analyzing women's contribution to manufacturing and industrial employment.

2. The manufacturing sector

2.1 Organization and structure of the formal sector

The relative importance of Zimbabwe's manufacturing sector stands out in the African context. Manufacturing contributes about a quarter of GDP (roughly three times the average for developing Africa), is the second most important source of employment in the formal economy (16 per cent of total employment) and accounts for about 17 per cent of total export revenues. These features, together with the sector's diversity and potential role in exports, give manufacturing a major role in Zimbabwe's economic transformation and future development and explain why Government has identified the sector as crucial for changing the structure of the Zimbabwean economy.

Three branches - food processing, chemicals and metal products - account for over half of the sector's total value of production. Metal products, in particular, dominate in terms of firms, net output, exports and capital stock, as shown in Table 2.1.

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

Table 2.1: Distribution of manufacturing units, output, exports, employees and capital stock (percentage)

Subsectors	No. of units	Net output	Exports	Employees			Capital stock
				Total	Female	Male	
Food processings	11.1	15.9	7.4	14.9	11.2	16.7	15.3
Drinks and tobacco	3.9	10.9	0.9	7.5	8.4	9.4	9.1
Textiles and ginning	4.9	8.6	20.9	11.8	13.1	11.8	9.7
Clothing and footwear	10.9	8.9	3.9	12.4	31.8	10.6	3.2
Wood and furniture	7.2	3.9	3.3	7.3	1.9	6.0	2.2
Paper, printing, etc.	8.4	6.7	0.9	5.4	7.4	5.5	5.0
Chemicals, petroleum	9.2	12.7	5.4	7.3	8.4	8.0	13.5
Non-metallic mineral products	4.3	4.5	0.6	4.4	1.0	3.5	6.5
Metal and products	29.9	23.3	53.1	24.0	12.1	24.0	32.4
Transport equipment	3.4	2.9	1.3	3.0	1.0	3.0	2.3
Other	6.9	1.5	2.4	1.9	3.7	1.4	0.8
Total manufacturing	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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

It should be noted in this context that national statistics and data collection in Zimbabwe, as in most countries, obviously narrow down the meaning of manufacturing activities. The UNIDO Study on the Manufacturing sector of Zimbabwe identifies various definitional problems with regard to manufacturing statistics in Zimbabwe. Only registered companies are classified as manufacturers by the Central Statistical Office (CSO), registration implying an initial capital outlay of Z\$3,000. Furthermore, statistics exclude establishments with a gross output of under \$2,000. The implication is that official statistics of manufacturing partly underestimate and partly ignore small-scale, informal and part-time manufacturing. Clearly, therefore, any policy recommendation for promoting women's contribution to the industrial development through manufacturing should not be based on the formal sector alone.

Table 2.2 presents some indicators of capital intensity and productivity for formal manufacturing at the subsector level. The chemicals subsector has the highest amount of capital per worker, which is translated into the highest labour productivity (both gross and net of purchases). Clothing and footwear, on the other hand, with the highest concentration of female workers, has the lowest amount of capital per worker as well as the lowest net output per worker, but the highest net output as a percentage of capital.

Private and unincorporated enterprises account for 86 per cent of recorded manufacturing turnover. Parastatals in food processing and textiles account for ten per cent and public firms (mainly in metals) under the Industrial Development Corporation for four per cent. The predominance of private ownership has been seen as a positive feature of Zimbabwe's manufacturing sector in terms of ability to respond to incentives and to competitive pressures from abroad.

Table 2.2: Zimbabwe - structural characteristics of manufacturing subsectors  
(thousand Z\$)

Subsectors	Gross output		Capital per worker	Net output per worker	Net output	
	Per unit	Per worker			As % of gross	As % of capital
Food processing	5,186	29,934	21,763	7,531	25.2	35
Drinks and tobacco	4,336	17,404	25,837	10,326	59.3	40
Textiles and ginning	4,514	14,547	17,456	5,162	35.5	30
Clothing and footwear	1,427	9,656	5,480	5,085	52.7	93
Wood and furniture	959	7,276	6,474	3,802	52.3	59
Paper, printing, etc.	1,434	17,310	20,042	8,907	51.5	44
Chemicals, petroleum	3,137	30,533	39,197	12,293	40.3	31
Non-metallic mineral products	1,627	12,070	31,108	7,259	60.1	23
Metal and products	1,567	15,132	28,859	6,889	45.5	24
Transport equipment	2,040	17,891	16,397	6,956	38.9	42
Other	396	10,904	9,030	5,535	50.8	61
Total manufacturing	2,235	17,302	21,316	7,086	41.0	33

Source: UNIDO, Study of the Manufacturing Sector in Zimbabwe, 1985, Table 2.7.

Most estimates of foreign ownership in the manufacturing sector vary between 25 and 55 per cent, depending on the definition adopted. Reduction of foreign control has been a policy objective since Independence. The structure of ownership in industry is shown in Table 2.3.

**Table 2.3: Capital assets of manufacturing by sector according to local and foreign ownership, 1982**  
(million dollars)

	Capital held by local owners	Local per cent of total	Capital held by foreign owners	Foreign per cent of total	Total capital of manufacturing sector	Based on sample of % turnover for the sector
Food processing	345.6	60.6	224.7	39.4	573.1	65.6
Drinks and tobacco	133.4	39.1	207.8	60.9	341.2	23.6
Textiles (including ginning)	274.3	75.6	88.6	24.4	362.9	47.0
Clothing and footwear	99.1	82.7	20.8	17.3	119.9	16.1
Wood and furniture	52.7	63.0	30.9	37.0	83.6	22.4
Paper and printing and publishing	73.3	38.7	116.0	61.3	189.3	68.1
Chemical and petroleum products	189.3	37.3	318.1	62.7	507.4	70.1
Non-metallic mineral products	111.6	45.9	131.6	54.1	243.2	72.2
Metal and metal products	582.6	47.8	636.3	52.2	1,218.9	54.8
Transport equipment	44.9	52.2	41.1	47.8	86.0	96.6
Other manufacturing	7.9	25.7	22.9	74.3	30.8	75.6

**Source:** UNIDO Manufacturing Sector Study, Table 2.12. Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries 1985 Survey in conjunction with 1984 survey carried out by the Department of Customs and Excise; UNIDO questionnaire results and Cotton Marketing Board Reports and Accounts for the year ended 29th February 1984.

Industrial activities are concentrated geographically in and around a few centres. Harare (including Chitungwiza), with only 11 per cent of the country's population, accounts for 50 per cent of manufacturing output and about 46 per cent of manufacturing employment. Bulawayo, the second largest city, with five per cent of the total population, accounts for 23 per cent of manufacturing output and 28 per cent of manufacturing employment, and the Kwe-Kwe-Redcliff industrial complex contributes seven per cent to manufacturing output and five per cent to overall manufacturing employment. Together, these three centres contribute 82 per cent of total manufacturing output and account for 79 per cent of manufacturing employment. This uneven distribution of manufacturing may well lead to an equally uneven distribution of future employment growth. This has clear implications for women's employment, since most of the female labour force still lives outside the

industrial centres. Studies suggest that rural non-agricultural economic activities in Zimbabwe are significantly more backward than in most developing countries (Gasper and de Valk, 1985) and it has also been suggested that formal sector firms show little interest in relocating to rural areas.

Government policies for the diffusion of economic development are being implemented. Apart from the overall policy emphasis on rural/agricultural development, the two main and interlinking policy packages in this field are those directed towards: a) urban development and b) resettlement, including communal areas reorganization. As conceived at Independence, and reflected in the existing planning, a main objective of urban policy is to stem the drift to existing urban centres by establishing new growth points. Funds for infrastructural development were allocated to the 55 growth points/district centres and 450 rural service centres. There has been a shift towards more responsibility to local authorities for infrastructure and more explicit policies to encourage industrial development.

Drought and fiscal constraints have slowed down the ambitious resettlement programme, whose main objective is accelerated agricultural development. An expanding agriculture is needed to create more demand for the manufacturing sector and to justify the investment in infrastructure in the growth points and service centres.

## 2.2 Female employment

During the time of the colonial economy in the 1940s, the manufacturing sector began to develop and African women were absorbed into the workforce as low paid and unskilled labour. While in 1936 only 32 women were employed in the manufacturing sector; the figure had risen to 1,664 in 1951. Women have been playing a dual role in the formal sector manufacturing: directly, as workers, and indirectly, subsidizing industrial wages by means of their informal sector work in agriculture and elsewhere. Essential as the latter role may be, its analysis is beyond the scope of the present study. In industry-related employment, women are substantially under-represented, except in secretarial positions. No women are found in key positions in the Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries. Women are also poorly represented in the Zimbabwe Institute of Management. The Zimbabwe National Chamber of Commerce is an exception in having a female president.

The analysis below concentrates on the role that women play directly in the manufacturing sector, and considers changes in female employment over the last decade. The changes are assumed to be brought about by four main groups of factors: Firstly, those related to economic growth and structural change. Secondly, those related to technological change. Thirdly, those related to the situation in the labour market (size, skill and educational levels of the male and female labour force and male/female wage differentials). Fourthly, changes in attitudes about women's position in society. Government policies and the political process may be considered as influencing all these factors; some directly (e.g. the effect on the labour market of educational policies) and some indirectly (e.g. attitudes influenced via the education system or technological change influenced via changes in the ownership and control of the means of production).

Table 2.4 displays the components of change in female employment in four different time periods (for details of the analysis, see the separate methodological supplement). The perhaps most striking fact is the rather insignificant change in female employment over the period 1975-1984 as a whole. The net loss of about 300 female jobs in manufactures is very small compared to the total number of workers in the sector which was 152,044 in 1975 and 168,500 in 1984. It is also small compared to the gain in male employment, which amounted to about 16,800 for the same period.

Table 2.4: Components of change in female employment in the manufacturing sector

Period	Change in female employment	As result of changes in employment and productivity	As result of changes in the female participation rate
1975-78	-314	-536	+222
1978-81	536	2,482	-1,946
1981-84	-538	-13	-525
1975-84	-316	2,071	-2,387

The small overall decline is the result of two countervailing tendencies: on the one hand there was a slight increase (1.9 per cent p.a) in industrial output (productivity being more or less constant) which, with the initial female participation rate (7.3 per cent) would have led to a gain of some 2100 female jobs, and on the other hand there was a drop in the participation rate (from 7.3 per cent in 1975 to 6.4 per cent in 1984) which meant the loss of some 2,400 jobs for women.

The impression of a stagnant economy and a relatively stable female participation rate is changed if one considers development over time and by manufacturing sector branch; the period from 1975 to 1978, characterized by an economic downturn, led to a small decline in female employment, caused by a decline in output for nearly all branches, (see Table 2.5) the effect of which was softened by a slight increase in the frequency of female employment (see Table 2.6).

In the years from 1978 to 1981, the effect of the post-independence boom was clear, with most branches displaying double digit rates of output growth. This was the only period under review in which female employment increased. It is notable however that the source of this increase was growth of output. If the frequency of female employment had not dropped over this period, nearly 2,500 female jobs would have resulted. The drop in participation which actually took place caused a loss of nearly 2,000 jobs (Table 2.4).

The last period, 1981 to 1984, was one of decline in manufacturing output. The effect of this on overall employment was less strong because of the delay in shedding labour, possibly caused by the new legal framework. The entire net loss of female jobs was caused by a continued decline in the female participation rate.

Whereas the assumption of a positive correlation between economic growth and female employment seem to be supported by the above, the differences between the periods considered indicate that the ratio of female to total employment does not necessarily increase during growth periods and decrease during contractions in output. In fact, the opposite conclusion seems to be just as likely for Zimbabwe during the period under review. In the following we shall pursue the hypothesis that the frequency of female employment is not related directly to growth of output per se, but to change in technologies, attitudes, the labour force skill profile and male/female wage differentials.

Table 2.6 shows that the overall female participation rate having increased steadily since 1975, reached a maximum in 1978 and showed a falling trend from 1979 to 1984. Attempting to explain the latter period first, we may focus on two factors; the investment spurt that took place at this time and the equalization of male and female wages.

Table 2.5: Branchwise growth of output

	<u>Average annual rate of increase in output</u>			
	<u>1975-78</u>	<u>1978-81</u>	<u>1981-84</u>	<u>1975-84</u>
Food processing	3.4	6.7	3.3	4.4
Drinks and tobacco	-0.8	1.6	-1.1	-0.1
Textiles (including ginning)	-3.6	15.4	3.6	4.8
Clothing and footwear	-6.1	19.5	-8.0	1.1
Wood and furniture	-8.3	16.2	-7.6	-0.5
Paper, printing and publishing	-3.1	13.5	-5.5	1.3
Chemical and petroleum products	-4.2	14.1	-2.1	2.3
Non-metallic mineral products	-17.5	19.3	-5.7	-2.5
Metal and metal products	-7.5	10.3	-5.2	-1.1
Transport equipment	-13.3	27.3	-9.6	-0.1
Other manufacturing	2.0	10.3	-19.0	-3.0
Total	-4.7	11.4	-2.7	1.1

Source: CSO.

Table 2.6: Female participation 1975-1984

Sector	Female employment as per cent of total employment									
	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Food processing	10.0	9.3	8.7	8.0	7.3	7.2	6.7	6.7	7.3	4.3
Drink and tobacco	9.0	9.2	10.1	11.9	11.7	10.1	6.9	10.3	7.0	5.8
Textiles including ginning	9.3	8.3	8.8	8.3	8.4	8.9	8.0	7.9	7.0	7.0
Clothing and footwear	13.7	14.0	14.3	14.9	14.6	15.4	15.5	15.9	15.2	17.6
Wood and furniture	2.5	2.8	2.7	2.8	3.1	2.0	2.1	1.3	2.0	2.0
Paper, printing and publishing	9.7	10.3	9.6	10.8	10.7	9.7	8.5	0.7	9.3	8.4
Chemical and petroleum	8.2	8.7	8.3	8.4	7.7	7.3	7.2	6.9	6.7	6.2
Non-metallic minerals	2.1	2.5	2.6	2.9	2.4	2.4	2.1	2.3	2.6	1.8
Metal and metal products	3.3	3.6	3.6	3.8	4.3	3.5	2.7	2.6	3.1	3.3
Transport equipment	2.9	3.0	2.7	2.9	2.6	2.5	2.0	1.9	2.0	2.1
Other manufacturing	13.4	13.8	18.1	19.8	14.4	13.6	14.9	15.6	19.2	16.7
Total	7.3	7.4	7.5	7.7	7.5	7.1	6.6	6.7	6.8	6.4

Source: CSO

The effect of investment on the female participation rate may be explained through the technological upgrading normally taking place as part of the investment process. There is a tendency in most countries for certain specific tasks within any production process to be given gender stereotypes and categorized as "women's" or "men's". These stereotypes will certainly change over time but not, it is proposed, as a result of output expansion or contraction *per se*. If however the process of production is transformed by technological change, a new "gender classification" will be introduced. Indications are uniformly that women lose out when technically more sophisticated and less labour-intensive production processes are introduced. The main reason for this is that machine-oriented jobs are "gender classified" as "men's" and that women normally are engaged in monotonous and repetitive jobs which are the easiest to replace by machines.

This process is also likely to have taken place in Zimbabwe. The period before Independence had been one of relative technological isolation and very low investment levels. Although the investment funds which became accessible after independence were to a great extent used for rehabilitation of plant, considerable change in technologies are also likely to have been involved. The technological effects of investment would not occur instantaneously. In the shorter term, the increase in minimum wages that took place could however be expected to have a considerable effect. The substantial wage increases introduced at the lower rungs of the wage ladder would tend to diminish the differential between male and female wages, a greater proportion of women being found at the lower end of the wage scale. This would make it relatively less attractive to hire women.



Independence led to two important new developments with a potential strong positive effect on female employment; firstly, the explicit recognition of women's present role in the economy and the need to increase this role in future and secondly, the new education policies emphasising secondary education for all. The changes in (both employers' and women's) attitudes and the changed skill and sex composition in the labour market are however necessarily long-term processes and are not likely to have had considerable effect during the period under review.

What then caused the increase in the frequency of female participation in the period from 1975 to 1978? Firstly, for this period as for early post Independence there was little change in attitudes and the supply of skilled female workers. Secondly, a greater proportion of men than of women joined the Independence struggle in these years. Thirdly, technological isolation and low investment levels during the years of partial blockage restricted the amount of technological change in the manufacturing sector. These were factors contributing to the increase in female participation but they do not alone explain the tendency during this period to shed a smaller proportion of female than male labour.

The recession period led to a drop in the demand for manufactures. As noted in the UNIDO study of the manufacturing sector in Zimbabwe, firms attempted to handle this in two ways; by increasing their competitive edge on the domestic market and by exporting. Under normal circumstances the latter is not so attractive because of stronger competition, higher costs and hence lower profits. Both routes however imply an increased emphasis on cost minimization. In pre-Independent Zimbabwe, where the rules of the labour market allowed a considerable pay discrimination between equally qualified males and females, the forces of economic necessity tended to be stronger than established sex stereotypes, and when labour was shed women more often kept the positions because they were the cheaper labour. Similar tendencies have been noted elsewhere (see S. Joekes 1986).

In the analysis above, no regard has been paid to branch peculiarities and special circumstances which could imply development patterns deviating from the overall trend. Looking at each of the branches, (Table 2.6) the main impression is that the majority of them comply with the pattern which is visible for the manufacturing sector as a whole. This indicates that general development trends in investment and wage differentials have been important as determinants of development in female employment frequencies over the period.

Nevertheless, there are differences from the "normal" pattern: a) two of the branches, food processing and textiles show a declining trend over the whole period; b) clothing is the only sector which shows a consistently increasing trend. This is important because of the size of female employment in the sector. It is difficult to discern any persistent trend in the "other" category, consisting of ISIC 390 jewellery, processing of precious stones and manufacture of musical instruments, ISIC 323 leather products (excluding clothing), ISIC 361 pottery china earthenware and ISIC 385 professional and scientific instruments, photographic and optical goods.

Two main characteristics of the food processing and textile branches indicate the reasons for the deviation from the normal trend. Firstly, growth of output over the whole period has been more rapid than in other branches, with average annual growth rates of 4.4 and 4.3 per cent respectively. These branches also display more stability in their growth than the others. The apparent exception from this is the drop in output for textiles between 1975 and 1978 and the spurt between 1978 and 1981. Both of these changes were however relatively small compared to the changes in output for other sectors in the same periods. Secondly, the input structure in these industries deviates markedly from the average for the sector in that total wage and salary payments constitute a much lower percentage of total inputs (material purchases being correspondingly higher). The incentives for cost cutting have therefore been lower and thus those forces increasing the female participation rate in other sectors have not been so strong.

After 1978 one would expect an even faster decline in the female participation rate than was the case in the earlier period. This actually seems to be the case: the frequency of female employment in both food processing and textiles fell faster (in terms of annual compound rate of decline) from 1979 to 1984 than they did during the previous period.

The main exception from the "normal" trend was the clothing and footwear branch which increased its frequency of female employment consistently throughout the period. From 1975 to 1978 (Table 2.6) the frequency of female employment increased along the normal pattern. The high labour intensity of the sector and thus the greater importance of the wage and salary component in the cost structure would make for an even stronger increase.

For the subsequent period, the deviation from the "normal" pattern may be connected to the character of investment made. Whereas, generally, technological upgrading together with the wage equalization drove down the frequency of female employment, the mushrooming of very small, low-technology enterprises encouraged after Independence neutralised this effect in the clothing branch. Here, the traditional gender classification enhanced the participation of women, sewing being defined as a female activity. These factors proved strong enough to counterbalance the effect of wage equalization which would presumably have had a relatively strong negative effect on the frequency of female employment in a labour-intensive branch.

In conclusion, it appears that the evolution of the female participation rate in Zimbabwe during the period 1975-1984 may be explained by the factors noted above and thus can form the basis for projections of future trends. It should be stressed that this conclusion is based on a trend interpretation which has disregarded deviations from the assumed trend in a number of cases (see Table 2.6). Generally however, the year to year movements in female employment frequencies show a very high degree of conformity with trends.

## 2.3 Employment and the First Five-Year National Development Plan

### Manufacturing employment - main issues

A central point in the Plan is to bring about structural change in the Zimbabwean economy and society. The manufacturing sector is perceived as "the key sector for changing the structure of the Zimbabwean economy" and is therefore given high priority. Since one central facet of the country's social restructuring is the enhancement of women's position, particular attention should be paid to the underrepresentation of women in this sector.

In itself, raising the level of investment would have a beneficial effect on women's participation through its effect on capacity, output and total employment. The sectoral distribution of investment will however determine the extent of the effect. If major changes in the frequency of female participation do not occur and investment is increased mainly in the branches with low female participation, the effect on the overall participation rate would be negative.

The envisaged establishment of intermediate and capital goods industries with major state involvement entails both difficulties and opportunities for enhanced women's participation. On the one hand, government control may be used to ensure a maximum of female employment in these industries. The new capital and intermediate goods industries and new technologies are, at the outset, likely to have a less fixed male/female classification pattern than existing ones. A breakthrough for women's participation in these industries where participation at present is very low could also have a positive effect on attitudes with regard to "sex-roles" within the entire economy. A difficulty in the short/medium term would be the educational qualifications of the female employment seekers: although the manufacturing sector is short of technical and computer specialists and senior accountants, women have hardly received any education in these fields. On the other hand, if the foreseen expansion takes place without particular attention to female employment, the effect on generally overall participation of women in manufacturing might well be negative, since, normally, capital and intermediate goods production tends to have a female participation below the average for manufacturing.

The Plan states that "emphasis will be laid on the examination of technological processes and changes in the structure of the economy and the mastery and adaptation of imported technology" and that a Council for Industrial Research will be set up. Foreign investment is to be used as a vehicle for technology imports.

It is important here not to consider technology changes only in terms of technical changes at the level of the individual production processes: important changes are under way in the entire pattern of production organization and its requirements for human resources development. Some key issues can be discerned in this context:

- Human resource development is increasingly providing the competitive edge in industry.

- The concept of human resources for industrial development should be seen to cover not only direct labour in manufacturing, but also all other skills required to plan, support and supplement manufacturing per se. Human resource development for industrial development thus should be directed also to such activities that normally are regarded as outside the actual manufacturing activity. Among these are research and development, marketing including export marketing, industrial and industry related services, government policy making and planning and engineering consultancy. Indeed, these activities are increasingly important for competitiveness of a country's industry and are particularly demanding in terms of quality of the employed human resources.
- The need for specific skills and the high cost of training and education to create such skills dictate more targetted, economized training systems.
- Skill creation is not a once-for-all investment. Drastically changing requirements call for re-training schemes and flexible curricula.

These issues are very pertinent for Zimbabwe's continued industrial transformation process and will have increasing implications for the role of women in this process. Opportunities for and threats to female employment are likely to emerge as described in the earlier paragraphs. It would be important to ensure firstly, that women's participation is encouraged in those activities in industry and in industry-related services which are likely to expand in the future. Secondly, women should be given an increasingly prominent place in the human skill development programmes of the country.

#### Structural changes and female employment

The anticipated technology changes and increased exports in industry is likely to cause differences in the rates of growth of individual branches. This in turn can have a major impact on aggregate female employment in industry, due to the differences in branch-specific female employment. Below an attempt is made to analyse the structural changes implied in differential growth rates and to assess the resulting female employment in the manufacturing sector.

Growth in food processing and drink and tobacco output is largely linked to the development of the domestic market. Although there may be some expansion in, e.g. the export of beef and dairy products and perhaps finer tobacco goods to the European market, the sector is not likely to show growth rates much in excess of that projected for private consumption by the Plan. The extent of investment and hence opportunities for technological change in the branches would probably be below average, which in itself would not negatively effect the female participation rate. Neither would productivity be strongly affected.

Exports of textiles, clothing and leather goods are much more important but they have been declining over time both in absolute terms and in relation to total output. The Plan states that these branches "will need to be supported by government in upgrading their plants to enable them to compete effectively in the markets of industrialized countries". Exports to the region will meet competition from industrialized countries and from many

countries within PTA which are less industrially developed than Zimbabwe and likely to put heavy emphasis on exactly these sectors. Given the hard competitive climate which is to be expected in these product groups in the region, prospects for female employment in these branches, which at present employ nearly 40 per cent of the women in the entire manufacturing sector, are uncertain. Export expansion may entail technological change which if unchecked would drive down the frequency of female participation. If, on the other hand, exports are not very successful, the industry will have to fall back on the domestic market, and this could mean a declining growth of output. In this case, the growth of female employment would to some extent be counterbalanced by continuation of the high female employment and a slower increase in productivity.

In wood and furniture there is, according to the UNIDO study, potential for exports but "radical expansion is unlikely to occur". The sluggish development of the sector over the last decade is likely to be improved by a better domestic market if incomes and income distribution develop along the lines indicated in the plan. Fundamental technological changes appear unlikely, and so does a change in female employment patterns.

In paper, printing and publishing the expansion of output depends very much on the possible establishment of a plant for the production of chemical pulp of which Zimbabwe imports a substantial quantity. The pulp factory alone would hardly give rise to a sizeable expansion in employment but it would offer a potential for several downstream industries, including products for export where there would be prospects for female employment.

The development of the chemical industry is central to government policy for structural change in the manufacturing sector. The importance for female employment of greatly increased output in this branch does not lie in the establishment of chemical plant (e.g. fertilizers and ethanol) per se, but in the development of downstream industries. Pharmaceuticals, a sub-branch where women are well represented, are seen to have considerable export potential by the UNIDO study.

The bulk of the output of non metallic minerals is materials for the construction sector. Since exports of such materials are likely to remain low, the output of the branch is likely to increase in line with the growth of the construction sector. Major changes in female employment seem unlikely.

The Plan's emphasis on capital goods industries will entail a strong increase in the output of the remaining branches: metals and metal products, transport equipment and other manufacturing. Exports from these branches will be promoted, and emphasis put on "maximization of both forward and backward linkages in the capital goods sector". New downstream industries are to be set up to manufacture steel sheet and plate, stainless steel, tin plate, special steels, machine tools etc. The engineering sector being relatively labour intensive this could also result in a considerable expansion in employment. As female participation in metals and transport equipment is far below the average for the manufacturing sector and male dominance assumed as a matter of course it would be particularly important to encourage women to take education and training making them fit for jobs within these branches.

In Table 2.7, an attempt is made to quantify the considerations made above assuming other things remain unchanged. As this is clearly an exercise which involves great uncertainty, several calculations with broad variations in assumptions were made. However the main conclusions which follow below seem to be relatively unaffected by variations in assumptions.

- The assumed growth pattern and changes in productivity and branchwise frequency of female participation are as such not likely to bring overall female participation back to former levels before 1995. This is in spite of the assumption of higher female participation in all branches.
- The overall participation rate is likely to be negatively affected by the future growth pattern, in which considerable growth is expected in sectors where relatively few women are employed. Applying the growth pattern assumed in Table 2.7 but holding female participation rates for each branch at its 1984 level would result in lower growth in female employment than in total employment and therefore in a drop in the overall frequency of female participation for the manufacturing sector.
- Even if the Plan's growth expectation for the economy as a whole were not fully achieved, the overall frequency of female employment in the manufacturing sector would not be strongly affected. The reason for this is the fact that most women are employed in branches producing consumer goods, and these are usually more resilient in the face of changes in the overall economic climate than are those producing intermediate and capital goods.
- It would take substantial changes in the sectoral growth pattern to change the overall frequency of female employment appreciably, if branchwise participation rates are held at their present levels. A scenario with employment growth rates twice those of others for the sectors which employ most women (food processing, drink and tobacco, textiles, clothing, metals) would only give slightly higher rates of growth for female than for total employment.
- To attain significant increases in total female participation would require changes in the branch-specific participation rates. For example, to bring the overall participation rate up to 8.3 per cent by 1990 and 10.3 per cent by 1995 would imply a doubling of participation rates in each branch (except in those two where it is already high at present) by 1995. This would mean that female employment would grow at three times the growth rate of total employment, but it would not seriously affect the increase in male employment: if the ratio of male to female employees in the manufacturing sector stayed the same during the period up to 1995, male employment would increase by 58,000; with a doubling of female participation rates the increase would be 48,000.
- In the short and medium term a major expansion of female employment in formal manufacturing is unlikely. Results are likely to be better with regard to female self-employment, in the small scale and informal part of the manufacturing sector, as well as in the institutional infrastructure supporting manufacturing industry.

**Table 2.7: Forecast changes in formal sector total and female employment, 1990 and 1995**  
(Base year 1984, per cent)

Sector	Total employment			Female employment			Average annual Increase in female		Average annual Increase in total	
	1984	1990	1995	1984	1990	1995	to 1990	to 1995	to 1990	to 1995
Foodstuffs	27,600	31,680	35,536	1,200	2,218	2,843	12.1	11.4	2.1	2.4
Drinks and tobacco	15,800	18,135	20,343	900	1,269	1,627	5.9	6.7	2.4	2.1
Textiles including ginning	20,100	22,928	25,586	1,400	1,597	2,047	2.0	3.9	2.0	2.3
Clothing and footwear	19,300	22,015	24,567	3,400	3,878	4,668	2.0	3.1	2.0	1.9
Wood and furniture	9,700	11,079	12,376	200	228	371	2.0	7.1	2.3	2.0
Paper, printing and publishing	9,500	10,836	12,093	888	867	1,018	-0.4	1.2	2.0	2.3
Chemicals and petroleum	12,800	15,181	17,501	800	911	1,094	2.0	3.1	2.7	3.1
Non-metallic minerals	5,700	6,502	7,256	100	130	218	4.3	9.8	2.0	2.3
Metal and metal products	39,200	50,194	61,678	1,300	1,506	2,159	2.3	5.5	4.0	4.8
Transport equipment	4,600	5,890	7,238	100	118	181	2.6	6.8	4.0	4.8
Other manufacturing <sup>a/</sup>	2,400	2,993	3,597	400	499	611	3.5	4.4	3.5	4.2
Other manufacturing <sup>b/</sup>	1,800	2,112	2,413	100	117	134	2.4	2.8	2.5	2.8
Total	168,500	199,545	230,183	10,700	13,338	16,971	3.5	4.9	2.5	3.1
Share of female employment in total manufacturing employment				6.35	6.68	7.37				

a/ ISIC 390.

b/ ISIC 323, 361, 385. No production given for these. Index set equal to total. For assumptions, see the separate methodological annex.

2.4 A profile of women's activities in informal sector manufacturing

No detailed figures exist on informal sector manufacturing. The profile presented here is based on the field survey results; these findings are analysed in more detail in chapters 4 and 5.

The survey differentiated between individual informal sector producers and co-operatives. The latter have been given an important role in development planning in general, and rural development in particular. As Table 2.8 shows, there is a wide range of manufacturing activities in which individual informal sector entrepreneurs in the sample participated, with textile-related production (textiles and leather, clothing and footwear, hat-making, crocheting and embroidery) standing out. The same category of industry predominated in the co-operatives in the sample, although here the range of "branches" was considerably smaller. As however co-operatives and co-operative type income-generating projects in Zimbabwe also cover herbalism, printing and publishing, pottery, wood processing and brick moulding (see Table 6.2) the product range might be approximately the same.

Table 2.8: Type of activity  
(percentage)

	Individuals	Co-operatives
Foodstuffs	4.0	14.0
Drink and tobacco	3.0	2.0
Textiles and leather products	10.0	3.0
Clothing and footwear	51.0	70.0
Wood and furniture	0.5	-
Paper, paper products, printing, publishing	2.0	-
Chemical and petroleum products	1.5	-
Non-metallic minerals	0.5	-
Basketry	1.0	11.0
Hats	6.5	-
Pottery	1.5	-
Crochet	8.0	-
Embroidery	9.0	-
Herbalism	1.5	-
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

The number of women actually involved in informal manufacturing is not known. As pointed out above, various definition of "informal sector" activities can be given, and information on the activities of individual informal sector producers has not been systematically collected. The number of women involved in income-generating projects was 54,805 in 1984, and the majority of these was involved in activities which could be considered as coming under the definition of manufacturing (see Table 5.2). Add to these several ten thousands of female members of manufacturing co-operatives and a presumably far greater number of independent producers, and it becomes clear that the number of women involved in informal manufacturing is a multiple of those involved in formal manufacturing.



The majority of the women interviewed worked full-time at their occupation; a considerable minority combined manufacturing with agricultural work, but manufacturing in this case too was an essential income source. Only a small minority regarded their manufacturing activities as a sideline providing something "extra". Many women had attempted to find employment in the formal sector and some had actually worked in formal-sector factories, but they had been unsuccessful in either finding or keeping a job.

The informal sector interviewees were older and had received less education than those in the formal sector (see Table 2.9). The latter in part reflects the rural location of informal sector activities, where fewer educational opportunities exist. The differences between rural areas and the major urban areas where formal manufacturing is concentrated, are also expressed in the different profiles for marital status. More than formal-sector work, informal sector entrepreneurship tends to be a long-term or even life-time activity: 15 per cent of the informal sector respondents had been in business for over twenty years. This not only reflects the "economic imperative" behind this type of entrepreneurship, but also the resilience of the female informal sector entrepreneur.

Table 2.9: Interviewees in the formal and informal sector:  
a comparative statistical profile (percentage)

	Age group			
	15-25	26-39	40-49	50+
Formal	15.0	63.0	13.0	7.0
Informal	13.0	44.0	25.0	18.0

	Marital status						Total
	Monogamously married	Polygamously married	Single	Divorced	Widow	Separated	
Formal	34.0	2.0	26.0	27.0	7.0	4.0	100.0
Informal	66.0	8.0	6.0	8.0	11.0	1.0	100.0

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

### III. WOMEN'S PROSPECTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT - SOME CONCLUSIONS

#### 3. Women in formal manufacturing - an enterprise-level enquiry

##### 3.1 The issue

Increasing women's participation in industry obviously is primarily a principle of equality. There are, however, also economic reasons for enhancing women's participation.

Underutilization of human resources clearly represents an economic loss and it is the female part of the population which has the larger rate of unemployed/underemployed. Continued industrial transformation of society will increase the need of the manufacturing sector for labour that can master more advanced production technologies. Here lies the opportunity and the challenge for greater participation of women in the economy. Since, at present, female school leavers have a lower probability than males of obtaining formal sector employment and since traditional economic activities in which women play a major role are tending to contract, there is a strong case for active Government policy to promote female participation.

Moreover, there is a social necessity for a greater participation of women, since large numbers of the female labour force are as much breadwinners as are men. Greater participation of women will have favourable overall economic effects: lifting the lowest income earners up to a higher level will positively affect income distribution, and the new demand created will have growth effects.

In order to obtain a deeper insight into the factors underlying the participation of women in the formal sector of industry, a series of inquiries at the enterprise level was carried out. The enquiries were not meant to provide a complete data base on female participation; the intention was rather to collect sufficient information to single out the main issues for further research and policy design. The next section presents the main findings, based on interviews with 246 employees and 19 company managements; details on employees interviews may be found in the separate methodological supplement. The information gathered during company management interviews has not on the whole been formally tabulated. For details of the survey methodology, the separate annex referred to on page 15 should be consulted.

##### 3.2 Main findings of the survey

Table 3.1: Major social and occupational characteristics of  
formal sector interviewees

	<u>Number</u>
Sole family income earners	55
Interviewees with only primary education	53
Interviewees having received on-the job training only	40
Major skill categories:	
- unskilled	20
- sewing/dressmaking	17
- typist/receptionist	10
Occupational category: production line	77
Members of workers' organizations	51

Source: Annex tables A.3-A.16.

### Factory work: a survival strategy

The majority of women interviewed during the field survey were sole income earners in their own households; a large part of the remainder had to take on factory work to supplement the low incomes of husbands or relatives. Most women were unhappy with the type of factory work they did and with the low salaries (the limited career possibilities for women are discussed below), but as social benefits are scarcely available (Table A.10) unskilled factory work is often the only way to acquire an income even for women with secondary education. Job opportunities are scarce, which is illustrated by the fact that almost one-third of the interviewees had been unemployed before (table A.3, A.8, A.9).

### Job entrance

Non-production line employees (secretaries, etc.) are usually hired through the intermediary of an agency, but the great majority are production-line workers, and these are hired on application to the factory.

When employees were asked whether they thought that the selection procedure for employment was fair, the great majority of them agreed. Interviews with companies on hiring practices drew a rather high percentage of non-response to various questions, but the feeling seemed to prevail that women do not sufficiently avail themselves of the opportunities or are unavailable for factory work. On the other hand, the notion that certain jobs are unsuited for women, that women are more often absent due to family commitments and that women will not perform as well as men (except in activities regarded as "typically female" and activities requiring co-operation between workers) seems fairly widespread. Such views of female manufacturing workers are likely to influence hiring practices, and although women who are employed may feel that recruitment procedures are fair, they may not objectively be so.

### Education, training and skills

Illiteracy is uncommon among female factory workers, as Table 2.9 has shown, and a large proportion of them have completed some type of secondary education, up to A-levels. Technical training prior to employment in a factory however is highly unusual for women; in the majority of cases, training is acquired either informally or on-the-job. A number of women employed in factory administrations have attended special education to acquire secretarial and/or administrative skills, but these, of course, are not manufacturing skills.

As to the production skills of women workers, these were on the whole skills either requiring little training (which tallies with the high percentage of on-the-job training) or acquired at home. Textile-related skills predominated among the latter, and this is another illustration of the relationship between women's traditional positions and those which they have in manufacturing (Table A.6).

Not all companies visited during the survey provided training programmes for employees (Table A.5), but it would appear that, where such programmes exist, lower participation rates for women are on the whole related to their low participation rates in the manufacturing sector rather than to outright discrimination against women, although stereotyping with regard to women trainees does occur.

### Promotion

The majority of interviews were held with women on the lower rungs of the job opportunity ladder; few women in the sample were found to hold positions above the production-line worker level, secretaries and administrative workers being the only significant exception (Table A.7). Dissatisfaction with present jobs was fairly widespread. The low salaries paid for unskilled and semi-skilled work were a main reason, but the lack of satisfaction derived from such jobs and the absence of prospects were also frequently mentioned (Table A.8).

The interviewees revealed that women generally felt that they had little prospect of being promoted and that this was largely due to sex discrimination (tables A.11, A.13). The problem of low female upward mobility however is at least partly a consequence of the small number of women working in the sector plus the lack of technical or management training/experience of those who are employed in the sector; the real reasons are therefore largely extended to the factory environment. The relatively strict division of tasks between men and women, moreover, would make a man being promoted over the heads of equally qualified women rather an exception. There is little direct evidence that company managements are unwilling to promote women.

The fact however remains that most of the interviewed women see no prospects of making a career in manufacturing either with the present firm or somewhere else (Table A.12); and even if they felt that they had been denied promotion unjustly, they generally felt (or had experienced) that protests were useless (Table A.14). There was however a widespread feeling that women can hold supervisory and management practices (Table A.11), and this self-confidence is an important precondition for strengthening female involvement in the sector.

### Conditions of service

Apart from special provisions for women, the conditions of service surveyed included pension benefits, medical aid, insurance, accommodation, canteens and leave. These were not available in all companies, and there were also differences between occupational groups - generally speaking, those in positions higher on the scale were better served than the production line workers. In virtually all cases on which information is available, however, women scored lower than men in their access to benefits and facilities mentioned. The most conspicuous case is given by pension benefits for production workers which in more than half the enterprises were not available to women. These inequalities are partly related to women's low wages: employees, e.g., have to make their own contribution to pension, insurance and medical assistance schemes, and their wages may be too low to allow them to take part in such schemes.

Interviews with workers showed many similar shortcomings in service conditions, although the details of the picture are somewhat different: a majority of the women interviewed were eligible for a pension, and the shortcoming most frequently mentioned was absence of accommodation provided by the company (Table A.15). There appears to be an overall lack of awareness among women of rights to benefits and facilities.

With regard to special facilities for women, the majority of employees interviewed expressed their satisfaction with maternity leave provisions. In a small number of cases, pay was stopped or reduced. Occasionally, women are made to quit their jobs, although this is now against the law. Other special facilities for women include time-off for breastfeeding and day-care centres. The former was available in the majority of cases; the latter are less common. The shortcomings in the special conditions of work represent a disincentive to seek female employment for women with young children, although many of them are single parents and hence fully responsible for the family's livelihood. The problem is that in Zimbabwe's surplus labour market, the demand side will determine actual employment; and the cost of special provisions for women will bias employers towards men.

#### The role of workers organizations

Worker's committees were introduced to improve relations between employees and management within the companies, and to represent workers in the case of conflicts.

A majority of women was involved either in workers' committees or trade unions (Table A.16). The most important stated reasons for not being active in workers' organization were: traditional male/female role perceptions, lack of time (many women combine factory and domestic work) and lack of job security combined with a negative attitude of management which may result in job loss for activists. Only a small number of women actually held office in workers' committees. In the absence of data on male participation in shop floor organization and the proportion of males elected for office in committees it is hard to draw conclusions about women's perceived underrepresentation. It seems clear, however, that women are far better represented in workers' organizations than they are as employees in the manufacturing labour force, which again points to a certain self-confidence which is essential for strengthening the female presence in the sector.

#### 4. Self-employment in the informal sector

As shown above, the number of Zimbabwean women who do not find employment in the formal sector will increase strongly during the present Plan period. In order to survive economically, their activities in the informal sector are therefore likely to expand considerably. Given the awareness among policy-makers of the potential inherent in the informal sector, this development represents an opportunity for the manufacturing sector, if proper ways can be found to deal with the challenge.

The findings of the survey tend to confirm the picture that emerges from the available information and secondary sources. Women are on the whole employed in low, traditional-skill jobs that are not well-paid, and their prospects for making a career in industry are very limited. The survey

however indicates that, even if obstacles to a quantitative and qualitative strengthening of the role of women in manufacturing exist within the sector and in individual firms, the main problem lies elsewhere. Women have insufficient access to the type of education and training that is needed in industry, especially the type of education and training that is needed in the future. This again is basically a result of traditional role perceptions; these perceptions certainly play a role at the company-level as well, but there is little evidence that they are the major obstacle for women on the shop floor. Anyway, the survey shows that a growing number of women is prepared to tackle such obstacles and to acquire the skills needed to enhance their contribution to industrial development.

As for the formal sector, a survey was executed to gain a better insight into the main issues with regard to female informal sector employment. This chapter considers individual self-employment, Chapter 5 will deal with opportunities and problems in co-operatives and income generating groups. Using data from the survey (244 entrepreneurs were interviewed), the chapter focuses on the main aspects and influencing factors. The dividing line between the formal small-scale and the informal sector is not considered important in this context, because the constraints on small-scale formal self-employment would be much the same as in the informal sector.

#### 4.1 Household responsibilities and business

74 per cent of the informal sector entrepreneurs interviewed were married, a figure twice as high as for the formal sector (see Table 2.9). The difference partly reflects the difficulties which married women have in finding employment in the formal sector. Only a few women had no children. The incidence of single-parent families was relatively high (20 per cent), although this is not exceptional: the proportion was even higher in formal sector manufacturing. Informal sector entrepreneurs in the sample had a particularly high dependency ratio. On average, women reported having some ten children and other persons totally dependent on them plus an average of four partially dependent.

Dependent household members do participate in production, but not to a large extent. Paid outside labour was very unusual. The hours worked by household members are irregular, with a maximum of 9 hours per day. It is quite common for household members not to receive payment for their work, although the survey gave no conclusive evidence on this point.

For most informal sector entrepreneurs, manufacturing is a full-time occupation (which has to be combined with domestic work). Secondary, part-time manufacturing activities to supplement income are not very common (cf. e.g. Table A.30). This does not mean that women's activities are restricted to their family and their manufacturing enterprise: many of them engage in side jobs such as domestic work or catering, and do political and community work. The importance for an entrepreneur's success of the manifold contacts which result from these activities should not be underestimated.

#### 4.2 Rules and regulations

Although virtually all interviewed entrepreneurs were aware of the obligation to have a license, over one-third of them did not possess such a license, with a similar number not responding to the question - this may well indicate non-possession of a license. According to the interviewees, local authorities are far from consistent in their licensing policies, and procedures are complicated; moreover, as they represent a source of income for local authorities, the fees tend to be high, which all leads to evasion on the part of the entrepreneur. A serious consequence of this is that neither the entrepreneur nor her customer then have a legal basis on which to proceed in the case of disagreements. There is another argument for cheap, simple and efficient licensing: authorities need a solid information base on the sector for the formulation of their policies.

#### 4.3 Ownership and investment

85 per cent of the women interviewed in the informal sector are sole owners of their enterprise. Almost all of these reported that they wished to continue as sole owners, primarily because of the independence it gave them and the freedom they had in dispensing their income according to their own judgement. Some of the respondents also felt that sole ownership generated more income.

Of those who reported that they would prefer to enter a partnership, over 60 per cent would choose a co-operative arrangement over a simple partnership, primarily because of the favourable access to obtaining loans. The potential is certainly there for a successful promotion of co-operative ownership. However, the forms in which production of manufactures takes place are often dictated by the types of goods produced and technologies applied. Experience from e.g. Tanzania indicates that, in contrast to purchasing of inputs and marketing of outputs, manufacturing activities require certain forms of organization of production which may not always be compatible with existing legal frameworks for co-operatives (see UNIDO/SIDO 1980).

The major resource of women in the informal sector is their own labour. The start-up capital reported by these women is small, on average Z\$ 94 (compared to Z\$ 280 reported by ILO/SATEP study for men) and the highest reported was Z\$ 1000 (compared to Z\$ 3000 in the ILO/SATEP study). In contrast to male entrepreneurs in the informal sector, only a minority of women had been able to save up seed money from their own earnings. Most of the money was borrowed informally (see Table 4.1).

Saving clubs are encouraged by the Government as grass-roots capital accumulators and suppliers. The majority of women interviewed were however not members of saving clubs, partly because none had been established in the area, but more often because they were ignorant of them or did not take an interest in them (Table A.29). Where savings club loans were taken out, these were used to keep the enterprise functioning rather than as seed money. The average size of loans was small, varying from Z\$46 for one-month loan to Z\$217 for a year-long loan. The credit constraint has at least three different facets: (a) Insufficient knowledge of credit sources and opportunities among entrepreneurs; (b) A general lack of credit institutions which are appropriate

to the needs of small-scale informal sector enterprises. SEDCO, which is the small-scale arm of government business promotion, does appear to aim at somewhat larger scale activities than most women manufacturing entrepreneurs in the informal sector are occupied with; (c) The bias against women as borrowers which is partly a reflection of the insufficient emphasis by credit institutions on the "tiny scale" entrepreneur.

Table 4.1: Source of start-up money  
(percentage)

		Number	Per cent
Loans from:	Household members, relatives and friends	108	44.3
	Other informal sector entrepreneurs	26	10.7
	Local businessmen	1	0.4
	Financial institutions	1	0.4
Savings from:	Agricultural sales	4	1.6
	Odd jobs in informal sector	36	14.8
	Work in formal sector	20	8.2
No response:		<u>48</u>	<u>19.7</u>
	Total	244	100.1

Table 4.2: Constraints to expansion

	Percentage
Insufficient money	43
Lack of access to suitable premises	17
Lack of demand	14
Lack of access to utilities	10
Lack of credit	4
Lack of skilled workers	3
Time fully committed	3
Official barriers	3
Lack of know-how	<u>3</u>
Total	100.0

As Table 4.2 shows, credit constraints are a major obstacle to expansion in the informal sector. Almost half of the respondents were unable to increase their operations because no finance could be found. Infrastructural problems (lack of access to premises and utilities) were the next most important constraint. In other words, the shortcomings in the industrial infrastructure for small or cottage-scale industry were perceived to be the main obstacle to growth in the sector.



#### 4.4 Education, training and skills

As Table 2.9 showed, the majority of interviewees had some form of primary school education; among those who had received no schooling, however, only a small number was actually illiterate. Some 40 per cent of the respondents had received additional formal vocational training; two-thirds of these had been trained in textile-related skills, and the majority of the remainder had not received manufacturing-related training; the range of manufacturing skills acquired through formal training therefore is quite small (Table A.19). Two-thirds of the interviewees had specific textile-related skills (sewing, knitting, weaving, etc). The actual range of available skills whether acquired formally or informally is thus quite large, but apart from the textile sector only basketry and pottery are reasonably well-represented. Women in the informal sector therefore are largely producers of goods that are traditionally and generally considered as being a female speciality (see also Table 2.8). Apart from the loss resulting from the unexplored manufacturing potential in other branches, there is the more immediate problem of excess supply in the market resulting from the large number of producers. A clear example is the saturated market for crocheted goods.

Only in exceptional cases did women have formally acquired administrative skills; written enterprise records therefore hardly exist (cf. tables A.27, A.28). This has several drawbacks: access to formal sector lending is impossible in the absence of business records, and resources and time may not be used in the most efficient way. Even though profit maximisation is not the immediate goal of these entrepreneurs, this leads to losses. Prices, e.g., are generally not calculated on the basis of input costs; rather, they tend to be solely the result of bargaining with customers.

#### 4.5 Equipment, premises and utilities

Although the information on capital equipment is incomplete, the figures mentioned by interviewees indicate that investment in such equipment tends to be low; close to 40 per cent stated that they did not use any type of machinery. Sewing and knitting machines would appear to be the most commonly used type of capital equipment.

Permanently designated premises (e.g. lock-up rented market stalls) were used by almost half the respondents; a smaller number also used permanent storage facilities. The cost for storage and facilities was a (possibly the) major cost element in the informal enterprises. Those who did not have permanent facilities generally carried out their business in the market place (Table A.22). The remaining permanent cost elements were water, energy and transport. Of these, only water was used by a sizeable minority of entrepreneurs (41 per cent); relatively few women need energy supply and transport to carry out their business. For those using these facilities, however, they often represented an important cost factor, electricity e.g. costing up to 2\$70 per month. Transport costs could in many cases be held low through the assistance of colleagues dispensing transport (see Table A.23).

#### 4.6 Purchases, sales and prices

One of the more striking outcomes of the survey was that the great majority of women acquire their inputs from the formal sector (see Table 4.3). In most cases, supplies were bought from retailers - this was particularly evident in the case of textile goods. Factories and wholesalers provided only some 12 per cent each: although, in principle, the elimination of middlemen would make input cheaper, informal sector entrepreneurs will generally not be in a position to buy goods in bulk. Also, the much wider diffusion of retail sellers saves transport costs. In rural areas, supply was not dominated by the formal sector. Domestically produced inputs and raw materials collected in the field played an important role.

Table 4.3: Source of supplies

	Number	Per cent
<u>From: Rural areas</u>		
Formal sector	29	11.9
Domestic	18	7.4
Farms	6	2.4
Collected in the field	19	7.8
Other	11	4.5
<u>From: Urban areas</u>		
Factories	29	11.9
Wholesalers	30	12.3
Retailers	102	41.8
Total	244	100.0

Sales of end products are complicated by several factors. The instability and inaccessability of markets were mentioned in a number of cases, but low demand or - conversely - the inability to produce sufficiently and/or regularly to cover existing demand were also common problems (Table A.25).

With regard to the latter, it is difficult as stated above for most informal sector entrepreneurs to finance an expansion of productive activities which will enable them to cross the threshold to an output which is consistent both in quantity and quality, which again would enable them to serve markets better than hitherto. In other words, there is in many cases a vicious circle of low production - low income - low creditworthiness - no expansion of production.

With regard to low demand, the problems appear to be oversupply of certain goods (cf. also section 4.4) or of certain areas, and the absence of marketing strategies.

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

Competition is not seen as a major problem: women entrepreneurs in one area tend to have regular contacts, and also purchase goods from each other (see also the paragraph on subcontracting). Nor is competition from men generally considered important - they are often thought to be involved in different activities. This may however be a matter of a lack of awareness of the activities of male informal sector entrepreneurs - there appears to be little interaction among entrepreneurs of different sexes.

Marketing is not much developed. The great majority of customers buy goods because they see them displayed or as a result of word-of-mouth. Few entrepreneurs actually advertise their products and few aim at specific customer groups. The marketing channels made available by the Government and by parastatals appear to be scarcely used by informal sector entrepreneurs (Table A.26).

Subcontracting is not a very important way of doing business in the informal sector. Over 60 per cent of informants were not involved in subcontracting. In the majority of cases of those who carried out subcontracts, these constituted only a minor part of their work. Very few women were completely dependent on subcontracts. The major provider of subcontracts turned out to be other informal sector enterprises. The background for such arrangements is most often an inability to cope with demand on the part of the enterprise that seeks a subcontractor; less often, it is the absence of a specific skill. Given the general nature of relationships in the sector it is hardly surprising that about one-fifth of these activities takes place on an unpaid, reciprocal basis. Interestingly, customers and other passer-bys were frequently mentioned as providing subcontracts; the formal sector however was hardly ever a source of subcontracting.

As the idea of subcontracting and its mechanisms seem to be quite well known within the informal sector, there would seem to be an opportunity to expand the minimal degree of subcontracting that exists between formal and informal sector enterprises. Subcontracting would thus represent one way of linking informal sector enterprise closer to the formal economy and start a "formalizing" process. The will and ability to subcontract by larger firms may however be restricted by lack of growth and lack of necessary expertise to establish such contracts.

## 5. Co-operative forms of small-scale manufacturing

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

Administratively, the co-operative groups may be divided in two categories; co-operatives under the Ministry of Co-operative Development and income generating groups, sometimes referred to as pre-cooperatives, under CDWA. The Ministries have laid down rules for collective production. Prior to registration of a proposed co-operative, the Ministry analyses its intentions and objectives and assesses its viability, availability of resources, market situation, services and participation level. These group activities therefore represent a step towards formal sector production even if in most cases the scale and methods of production still bear a close resemblance to those of the informal sector.

### 5.1 Co-operatives and income generating groups

In August 1985 there existed over 1,500 primary co-operatives with some 130,000 members, registered under the co-operative societies act. 250 of these (5,300 members) were called industrial co-operatives.

Industrial producer co-operatives are aimed at transforming the industrial work system entrusting workers with decision-making power. This type of co-operative includes a wide range of manufacturing activities such as carpentry and metal work, canning, textiles and leather work, bakeries and tailoring. Unfortunately, no detailed figures on the types of industrial activity and on female participation were available. Table 5.1, which shows the main manufacturing activities of co-operatives and income generating groups included in the present survey, gives an impression, however. The table clearly shows that clothing and footwear predominates, followed by food products.

Table 5.1: Main activities

	<u>Per cent</u>
Foodstuffs	14.0
Drink and tobacco	2.0
Textiles and leather products	3.0
Clothing and footwear	70.0
Basket making	11.0

The economic objectives set for co-operatives include:

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

There exists over 3,000 income generating groups registered by CDWA with a total membership of over 60,000. The groups are generally much smaller than registered co-operatives, informally organized and more than 80 per cent of the members are women (See Table 5.2); this is likely to be considerably higher than for co-operatives.

Table 5.2: Income generating projects: manufacturing sector and total

Types of income generating projects	Number of projects	Male	Female	Male + female <sup>1/</sup>
Bakeries	491	570	12,146	12,744
Uniform making	612	621	13,091	13,712
Soap making	22	62	374	436
Wire making	3	13	27	40
Crafts	218	241	574	815
Pottery	75	24	490	514
Basketry	170	31	1,269	4,270
Sisal asbestos	6	78	69	147
Leather work	1	17		17
Carpentry	13			510
Weaving	4	2	106	108
Knitting	69		607	607
Wood carving	3	10		55
Brick moulding	81	275	167	442
Fruit canning	3		260	260
Crochet work	80		92	92
Dressmaking			2,547	2,547
Grinding mill		7		7
Blacksmiths		24	4	28
Agricultural and others	1,208	4,528	22,930	28,921
Total	3,060	6,573	54,805	66,272

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

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

Income generating projects, like co-operatives, have a role in promoting the major principles underlying the Community Development Policy in Zimbabwe:

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

## 5.2 Women and co-operatives/income generating groups

The field survey on economic group activities concentrated on income generating groups. Group members were not individually interviewed (instead interviews were held with key members), but several questions were put to individual women entrepreneurs interviewed to analyse their perceptions and attitudes to co-operatives/groups.

Over one-half of the individual entrepreneurs interviewed did see the advantages for joining a co-operative form of production; in the other cases, ignorance of the aims and possibilities of co-operatives played a certain role - few women gave specific co-operative/group related reasons for not wishing to join. In the majority of cases, women's interest in joining a co-operative/group was related to the financial benefits and skill acquisition opportunities available to co-operative members. Various advantages of co-operation (high production at competitive prices, shared expenses, etc.) were also singled out.

As might be expected, most women would join in order to strengthen their present type of business. Among those who would be prepared to try a new manufacturing activity, those expressing an interest in textile-related work were by far predominant. Given the fact that the textiles branch already dominates the informal sector, this would mean an increased danger of oversupply in a narrow range of products. The difference between rural areas, where the co-operatives/groups are predominantly found, and the urban areas where the main concentrations of individual informal entrepreneurs are located is clearly expressed in the relatively low percentage of women working full-time in an economic group: 43 per cent. Agricultural work was the main source of income for exactly the same proportion of women in the sample, while some women even derived most of their income from individual informal manufacturing.

### 5.3 The establishment and functioning of co-operatives/groups

Co-operatives/groups are largely recent ventures. Most of the ones interviewed commenced operating in 1983, the latest being established only in 1986. Prior to becoming involved with the project, the majority of the women were in subsistence agriculture. The remaining participants largely belonged to three groups: unemployed, formal sector workers and informal sector producers.

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

Educational levels were comparable to those for individual entrepreneurs (see Table 2.9). As to skills, these tend to be concentrated to an even higher degree in fields traditionally considered female than for the individual entrepreneurs, dressmaking, sewing, knitting etc. being by far predominant. The major difference with the individual entrepreneurs lies in the much higher degree to which co-operative/group members tend to acquire their skills through formally organized courses. Public training centres play an important role here; the CDWA training programmes, in which some 24,000 women participated (close to 10,000 of them in tailoring courses), are a good example.

With regard to capital equipment, premises and utilities, it appears that co-operative/groups were in a better position than individual entrepreneurs.

Co-operatives/groups appeared to have more capital equipment, as a group - the value of equipment per member was not necessarily higher than for individual entrepreneurs. This may reflect better capital utilization and/or shortage of equipment. Close to one-half of the groups had acquired equipment as a gift. In general, little equipment had been added since the foundation of the group. This of course partly reflects the fact that most co-operatives/groups have only been in business for a short time. However, there are indications that the groups do not earn enough to generate sufficient funds to buy additional equipment. Thus, although their formal status is much better defined than that of individual entrepreneurs (record-keeping is also fairly general), the groups' low credit-worthiness may be a reason why formal credit is apparently hardly available at all to them to acquire equipment.

Most co-operatives/groups have free premises in schools and craft centres; only approximately one-third had to rent premises. The lower costs for a majority of groups must be offset against the often unfavourable location of schools and craft centres (away from market places). Also, local authorities do not appear to be under an obligation to provide long-term tenure, and overcrowding seems fairly common.

The use of utilities is strikingly similar for co-operatives/groups and individuals, implying that their products and modes of operation are similar. Monthly expenditures on utilities differ between the two categories. For a

majority of the items that can be compared, the average charges paid by co-operatives are lower, reflecting perhaps concessional charges for transport and storage premises. The higher cost for co-operatives of electricity and wood is likely to stem from a greater use of these.

The co-operatives often have a somewhat better market position than the individual entrepreneurs: in many cases, the Government guarantees an outlet for their production. The majority of sales, however, takes place in the market place, and here the groups do not differ from the individuals: few attempts are apparently made to identify target groups or market niches, and products are generally not advertised. There is however a more sophisticated approach to pricing: the prices set by competitors are generally taken into account, and bargaining is fairly unusual. However, assessment of production costs as an element in pricing is uncommon.

Contacts with other groups and individual entrepreneurs were less frequent than among the latter category - the projects seem to suffer from a certain "insularity". Subcontracting, on the other hand, was approximately as frequent as among individual entrepreneurs, and market sharing arrangements and formal agreements with other sellers occur occasionally also.

The evidence collected during field work showed that not only do co-operatives/groups constitute a step away from informal manufacturing as a consequence of their formalized organization, but that in several respects other aspects of formal manufacturing are beginning to play a role in these new elements in the sector: formal training is more common, some basic accounting of activities takes place, the capital-intensity of production is somewhat higher, and there is more awareness of at least some factors of pricing.

However, lack of capital and skills remain severe obstacles, and although individual members often report savings from group earnings, they generally continue to rely on other sources of income and have seldom been able to set aside sufficient money to expand or improve their business. The reliance on producing a few types of products for which the markets seem to be becoming saturated could in part account for the low earnings. In spite of external support, the vicious circle of low earnings and low investment in which so many individual entrepreneurs are caught may become a serious danger for the economic group in general.



#### IV. PROMOTING WOMEN'S CONTRIBUTION

##### 6. Introduction

There is a world-wide change in perspectives on the role of human resources in industry. It is realized that human resources increasingly provide the competitive edge in industry. Their role however should not be restricted to manufacturing activities narrowly defined: activities such as R&D, marketing, industrial services and consultancy and industrial planning play a major role in industrial growth and should therefore be included in human resource development programmes. A series of specialized skills is thus needed, and these skills will have to be adapted regularly, through re-training, to meet the quickly changing requirements. To reduce the cost of training and re-training programmes, the latter should be clearly targeted.

In the current Development Plan, covering the period up to 1990, the Government of Zimbabwe attaches great importance to the manufacturing sector: it is to be a major vehicle for achieving a structural transformation of the country's economy. For this sector the Plan foresees a concentration on intermediate goods and capital goods industries and gives emphasis on the development of manufactured exports. Industrial investments are to increase and would allow for upgrading of equipment. A general technological development process is to be pursued.

These policies will have major implications not only for the structure of production but also for the structure of industrial employment including female participation in industry. Since female participation currently is relatively low in those subsectors and those technological processes which are expected to gain in importance, specific policies will obviously need to be pursued to ensure that participation in this process is gradually improved. As moreover the improvement of the position of women is a major goal in social development, strengthening the role of this hitherto underdeveloped human resource logically becomes a central issue of development policy. On the other hand expanding the role of women, quantitatively and qualitatively is dependent on overall growth. Programmes to improve the position of women and their contribution to manufacturing should therefore be formulated in the context of overall growth policies.

##### 7. Formal and informal sector recommendations

Below, a series of recommendations to increase female participation has been formulated. Four main groups of measures could be seen as important in this context. Firstly, policies in support of employing women; secondly, policies which facilitate women's acquisition of the specific skills which technological changes will call for; thirdly, measures to induce women's entrance into formal sector manufacturing; and fourthly, measures and projects for encouragement of women's self-employment. The recommendations result from the needs, obstacles and possibilities identified in this study. In the text reference is made to a number of project profiles representing an "operational" form of some of the recommendations. These are presented in Annex 3. They can be taken as examples of the measures that could be taken to enhance the role of women in the formal and informal sectors.

## 7.1 Formal sector

### Opportunities in new fields of industrial employment

- Employment incentives should be aimed at branches and technological fields that are likely to play a major role in the manufacturing sector. These would include products in the informatics/computer field;
- Steps should also be taken to encourage female participation in industry-related fields, such as R&D, export marketing services, consultancy and government policy making;
- The proposed Council for Industrial Research should, at an early stage of its work, direct its attention to new products and technologies to identify (future) employment needs.

### Training

- Technical and administrative training institutes should launch special enrolment drives to increase the number of female students;
- Training should particularly aim at increasing female participation in fields where skills are likely to be in short supply in the future. These include a number of skills in the metal, paper, chemicals and electronics branches (see e.g. project profiles 3.4 and 3.6);
- Women are under-represented as managers and administrators. To prepare the ground for improvements, qualified workers should be trained in supervisory skills (see project profile 3.8).

### Facilities

- There is a social need to secure proper working conditions for women, who often have a "double working day". A committee comprising Government and private industry should however consider ways of reducing possible negative effects of labour laws on female employment. Incentives for firms to hire women could e.g. be increased by making day-care facilities tax deductible.

### Attitudes

- The negative attitudes which are still quite common both among men and women with regard to women's technical and managerial abilities, acting as a barrier to stronger female participation in industry and to industrial careers, should be removed. The media could play an important role here; on the factory floor, workers' committees should devote more attention to women's problems;
- Sexual bias should be removed from job advertisements and in the functioning of labour exchanges.

## 7.2 Informal sector

### Licensing

- Licensing, which can play an essential role as a monitoring tool and as a legal basis for informal sector transactions, should be standardized, simplified and given free, in order to encourage the establishment of enterprises;
- The scope of licences could be expanded to give informal sector entrepreneurs greater legal security e.g. with regard to the tenure of premises.

### Technical progress

- While upgrading of product quality and current production methods is important, self-employed individuals and co-operative groupings should be assisted in entering new fields of production that hold a promise for future growth of the sector and its "production" to formal sector production. Such product fields could include repairs and maintenance, micro-computer services, plastics and special products in the food and textile industries. Some suggestions for projects are found in Annex 3 (No. 3.4, 3.6, 3.7).

### Organizational and infrastructural improvements

- In the informal sector, production is generally intertwined with domestic and/or agricultural work. Courses for female entrepreneurs (of, e.g., project profile No. 3.2) should include time-budgetting to increase the efficient use of this resource which is very scarce for many female entrepreneurs. Course planners, moreover, should adapt the location and time schedules of courses to suit women in this respect.
- More efficient production requires longer continuous periods of work. One way of securing more continuity in production would be (to increase support to) the further expansion of co-operative forms of production; mutual assistance could also reduce the time needed for domestic and agricultural activities;
- Marketing of informal sector products and input purchasing could also be improved by co-operative arrangements; the official status of co-operative groups could be utilized to facilitate links with public sector buyers.
- CDWA could initiate work on practical solutions to the serious storage and transport problems that many informal sector entrepreneurs face.
- It is recommended that in a number of "Information Support Centres" for the informal sector should be established. The centres would have a small staff of community development officers working in liaison with local authorities, through CDWA and the Ministry of Industry and Technology. They should have an opportunity to draw on specialized technical staff at the national level.

### Finance

- Shortage of investment capital is a major obstacle for the expansion of informal and other small-scale enterprise, and support systems in this area tend to be biased against women. The relevant Government agencies and private business organizations should analyse this problem more closely and suggest improvements of the existing channels;
- Lack of knowledge on the part of the female entrepreneur is the other problem. Information about financial institutions is probably best given as part of an integrated information, small-scale credit, training and extension package.

### Linkage with the formal sector

- As the idea of subcontracting and its mechanisms seem to be quite well known within the informal sector, there would seem to be an opportunity to expand the minimal degree of subcontracting between formal and informal enterprises. Subcontracting would thus represent one way of linking informal sector enterprise closer to the formal economy and start a formalizing process. The will and ability to subcontract by larger firms may be restricted by lack of growth and lack of necessary expertise to form and negotiate such contracts. It is recommended that the Ministry of Industry and Technology undertakes a review of such arrangements. Out of the many forms for subcontracting, it is recommended that the export village concept is promoted as an experiment. A project profile is presented in Annex 3 (No.3.1).

### Attitudes

- As in the formal sector, there is a strong case for changing attitudes with regard to women in manufacturing. In the present case, focus should primarily be on building-up women's self-confidence, e.g., by informing them about successful attempts by female entrepreneurs in entering fields traditionally considered male preserves (e.g. carpentry, metal working, mechanical and electrical repairs).

### 8. Institutions, monitoring and statistics

Industry-related institutions, as pointed out, play an essential role in the development of the sector. As they are generally labour and skill/knowledge intensive, their contribution to female employment, both quantitatively and qualitatively can be considerable. The following suggestions could help to stimulate this:

- Entrepreneurs' organizations, trade unions and Government agencies involved in industrial development should make a serious effort to increase the as yet very low number of women in key positions, and should consciously focus their activities on increasing the participation of women in industrial development;

- There is a need to form an organization which can be a forum and a lobby platform for women industrial entrepreneurs (individuals and co-operatives groups) to press for appropriate measures for women entrepreneurs. Such groups exist in, e.g. Sri Lanka in the form of a Women's National Chamber of Commerce and may lend itself to adaptation for Zimbabwe. Support should be given to the formation of such an organization through the consolidation of already existing groups.
- To enhance their own contribution to the economy of Zimbabwe, women themselves should take the lead. It is recommended that the NUO as well as the other organizations organize groups or sections for women in industry.
- To help women choose an education or training in fields where there is need in industry, improved labour market information is essential. It is recommended that women's organizations are used as channels for this type of information.
- Decentralized development is a key element in Zimbabwe's economic policy. At the local level, the growth points/rural service centres authorities could do much to tap the large potential available among rural women by involving them in infrastructure building, repair work and production in small and medium-scale in public enterprises (see e.g. project profile 3.5); this should be backed-up by locally-oriented information and training.
- The Central Statistical Office, together with the information and monitoring centre which could be established in CDWA (see project profile 3.3), should establish a system for analyzing and measuring progress in women's participation in industry. The gender breakdown of industrial employees in the Annual Census of industrial production should be re-introduced, to enable a more systematic analysis of the differences in the actual positions of and the prospects for men and women in the sector.

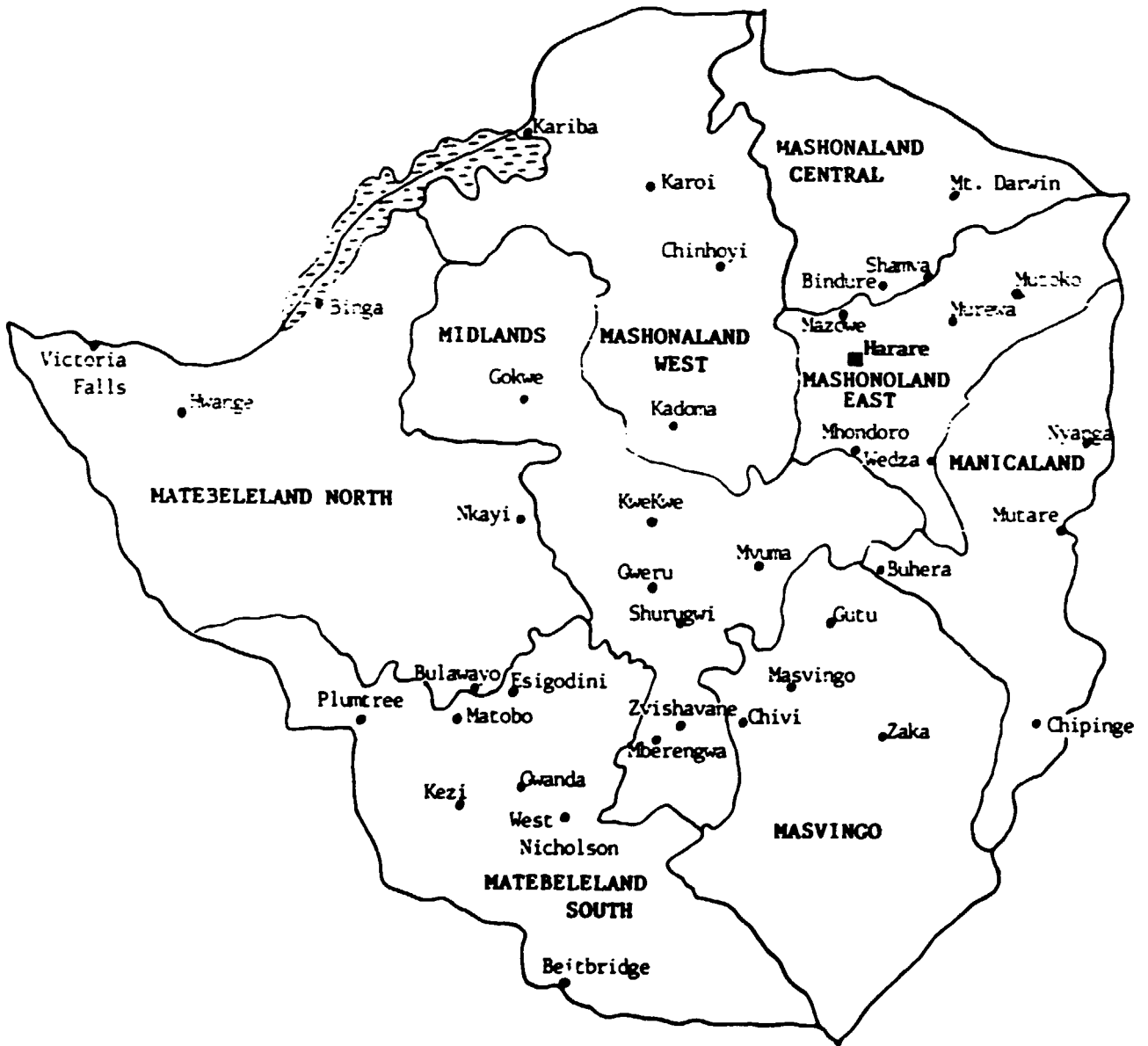
#### 9. Development co-operation

Both multilateral and bilateral donors have been supporting various types of income-generating projects for women. Particularly when working with women's groups, the emphasis has been on very small-scale activities in the informal sector. There has been little systematic effort in Zimbabwe to accumulate the experience from such projects in such a way that future projects can benefit from past mistakes. It is therefore recommended that:

- a) donors be encouraged to support also larger women-oriented income-generating projects in the formal sector; b) the overriding aim for all projects must be to become self-sustainable in the long run; c) the research department in CDWA be strengthened by establishing a centralised information data base on women's activities (see project profile 3.3).
- CDWA should be given the task of scrutinizing all external aid projects to ensure that they explicitly address the women target group, where possible.

- As the lead agency in industrial development UNIDO would take a particular interest in supporting implementation of the recommendations included in this report. Specific areas would be:
  - The training facilities proposed for plastic and electronics repair and maintenance (project profiles No. 3.6 and 3.7).
  - Pilot project for an export village in Zimbabwe (project profile No. 3.1).
  - Mobile facilities for training of female entrepreneurs (project profile No. 3.2).
  - The modular training programme for managerial and entrepreneurial skill development for female entrepreneurs under elaboration by UNIDO could be used in connection with motivation and awareness campaigns.

ANNEX 1: Map of enumerations areas



The boundaries shown on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations Industrial Development Organization.

ANNEX 2

ZIDS research support team

Charles	HALIMANA
Naomi	JECKA
Sam	MOYO
Shingaidzo	MUPINDU
Herbert	NDORO
Lloyd	SACHIKONYE

Enumerators

Annie	CHAGADAMA
Richard	DEWA
Miriam	DOMBODZUKU
Wilbert	FUNGURA
Isaac	GUNDA
Lizzie	HAUKOZI
Sherpherd	KAMURIKO
Elisha	KARODZA
Tsitsi	MARAMBA
Queen	MHLANGA
Beatrice	MHLANGA
Gugulethu	NDIMANDE
Ian	NDLOVU
Zvidzai	NYEMBA
Douglas	ZVOMUYA



### ANNEX 3: Project profiles

- 3.1. PILOT PROJECT FOR AN EXPORT VILLAGE IN ZIMBABWE
- 3.2. MOBILE FACILITIES FOR TRAINING OF FEMALE ENTREPRENEURS IN MANUFACTURING
- 3.3. ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INFORMATION AND MONITORING CENTRE FOR WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN CDWA
- 3.4. PILOT PROJECT FOR TRAINING OF MICRO COMPUTER PERSONNEL FOR INDUSTRY
- 3.5. FEASIBILITY STUDY ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF GARMENT FACTORIES AT RURAL GROWTH POINTS
- 3.6. ESTABLISHMENT OF TRAINING FACILITIES IN PLASTICS TECHNOLOGY
- 3.7. ESTABLISHMENT OF TRAINING FACILITIES IN REPAIR OF ELECTRONIC AND OTHER MACHINERY AND DURABLE CONSUMER FACILITIES
- 3.8. TRAINING FOR WOMEN IN SUPERVISORY SKILLS

## ANNEX 3.1

### PILOT PROJECT FOR AN EXPORT VILLAGE IN ZIMBABWE

#### Objective

Introduce and adapt for Zimbabwean circumstances export production by women's groups in villages.

#### Background

So-called "export villages" have been in existence in Sri Lanka for some time. As adapted to Zimbabwe the scheme could have the following features; women (and men) form a co-operative or a shareholding company, link up with an exporter who knows the external market for suitable products, and commit themselves to deliver a certain quantity at agreed quality levels over a given period. When the contract is fulfilled the proceeds are shared on basis of women's labour and capital inputs. The exporter undertakes the task of marketing, and in addition supplies the appropriate amount of training, advice on designs, certain facilities and quality control. The village co-operative/company is responsible for construction and maintenance of production premises.

This type of scheme contain features which are aimed at solving some of the major problems in income generating projects for women. (a) a good connection to the market; (b) a "hard nosed" business approach rather than a social security approach; (c) production physically taking place in the village, allowing women to tend to those household duties that they can hardly escape.

The pilot project would: (a) identify a number of products for which an export potential would seem to exist; (b) select one or more villages where the concept was introduced and (c) together with village women and the interested exporter work out the details of the production and export scheme. Regarding the choice of exporting agent, three alternatives could be tested: (1) Working with a local company or multinational having long experience in export marketing; (2) co-operating with one of the many NGOs which attempt to market goods from developing countries in the OECD or other developed countries' markets; (3) Linking up with a state import organization from one of the centrally planned economies. Hand woven cotton should be attempted as the market for this project would seem to give good possibilities for replication.

<u>Inputs:</u>	Exporting marketing specialist	3 months
	Cottage industry specialist	6 months
	Various production specialists according to line of production selected	6 months
	Financial input: loan for infrastructure facilities	

Outputs: Three alternative models of "export production villages" having tested their viability and gathered experience for possible replication of one or more of the approaches.

## ANNEX 3.2

### MOBILE FACILITIES FOR TRAINING OF FEMALE ENTREPRENEURS IN MANUFACTURING

#### Objective

To train Zimbabwean women, living in or around designated growth points in Zimbabwe, in entrepreneurial and managerial skills for small/informal businesses in various manufacturing activities.

#### Background

Women's participation in formal industry in Zimbabwe is low internationally compared and the prospects for it to increase are at best uncertain. Therefore a strong emphasis needs to be put on self-employment/informal sector employment. A most important vehicle for concrete measures would be the evolving growth points policy, attempting to establish centres of industrial activity at several district centres. A majority of women live in rural areas and are occupied with household and agricultural tasks but also involve themselves in various formal manufacturing activities.

These economic activities, which are important for their own and their families' well-being, are geographically confined to areas near their homes because of women's household duties. Increasing the scope for industrial activity nearer to the village would thus help release their productive potential. The approach to training in entrepreneurial and managerial skills will also have to take into account that, for most women, their household duties do not allow them to stay away for longer periods. The project will establish a mobile training unit for entrepreneurs/groups considering or involved in manufacturing activities and so located that they may be linked up to growth points in terms of e.g. markets, services, and finance institutions.

The project would be run in co-operation with PAID-ESA which will shortly embark on the development of training courses for women entrepreneurs and training of trainers for such courses. A pilot project would apply to one or a few growth points and make curricula relevant by focussing on high potential products/activities for that area. Courses would be run in close conjunction with local authorities and finance institutions to give interested entrepreneurs or groups a flying start at the end of the course.

Inputs: Vehicle(s) and mobile training material costs for one year  
1 training expert with experience in small-scale entrepreneurial training one year  
4 trainer counterparts and cost of training at PAID-ESA  
Marketing specialist 3-4 months.

Outputs: 100-150 trained women entrepreneurs in the vicinity of one or more growth points. Evaluation report for the pilot project, recommending changes in the course outline and the next steps for replication of the programme.

## ANNEX 3.3

### ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INFORMATION AND MONITORING CENTRE FOR WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN CDWA

#### Objective

To monitor the participation of women in the economy and to provide data on women's activities including development projects with a woman component.

#### Background

Zimbabwe has the clear policy objective of increasing the participation of women in the economy. While certain policy measures to this end are implemented, there is no central unit that on a current basis is able to monitor the development of participation and hence the effect of various policy measures. Also, the multitude of organizations, governmental, non-governmental, domestic and external who are engaged in various projects assisting women in economic activities are hardly co-ordinated, and often even lack information about the existence of similar projects in other areas of the country. There is also a lack of organized accumulation of experience emerging from the various types of women-oriented projects. Thus, errors in project design and implementation are often repeated.

The project aims to establish a central point of reference in the Ministry of CDWA, which in co-operation with several bodies including CSO and the Ministry of Labour would: (1) continually monitor developments of women's participation in the economy on the basis of available information and from time to time, resources permitting, through CSO conduct special surveys; (2) maintain a project register comprising evaluation reports, information on completed ongoing and pipeline projects as well as project ideas. The information would be available to government and non-government organizations for their planning and execution of projects with a women's component.

A suitable start for the project would be to systematize and bring out perhaps in a statistical booklet the complete range of material provided by the UNIDO project on women in industry.

Inputs: Microcomputer equipment of suitable capacity  
1 statistician/information specialist 2 years  
1 microcomputer specialist 1/2 - 1 year

These would work with/train a local staff of 4 in CDWA:  
1 project analyst, project preparation specialist  
1 statistician  
1 librarian  
1 research women's affairs specialist

Outputs: A section in the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs which would be able to collect the relevant data/information and further develop the system for dissemination to policy-makers and interested organizations.

## ANNEX 3.4

### PILOT PROJECT FOR TRAINING OF MICROCOMPUTER PERSONNEL IN INDUSTRY

#### Objective

To train Zimbabwean secondary school leavers in computer science with particular emphasis on applications of microcomputer technology in the manufacturing sector.

#### Background

Microcomputers are increasingly applied in Zimbabwean industry within accountancy, administration as well as the production line. This process is likely to accelerate in the future. There is a general need for personnel who have a basic training in the workings of microcomputers, and the various types of software for industrial and other applications. Where computers are introduced, the simple routine tasks such as typing are usually allotted to women and systems and software adaptation areas to men. In the overall context of women's advancement, courses to train personnel for micro computer application should contain at least 50 per cent women.

Courses would aim at closing the gap in trained personnel in the micro computer area by training the better qualified secondary school (A level and O level) leavers for employment in industry or self-employment as small-scale computer consultancy firms. For the latter, the pilot project would deliver assistance in setting up small companies.

Input: Classrooms, training materials and curricula developed to conduct 2 - 4 month courses for 20 pupils.

Output: 40 trained micro computer specialists.  
Facilities to conduct 3 yearly courses for 20 pupils.

## ANNEX 3.5

### FEASIBILITY STUDY ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF GARMENT FACTORIES AT RURAL GROWTH POINTS (Submitted by CDWA)

#### Introduction

Since the Independence of Zimbabwe in 1980, one of the major focuses of community development in the rural areas has been the role of women and their potential contribution to improved standards of living. The Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs (MCDWA) has urged women to develop their skills, literacy and community participation. Emphasis on developing individual skills to assist women in their day-to-day activities has given way to the emergence of pre-cooperative women's groups.

These groups are of three sorts: infrastructural (the building of toilets, community halls, etc.), social development projects such as pre-school and adult literacy groups and income-generating groups.

Income-generating groups arose specifically in response to women's growing awareness of the need to move away from dependence on subsistence agriculture as the primary source of the rural family's income. This awareness was increased by the consequences for communal farmers of the drought which affected all areas of Zimbabwe between 1981 and 1984 and this current season 1986 to 1987.

Many activities were undertaken, including school uniform-making, bread baking, vegetable gardening, the raising of small livestock and handicraft work.

#### The problem

Many individual rural based garment making income-generating projects have been unable to grow to higher levels of production due to fierce competition from the large companies in the private sector. These companies are also monopolising the rural market thus making the development of small-scale income-generating projects in garment manufacturing obsolete.

The existing institutional relationships and attitudes between the formal sector and the small-scale income generating projects or activities in the rural areas are not very favourable, thus there is a dichotomy between the formal private sector and rural/community-based small-scale income generating projects. What results is a very high rate of unemployment and many people in the rural areas remain unproductive. At the same time, these people do not have the income necessary to support themselves as well as their dependents adequately.

This situation is particularly acute for women, young and old who are often "de facto" heads of households. Many of them have nowhere to turn and must employ themselves at the first job that comes their way. There is seldom the possibility of continuously receiving money from sales of agricultural products if any because such remittances are seasonal. In some cases there is seldom the possibility of having options available. It is this group that the feasibility study project proposal outline below addresses.

A close examination of almost any particular case study on the rural community based income-generating projects usually reveals the potential for economic development as well as growth in production levels and sales.

An important reason for arguing in this way is that the small-scale rural/community based industry can deal most effectively with the three obstacles to industrialization namely, lack of skilled manpower; any substantial managerial or entrepreneurial class; lack of capital and the narrowness of domestic and foreign markets.

### Project objectives

Financial and technical assistance are requested to conduct a feasibility study on the establishment of a garment factory for women at rural growth points in seven regional provinces of Zimbabwe.

The means of production as well as the control of each of these garment factories will be in the hands of the rural women themselves.

It is expected that these garment factories will be a means by which to expand and diversify women's employment opportunities and access to new skills, thereby monitoring their self-reliance, bargaining power and participatory opportunities in the national economy.

By involving and integrating rural women in new ways in the manufacturing sector, this project will challenge the present tendency to relegate women to low-paid, low-skilled and low-status occupations which reinforce discriminatory attitudes and practices.

It is expected that the garment factory project will prevent the existing, emerging and future rural/community-based garment manufacturing projects from being eroded by the large companies in the private sector. This measure will be an attempt to guarantee the growth and development of small-scale to medium-scale industries where women's roles; participation and contribution to the national economy can be realised.

It is hoped that the garment factory project will assist rural women's groups in ways which will help realise their potential for: improved skill acquisition and access to/control over input supplies and equipment; improved productivity through centralisation of production and more efficient organization and management and improved marketing opportunities by moving into wider markets (institutional or external).

This process will be facilitated by provisions made by the Government of Zimbabwe since independence as part of its new policy of decentralization, institutionalizing the co-ordination of Government services with grassroots needs and aspirations. This new policy has been adopted to improve the quality of life in communal lands in general and agricultural production in particular. The strategy aims to expand the network of economic and social services to rural areas.

A major component of the programme has been the promotion of rural and district service centres "growth points" to establish essential retail, agricultural, industrial, community and government services to people in rural areas; provide necessary infrastructure such as road access, bus and freight services, water, electricity and communication services; act as focal points for local transport and communication so as to link the district to the region and the country as a whole; and offer a central location for non-agricultural employment.

## Annex 3.6

### ESTABLISHMENT OF TRAINING FACILITIES IN PLASTICS TECHNOLOGY

#### Objective

To train women at artisanal levels in the production of plastic goods.

#### Background

Women are severely under-represented in the manufacturing industry in Zimbabwe. Two factors which are important in limiting their participation are lack of appropriate training and certain attitudes which lead to the classification of jobs as "men's" or "women's".

There is already at present in Zimbabwe a lack of skilled workers who can handle the technologies used in making plastic goods. In future when plastic raw materials may be made in Zimbabwe, downstream industries will expand and the lack of skilled labour will be a serious constraint on development as training capacity at present is virtually non-existent.

The project will at the same time: a) fill an important gap in skilled labour; b) give a number of women appropriate training in a field where demand for labour is likely to grow strongly and c) introduce women to a normally male-dominated field, and thus help break sex barriers for employment in the manufacturing sector.

The project will do so by establishing and over a limited period, conducting a training facility at one of Zimbabwe's Polytechnics or another appropriate institution. The project may start by giving qualified persons training overseas in a wide range of machinery. Appropriate machines would then be installed at the selected institution, and the trained persons serve as teachers for the first groups of students perhaps under temporary supervision by a foreign expert. The procedures for choosing students should give preference to women.

#### Input

Arrangement of training of teachers, tuition fees and subsistence abroad

Appropriate machinery for training institution

Premises at training institution

Teachers' and experts' salaries, and training material for a period of 2-3 years

#### Output

One or two groups of trained plastics technology specialists, a high proportion being women.

Complete training facilities and trained teachers for the future operation of the institution.



## Annex 3.7

### ESTABLISHMENT OF TRAINING FACILITIES IN REPAIR OF ELECTRONIC AND OTHER MACHINERY AND DURABLE CONSUMER FACILITIES

#### Objective

To train women for employment and self-employment in repair of office machinery and durable consumer articles, with an emphasis on electronic components.

#### Background

Women are under-represented in the manufacturing sector of Zimbabwe. Two factors which are important in limiting their participation are lack of appropriate training and certain attitudes which lead to the classification of jobs as "men's" or "women's".

Various forms of electronic office equipment and also to some extent consumer electronics are rapidly being introduced in Zimbabwe at present. It is widely expected that this process will accelerate over the next few years. Already however, it is clear that the repair and maintenance network for such goods has not been expanded as rapidly as the need for such services. Output of trained maintenance and repair workers in this field is limited.

The project would assist in increasing the output of trained repair workers by establishing, and for a limited period, running a training centre. Emphasis would be both on training which could give jobs in the formal sector and on training for self-employment.

#### Input

3 Teachers for a period of 2-3 years

Equipment and premises

20 Zimbabwean teacher trainees which would run and if necessary expand the operation after a 2-3 year period

#### Output

20 trained teachers for repair and maintenance of offices and domestic electronic equipment

Facilities for training

## Annex 3.8

### TRAINING FOR WOMEN IN SUPERVISORY SKILLS

#### Objective

Pilot project in training for supervisory posts of women working at the production line level in manufacturing enterprises.

#### Background

Women are under-represented as employees in the manufacturing sector in Zimbabwe. This is particularly so at the higher occupational levels.

The project aims at giving suitably qualified women who at present work at the factory floor skills which will enable them to perform supervisory functions. In this way, the project will help create a recruitment base of women for managerial positions. For the time being it is however necessary to start the education process at the factory floor level since very few women work in higher positions.

The pilot project would take place in close co-operation with industry, in that factory management will indicate suitable candidates for the training, courses etc. will be so fashioned that maximum attention to the job will be allowed under the training period, and as many activities possible would take place in a "real life" situation.

The training will concentrate on generally applicable supervisory skills but will be conducted in the setting of industries where opportunities for women's advancement are considered best. Emphasis will be put on the particular problems of women supervisors in an environment dominated by male attitudes.

The pilot training programme should be conducted in conjunction with a suitable existing institution in Zimbabwe.

#### Inputs

Development of teaching material and curricula

5-6 teachers and facilities for giving up to 100 women production workers a 6-month training course

Zimbabwean teacher counterparts

#### Outputs

Developed curricula

Facilities and teaching materials

5-6 Zimbabwean counterpart teachers

Up to 100 women production workers trained for supervisory functions

## Annex 4

### PROMOTING WOMEN'S CONTRIBUTION - AN OVERVIEW OF THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

The following government and non-government institutions will play important roles in implementing programmes aimed at the expansion of the contribution of women and the recommendations in this report.

The Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs (CDWA) assists local communities in identifying and executing projects in the fields of income generation and social and economic infrastructure and runs training programmes. In the area of women's affairs the Ministry has the responsibility of monitoring laws and practices for the purpose of removing discrimination; to co-ordinating the activities of women's groups and national and international organizations working in this field, and of overseeing and supporting the starting and running of pre-schools together with the Ministry of Education.

The Ministry of Industry and Technology has overall responsibility for industrial planning, analysis and the implementation of a wide range of regulations including Industrial Import Control.

The Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) is a wholly government-owned company which plans a key role in public enterprise. It acts as a holding company for partly government-owned industrial companies; it has also taken over ailing industries which are considered important in a national perspective.

The Small Enterprises Development Corporation (SEDCO) aims at promoting and accelerating the development of commerce and industry in Zimbabwe's rural areas and small towns through assistance to small enterprises in the form of loans, project identification, management consultancy and training. (Small enterprise is defined as possessing under Z\$500,000 in fixed assets and/or employing less than 50 people).

The Urban Development Corporation assists local authorities in a wide range of development tasks including employment generation, industry promotion, and social and economic infrastructure. To this end it will provide financial assistance, technical assistance, management counselling, training, information and advice either to authorities or to enterprises and co-operatives in connection with urban development.

The Ministry of Agriculture controls many agro-industries, including processing and post-harvest activities, and agricultural research institutions; these industries and institutions are major (potential) employers of women.

The Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labour have important tasks in the area of general education and the labour market. The Ministry of Labour plays a role in industrial training and labour legislation including the control of minimum wages.

The new Ministry of Co-operatives will provide assistance to strengthening co-operative activities in all sectors of the economy.

The Ministry of Finance and Development Planning is responsible for overall economic planning and is important in shaping the operating environment for industry. Inter alia, it has overall responsibility for resource allocation within the government budget.

The Central Statistical Office (CSO) is the key supplier of data for planning and policy making.

Local authorities may participate in and run local industries within the growth point and resettlement policy frameworks.

Commercial banks and the Zimbabwe Development Bank are the main providers of loan funds for the manufacturing sector.

The Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries (CZI) represents the majority of private sector manufacturers, state-owned companies also being members. CZI provides services to its members in economics, labour relations, legal affairs, taxation and trade promotion. Most importantly it has an important role in representing its members' views vis-a-vis Government.

Zimbabwe National Chamber of Commerce (ZNCC) aims at serving the interest of the entire commercial sector not only limited to manufacturing. It provides a forum for the commercial sector, acts as a spokesman for commercial interest vis-a-vis the various levels of government, informs members of important legislative changes, arranges seminars and training courses and acts as a contact to world markets by assisting exporters and importers.

Zimbabwe Confederation of Trade Union (ZCTU) is the apex body for the various trade unions and workers' committees in the country. The organization plays an important co-ordinating role for the various trade unions in the country and is active in a number of training programmes.

Bilateral, multilateral and NGO bodies in development co-operation are involved in a number of programmes and projects for women in Zimbabwean industry. The activities unfortunately tend to be rather small-scale and piecemeal.

## ANNEX 5: Annex tables

Table A.1: Components of change in formal sector, 1975-1978

Sector	Output	Production	Male	Female
Foodstuffs	2,225	-1,071	-1,039	-465
Drink and tobacco	-252	1,916	-1,514	346
Textiles including ginning	-1,571	1,603	-29	-153
Clothing including footwear	-3,196	103	2,669	180
Wood and furniture	2,189	544	1,604	22
Paper, printing and publishing	-646	18	599	69
Chemical and petroleum	-1,302	893	375	11
Non-metallic minerals	-3,767	842	2,865	42
Metal and metal products	-8,639	1,962	6,452	148
Transport equipment	-2,030	463	1,522	-1
Other manufacturing <sup>a/</sup>	120	-131	10	124
Other manufacturing <sup>b/</sup>	-111	694	-492	-101
Total <sup>c/</sup>	-20,582	7,024	12,576	668
Total <sup>d/</sup>	-21,358	7,800	13,022	222

Notes: a/ ISIC 390

b/ ISIC 323,361, 385. No production given for these. Index set equal to total.

c/ Different rates of increase make for the difference between numbers derived from operations performed on totals and numbers derived from additions of sector.

d/ Addition of sector numbers.

Table A.2: Assumptions for projection

Sector	Output increase		Productivity		Female employment		
	per annum		increase		frequency		
	1984-90	1990-95	1984-90	1990-95	1984	1990	1995
Foodstuffs	5.0	5.0	2.6	2.6	4.3	7.0	8.0
Drink and tobacco	5.0	5.0	2.6	2.6	5.7	7.0	8.0
Textiles including ginning	6.0	6.0	3.7	3.7	7.0	7.0	8.0
Clothing and footwear	6.0	6.0	3.7	3.7	17.6	17.6	19.0
Wood and furniture	5.0	5.0	2.7	2.7	2.1	2.1	3.0
Paper, printing and publishing	6.0	6.0	3.7	3.7	8.4	8.0	8.4
Chemical and petroleum	7.0	7.0	4.0	4.0	6.3	6.0	6.3
Non-metallic minerals	6.0	6.0	3.7	3.7	1.8	2.0	3.0
Metal and metal products	9.0	9.0	4.6	4.6	3.3	3.0	3.5
Transport equipment	9.0	9.0	4.6	4.6	2.2	2.0	2.5
Other manufacturing	8.0	8.0	4.1	4.1	16.7	16.7	17.0
Total	6.6	6.5	3.7	3.7	6.4	6.7	7.4

## Tables relating to formal sector interviews

Table A.3: Other persons in interviewee households in wage employment

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

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

Table A.4: Source of skills

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Primary, secondary schools	0	-
Technical college	0	-
University	4	2.3
Public training centre	6	3.5
Private college	18	10.5
On-the-job	68	39.5
Abroad	5	2.9
Youth club/womens' club	9	5.2
Sponsored by company	3	1.7
From relatives and friends	22	12.8
Self-taught	4	2.4
No response	33	19.7
Total	172	99.9

Table A.5: Company training

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

Table A.6: Skill categories of women workers

MATERIAL PRODUCTION SKILLS					
Household-related	Frequency	Technical skills	Frequency	Other skills	Frequency
Sewing/dressmaking	(42)	Cabinet/component assembler	(2)	Unskilled workers	(50)
Cookery	96)	Quality controller/testing of tins	(1)	Packing/labelling	(17)
Crocheting	(3)	Cutter/winder/welder	(6)	Sorting/despatch/mending	(1)
Knitting	(8)	Machine operator	(15)		
		Mixing of chemicals	(6)		
		Leather-related skills	(6)		
		Artisan	(1)		
OTHER SKILLS					
Secretarial	Frequency	Professional	Frequency		
Typing/receptionist	(24)	Occupational safety/nurse/first aid	(9)		
Clerical	(1)	Bookkeeping	(5)		
		Hotel management	(2)		
		Laboratory analyst	(2)		
		Accountant	(2)		
		Journalism	(1)		
		Dietician	(1)		
		Pharmacist	(1)		
		Systems analyst	(1)		
		Quality controller	(6)		
		Managerial	(3)		

Table A.7: Women employees by occupation category

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Top management	6	2.5
Middle management	31	12.6
Supervisors	7	2.9
Staff function	8	3.3
Production line	190	77.2
No response	<u>4</u>	<u>1.6</u>
	246	100.1

Table A.8: Reasons for wanting other work

	<u>Answers</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Low salary	118	31.1
Job not challenging enough/dissatisfied with current job	75	19.8
Not permanent job/temporary	4	1.0
Wish to study	5	1.3
Self-employment	7	1.9
High level of dissatisfaction and choice limited	75	19.8
No response	<u>95</u>	<u>25.1</u>
Total	379	100.0

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

Table A.9: Reasons for former unemployment

	<u>Answers</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Family commitments	56	37.3
No qualifications	19	12.7
Redundancy/resigned	19	12.7
Health reasons	4	2.7
Casual worker	6	4.0
No jobs	<u>46</u>	<u>30.4</u>
Total	150	100.1

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



Table A.10: Means of subsistence when unemployed

	<u>Answer</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Immediate family (including relatives)	101	68.2
Subsistence farming	22	14.9
Informal sector activity	17	11.5
Friends	6	4.1
Pensions/social welfare	<u>2</u>	<u>1.4</u>
Total	148	100.1

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

Table A.11: Perceptions of promotion potential

	(1)		(2)		(3)	
	Where do you see yourself 5 years from now?		What is the highest position you think you can attain?		What is the highest position any women can attain?	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Top management	6	2.4	17	6.9	41	16.7
Middle management	23	9.4	31	12.6	35	14.2
Supervisory role	32	13.0	68	27.6	103	41.9
Production line	134	54.5	115	46.8	57	23.2
No change	30	12.2	1	0.4	4	2.0
Uncertain	17	6.9	1	0.4	5	2.0
No response	<u>4</u>	<u>1.6</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>5.3</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>
	246	100.0	246	100.0	246	100.0

Table A.12: Perceived opportunities to find better jobs in other factories

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

Table A.13: Reasons stated for unfairness in promotion

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Sex discrimination	124	92.5
New job - just joined	7	5.2
Don't know	1	0.7
No response	2	1.5
Total	134	99.9

Table A.14: Reaction of workers to perceived unfair treatment

<u>Did you try to redress the situation</u>		<u>If yes, steps taken</u>		<u>If no, why not?</u>	
Yes	22	Contacted workers' committee	7	Don't know	
No	51	Management notified	13	grievance channels	10
Don't know	1	No unfair situation	1	Victimization	25
No response/n.a.	172	No response	1	No response	16
Total	246		22		51

Table A.15: Provision of benefits for female employees

	<u>Pension</u>		<u>Medical aid</u>		<u>Insurance</u>		<u>Accommodation</u>		<u>Canteen</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	137	55.7	85	34.6	45	18.3	55	22.4	138	56.1
No	81	32.9	119	48.4	137	55.7	151	61.4	92	37.4
No response	28	11.4	42	17.1	64	26.0	40	16.3	16	6.5
Total	246	100.0	246	100.0	246	100.0	246	100.0	246	100.0

Table A.16: Involvement of workers in work-related organizations

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
No response	3	2.4
Workers' committee	69	54.8
Trade unions	50	39.7
Women's league	3	2.4
Safety workers' council	1	0.8
Total	126	100.1
Total as percentage of total sample		51.2

Tables relating to the informal sector field survey

Table A.17: Past occupation  
(percentage)

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

Table A.18: Reasons for individuals to enter the informal sector  
(percentage)

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

Table A.19: Vocational training received (100 respondents)

	<u>Number</u>
Dressmaking and sewing; knitting and crochet; weaving; tie and dye	67
First aid/nursing	10
Bookkeeping/secretarial	9
Pottery	1
Paper technology printing	2
Teacher training/printing	2
Leadership course/hostesses	3
Extension workers	6
Total	<u>100</u>

Table A.20: Skills acquired outside home

<u>Skill acquired from</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Private training centres	33	25.2
Public training centres	23	17.6
Women clubs	21	16.0
Neighbours	22	16.8
Primary schools	11	8.4
Secondary or technical schools	5	3.8
Churches	5	3.8
Formal sector	5	3.8
Abroad	1	0.8
No response	5	3.8
	<u>131</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Table A.21: Specific skills identified in informal sector

	<u>Specific skill</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
1	Designing/dressmaking/sewing	87	35.7
2	Crochet/knitting	57	23.4
3	Weaving/looming	13	5.3
4	Embroidery	6	2.5
5	Basketry	14	5.7
6	Pottery	16	6.6
7	Leatherwork	1	0.4
8	Beadwork	2	0.8
9	Tie and dye	3	1.2
10	Hats	1	0.4
11	Snuffmaking	1	0.4
12	Soapmaking	1	0.4
13	Cookery	3	1.2
14	Coffee processing	1	0.4
15	Fencemaking	2	0.8
16	Paper technology skills	3	1.2
17	Bookkeeping	1	0.4
18	Typing/secretarial	4	1.6
19	Herbalist	1	0.4
20	Tutoring	1	0.4
21	Community development/women's affairs	1	0.4
22	Nothing special [no response]	25	10.3
		<u>244</u>	<u>99.9</u>

Table A.22: Location of activity

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Market place	109	44.7
Rented premises	115	47.1
School	1	0.4
Craft centre	1	0.4
Dumping site	1	0.4
No response	17	7.0
	<u>244</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Table A.23: Use of utilities and premises

Type of utility	Per cent usin. facilities	Cost per month		Average Z\$	Per cent not using facilities	No response
		Z\$ max.	Z\$ min.			
Water	38.9	35.00	3.00	6.20	58.6	2.4
Electricity	11.9	70.00	2.00	24.30	84.8	3.2
Coal/charcoal	2.5	0.00	0.00	0.00	95.1	2.4
Wood	19.7	50.00	1.00	8.70	73.3	2.0
Market stalls	25.0	0.00	0.00	0.00	72.5	2.4
Transport facilities	13.1	25.20	0.20	7.10	84.4	2.4
Premises/(permanent)	43.0	80.00	1.00	23.60	53.0	3.7
Paraffin	5.3	5.00	0.50	2.30	90.2	4.5
Diesel/petro.	.4	0.00	0.00	0.002	97.1	2.4
Storage (permanent)	28.7	51.50	2.00	12.00	68.4	2.4

Table A.24: Reasons for satisfaction with present marketing outlets

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

Table A.25: Reasons for dissatisfaction with present marketing outlets

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

Table A.26: Main ways in which customers learn about products

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
See them displayed	101	41.4
Word-of-mouth	92	37.7
Advertise	8	3.3
Door-to-door sales	7	2.9
Through Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs	2	0.8
Grain Marketing Board	2	0.8
No response	32	13.1
Total	<u>244</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Table A.27: Record keeping methods (79 respondents)

	<u>Percentage</u>
Sales and purchases	67
Mental record	16
Creditors	6
Debtors	6
Stocks/inventory	<u>5</u>
Total	100

Table A.28: Reasons for not keeping records (159 respondents)

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

Table A.29: Reasons for not joining a saving club  
(percentage)

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Lack of knowledge	33	17.6
No saving club in area	45	23.9
Lack of subscription money	34	18.1
Not interested	24	12.8
Never thought of it	23	12.2
Lack of trust	6	3.2
Future plans	5	2.7
Low credit	3	1.6
No response	<u>15</u>	<u>8.0</u>
Total	188	100.1

Table A.30: Other sources of income

	<u>Percentage</u>
Family support	54
Agriculture	20
Odd jobs	10
Sewing/dressmaking	5
Knitting/crocheting	5
Matmaking	2
Dollmaking	2
Drought policy	1
Pension insurance	<u>1</u>
Total	100.0

Tables relating to the co-operative groupings survey

Table A.31: Activity prior to joining project

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

Table A.32: Perceived advantages of co-operative membership

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

Table A.33: Education level

	<u>Per cent</u>
At school	10.0
Left school	75.0
Never been to school but literate	4.0
Never been to school and illiterate	4.0
No response	<u>7.0</u>
Total	100.0

Table A.34: Specific skills identified in project activities  
(56 respondents)

<u>Specific skill</u>	<u>Number of answers</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Designing/dressmaking/sewing	39	69.6
Crochet/knitting	9	16.1
Weaving/loomng	3	5.4
Embroidery	2	3.6
Basktery	6	10.7
Soapmaking	1	1.8
Cookery	5	8.9
Coffee processing	2	3.6
Community development/women's affairs	2	3.6
Bakery	1	1.8
Nothing special - no response	<u>3</u>	<u>5.4</u>
Total	73	130.5

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



Table A.35: CDWA training programmes 1984<sup>1/</sup>

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

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

<sup>1/</sup> Errors in totalling stem from source document.

Table A.36: Reasons for not wanting to join co-operatives with similar activities

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

Table A.37: Reasons for not wanting to join co-operatives with different activities

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

Table A.38: Preferred co-operative activity for those who wanted to join co-operatives with different activity

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

Table A.39: Use of utilities, individuals and co-operatives/groups compared

	<u>Individuals</u>		<u>Co-operatives</u>	
	<u>Per cent using facilities</u>	<u>Average monthly cost</u>	<u>Per cent using facilities</u>	<u>Average monthly cost</u>
Water	38.9	6.2	41.0	2.6
Electricity	11.9	24.3	16.0	36.5
Coal/charcoal	2.5	-	2.0	-
Wood	19.7	8.7	32.0	13.6
Market stalls	25.0	-	9.0	3.3
Transport facilities	13.1	7.10	13.0	6.30
Premises	43.0	23.6	48.0	6.80
Paraffin	5.3	2.3	2.0	-
Diesel/petrol	0.4	0.0	2.0	-
Storage	28.7	12.0	30.0	0.0

Table A.40: Does venture own any equipment?

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Yes	38	67.9
No	16	28.6
No response	<u>2</u>	<u>3.6</u>
Total	56	100.0

Table A.41: How was original equipment obtained?

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Project members contribution	17	44.7
Gifts and donations	10	26.3
No response	<u>11</u>	<u>28.9</u>
Total	38	99.9

Table A.42: Other sources of income

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

## Annex 6: Literature references

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