

P R E F A C E

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In White Paper No. 96, 1974-75 on Norwegian development cooperation, the need to improve the situation of women and to integrate women more actively in the development process is firmly underlined. In White Paper No. 36, 1984-85, it is clearly stated that "development aid aimed at improving the living standard and working opportunities of women will be given high priority in Norwegian development cooperation." This is in harmony with overriding goals of Norwegian development assistance, and is further emphasised by the following statement: "Development aid must be used to exercise the greatest possible development effect on the poorest developing countries and be designed to create the least possible dependence on continued aid. The resources put at the disposal of development aid must be used as efficiently as possible, in order to achieve this goal."

In 1985, the Ministry adopted a STRATEGY FOR ASSISTANCE TO WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT with the overall objective of overcoming the invisibility of women in society and of improving their access to resources, in order to provide them with opportunities to participate in and benefit from economic, cultural and political activities with a view to changing the mainstream of development."

As part of this Strategy, the Ministry's Representation in each of the main recipient countries for development cooperation is mandated to formulate an ACTION PLAN. Each Action Plan should contain:

- A An in-depth description of women's situation in the country. To be revised every 5 years.
- B A critical review of the Norwegian assistance with

special reference to its relevance for women, with concrete recommendations and proposals for ensuring a positive impact for women from the various projects and programmes undertaken. To be reviewed every year.

- C A list of resource persons, organisations and research institutions working with and for women, as well as a list of relevant literature. To be revised every 5 years.

During the yearly negotiations with the recipient countries, main sectors and projects/programmes are agreed upon. The WID issue and Action Plan is brought up for discussion during these negotiations, since this is specifically requested in the Terms of Reference for the delegations. Thus, the Plan and the WID issue should be reflected in all COUNTRY PROGRAMMES.

Externally recruited personnel for planning and/or implementation of Ministry development activities in the main recipient countries will have relevant sections of the Action Plan appended to their JOB DESCRIPTIONS. The Board of Directors have also emphasised that the Plans be actively used during all project and programme reviews.

It is the Ministry's hope that this document will be of concrete use in helping to obtain the very ambitious objectives of Norwegian development cooperation.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFC	Agricultural Finance Corporation
AGRITEX	Agricultural, Technical and Extension Services
ALoz	Adult Literacy Organisation of Zimbabwe
APA	African Purchase Area
ADA	Agricultural Development Authority
AWC	Association of Women's Clubs
CASS	Centre for Applied Social Sciences
CDW	Community Development Worker
CDO	Community Development Officer
CIP	Commodity Import Programme
CPC	Community Participation Coordinator
CPO	Community Participation Officer
DDCO	District Development Committee
DDF	District Development Fund
DMB	Dairy Marketing Board
DNPWM	Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management
DOF	Department of Fisheries
DWA	Department of Women's Affairs
FC	Forestry Commission
GMB	Grain Marketing Board
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
IAS	Institute for African Studies
IGP	Income Generating Project
IUD	Intra Uterine Devices
LAMA	Legal Age of Majority Act
LRA	Labour Relations Act
LWF	Lutheran World Federation

MCCD Ministry of Co-operative and Community Development
MCH Mother and Child Health Care
MEC Ministry of Education and Culture
MET Ministry of Environment and Tourism
MEWRD Ministry of Energy, Water Resources and Development
MFEPD Ministry of Finance, Economic Planning and
Development
MIT Ministry of Industry and Commerce
MLARR Ministry of Lands, Agriculture and Rural
Resettlement
MLGRUD Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban
Development
MLMSW Ministry of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social
Welfare
MLGTP Ministry of Local Government and Town Planning (now:
MLGRUD)
MOH Ministry of Health
MPA Ministry of Political Affairs
NAC National Action Committee (For the Water Decade)
NCU National Coordinating Unit (for water development)
NCW National Council of Women
NEC National Executive Council
NFAZ National Farmers Association of Zimbabwe
NFWI National Federation of Women of Zimbabwe
NGO Non-Governmental Organisation
NMWP National Master Water Plan
ODA Overseas Development Administration (British)
PHC Primary Health Care
SATEP Southern African Training and Employment Programme
SDM Savings Development Movement
TM Traditional Midwife

UNICEF United Nations Children's Emergency Fund
UDI Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UZ University of Zimbabwe
VIDCO Village Development Committee
VCW Village Community Worker
VHW Village Health Worker (now:VCW)
WARDCO Ward Development Committee
WAG Women's Action Group
WCC Ward Community Coordinator
ZANU(PF) Zimbabwe African National Union (Progressive Front)
PF-ZAPU Progressive Front-Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union
ZCTU Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions
ZIDS Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies
ZNFPC Zimbabwe National Family Planning Council
ZWB Zimbabwe Women's Bureau

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SECTION A - OVERVIEW OF WOMEN'S POSITION IN ZIMBABWE

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1. INTRODUCTION TO SECTION A

This first section of the Plan of Action for Assistance to Women in Zimbabwe attempts to describe of the economic, political, social and cultural situation of women in Zimbabwe. In keeping with the format of previous studies of women's position in Zimbabwe we present the major indicators of women's position as their participation in agriculture and employment, their access to education and health facilities as well as their legal status and position in the family and society.

This is followed by a critical examination of women and development policy in Zimbabwe and a discussion of some of the problems of implementation.

2. AGRICULTURE

2.1. Commercial and subsistence agriculture

Zimbabwe has been hailed as an agricultural success story within Africa, with many years of self-sufficiency in food production (with the exception of the recent years of serious drought). In the limelight of agricultural production before Independence were the large scale commercial farmers. Their importance can be gauged from the fact that in 1980 the commercial farming sector accounted for 75% of gross output, 95% of marketed surplus, nearly 100% of agricultural export earnings and 33% of national formal employment (Mumbengegwi 1986:210).

In direct contrast to this success story is the situation in the overcrowded Communal Areas (formally known as Tribal Trust Lands or native reserves) where more than 60% of the country's population lives. The land issue in Zimbabwe is central to an understanding of the co-existence of the dire poverty of the mass of peasants with the great wealth of the commercial farmers. Land was distributed on the basis of five "Natural Regions". The best agricultural land in terms of productivity and rainfall are Natural Regions I, II and III. Natural regions IV and V constitute the poorest climatic zones which are not suitable for rain-fed agriculture. Most of the commercial farming areas fell under Natural Regions I, II and III while most of the communal area fell under Natural Regions IV and V (see table A 2.1).

This division of the land whereby Africans were pushed into the most unproductive areas with poor climatic conditions was achieved through expropriation of land by white settlers during the colonial period. The so-called pioneers who came in 1890 in search of mineral wealth soon turned to agriculture when the promise of that mineral wealth was not fulfilled. From the 1890's onward they staked out large tracts of land for commercial agricultural development. The indigenous inhabitants of the land were moved to what came to be called the "native reserves" which were likened to deserts. Land alienation for white settlement was legalized by the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 which was superseded by the Land Tenure Act of 1969.

The Land Tenure Act divided the land equally between the indigenous population and the white settlers so that the settlers, who comprised a mere 5% of the population had an equal amount of land as the Africans who comprised 95% of the population. It is not surprising that land was the major issue around which people were mobilised for the national liberation struggle.

In addition to land alienation various policy instruments were used to boost the performance of white settler farmers. As Moyo points out, these took the form of well planned technical, financial, marketing and infrastructural support to the large scale white farmers (Moyo 1986:169).

On the other hand African peasant farmers in the Communal Areas were denied access to the inputs necessary for technologically advanced and productive farming methods. Settler agricultural policy was directly responsible for the underdevelopment and poverty of the communal farming areas. Mumbengegwi writes that:

While theoretically, pricing and marketing policy instruments were not discriminatory, the institutional framework within which they operated for the communal farmers rendered them just as blatantly discriminatory as the instruments relating to land alienation, credit provision, subsidies, taxation, extension and general infrastructural provision (Mumbengegwi 1986:208).

In the framework of such a policy it is little wonder that agricultural productivity in the Communal Areas declined and the poor quality land deteriorated even further.

2.1.1. The migrant labour system

The wresting of land from the African people served a dual purpose for the white settlers - in addition to obtaining huge tracts of land on which they could base their agricultural wealth, they were provided with a ready supply of labour. The Africans had initially resisted the settler attempts to recruit their labour because they had adequate sustenance from their own agricultural production. However, dispossession of Africans of their land undermined the indigenous economy because the land of the native reserves was too little and too poor in quality to support the population. In addition, the settler Government imposed hut tax on every adult male which had to be paid in money form. All these factors forced men to sell their labour for cash in the rapidly developing "modern sector".

The process is well outlined in the MCCDWA/UNICEF Report (1982):

.....the husband migrates to an urban area, mine or commercial farm for wage employment, usually as unskilled or semi-skilled worker. The wife and children supplement his meager wages through subsistence production. The wife as de facto head of household, family farm manager and labourer subsidizes the modern sector by providing unemployment benefits and social security on retirement of the husband (p 3).

The Report points out that the migratory labour system has become very much a part of a way of life for Zimbabweans - "At the time of Independence for example, out of approximately 780 000 farming families in the peasant sector, about 235 000 families operated a split family survival strategy" (p 3).

2.1.2. Implications for Women

The Report on the Situation of Women in Zimbabwe (MCCDWA/UNICEF

1982) and "We Carry a Heavy Load: Rural Women of Zimbabwe Speak Out" (ZWB 1981) provide excellent accounts of the effects of the migrant labour system on African women. The ZWB report states that:

While the economic development taking place in the country allowed luxurious and privileged life-styles to the small, white community, black women and their families were forced to live out a life of grinding poverty in the "reserves" (ZWB 1981:2).

The women interviewed during the course of the ZWB survey spoke of problems which affected all peasant farmers in the rural areas, be they men or women, but they also spoke of an additional set of problems specific to women - "those revolving around women's relationship to the land" which are in part a consequence of settler policies and also a result of the patriarchal values which preceded colonisation (ZWB 1981:20). A proper understanding of the position of women in pre-colonial society as well as of what they went through during the colonial period is central to the appreciation of their specific problems today.

2.1.3. The sexual division of labour in pre-capitalist society

The traditional economic system of the Shona and Ndebele societies was based on the household or family unit. The sexual division of labour is described as follows:

Women were chiefly responsible for the day-to-day activities of food production, processing and preparation. Men's agricultural activities seem to have been limited to the sporadic tree felling, preparation of new fields and the provision of meat through hunting and/or raiding. Although women were valued for their labour, men controlled the means and instruments of production in addition to being managers, supervisors of women's and children's activities (MCCDWA/UNICEF 1982:1).

A woman's social standing in these societies depended on her ability to work hard and bear many children. Her influence in the family and society became stronger as she grew older and had thus achieved complete "adulthood".

Women could acquire property such as the "cow of motherhood" (mombe yeumai in Shona and inkomo yohlanga in Ndebele) on the marriages of their daughters. They could also accumulate some wealth through the payment of midwife services.

The ZWB report indicates that although perpetuation of the system would not have been possible without the labour of women, women's work carried little status. Instead prestige was attached to men's work and the authority and status of fathers and husbands was absolute. With the lobola or bride-price payment the guardianship of a young woman passed from her father to her husband, so that she was always under the authority of a man. Despite

this subordinate status:

A set of clearly defined reciprocal obligations existed, drawing on labour inputs from the men and children of the household, and the women's authority over certain processes including food storage gave her a certain control over income which strengthened what in many ways was otherwise a weak status and structural position" (UNICEF 1985:35).

The little protection women enjoyed in the precolonial patriarchal societies was eroded by colonialism, with disastrous social and economic effects on women.

2.1.4. Women's invisibility as agricultural producers

Aside from migrating in search of wage labour there were limited possibilities for men to make an income from farming. While the Communal Areas were characterized by general poverty and low levels of productivity, there emerged a certain degree of rural stratification due to both direct colonial policies and inherent inequalities among the peasantry. Two basic strategies evolved from the early 1920s to accommodate and develop a rural African middle class.

The first strategy was the development of Native Purchase Areas or African Purchase Areas (APAs) where Africans were allowed to buy land on a freehold basis. It was the wealthier and more educated elements among the peasantry who bought farms of between 30 and 300 acres in the APAs. The APAs constituted a tiny proportion of total land area and were mainly located in the poorer Natural Regions (see Table A.2.1).

The other strategy adopted by the colonial regime was to develop the "master farmers" within the Communal Areas. These were the relatively wealthier and more literate peasants who could afford to implement innovations and adopt modern farming techniques, which enabled them to engage in cash crop production. The productivity of the APA farmers and the master farmers visibly increased vis-a-vis other peasants but was well below that of the white farmers.

Women were not recognised as agricultural producers in their own right but merely as farmers wives, no matter how great the amount of labour they expended on production. A vivid example of this was the case of a woman farmer who successfully underwent a Master Farmer training course, only to be told that the certificate would be given to her husband, a school teacher, as all the training she had undertaken was on his behalf! It was only her persistence and determination which enabled her to eventually be awarded the master farmer certificate in her own name and became a full member of the National Association of Master Farmers Clubs (Gaidzanwa 1982:147).

Such cases were exceptions. APA farmers and master farmers were

generally all men. It was men who could afford to buy land since they had cash incomes either from wage work or cash crop production. Furthermore, men were in a position to acquire an unpaid labour force by marrying more women. The labour of wives and children was used to increase production. Gaidzanwa points out the attractiveness of polygamy as an effective and economic labour recruitment strategy in the APA's (Gaidzanwa 1982:37).

We proceed to examine in greater detail the problems which women face as agricultural producers in the light of the colonial experience and post-Independence policies.

2.2. Post-Independence agricultural policy

Independence in 1980 marked the coming to power of a Government with a stated commitment to socialist transformation. However, the constraints imposed by the Lancaster House Agreement militated against any speedy moves in that direction. The Lancaster House Agreement provided constitutional safeguards for the white settlers, ensuring that they remained a force to reckon with in newly independent Zimbabwe.

The new Government was on the one hand faced with a "pampered, powerful and yet hostile white agrarian bourgeoisie, which had to be handled with extreme caution" and on the other hand a peasantry which "saw the essence of political Independence as the satisfaction of their land hunger and the reversal of discriminatory elements of agricultural policies" (Mumbengegwi 1986:210). The Government's response was to pursue an agricultural policy of "growth with equity" i.e. one of preserving the commercial farming sector while instituting measures to improve production in the Communal Areas.

Mumbengegwi writes that there were two sets of objectives outlined in the Government's first economic policy statement "Growth with Equity" 1981 and the Transitional National Development Plan (TNDP) of 1982/3.

The first set of objectives, aimed at preserving the status quo in the commercial farming sector, are identical to those pursued by the Smith regime during UDI, i.e. stimulation of growth in aggregate agricultural output, attainment of self-sufficiency in food production and maximization of foreign exchange earnings.

The second set of objectives, termed "restructuring transformationist" objectives, aimed at "achieving an acceptable and fair distribution of land ownership, elimination of discriminatory practices in output pricing, input provision, marketing, credit, extension, infrastructure and the provision of other back-up services and raising peasant incomes through productivity-raising measures (Mumbengegwi 1986:211).

In view of the importance of the land question, redistribution of land was obviously the topmost of the transformationist objectives.

2.2.1. Redistribution of Land

Government sought to address the issue of land redistribution through the resettlement programme instituted in 1980. The aims of the resettlement programme were outlined in the ZIMCORD documents as follows:

- (i) Provide relief of pressures on over populated land;
- (ii) Extend and improve the base of productive agriculture in the peasant farming sector;
- (iii) Improve the standard of living of the largest and poorest sectors of Zimbabwean population;
- (iv) Ameliorate the plight of people adversely affected by war and rehabilitate them;
- (v) Provide, at the lower end of the scale, opportunities for people who have no land and who are without employment and may therefore be classed as destitute;
- (vi) Bring abandoned and under-utilized land into full production as one facet of implementing an equitable policy of land distribution;
- (vii) Expand and improve the infrastructure and services that are needed to promote the growth of people and of economic production; and
- (viii) Achieve national stability and progress in a country that has only emerged from the turmoil of war (Gaidzanwa:1982:87).

Government's target was to resettle 162 000 families in three years, but between 1980 and 1988 only 40 000 peasant families were resettled. The Government was forced to buy land on a "willing seller - willing buyer basis" as a result of the Lancaster House Agreement. White farmers were reluctant to sell prime land. Thus the Government bought poorer land that had either been abandoned or under utilized. After three years fewer commercial farmers were willing to sell land and by 1985 land purchase prices had shot up by 48% (Mumbengegwi 1986:212). All this slowed down the resettlement programme.

The combination of fewer willing sellers, escalating prices of land, the effects of three years of drought and the international economic recession led to a drastic fall in land acquisition during the 1983/4 period. However, the decline in purchases of land "can reasonably be associated with the economic "structural adjustment" that occurred in 1982, decreasing budgetary outlays to resettlement" (Moyo 1986:185). Consequently the impact of the resettlement programme has been marginal, benefiting less than 5% of peasant households in the Communal Areas and taking up only 16% of the commercial farm land (Mumbengegwi 1986:212). It would appear then, that the resettlement programme has only

provided temporary relief to the pressures of over-population and the pre-independence agrarian structure has remained essentially unchanged. The more substantive agrarian changes since Independence have been those aimed at raising the productivity of communal farmers (Moyo 1986:187).

2.2.2. Development of the peasant sector

The post-Independence policies of credit marketing and extension facilities for communal farmers resulted in a structural change in the composition of output between the communal farming and the commercial farming sectors. The output of the commercial farming sector has grown in absolute terms but its contribution to total output has declined (Mumbengegwi 1986:217, 218). Between 1980 and 1984 the peasant share of crop sales through marketing boards rose from 6% to 15%. The peasant contribution to maize production increased from 3.6% in 1979/80 to 36.5% in 1984/85. Increases were also noted in the production of cotton, groundnuts and burley tobacco.

Commercial farmers continue to dominate production of beef and crops such as tobacco, wheat and fruit for the export market. Meanwhile peasant farmers are becoming increasingly dominant in staple food production (maize and groundnuts) and are steadily increasing production of newer crops such as soya beans and drought-resistant crops such as sorghum and millet. Thus peasant farmers are playing an increasingly significant role in the production of food affordable by the poor (Moyo 1986:178).

Impressive though they may be, these increases in production are not indicative of a general transformation of peasant agriculture. The increases appear to be confined to a small proportion of peasant households (not more than 20%) in the more favourable natural regions, mainly in the provinces of Mashonaland and Midlands (Moyo 1986:188).

Indications are that post-Independence agrarian policy has been characterized by continuity rather than change, and the few changes which have taken place have affected only a small section of the peasantry. We now focus specifically on the problems which women have faced as agricultural producers and briefly comment on the extent to which these problems have been addressed by post-Independence agricultural policy.

2.3. Problems faced by women as agricultural producers

The problems of scarcity and low productivity of land and poor infrastructure have a special relevance for women since they constitute the majority of the population in the Communal Areas.

2.3.1. Land

The massive expropriation of land by the white settlers caused a situation of acute land hunger in the Communal Areas. In the ZWB

survey the general land shortage in the Communal Areas was often the first point made by women - in the words of a woman from Tshatshani: "Land itself is a great problem, we don't have enough of it" (ZWB 1981:20). Many women complained that they only had the stands around their houses amounting usually to an acre, sometimes less. "Four acres, the supposed minimum under colonial legislation, was considered a lot of land in many parts of the country" (ZWB 1981:20). Women pointed out that the overcrowding in the Communal Areas had left some people landless:

We are too crowded. Some of our sisters have no land at all. They want some land so they can help themselves (ZWB:1981:20).

The ZWB report comments that the problem of poor quality and quantity of land affected all peasant farmers in the Communal Areas, regardless of whether they were men or women, but women suffered a second set of problems, the result of both settler policies and the patriarchal values that preceded colonialism.

In the patriarchal Shona and Ndebele societies, land was communally owned but was controlled and distributed by the male heads of society. Men had primary rights to the land while women had only use rights. This meant that the chief allocated land to the male head of household. The head of household in turn gave small portions of the land to his wife or wives for their subsistence production, while he worked (with the help of his wives) on the larger portion and claimed the produce thereof (Kazembe 1986:383). The wife's piece of land was traditionally known as zunde, tseu or isivande and was used to grow food crops. The wife controlled any surplus produced from her portion of land. Unmarried daughters had access to their mothers' land for their own subsistence until such time as they married and moved to their husbands's homes, where they in turn would be allocated their own tseu or isivande. Sons were allocated land by their fathers.

The traditional tenure system was not necessarily to the disadvantage of women as long as there was no shortage of land. However in the context of the acute land hunger caused by settler colonial policy women's land rights became increasingly tenuous as the comments of some of the women interviewed in the ZWB survey indicated:

The headman won't give women any land. They say we don't have any right to it....

Just imagine how it hurts to suffer working on land which doesn't belong to me, and all the money I get from growing things is taken by my husband (ZWB:1981:-21,22).

Women married to APA farmers were at an even greater disadvantage because the land was owned by the man on the basis of individual tenure. Women's land rights, tenuous as they were in the Communal Areas, did not even apply in the APAs and women were

forced to work hard to "deserve" or "earn" the right to their own field. Failure to do so could mean withdrawal of the land by the husband (Gaidzanwa 1982:39).

The Report on the Situation of Women indicated that 99% of the women interviewed and some men in the rural areas wanted the modification or abolition of the prevailing land tenure system. The eagerness to increase women's control over the land was expressed in a questionnaire returned from Pfura District Council

which had the words WOMEN SHOULD HAVE LAND RIGHTS written in block letters and underlined (MCCDWA/UNICEF 1982:28).

Mention has been made of the resettlement exercise undertaken soon after Independence. To what extent did this resettlement exercise benefit women?

It would appear that the design of the resettlement programmes did not take into account the special needs of women.

According to Gaidzanwa:

..... it is clear that planning did not take cognisance of the different categories of people, their status and differential power within and outside of households. There are no clear plans to cater for old people, young unmarried people and those otherwise ineligible for land within the settlement schemes (Gaidzanwa 1982:17).

Women interviewed in the ZWB survey reacted angrily to the criteria for resettlement, especially the fact that only men who were not engaged in wage employment were eligible to apply for resettlement:

They pointed out that they were the ones who did much, and sometimes all of the farming. Land was therefore, in practical terms, of far more concern to them than their husbands. It was pointed out that men could be employed, but still be unable to send home sufficient money that was needed by the family. Some wives did not get any money from their husbands and were therefore entirely responsible for supporting their families off the land (ZWB 1981:23).

Women were concerned that one of the criteria was that the head of the household to be resettled should own cattle, a scotch cart, a cultivator and a number of bags of maize. The women felt that this meant that only rich people would be helped and women, widows, orphans and the poor would be neglected. The depth of women's feeling on the issue was expressed by the indignant comment of a woman from Mutoko:

Why is it that only the names of the men who have taken courses and have qualifications are being selected for resettlement? We women have also taken some courses but they (the resettlement officers) are not taking our

names. So it means that we women are not counted in any development activities being undertaken in Zimbabwe, we struggled much to win this Zimbabwe but it seems that our Government has forgotten that and is not interested in women's development and needs (ZWB 1981:23).

The passionate desire to have some right to the land on which they work is easily understandable when one considers the huge investment women make on the land in terms of their labour. The majority of women who have been resettled are there as wives and not as settlers in their own right. More recently moves have been made to resettle widows and divorcees in a few resettlement schemes, but the numbers remain insignificant. The wives of migrant husbands are especially affected since the provision barring those in wage employment from places in resettlement schemes still applies. Considerable land hunger continues to exist among the peasantry in general and women peasants in particular.

2.3.2. Labour

The migration of men to commercial farms, mines and industries had the immediate effect of increasing women's already considerable work burden. In addition to caring for children and their traditional tasks of food processing and preparation, women had to take on the work normally done by men. The result is a staggering workload for women with a working day beginning at 4:30am and ending at 9pm. Research carried out in Wedza produced the following list of tasks which are typical of women's work in most rural areas of Zimbabwe:

- All domestic work (cooking, washing etc)
- Care of children
- Tending of gardens
- Taking of maize to mills for grinding, usually carrying 15 kilos up to several miles and back; doing necessary shopping, again often at considerable distance
- Cultivate "women's crops"
- Obtain wood for fuel
- Collect firewood
- Grind by hand cereal crops other than maize, and also groundnuts to make peanut butter
- Keep chickens
- Do many of the jobs concerned with the care and processing of "men's crops" (i.e. those that will be marketed) such as weeding and shelling

In the absence of men to:

- Herd cattle through the summer months
- Take cattle to dips once a week
- Guard against baboons
- Do all agricultural tasks and marketing (UNICEF 1985:77).

During periods of drought the task of fetching water becomes even more strenuous and time-consuming with women having to walk even longer distances to obtain any water. The same applies to the fetching of wood in certain areas where population pressure has caused the land to become denuded. The burden this places on rural women was expressed by a woman in Marange who was interviewed in the ZWB survey:

Most women are overworked and they feel tired and weak most of the time. We want someone to do some of the work for us - fetch and chop firewood and also carry water (ZWB 1981:26).

Food preparation is also an arduous and time-consuming task, especially the process of shelling and grinding maize and other grains such as sorghum and millet. Grinding mills are an attractive alternative but are often situated too far away for many women, as one woman from Inkosikazi pointed out:

It can mean half a days walk to get there, then a long wait in the queue, and maybe even coming back the next day (ZWB 1981:27).

The tasks of food preparation and fetching of fire wood and water are intensified during large social gatherings such as funerals and weddings and some traditional rituals. The Report on the Situation of Women comments that "Rural women's working conditions in terms of time and labour demands can best be described as appalling, more so when one considers that women have little control over the fruits of their labour" (MCCDWA/UNICEF 1982).

There is no indication that there has been any alleviation of rural women's labour burden since Independence. If anything, women's labour burden has increased. The crippling droughts experienced since 1980 have caused a drying up of water supplies in the Communal Areas to the extent that peasant women in the worst stricken areas such as Gwanda have to spend whole days looking for water. Non-Governmental organisations (NGOs) such as the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) have been actively involved in projects aimed at the providing water in the Communal Areas. However, the problem is so acute that the existing projects are inadequate.

The provision of free primary school education and the resultant increase in the numbers of children attending school has had the unfortunate effect of contributing to women's work load. Rural

mothers rely heavily on the assistance of older children in household work, especially for the care of younger children. Furthermore, rural communities are expected to contribute to their children's education by providing labour for such tasks as making bricks for school buildings (UNICEF 1985:152).

The Early Childhood Care and Education programme run by MCCDWA has gone some way towards assisting women in the care of younger children. In 1981 there were just over 1 000 pre-school centres in the country, 582 of which were situated in rural areas. By 1985 the total number of pre-school centres was estimated at 4 500, 4 000 of which were located in the rural areas (MCCDWA 1985:13).

Development projects, commendable though they may be, seem to increase rural women's work load. The concept of self reliance, a term which invariably crops up in any discussion on rural development, is translated in practice into increased labour input for rural communities, especially women. This will be discussed in more detail later in the paper.

2.3.3. Cash Crop Production

Women's lack of control over the land and the fruits of their own labour is most apparent through an examination of the economics of cash crop production. It has already been mentioned that traditionally women had the right to a piece of land on which they grew crops such as beans, groundnuts, sweet potatoes and yams. These crops were mainly for family consumption and also for barter purposes.

It is reported that women had absolute control over these crops but:

The introduction of cash crops and general shortage of land in the peasant sector contributed to the disappearance in many areas and reduction in a few others of the women designated pieces of land and their crops (MCCDWA/UNICEF 1982:5).

Men's control over the land meant that they could decide to grow cash crops at the expense of "women's crops". A woman from Inyati complained:

No, we don't have control over the land. The land is controlled by men. I say so because we are given 2 1/2 acres to plough, but our husbands do not allow us to plant anything else except maize. So where shall we plant monkey nuts, beans and fruit that are good for our families (ZWB 1981:22)?

Male domination of cash crop production can be summed up as follows:

Cash crop production was directed to men by a male dominated and oriented extension service system. The

production of these crops (maize, cotton, tobacco etc) and their related technologies was largely in the hands of better-off peasant farmers who could afford the initial capital, as there were no credit facilities for the peasant sector. The modern farming methods required for these crops were imported by male extension workers through the master farmer approach (MCCDWA/UNICEF 1981:4).

Women do not benefit from the sale of cash crop production though they, together with children, provide most of the labour (MCCDWA/UNICEF 1981:36).

Cash crop production necessitates a considerable amount of weeding, and since weeding is traditionally a woman's task, the labour burden of women is greatly increased. It is not surprising that women who were married to Master Farmers or husbands engaged in some kind of cash crop production were demanding some money from the marketing of the cash crops. The ZWB survey reported that women were insistent that they should have their own Grain Marketing Board (GMB) cards so that they could sell the produce to the GMB themselves and payment would be made to them and not their husbands as was previously the case. Increasing numbers of women are now getting their own G.M.B cards. However, most of the women who hold cards are women heads of households, either widows or divorcees. As far as married couples are concerned, husbands hold the G.M.B cards in the majority of cases. Research carried out in the Makonde District confirms this observation.

The inclusion of rapoko (finger millet) and munga (millet) into the category of controlled crops has been noted as a significant change for communal farmers (Mumbengegwi 1987:215) but what has not been noted is that these crops are primarily grown by women. Research is needed to gauge just how much, if at all, women have benefited from this change.

Until research indicates otherwise, we can assume that cash crop production and control of the proceeds thereof, is still very much a male preserve.

2.3.4. Extension

Prior to Independence, agricultural extension services were geared towards improving production of the white farmers. The extension services for peasant farmers were minimal. Women were especially neglected by extension workers because the limited social contact between men and women made it difficult for a male extension worker to address women directly. Women relied on women's clubs or friends, relatives and husbands for agricultural information. In cases where women obtained information directly from a male extension worker it was through a group rather than individual approach (MCCDWA/UNICEF 1981:25, 26).

Another reason for women's lack of access to extension services was that these were mainly directed to master farmers, the large

majority of whom were men, as indicated by a woman from Chinamora:

The extension worker is not interested in us. He only visits those whom he thinks are well up - the people with farming cards (Master Farmer certificates) (ZWB 1981:32)

Since Independence there has been an effort to increase the availability of extension services to communal farmers in order to make up for previous neglect. Agricultural extension services are organised and conducted by the Department of Agricultural, Technical and Extension Services (AGRITEX) which falls under the Ministry of Agriculture. Among the priorities of Agritex is the "increase of the productivity of agriculture" with special emphasis on the communal, resettlement and small scale farming areas through the media of agricultural extension.

Agritex is also linked through the Ministry of Agriculture to the Department of Research and Specialist Services which does research trials in the Communal Areas. Before 1982 agricultural research had been organised mainly for commercial farmers on a commodity basis. By 1984 the Department of Research and Specialist Services had established a new research approach under the Farm Systems Research Unit, with the aim of establishing a holistic and interdisciplinary analysis of problems faced by the farmers in the Communal Areas.

Increased extension services in the Communal Areas has had the effect of increasing peasant production, although this increase is confined to more favourable natural regions.

Women farmers are highly conscious of the need for knowledge supplied by extension services, to improve their performance as farmers. In the course of the ZWB survey it was reported that the number of women joining the Master Farmer Association was increasing, because it was seen as a way of getting access to credit facilities in order to buy labour-saving devices and other inputs as well as technical advice (ZWB 1981:32). In 1982 it was reported that moves were underway to democratise the Master Farmer Association by making it a more inclusive and communal organisation (MCCDWA/UNICEF 1982:26). The Master Farmers Association has since been reorganised to encompass all communal farmers and has been renamed National Farmers Association of Zimbabwe. Despite the participation of some women, this body continues to be a male-dominated organisation.

Research on agricultural extension services' support to women farmers in the Makonde districts showed that while Agritex is using the group meeting approach to provide extension services, these groups are dominated by men. Agritex services are not directed at women's groups and women felt excluded and expressed a desire for improved access to group services. Extension workers visited master farmers and "elite" farmers more frequently (Mutuma et al 1987).

Prior to Independence there were no women agricultural extension

workers but the numbers have been increasing steadily since the first women were admitted to agricultural training at Chibero College in 1980/81. About 50% of trainees at Chibero College are now women. This is a significant post-Independence change.

2.3.5. Technology

The UNICEF and ZWB surveys revealed the extent to which women suffered as a result of lack of the necessary equipment to make their work less exhausting and more productive. Women had to rely on very labour-intensive methods of cultivation. The task of ploughing, traditionally done by men, fell to women as a result of male migration. The huge losses of cattle during the war meant that many people had to rely on hoes for ploughing. Only the lucky few had access to tractors. Some women also expressed the need for fertilizer, improved water supplies such as boreholes and irrigation, as well as labour-saving devices and

means of transport such as scotch-carts and wheelbarrows. The problem of transport is a serious one. Women have to walk long distances to bus stops and wait long periods for irregular and crowded buses to sell produce in town. Transport costs are prohibitive for many women.

Women also complained of difficulties in marketing their produce, especially vegetables:

If we don't sell our vegetables in town the day we arrive, we have to stay overnight. Some of us have to sleep out in the open because there is nowhere for us to go. Sometimes we have to bring our small children with us. It is no good for them (ZWB 1981:32).

Women also mentioned the dangers of having their produce stolen as a result of the disorganisation at many of the markets. Since 1980 improvement in marketing facilities has become the focus in Communal Area development. It is reported that there has been a quantitative expansion in marketing depots in the Communal Areas. Government plans to construct more G.M.B depots so that each farmer will be within 40 kilometers of a depot. This target has not been achieved due to financial constraints but the GMB does operate a system of seasonal collection points. While this represents a significant improvement, high transport costs and long distances to the nearest depots remain the biggest marketing constraint to communal farmers (Mumbengegwi 1986:215). The improvement in marketing depots is more likely to benefit cash crop producers, who as has already been pointed out, are mostly men. There is little evidence of improvement of marketing and storage facilities for perishable crops such as tomatoes and other fruit and vegetables which are sold mostly by women.

The desire expressed by women in the UNICEF and ZWB surveys for improved water supplies has not been fulfilled, mainly because most of the seven years of Independence have been characterized by crippling drought. Water supplies in many Communal Areas have dwindled alarmingly, threatening any hope of arable agricultural

production in these areas. Since most of the Communal Areas are located in the low rainfall agro-ecological regions the only way to ensure a reasonable output is through irrigation but as Table A.2.3 indicates communal farmers had access to only 2,5% of the controlled irrigation infrastructure by 1980.

Given the male monopoly of technology one can safely assume that the tiny proportion of communal farmers who do have access to irrigation infrastructure are men.

The provision of safe and easily accessible water supplies in the rural areas is an important step towards easing women's labour burden. The Government is committed to improving access to water facilities by the rural population, and Zimbabwe has joined the International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade with the intention of providing clean water for all its population by 1990. Various ministries and agencies are involved in the provision of new boreholes and wells but progress has been slow mainly due to problems of co-ordination among implementing ministries, but more importantly due to the fact that tremendous resources would be required for the successful implementation of the programme.

2.3.6. Credit and finance

Credit for communal farmers was virtually non-existent before 1978/9. Agricultural credits or loans for women, especially illiterate rural women, was unheard of. Women were minors before the law, and as such could not enter into any contractual agreements. Women interviewed in the ZWB survey complained of lack of finance for fertilizer, seeds and equipment, and their inability to obtain the necessary credit to purchase these inputs:

We know nothing about credits and loans. What we know is that we need money to improve our farming, so we should be taught about this (ZWB 1981:32).

Extension workers do visit us if we join agriculture clubs. But it doesn't help us because we can't afford to buy what they teach us to use, like fertilizer and improved seeds (ibid).

The post-Independence period has seen a significant expansion of credit to communal farmers. This expansion is indicated by Table A.2.4. From 1980-85 the numbers of successful loan applicants increased by 98%. However, the expansion is not as impressive as the figures would lead one to believe. According to Mumbengegwi:

This phenomenal expansion, covering 68,600 successful applicants in 1984/5, represents only 8% of communal farmers, while the \$24,7 million is only 16% of total AFC lending to the agricultural sector. In per capita terms commercial farmers receive 205 times the average loan to communal farmers (Mumbengegwi 1986:217).

Once again, it is the relatively more wealthy peasant households

who are in a position to take advantage of the AFC credit facilities. Mumbengegwi points out that the AFC is interested only in easier loan recovery. It therefore will issue loans only to those farmers whose scale of operations results in marketed surplus:

.....the implication is that the expansion of Communal Area credit has been directed towards the larger and richer peasants, thus raising the possibility of intensified rural stratification (Mumbengegwi 1986: 217).

What is not mentioned is that the larger and richer peasants are usually men, while women feature largely among those communal farmers whose output is only sufficient for their own consumption. Women farmers, therefore, have little access to AFC credit facilities.

Women interviewed in the ZWB survey complained that credit was given to men and they asserted the need to have money in their own rights.

Some women try to overcome the problem of finance by joining co-operatives and savings clubs. Women in Mhondoro and Mutasa North said the local savings clubs schemes in which they participated enabled them to save for inputs such as fertilizer (ZWB 1981:31). The savings co-operatives established after 1980 quickly became an important means of obtaining finance for women. 16.6% of respondents to the UNICEF survey cited co-operatives as their financial source for seeds and fertilizer, 6% cited village savings clubs, 12% depended on loans from friends and 13% depended on husbands sending money. Women were obviously anxious to have independent sources of finance rather than be too dependent on husbands.

Tables in paragraph A2

TABLE A.2.2.

HOLDER OF G.M.B CARD IN MAKONDE DISTRICT

Holder	Percentage
Wife/wives	36
Husband	35
Each has own card	6
Other	23

Source (Mutuma et al 1987)

3. EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

3.1. Formal education and employment

3.1.1. Education and training

As was the case with every aspect of economic and social life in colonial Zimbabwe, the aim of white settler policy in the fields of education and employment was the maintenance of white settler hegemony. The white settlers, who constituted about 4.4% of the population, had the best educational facilities and employment opportunities while the Africans, who constituted 95% of the population, had the worst. In the racial configuration of colonial society, the Asians and "coloureds" who constituted 0,16% and 0,32% of the population respectively (percentages based on figures from the 1969 census) were placed somewhere in the middle of the racial hierarchy. Though they were two distinct groups, Asians being mainly of Indian origin and "coloureds" referring to people of mixed race, they were grouped together for administrative purposes, sometimes being classified as white and sometimes as non white, depending on what was expedient for the colonial regime.

Schools were strictly separated along racial lines. Virtually all Government expenditure on education was invested in the provision of adequate education facilities for the settler population. Compulsory education for all white children between the ages of five and fifteen was introduced as far back as 1930 by means of the Compulsory Education Act. Compulsory education for "coloured" and Asian children living within a three mile radius of a suitable school was introduced in 1938 (May 1978: 8-10). The white settlers, or "Europeans" as they termed themselves, had a range of well-staffed, well-equipped schools to choose from. Although there were fewer schools for "coloureds" and Asian, all members of these racial sub-groups did have the opportunity for education.

Africans on the other hand had very limited educational opportunities. There were very few Government schools for Africans so they relied mainly on mission schools for the provision of education. The shortage of school places and the considerable financial sacrifices parents had to make to send their children to school meant that only a few managed to go to school and among those fortunate few, the majority were boys, as explained by a woman from Mhondoro:

Very few people used to attend schools. Boys had more time to go to school than girls, as fathers thought that a girl was a young woman who must work with mother at home. These girls are now women who cannot even read or write their names. So I think there should be school for these women now (ZWB 1981:10).

Opportunities for vocational training were even more limited.

There was considerable development of skills among the African wage labour force as a result of their participation in the production process. Their skills however remained at an informal level because the colonial regime could not allow any competition with white skills. The settler regime in fact recruited skills from outside the country in keeping with its policy of actively encouraging white immigration (NMS 1981: National Manpower Survey).

3.1.2. Employment

In the face of this policy of separate education, the obstacles which African women faced in obtaining any form of training or employment were formidable. Women in towns resorted to the illegal activities of petty trading, beer brewing and prostitution in order to survive. A few women obtained employment as domestic workers although the settlers generally preferred male domestic workers. Even fewer women managed to obtain employment in factories. The only training opportunities available for the small numbers of African women who did receive some education were in the fields of nursing and teaching.

White women, as part of the dominant racial group had access to the best educational facilities. Theoretically they were not barred from entry in any field of training or employment but the prevailing settler ideology which emphasized women's suitability for certain occupations prevented them from venturing out of the prescribed occupations. White women were employed mostly as clerical and administrative staff in commercial and industrial establishments.

Asian and "coloured" women also entered the labour market more easily than African women since they had better educational opportunities. They easily found employment as sales-workers and administrative clerical staff in the private sector and Government service. The most educated among them were mainly teachers and nurses. Despite their privileged position vis-à-vis African women, they were themselves victims of racial discrimination, with lower pay, less attractive working conditions and fewer possibilities for promotion than white women.

The National Manpower Survey carried out in 1981 provided details of the sharp divisions in the labour market along the lines of race and sex. The table below indicates the low proportions of women in the trained workforce as a whole and more specifically, the low proportion of African women in the trained workforce.

The National Manpower Survey identified the most striking characteristics of women's participation in the labour force as the following:

- The small proportion of women in the trained workforce. Women constituted 21% of all professional workers, 15% of all skilled workers and 11% of the semi-skilled. Women were a majority in only one sector - the health sector.

- Women were concentrated in a few industries (wholesale, retail, restaurants and hotels, finance and real estate) They were concentrated mainly in the clerical and professional occupations.

All women in paid employment faced the problem of discriminatory hiring practices, lack of promotion opportunities and lower wages than men. However, European women were better paid than men in other racial groups. In the hierarchical wage structure European men were on average highest paid people in the labour market, followed by European women, Asian and "coloured" men, Asian and "coloured" women, African men and finally African women at the bottom of the ladder. This is a generalized picture and African women who were teachers and nurses for example commanded much higher wages than African men who were unskilled workers. However, as compared to African men of a similar educational standard and women of other racial groups, the earnings of African teachers and nurses were pitifully low. The lowest paid people in formal employment were women factory workers and domestic workers, with casual and seasoned workers at the very bottom of the scale.

The employment trend for casual labour in commercial large scale and small scale farming for the period 1975 - 1982, indicates that more than 67% of casual labourers were women (Jassat and Mwalo 1985:19). The use of female labour was also prevalent in the food processing industry where Sibanda noted that the majority of women were "unskilled" casual labourers. He further noted that employers used various means to ensure that workers were designated as "casual" or "temporary" even though they were working continuously for long periods of time (Sibanda 1984).

Lower wages for women were justified by the assumption that the men were the breadwinners, and women only supplemented the man's wages. The head-of-household or breadwinner, the man, was therefore given the first chance of employment before a woman, irrespective of the fact that a woman might be the head-of-household due to widowhood, divorce or desertion (MCCDWA/UNICEF 1982:46).

Given the limited amount of jobs in the formal sector, the prevailing attitude is that "why should women get employment when men are out of work?" The following remark made by a man to women queuing to catch a morning bus into town is illustrative of this attitude:

Where do you think you women are going so early? You should stay at home and not compete with us men for jobs (MCCDWA/UNICEF 1982:47).

The concept of femininity is often evoked against women seeking positions of responsibility and authority. For example a woman graduate was asked the following question at an interview:

What is a sugar cookie like you doing looking for an executive job? It's tough and not for the delicate ones like you (MCCDWA/UNICEF 1981:47).

The myth of women being weaker and dependent on men therefore seriously affects their chances of obtaining employment and also limits the fields in which they can be employed. When employed their promotion prospects are affected. Black women are even further disadvantaged in this regard because culture can be used as a scapegoat, as this racist and sexist remark made by a white man in the private sector shows:

You are well qualified and capable, but I don't mean to be rude, how can we put you, an African woman, in a position to supervise men. It is not in line with your culture is it (MCCDWA/UNICEF 1982:48)?

Women of all races were regarded first and foremost as mothers and housewives who only entered into paid employment to "supplement" the husbands' income. The definition of men as breadwinners and women as home-makers had adverse implications for women with regard to payment of tax and pension contributions and benefits such as maternity leave. These will be discussed in greater detail when we consider the changes made after Independence in 1980.

3.2. Post-Independence policy

In evaluating Government policy on education and employment we need to be conscious of two levels of policy:

- a. General policy aimed at the removal of racial discrimination and the provision of equal opportunities to all Zimbabweans. African, Asian and "coloured" women, as part of the disadvantaged racial groups, benefit from these policies.
- b. Policies directed specifically at women. Since these policies aim to redress inequalities on the basis of sex all women, even white women, stand to gain.

3.2.1. Expansion of education and training

The most significant feature of educational policy since Independence has been the huge expansion of the educational system, in terms of both enrollment and infrastructure. This is indicated by the huge increases in enrollment in every level of institution, from primary school to university. For example primary school enrollment increased by 262% between 1979 and 1984.

The increased enrollment has entailed a massive investment in infrastructure at all levels. Between 1979 and 1984 the number of primary schools increased by 173% while the number of secondary schools has increased by a huge 638% (Jassat and Mwalo 1985:26).

Before Independence technical/vocational training was available at two main colleges - Harare Polytechnic and Bulawayo Technical Colleges. There were two satellite colleges in Gweru and Mutare.

Since Independence, three more vocational and technical training institutions, Kwekwe, Kushinga Phikelela and Masvingo Technical Colleges have been established (MLMSW 1986:4). The agricultural colleges have been extended and the physical size of the University has more than doubled.

The expansion in educational and training facilities has resulted in the opening of new fields of opportunity for women. This is most notable in the field of agricultural training. At the technical colleges some women have taken courses in the scientific/technical departments. However these continue to be a minority. It has been established that between 1981 and 1985, 60,7% of female students at the vocational and technical training institutions were enrolled in the departments of commerce while only 1,2% of women were enrolled in scientific/technical departments. The remainder were in the hair-dressing and hotel and catering departments (MLMSW 1986:4).

While the enrollment figures show an increase in the absolute number of women at education and training institutions a close examination will reveal that, with the exception of the agricultural colleges, there has not really been a change in the ratio of women to men.

Table A.3.2 shows that after an initial increase in the percentage of female students at the technical training colleges between 1981 and 1982, the percentage increase has declined in subsequent years. A significant change is the sharp increase in the enrollment of black women and the corresponding decline in the numbers of white women (MLMSW 1986). The increase in female enrollment at all levels of education is mainly the result of the dramatic increase in the numbers of black girls and women going into training.

3.2.2. Changes in employment patterns

Since Independence, the Government has taken several steps to remove discrimination against women workers through legislation. In 1981 the Equal Pay for Equal Work Regulations were introduced. Previously the Industrial Conciliation Act (Cap 246) regulated minimum wages for women at between 56% and 67% of wages of male workers in the same grade. In 1980 new maternity leave and breast feeding regulations were introduced.

The Labour Relations Act (LRA) of 1985 improved the maternity leave provisions by allowing women a total of 90 days paid maternity leave at 75% of normal salary. Women on maternity leave now maintain all their normal benefits and entitlements at work, including pension, seniority and unbroken service rights (ILO/JASPA 1986:45).

The LRA proscribes discrimination on the grounds of race, tribe, place of origin, political opinion, colour, creed or sex in relation to a wide range of job-related issues such as wages, recruitment, promotion, training and retrenchment. Gender specific job advertising is illegal under the LRA. Another very positive aspect of the LRA is that it has provisions for the

protection of casual and seasonal workers.

Until very recently women were discriminated against with regard to pensions and income tax. Women workers paid pension contributions at a rate of 6% as opposed to the 7% paid by men. Consequently they received a smaller sum on retirement than men and their husbands and children could not be beneficiaries in event of death. This was changed in July 1985. All pension contributions were set at 7.5% placing female contributors on par with male contributors, thus providing benefits to widowers and children.

The income tax law whereby married couples are taxed jointly, with the greater proportion of tax being deducted from the wife's salary, was changed with effect from April 1988, and married couples will now be taxed separately.

Despite Government efforts to remove discrimination on the basis of both race and sex, indications are that women's participation in formal employment has not significantly increased since 1981. Data from the Annual Occupational Survey of Employees showed that women were still concentrated in occupations such as teaching, nursing and clerical work. Women's participation in the material production sectors declined from 13% in 1981 to 10% in 1984 (MLMPSW 1984).

The Annual Occupational Survey of Employees (1985) indicated a decline in the proportion of women in the total labour force from 14% in 1981 to 12% in 1985. Table A.3.3 illustrates the decline in the proportion of women in every sector except the agricultural sector. The main decline has been in the clerical occupational group (see Table A.3.4) owing to the high rate of emigration of white women.

While the overall proportion of women to men in the labour force has not changed significantly, there has been a dramatic change in the racial composition of the labour force. Table A.3.5 shows the increase in the proportion of black women in the labour force from 39% in 1981 to 78% in 1985 and a corresponding decline in the proportion of white women from 54% in 1981 to 17% in 1985.

The main field of employment for black Zimbabwean women has been the Civil Service. The Presidential Directive of May 1980, which called for increased participation of black Zimbabweans in decision-making positions, had a positive influence on the recruitment of women into the Civil Service. The increase in women's participation was mainly in the higher echelons of the Civil Service. In the established officers category the female to male ratio increased from 44:100 in 1981 to 78:100 in 1984. However, women's participation at the topmost level of the Civil Service - that is at the level of Under Secretary and above - continues to be low, even in the Ministries of Health and Education, which employ the greatest numbers of women (Batezat and Mwalo 1986:10).

In sum, colonial educational and employment policies were dis-

criminary not only on the grounds of race but also sex. The Government has attempted to remove the colonial barriers. However, given the inherited economic base and the non-expansion of the economy, unemployment is on the increase and it has become increasingly difficult for women especially to obtain formal employment.

3.3. The informal sector

3.3.1. Problems of definition

Serious conceptual difficulties arise from the uncritical use of the conventional labour force definitions when discussing women's work in the informal sector. A woman interviewed in the ZWB survey gave the following definition of employment:

Employment does not only mean to go and work under someone. When you work in your garden, home, field, collect firewood or any job that would cost you money to have it done but you do it yourself, that is work (ZWB 1981:38).

Formal statistics do not reflect this conception of employment. Because the economy is defined in terms of capitalist growth and accumulation, only those workers engaged in activities directly related to the process of growth and accumulation are conventionally defined as being in the labour force. Thus, only 10% of the total female population of Zimbabwe is counted as part of the labour force. The remaining 90% are classified as "economically inactive". The absurdity of classifying rural women as economically inactive is underlined in the MCCDWA/UNICEF survey:

In a money based economy such as a hotel or commercial farm, the tasks done by rural women between 4:30am and 9:00pm would require at least six people, a cook, a cleaner, a waiter, farm labourer, a farm manager and a miller (MCCDWA/UNICEF 1982:31).

As already outlined in the section on agriculture, Zimbabwean women form the backbone of subsistence agricultural production. Some women also participate in cash crop production and others work as casual and seasonal labourers on commercial farms.

In both the rural and urban areas women carry out numerous unremunerated activities - looking after children, caring for sick relatives, shopping, cleaning, washing, cooking, to name just a few. All these activities are defined as non-economic. Women also sustain their families through a myriad of activities aimed at earning a cash income. In the rural areas these activities include pottery, making of mats, gardening and the raising of chickens, pigs and goats. In urban areas the activities consist mainly of crocheting, knitting, dress-making, vegetable and fruit-selling. Such activities come under the rubric of the "informal sector"

There has been much debate as to what exactly constitutes the

"informal sector". We will confine ourselves to Brand's broad definition of the informal sector as:

all those "lower-circuit" economic activities that are labour intensive, have little dependence on overhead

capital, negligible fixed costs and small inventories of goods and raw materials.... It is the low level of input costs, ease of entry as well as the mobility of operation that makes it an attainable option - often the only one - as a means of livelihood for large numbers of the urban poor and land-hungry rural people (Brand 1986:2-3).

3.3.2. Women's informal sector activities

One of the criticisms of the concept of an informal sector is that it assumes the homogeneity of units. The sexual division of labour in the informal sector to some extent mirrors that of the formal sector in that the women are confined to a limited range of relatively less skilled activities.

Of the 47 activities covered in the SATEP study on the informal sector women were mainly represented in tuckshops (50%), knitting (40%), vegetable growing (12%), firewood selling (16,7), hair-dressing (16,7%), selling of clothes (20%) and tailoring (14,3%) (SATEP 1984:14).

No women were represented in the electrical repair, shoe repair, building, metal selling, upholstery activities, and tin-smithing. Male activities in the informal sector were more in the line of small enterprises with sometimes considerable investment in capital stock and employment of labour. Male informal sector operators had the advantage over women operators in that they could call on their wife's labour while women could not do likewise with their husbands labour.

Using the advance 1982 census report, Brand calculated that approximately 90.000 women and 20.000 men could be said to be working in the informal sector, showing the preponderance of women in the sector although they may be confined to a few activities. It must be noted that these figures are mere estimates since it is so difficult to quantify informal sector activities.

For rural and urban women alike, income earned from their efforts of producing and marketing foodstuffs, handicrafts and clothing items is extremely important for their families. As The Situational Analysis Report puts it:

..... for many these activities are not simply a convenient means to useful household subsidies, they are a matter of life or death for families where the husband provides little or no income. Urban women who

come under the "divorced, separated, deserted and widowed" categories are particularly vulnerable in this regard (UNICEF 1985:80).

For women with little education and opportunities for paid employment, the need to earn some sort of income has made them turn to activities such as growing and selling of vegetables, production and selling of handicrafts, knitted and crocheted articles. Mention has already been made of the difficulties of survival in the urban areas which forced women into activities such as illegal beer brewing and prostitution. It has been pointed out that the situation of poor women in towns is sometimes more difficult than that of women in the rural areas because they have nothing to fall back on. Rural women "at least can scratch the land, get money for salt and not have to rely on the husband" (MCCDWA/UNICEF 1982:51).

Women in the rural areas have a long history of involvement in "women's clubs". These have been mainly "homecraft" clubs organised under the auspices of organisations such as the Association of Women's Clubs or the various churches. These clubs endeavoured to train women to be good wives and mothers by teaching them skills such as cookery, hygiene, sewing, knitting and nutrition. Research carried out by Muchena has shown that "there is a definite desire on the part of these women for more economic and educational activities rather than the home and homecraft familial role activities characteristic of women's clubs" (Muchena 1980:64). The clubs have failed to address women's need to improve their skills in their major economic activity - agricultural production.

Since Independence there has been a definite shift in emphasis away from home economics activities to what are referred to as "income generating activities". These aim to provide women with incomes in their own right, teach them new skills and raise the standard of living of their families.

While women are very enthusiastic about these projects they face a number of problems. Income generating projects depend heavily on donor assistance and few have achieved the objective of providing women with income on a sustainable basis. Some of the problems faced by participants in income generating projects are as follows:

Market problems

- women engage in the same type of activities and therefore face stiff competition for customers
- low purchasing power of rural markets
- markets for handicrafts are fickle and vulnerable to sudden changes in fashion

Transport

- high costs of conveying produce to towns

- unreliable and infrequent bus service
- lack of inter-district transport service

Capital and infrastructure

- problem of obtaining credit for buying of material due to ignorance and to scarcity of credit facilities
- lack of storage facilities for equipment and marketable produce

Skills

- lack of management and accounting skills and quality control of products

Middlemen

- inability to compete with established formal sector enterprises forces women to sell to middlemen at low prices
- unemployed gangs of young men (makoronyera) who make exorbitant profits by forcing rural women to sell their produce at low costs which they resell to city vendors

The major problem faced by rural women participating in income generating projects is their heavy work load. Often, projects are based on the assumption that women have an unlimited amount of time to devote to the project. Income generating activities are generally concentrated during the limited period after harvest and before the planting season.

Women traders face the added problems of police harassment in urban areas when found trading in unauthorized places such as bus stops or roadside. They complain that it is "more strategic and convenient to operate at bus stops and roadside than in far-off centralised places where one has to pay rent and not even make a profit due to competition" (MCCDWA/UNICEF 1982:60).

Government policy documents such as Growth With Equity 1981, the Transitional National Development Plan (TNDP) 1982/83 - 1984/5 and the Five Year Development Plan (1986-1990) recognise the reliance of large sections of the population on the informal sector. The Five Year Plan states the intention of Government to "formalise the informal sector." This is to be achieved by providing the informal sector with the necessary infrastructure and assistance in the hope of promoting employment and alleviating poverty.

To date, support for the informal sector has mainly been in the form of training aimed at improving their performance in income generating projects as well as general literacy.

3.3.3. Non-Formal education and training

Both rural and urban women express regret about their lack of education. Education is seen as the means to obtaining paid employment and a better standard of living:

Without education there is no job, and without a job there is no money. How can you live in town with no money (MCCDWA/UNICEF 1982:45)?

How many educated women with courses are prostitutes? If you get divorced or have a child out of marriage and you have no education you can actually become a prostitute to support your children (MCCDWA/UNICEF 1982:45).

Education is good due to the fact that an illiterate person will take centuries to live a better life, whereas a literate person can easily get a good job and support her or his family (ZWB 1981:10).

If I was educated I would have been working and earning money. But my parents didn't agree with educating a daughter, I can't even help myself. So I have proof that education is important for girls as well as boys. If possible I must go for adult education and learn. But now I am facing a lot of trouble because I want all my children to be educated but there are too many of them and there is no one to help me (ZWB 1981:11).

Women's strong desire for paid employment or any other means of earning income dispell the notion that women could rely on their husbands for economic support. Women from various areas stressed that support from husbands could not be relied upon and emphasized the need to earn money in their own right.

Women need to earn money because they are the ones who face the shortages at home because husbands do not earn enough to support the family (ZWB 1981:28).

We don't want to quarrel with our husbands day and night because of money, we need to earn money and bank it through our own names (ibid).

Women's lack of education is seen as the major barrier to their obtaining paid employment. Since most African women were left out of the education system, the only form of education they can get is through women's clubs, church organisations and NGOs.

In the club I learn how to care for my husband and children in the modern world.

I go to the club to learn to cook, sew and meet with women from high and low (classes) and from different parts of the country.

In my church, I learn how to keep chickens, gardening, sewing. All these help me to get some money and also feed my family well (Muchena 1980:65).

The clubs continue to play a prominent role in the training of women today. Organisations such as the Association of Women's Clubs, which had been operating long before Independence, continue to offer courses in nutrition, child care, first aid, hygiene, cookery, sewing, crochet, food preservation and leadership. These are directed mainly towards rural women.

On the other hand, Ministries and private institutions such as Silveira House, Ranche House College and the Adult Literacy Organisation of Zimbabwe, offer what has been termed para-professional training mainly for women. The training programmes include courses in basic hygiene, nutrition, child care, health care, agricultural extension work and training of adult literacy teachers.

These training programmes aim to improve women's domestic skills and prepare them for participation in income generating projects or cooperatives.

Meaningful participation of the individual in development depends upon the ability to read and write. The MCCDWA, therefore launched an Adult Literacy Campaign in 1982 which aimed to eradicate illiteracy. The major beneficiaries of this programme were women because out of 350 000 adults attending literacy classes 75% were women (MCCDWA/UNICEF 1985:13). At present the programme faces problems of shortage of literacy tutors and reading materials.

Despite these shortcomings women enthusiastically attend the courses in the hope of gaining knowledge and skills that can enable them to improve their social and economic status.

TABLES IN PARAGRAPH A.3.

Table A.3.1Proportion of Women in Trained Workforce by Racial Group

	African	European	A s i a n "coloured"	&
Total number of professional, skilled and semi-skilled workers	222 806	66 224	9 361	
Number of women in trained workforce	16 104	21 920	2 913	
Percentage	7	33	31	

Source: Batezat 1984

TABLES IN PARAGRAPH A.3.

TABLE A.3.3Female Enrollment by Race at Technical/Vocational Colleges 1981-1985

Year	African	European	Coloured Asian	Total Female Enrollment	Total Enroll- ment
1981	171	379	7	557	3597
1982	1474	398	95	1967	5396
1983	1644	266	79	1989	6237
1984	1572	151	65	1788	6606
1985	2402	44	63	2511	7323

Source: Compiled from the study of vocational/technical training in Zimbabwe.

4. HEALTH

4.1. Differential access to health facilities

Differential access to health facilities between urban and rural areas and different socio-economic groups is a legacy of the colonial system.

Well staffed hospitals with sophisticated equipment are to be found in the major towns while the rural population is plagued by lack of basic facilities such as clinics, ambulances and staff in all rural districts (MCCDWA/UNICEF 1982; 76) (ZWB 1981: 13). These disparities are reflected in the infant mortality rate, which, based on the 1969 census was 2 1/2 to 4 times higher in rural than in urban areas, and in the incidence of malnutrition which was 4 to 5 times higher in the Communal Areas than in the urban or peri-urban areas (UNICEF 1985).

The contrast between urban and rural health services is made even sharper when the availability of medical practitioners and their service delivery systems are considered. About three quarters of practitioners registered by the Medical Council operate privately and their delivery systems are highly oriented towards

- specialised hospital medicine as opposed to community medicine where the majority of people live;
- urban technologically intensive medicine;
- curative medicine as opposed to preventive medicine; and
- personal health services as opposed to environmental health services (Agere 1986:361).

This orientation and the distribution and consumption of health resources reflects not only "racial lines but also a class differentiation with the poorest persons and blacks consuming about 1/45 of the amount spent by whites and upper socio-economic classes" (Agere 1986:360).

Furthermore, the health services were controlled by European men because although they were "numerically the least in the health sector, they controlled the whole system in terms of formulating and implementing policies" (Agere 1986:3).

4.2. Causes of poor health

There is a close link between socio-economic status and health. The major factors affecting women's health are enumerated below.

4.2.1. Women's heavy work load

Women in the rural areas attribute their health problems largely to the physically strenuous nature of their work.

Hard work makes us old very quickly. We have no time to rest, so many of us suffer from high blood pressure (ZWB 1987:14).

How can your BP (high blood pressure) not go up or your head not ache all the time when you are oppressed by poverty. Each day you wonder what you are going to feed or clothe your family with, not to talk of work, work, work (MCCDWA/UNICEF 1982:70).

4.2.2. Living conditions

Living conditions of most of the populace are not conducive to good health. In addition to the strenuous nature of their work, rural women cited poor diet, working in the sun and dust as well as inadequate lighting at night as causes of general body pains, poor eyesight and backache. Poor sanitary conditions and unsafe water are major health hazards suffered by the rural population (MCCDWA/UNICEF 1982:72). Club hygiene programmes teach women to boil water from unprotected sources. However, even if women are aware of the dangers of unboiled water, boiling water for drinking purposes is an impractical, time consuming process which requires a larger amount of firewood than may be available. Bathing children and washing clothes every day are luxury activities in many rural areas because of the long distances and time involved in fetching water (MCCDWA/UNICEF 1982:72). This problem becomes acute during periods of drought.

In the reports on the Situation of Women the general good health of the small sample of white, Asian and "coloured" women was commented upon and contrasted to the situation of rural women (MCCDWA/UNICEF 1982:112). The overcrowded living conditions of lower income urban groups also lead to many of the health problems experienced by the rural population.

4.2.3. Gynaecological problems

Women experience many problems associated with pregnancy, especially that of excessive child-bearing as indicated by the following comments:

The biggest problem facing women is to have many children, year after year, when they can't afford to take care of them. And it gives women no free time to do anything else (ZWB 1981:14).

Many of us women are dying because of using medicines from the nganga to stop pregnancies. I wish we could be introduced to modern methods of preventing pregnancy (ibid).

Though many women may want to use family planning methods their lack of control over their own fertility prevents them from doing anything. As one old woman remarked:

Your husbands of today are bent on this a child a year

business. "Gore mwana, gore mwana" (MCCDWA/UNICEF 1982:75).

Women, especially those engaged in prostitution, are also vulnerable to sexually transmitted diseases. Rural women also complain of the irresponsibility of men who spread these diseases through contacts with prostitutes.

4.3. Problems of inadequate nutrition

Zimbabwean statistics on malnutrition are rather paradoxical in that Zimbabwe has a favourable agro-economic profile in the African context. It produces a surplus of food on a global level with a per capita availability of 2 576 calories per day for local consumption which compares favourably with the 2 205 calories per day in Africa generally. Moreover, the infant mortality rate compares favourably with that of other countries. Yet the country has a serious malnutrition problem. Statistics show that 21% of the under five population shows second or third degree malnutrition based on weight for age. Stunting is found in 28% of Zimbabwean children compared to 9% in Togo, 18% in Liberia and 21-24% in Lesotho, Sierra Leone, Cameroon and Egypt. Wasting is evident in 9% of Zimbabwe, higher than in most African countries (UNICEF 1985:40).

Women's access to land, their control over crops and their relationship with their husbands have a bearing on their children's nutrition as the following account by a woman from Mutoko indicates:

My children suffer from malnutrition because I don't have nourishing foods to give them. My husband came from Salisbury when my child was 10 months old. He ordered me to stop breast-feeding my child at once. We have no cattle to get milk from and no groundnuts. A month later my child began to get very thin and to vomit when I gave her sadza. I came here to Nyadiri hospital and was told that my child had kwashiorkor. I was then told to come here to the nutrition village to learn how to feed my child. I can see that she is really improving but I wonder where I can find these nutritious foods for my child when I go home.

This account indicates that while a mother may be aware of the nutritional needs of her child, there are factors beyond her control which prevent her from meeting these needs. Research has indicated that more mothers than are generally believed have a fair knowledge of nutritional issues so that "unfortunate dietary trends" are not due to "nutritional ignorance" per se but rather to prevailing socio-economic developments which make it difficult for mothers to provide the right kind of food for their child" (UNICEF 1985:52).

A study carried out in Gwanda showed that severe malnutrition was six times higher in families where the migrant husband did not send remittances than in families which did receive remittances. The incidence of severe malnutrition was lowest in families where

the father did not migrate but someone else (eg a son) sent remittances (UNICEF 1985:53). Social problems characteristic of migrant households such as high alcohol consumption and broken homes also affect child nutrition. Money spent on beer consumption diverts family income away from appropriate food purchase and can lead to child abuse.

The shift to market oriented cash-cropping has resulted in the decline in production of traditional nutrient rich foods such as sorghum, millet, groundnuts and the increased consumption of nutrient-poor items such as white bread, sugar and carbonated soft drinks (UNICEF 1985:51).

4.4. Post-Independence health system

At Independence the Zimbabwe Government sought to redress the inequalities that existed in the health sector. The aim was to expand and decentralise health care services so that the majority of people could have access to these services. Redistribution of technology, manpower, drugs, facilities and other resources to these underserved areas became a priority for Government to achieve its stated goal of "health for all by the year 2000".

To this end, the Government adopted the Primary Health Care (PHC) approach as its strategy. The Ministry of Health aimed to shift resources from urban to rural areas and from curative to preventive medicine because 90% of the diseases that were prevalent were found to be preventable. For example water-borne diseases can be prevented by improving sanitation and having a clean water supply.

Fund allocations for preventive services were therefore doubled in the period 1981/82 to 1982/83 although the larger proportion still went to curative services.

In terms of manpower, the expansion and decentralisation was more problematic because the increase in the number of doctors working in Government hospitals - 293 in 1980 to 371 in 1984 - was very insignificant given the Zimbabwean population.

To avoid over-dependence on highly trained and specialised medical staff, it was decided that the health services should be democratised and decentralised through the deployment of community based health cadres. The Ministry therefore embarked on a programme of training village health workers (now renamed Village Community Workers, VCW), who were selected from the community. These became instrumental in the implementation of the water and sanitation programme which involved health education and construction of VIP Blair toilets and protected wells (Agere 1986:363).

Most of the VCW are women who work part time and do not receive salaries but allowances which amount to much less than the minimum wage.

The extent of the village health care programme and the resources allocated to it suggest that there is still a long way to go before the democratisation of health care services is realised.

5. WOMEN'S LEGAL STATUS

The laws oppressing women should be changed (woman from Chiwundura).

It is good to be a woman but I am oppressed. I am always kicked, as though I am still a child, because women are not yet independent (woman from Silobela).

If I was a man, I wouldn't have to ask for permission from anyone to do what I want to do. But my husband is in charge of everything that I do or can make with my hands which is so rough and cruel (woman from Mutoko; ZWB 1981:9).

5.1. The legal system of the colonial state

These sentiments, expressed by women from various areas in Zimbabwe, refer to circumstances which arose from customary law. Customary law was the principal determinant of the legal status of African women. To understand the application of customary law, we need to briefly consider the legal system of the colonial state.

The legal system of the colonial state was characterized by the co-existence of two bodies of law. The general law, which was applicable to all citizens, was derived from Roman-Dutch law and influenced by British legal concepts and structures. Customary law on the other hand applied only to Africans and was based on pre-colonial customs and traditions.

British policy during the period of colonial occupation was to deliberately leave as intact as possible the laws of the colonized. "Colonial administrators had to determine what the customary law of each group of the indigenous people was, and to translate it into an instrument operable within a legal system based on Western judicial concepts" (May 1983:42).

As elsewhere in Africa, customary law was distorted during the process of codification, written as it was by officials trained in western legal conceptualization. As noted by Cutrufelli:

The colonial administration opted for a family policy aimed primarily at strengthening particular rules of customary laws, twisting their original meaning to accord with exigencies of colonial economy, while purporting to comply with tradition (Cutrufelli 1983:5-6).

Given that the informants were African men, the overall result was the manipulation of pre-colonial custom and tradition which "was integrally connected with the perpetuation of racial differences by the colonial administrators, but had as an important side effect the increased subordination of women to men in African society" (MCCDWA/UNESCO:1985:10).

Under customary law women were reduced to having perpetual minority status. This entrenched their subordinate position in

the family and society. As minors before the law, they had no contractual rights and remained under to the guardianship of men (fathers or husbands) throughout their lives. If widowed, a woman could be "inherited" either by her deceased husband's brother or close male relative.

This minority status of women under colonial customary law has frequently been equated with women's subordinate position in pre-colonial societies. However, such a comparison cannot be applied since pre-colonial society was based upon entirely different patterns of distribution and accumulation of wealth and social relations.

This imposed colonial minority status had several implications for women as regards marriage, property and inheritance, as well as custody and guardianship of children.

5.1.1. Marriage

In pre-colonial society the lobola transaction was vital for any marriage to take place. The man's family presented cattle and gifts to the woman's family in exchange for the rights over the woman's labour and reproductive capacity. Married women resided at their husband's homes and children belonged to their father's lineage. Polygamy was the accepted practice, and the importance of women's labour was such that the more wives - and hence children - a man had, the greater were his wealth and status.

Under colonial law however, a combination of Western and African customs came into play, resulting in the existence of three types of marriage. The first was the typical traditional customary marriage. This type of marriage, though not registered according to colonial law, was nonetheless regarded as valid in respect of the legitimacy of children, their guardianship, custody and rights of succession (May 1983:70).

The second form of customary marriage was that solemnized in terms of the African Marriages Act, Chapter 238. A pre-condition for the solemnization of such a marriage was the assurance from the woman's guardian, in the form of an "enabling certificate", that the necessary customary procedures had been completed to his (the guardian's) satisfaction.

The third type of marriage was the civil marriage. Civil marriages were contracted under the Marriage Act, Chapter 37. This Act governed the marriages of white settlers, Asians and "coloureds". Unlike customary marriages, civil marriages were monogamous, and in the event of divorce the wife could claim maintenance. Furthermore, a woman could seek divorce on grounds of adultery while according to customary law this right was the prerogative of the husband.

Africans could indeed choose to marry under this Act, but only on condition that there was no previous marriage or marriages. Civil marriages by Africans could still not be contracted without an enabling certificate, and customary law continued to prevail with regard to maintenance, property rights and the devolution of property (May 1983:71).

5.1.2. Property rights and inheritance

A woman has no property at home. When she gets divorced she goes away naked. It is painful that even when she is working, she still owns no property of her own (woman from Fingo).

If my husband dies his relatives will take everything from the home, and I am left with nothing (woman from Inyati; ZWB 1981:8).

The above comments give an insight into the lack of power and control over family property suffered by women under customary law. The MCCDWA/UNICEF survey reported almost total agreement among women that property and inheritance laws must be modified or changed.

The traditional practice regarding inheritance was that the deceased's property was shared between his children and some relatives. The deceased's brother or another male relative would hold the property in trust for the children where they were too young to administer their own affairs. The deceased's widow was entitled to some of the property, especially the kitchen property and any artifacts or articles produced by her own hand - known as mavoko property (MCCDWA/UNICEF:94).

Women were bitter about the distortion of the customs concerning a deceased man's property. Relatives would swarm into the deceased's home and claim all his property, often leaving the wives and children totally destitute. There were complaints by women that relatives were not even waiting for the mourning period of at least one year to expire before claiming property. Rural women in particular complained of building and maintaining the home while the men are in town, only to have the property taken away. Urban married women made similar complaints. According to the MCCDWA/UNICEF report:

The issue of property rights and inheritance is rather complicated by the fact that the margin between family and individual property has become blurred with the acquisition of moveable property other than animals and articles of small value such as spears and clay pots..... Kitchen and other women designated-property value has increased with the acquisition of stoves, refrigerators, sewing machines and even bicycles bought with money from women's mavoko property. Because of the monetary or use value of these items, women are being denied even that which they were entitled to keep in traditional customary practice (MCCDWA/UNICEF 1982:95).

Women faced the same problems if they divorced. They could not take anything except the mavoko property on returning to their original homes.

5.1.3. Custody and guardianship

The basis for custody and guardianship of children was the payment of lobola. This gave the father and his kin absolute rights to custody and guardianship over children of a marriage. These rights derived from the fact that lobola essentially gave the husband the right to control his wife's reproductive capacity. Upon divorce a woman could be granted custody of children below the age of seven, but guardianship remained the sole right of the father, and he made the major decisions on issues such as education and the marriage of the children.

Even in cases where a woman had single-handedly brought up a daughter until adulthood, lobola was still paid to the father. The mother was only entitled to receive mombe youmai (cow of motherhood) as part of the larger lobola exchange. Some women objected to the view that men were the owners of children when as one woman put it:

I spend nine months carrying the baby in my stomach, and then the next 20 to 30 years looking after her or him (ZWB 1981:9).

African women's legal status under customary law deteriorated during colonial rule. The codification of customary law rendered it inflexible and unable to adapt to changing social circumstances.

5.1.4. The position of women under general law

While African women were particularly handicapped due to the application of customary law, the women of the other racial groups were also subjected to certain disabilities in view of the patriarchal nature of the general law which defined the man as head of the household with superior rights over the children.

The subordinate position of white women was illustrated by the 1956 "Commission of Enquiry into the Inequalities or Disabilities as between Men and Women".

The Commission confirmed that guardianship was the sole right of the father, although custody could sometimes be granted to the mother. Furthermore, the father's opinion was always upheld as a matter of law. The National Council of Women had called for joint guardianship as well as the right of recourse to an impartial body in cases of disputes of opinion. The Commission objected, arguing that disputes between spouses might be encouraged and that the husband's superiority should not be called into question:

"It is impossible to have two captains of a ship or two chairmen of a meeting" (p 4).

Maintenance was a contentious issue. The Commission was totally unresponsive to demands for further laws to protect women's interests in maintenance cases.

5.2. Legal changes since Independence

With Independence and the establishment of the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs in 1981, the need to change laws that were oppressive to women became urgent. From the onset, the Ministry stated its intention to remove "all customary, social, economic and legal constraints" that inhibited women's full participation in the development of the country. A number of legislative measures to improve the status of women have so far been passed. These include The Customary Law and Primary Courts Act (6:1981), The Legal Age of Majority Act (15:-1982), The Labour Relations Act (16:1985) (already discussed under the section on employment) and The Matrimonial Causes Act (33:1985).

5.2.1. The Legal Age of Majority Act (15:1982)

The Legal Age of Majority Act (Cap:45) which enabled only whites regardless of sex to attain the majority status at the age of 21, was repealed in 1982. The 1982 Act gave Zimbabwean men and women of all races full contractual rights on attaining the age of 18. The passing of the Act was hailed as a major victory for African women in Zimbabwe because it put an end to their minority status and enabled them to:

- own property in their own right;
- contract a marriage, if they so wished, without parental or relatives consent;
- become guardians to their children irrespective of whether these children were born in or out of wed-lock; and
- sue and be sued as individuals (the right known as Locus Standi in Judicio).

The Act had important implications for the position of women in the family and society as will be discussed later.

5.2.2. The Customery Law and Primary Courts Act (6:1981)

Customary Law and Primary Courts Act (6:1981) repealed the African Law and Tribal Courts Act (Cap 287) and amended, inter-alia, the Maintenance Act (Cap 35). Primary Courts were instituted and took over functions that were previously performed by chiefs, headmen and district commissioners in the administration of customary law. After the passing of the Age of Majority Act an amendment of The Customary Law and Primary Courts Act empowered community courts to order maintenance for deserted and divorced wives and their children regardless of type of marriage (Kazembe 1986:389). These changes were important in that unmarried women can now be granted maintenance for their children. Unlike previously, when fathers got automatic guardianship of children, today the courts have to decide in the interests of the children.

5.2.3. The Matrimonial Causes Act (33:1985)

The Matrimonial Causes Act sought to correct the injustices inherent in the customary laws, as discussed earlier.

The Act recognises the crucial role which the woman plays in the accumulation of marital property and therefore grants her the right, in the event of divorce, to part of the property accumulated during her married life. As Ncube points out the Matrimonial Causes Act (1985) "overrides any customary law on the distribution of property on divorce". It also gives courts powers of distribution that extend to all general law marriages that are out of community (Ncube 1987:21).

Furthermore, the grounds for divorce are the same for both men and women. For example a woman can now sue a man for divorce on grounds of adultery. It is clear therefore that legal changes that were passed after Independence aimed to improve the women's situation.

6. WOMEN'S POSITION WITHIN THE FAMILY AND SOCIETY

In this section we discuss the way in which women's position within the household determines their participation in all aspects of economic and social life.

6.1 Women within the household

While the majority of African men and women were impoverished by the nature of economic development during the colonial era, women suffered more because of their subordinate position within the household. The sexual division of labour within the rural household during the colonial era and its implications were best summarised by the ZWB survey:

The central role that these women play in maintaining the family of the present labour force, which is also caring for the future labour force is badly overlooked. This neglect has resulted in the increased oppression of women in the rural areas; more work with less resources, and declining rather than improving status. Women are seen as economic attachments to men, their contribution is still seen as supplementary rather than absolutely vital to the household survival (ZWB 1981:41).

Women's social status was further eroded by what has been accurately described as the superimposition, on the indigenous cultural models of Zimbabwe, of a predominantly male, rather Victorian, British view of women and their appropriate place in society" (MCCDWA/-UNESCO 1985:8).

Cultural practices such as lobola and polygamy which may not necessarily have been oppressive to women in pre-capitalist societies, assumed new meanings when practised within the context of a changed set of economic relations. For example since part of lobola became payable in cash, the payment of lobola has increasingly become a commercial transaction with parents charging exorbitant rates for educated daughters.

For migrant households the physical separation of spouses was the source of numerous social problems. Men often failed to send remittances to their wives and formed relationships with women in town:

I feel painful because husbands get married again in town. When you go to town unasked he chases you away and sometimes he doesn't even bring money home (woman from Fingo; ZWB 1981:16).

Though most women interviewed in the surveys indicated the desire for their husbands to come home, resentment of male control was expressed by some women who wanted the continuation of male migration "on the grounds that it gives them some measure of Independence and full dignity as human beings in a family situation that is otherwise seen as oppressive and dehumanizing"

(MCCDWA/UNICEF 1982:38).

A woman from Mutoko expressed this very simply:

It is good for husbands to work away from home as long as they send some money to their wives. Women don't have so much control from men when they are away (ZWB 1981:17).

Women's weak position in the household is not only a feature of rural households. Women's frequent complaints about the drunkenness and infidelity of husbands is indicative of social and economic vulnerability of women in urban households. The Situational Analysis reports that:

The urban condition imposes upon women a set of problems different in detail but similar in magnitude to that faced by rural women. The details of their work-load may not be as extensive or time consuming. Health services and educational facilities are more readily available. On the other hand, they and their children face the health hazards of high density living. Their sense of economic vulnerability is high, and they lack some of the valuable social support mechanisms provided by rural communal life (UNICEF 1985:80).

As was the case with employment and education, white women, though privileged, experienced discrimination on the basis of sex. Legally though they may not have suffered from the extremes of "customary law", they were still subject to male supremacy within the household.

The subordinate position of women in the household is common to all women in Zimbabwe, irrespective of race, class or ethnicity. The various forms of discrimination suffered by different segments of the female population stem from the ideology of male supremacy.

This definition is used to justify better employment opportunities and higher earnings for men while placing the burden of reproduction and maintenance of the household on women. This labour of women is not recognized as work but the natural role of women, hence its undervaluation.

The home-maker/bread-winner concept is especially damaging to households where women are the primary and sole supporters of the family. These female heads-of-household are responsible for both the so called bread-winner functions as well as reproduction and maintenance of the family.

The proportion of female headed households is much higher than is generally believed. Table A.6.1 illustrates this point.

Male control over women's labour and sexuality within the household is reinforced through religious beliefs, cultural practices and educational systems (both traditional and modern) that assign to women lesser status and power (Dawn 1985:19). Male dominance over women in the household is often manifested by actual physical violence against women. Research in this area has been

negligible and the whole issue of the relations between men and women in the household merits greater attention. The social upheavals which took place during the national liberation struggle had an impact on family relationships.

After Independence there appears to be a deep concern with maintaining the stability of the family. Leaders have on several occasions, made pronouncements on the importance of a stable family structure to national development.

Male reaction to legislation that seeks to change the status of women reflects their concern to maintain status quo within the family. Men feel the new laws threaten to erode their control over women's labour and sexuality. There was an outcry over the passing of the Legal Age of Majority Act in 1982. More recently the media has reported the anger of certain men over the new taxation regulations for married couples. There were complaints that the tax regulation would result in an influx of women into the labour market and that they constituted an attack on man's "natural role as bread-winners".

6.2. Women and society

The relations between men and women within the household provides the key to understanding women's subordinate role in society. Men's ability to develop organisational structures beyond their households grew out of their superior position within the family and the sexual division of labour within the household.

Prior to Independence, there was a conspicuous absence of women from public office. African women were victims of racial discrimination which prevented Africans in general to hold public office. They also faced the additional obstacle of cultural traditions which barred women from the male world of public decision making.

White women, theoretically had no such obstacles to participation in public office. However, the endrocentric nature of the settler society, ensured that they remained socially invisible, hidden behind their husbands. Their participation in public affairs was minimal.

The Zimbabwe Government's strong commitment to equal rights marked a new era for Zimbabwean women. It opened a way for their entry into areas which were formally male preserves. Women cabinet ministers, members of parliament and even a woman permanent secretary was appointed in the first few years of Independence. However, seven years after Independence women in public office are the exception rather than the rule and administrative structures from the village level up to the national level, are almost entirely male dominated as indicated by Table A.6.2.

Male control over women in the household is a barrier to women's effective participation in public affairs. Women workers have to ask husbands as well as employers for permission to attend seminars. Women hesitate to join professional organisations because evening meetings are frowned upon by their husbands. In most cases husbands have the right to decide whether their wives go out to work or not or whether they can stand for public office.

The men argue that nobody should tell them how to run their homes or how to behave towards a wife for whom large amounts of roora were paid (Kazembe 1986:395). Women's participation in public affairs will not therefore dramatically increase as long as male supremacy within the household remains unchallenged.

TABLES IN PARAGRAPH A.6

TABLE A.6.1.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS BY SEX

	<u>Male(%)</u>	<u>Female(%)</u>
Manicaland	47	43
Mashonaland Central	52	48
Mashonaland East	46	47
Masvingo	54	46
Midlands	56	44

Source: ILO/JASPA 1986:38

7. WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT POLICY

7.1. The Ministry of Cooperative and Community Development and Women's Affairs

The Zimbabwean Government has a strong commitment to the removal of all discrimination against women and the promotion of their participation on equal terms in the social and economic life of the nation.

The ruling party ZANU (PF) had long acknowledged the importance of women's role in the struggle and in keeping with its official Marxist Leninist ideology, saw the emancipation of women as part and parcel of the liberation struggle. At Independence in 1980 women were, for the first time in the history of the country, officially recognised as an oppressed group and as such, were the targets of a conscious Government policy to change their situation.

The Ministry of Cooperative and Community Development and Women's Affairs (MCCDWA) was set up to implement Government policy. Teurai Ropa Mujuru, the Minister of CCDWA, herself an ex-fighter, summarised Government policy and her Ministry's programme as follows:

The policy of this Government aims at the transformation of women's status so that they can assume their rightful role in society as participants along side men on the basis of equality.

The Department of Women's Affairs has a programme for the progressive removal of all customary, social, economic and legal disabilities that women have suffered in the past and still suffer now (Africa Report 1983:18).

The major objective of the MCCDWA was to spearhead the development of the hitherto neglected rural population and to accelerate the integration of women in development.

7.1.1. Structure and operations of the MCCDWA

The Ministry is comprised of three sections namely the Department of Cooperatives, which was amalgamated with the rest of the Ministry from January 1988, the Department of Community Development and the Department of Women's Affairs. The Department of Cooperatives is responsible for the Government's assistance to the cooperative movement. The Department of Community Development aims to mobilise both men and women for development programmes such as the early childhood care and education, adult literacy and income generating projects. The Department of Women's Affairs seeks ways and means of ensuring equality between men and women. Through its Women's Organisations Section, the Department of Women's Affairs is also responsible for the encouragement of liaison and co-ordination between women's organisations.

The Ministry reaches the grassroots level through administrative structures known as the Village Development Committees (VIDCOS) and Ward Development Committees (WADCOS). A village is considered to be the basic administrative unit consisting of about 1 000 people or 100 homes while the ward is composed of six villages. As of December 1984, 6 049 villages and 1 049 wards had been formed. The VIDCOs formulate plans and submit them to the WADCO which in turn submits a ward plan to the District Development Committee (DDCO). The DDCO compiles short and long term plans for presentation to the Provincial Development Committee which in turn draws provincial plans for consideration by the National Planning Machinery.

The MCCDWA has two types of workers at the village and ward levels; the Ward Development Coordinators (WDC) and the Village Community Workers (VCW). The latter was created in 1987 through the amalgamation of Ministry of Health's Village Health Workers. The functions of the WDCs include, among other things, the organisation of VIDCOS and encouraging people at village level to engage in income generating projects such as fishery, poultry and piggery and mobilising people to identify and build clinics, schools, community halls and other infrastructures where necessary. The VCWs on the other hand, are concerned with the promotion of elementary hygiene at the village level. They encourage people to maintain balanced diets and to engage in projects that have a direct bearing on primary health care, such as building latrines and Blair toilets. They also teach people the value of child spacing and immunisation and locally appropriate methods of oral rehydration therapy.

In addition to the MCCDWA the Ministry of Local Government, Urban and Rural Development (MLGRUD) also also has cadres at the community level; the Local Government Promotion Officers (LGPOs). Functions carried out by the LGPOs have been termed catalytic because they are supposed to:

- be in constant touch with issues as they evolve at the village and ward levels;
- educate the local population on Government policy and on resources available to them through the various ministries;
- assist communities in contacting the relevant ministries which provide the services needed; and
- encourage communities to undertake self-help projects such as the building of foot-bridges, schools, clinics, etc.

From the function of the various cadres at community level, it is obvious that there is some overlap and duplication of responsibilities. For example both the WDC and LGPO are involved in assisting communities to engage in self-help infrastructural projects.

The consequences of this overlap and duplication are obvious economic waste causing conflict and tension among workers at the same level in different ministries and between ministries themselves. It results in too many meetings for peasants who are asked to attend different gathering convened by different village

workers of different ministries taking up the already limited time of the peasants (UNICEF 1985:160).

7.1.2. Problems of implementation

MCCDWA has outlined the following as the major obstacles to effective implementation of policy:

- (i) shortage of grassroots level manpower to facilitate the community development process;
- (ii) shortage of funds to ensure project viability;
- (iii) low salary structure of the Ministry attracting only inadequately qualified personnel. The majority of the grassroots workers currently in office are poorly qualified;
- (iv) lack of remuneration for the voluntary pre-school and adult literacy tutors. This has resulted in a high turnover rate of the voluntary workers, thereby adversely affecting the programmes;
- (v) lack of transport, especially for District Officers hampers their effectiveness;
- (vi) shortage of office and residential accommodation for Ministry's Provincial and District Staff;
- (vii) the need for greater political backing of the party mobilisation and encouragement of the masses to participate in development programmes and in campaigning for more progressive attitudes on women's status and their contribution to development; and
- (ix) die-hard attitudes and discriminatory practices make it difficult to achieve equality between men and women (MCCDWA 1985).

The Ministry has had greatest impact in terms of outreach and material support for its adult literacy and early childhood care and education programmes, "infrastructural" projects such as the building of schools and community halls and the mobilisation of women to engage in income generating projects.

The Legal Rights and Equal Opportunities action has been actively involved in the advocating for the removal of discriminatory views against women. However, due to staff shortages it is unable to implement the various legal changes. For example women have complained that legal reforms are not being upheld in the community courts due to biases of the presiding officers who are mostly men. Presiding officers have been known to side with men in maintenance cases and rebuke women for making claims. Further research is needed to substantiate how far the community courts are upholding women's interests.

7.2. Women and Development - Integration or Marginalization

7.2.1. Income-Generating Projects

The strategy of promoting income generating projects is largely the outcome of the 1982 Report on the Situation of Women in Zimbabwe which identified the need to earn a cash income as one of the major needs of rural women. The MCCDWA and some NGOs subsequently embarked on a vigorous campaign through workshops for various community and development workers to promote the establishment of income generating projects by women organised at community level (Muchena 1985:6).

Income generating projects existed before Independence in the incipient form of women's clubs. As a result of MCCDWA and NGO encouragement the number of income generating projects has substantially increased since 1980. In December 1983 the Ministry recorded a total of 3 837 projects with 6 3911 female participants and 8 918 male participants. By December 1985 the number of projects had increased to 8 237 with 125 242 women participating and 37 815 men (Muchena 1985:7-8).

However, a break down of project activities shows that sewing, knitting and handicraft production continue to be prominent in the range of activities undertaken by women.

The income generating projects have not been very successful and many are on the verge of collapse. A number of studies have been carried out which indicate that income generating projects have little real impact in the lives of the project holders and the surrounding communities (MCCDWA: General Observations in IGPs 1985:2). A clearer perception of the long term role of income-generating projects is needed if these are to have direction and relevance.

Income-generating projects in urban areas have greater chances of success. In rural areas however, the development of income-generating projects needs to be weighed carefully against the essential need for women to participate in the main stream rural economic development programmes.

7.2.2. Farmer Groups and Savings Clubs

One measure taken to integrate women in development has been through farmer groups. Because of the support they provide for women in their capacity as farmers, the savings clubs and farmer groups seem to have greater potential to change women's status than do income generating projects. Farmer groups practice varying degrees of co-operation particularly in the marketing of grain and supply of agricultural inputs. Although they tend to be dominated by older men the greater proportion of the membership is female and some groups even have female chairpersons (Moyo et al 1985:67).

Savings clubs often coincide with farmer groups. Members usually save to purchase fertilizer collectively. During drought years the savings clubs use their savings to purchase food instead of

fertilizer (Moyo et al 1985:68). Savings clubs are a very positive development for women farmers because they provide a method of mobilising resources which is within the women's control.

Aside from the farmers groups and savings clubs, there has been little emphasis on women's role as agricultural producers. There has been little change in the exploitative relations under which women work in the agricultural sector. In fact their labour burden has increased due to development projects that are labour intensive in nature and take up time which should be devoted to agricultural production. The increase in women's labour as a result of the drought has already been discussed. While there have been dramatic increases in the productivity of some peasant households, the larger majority can scarcely produce a bare subsistence (Moyo et al 1985:44). The combination of the drought, the international recession and the problem of rising unemployment has created a crisis situation for many Communal Area households.

7.2.3. Food and Drought

Food-for-work and emergency drought relief programmes have been the major responses to the drought situation. There is however a lack of a specific policy on drought management. There is a dire need to preserve and promote drought tolerant indigenous crop varieties instead of the present Agritex approach of promoting high yield crop varieties which need a lot of commercial inputs. Research indicates that peasants prefer sustained institutional support of this nature to emergency drought relief handouts (Mutuma et al 1986:77). The occurrence of drought should not be treated as a climatic aberration but as a recurrent phenomenon that policy makers should be sensitive to and plan for accordingly.

The shortfall in food production has often been attributed to drought alone. However, the fact that a significant proportion of peasant families fail to grow sufficient food to last the whole year is more than just a short term problem caused by a temporary environmental fluctuation. It is more the result of a long term deterioration in the viability of the labour reserve economy as a whole (Moyo et al 1985:47). Various studies indicate that despite its reputation as "the bread basket" of the SADCC region there exists a serious problem of malnutrition in Zimbabwe (see Shopo 1986 and Moyo, et al, 1985). The following comment has been made of Zimbabwe's reputation as a food surplus nation:

It should however be strongly pointed out that this so called "success" is based on aggregate performance which on closer scrutiny does not reflect the true situation and that the actual hunger and related health status of the peasantry, when closely inspected, does not match up to the colourful impressions created, especially by the international media (Moyo, et al 1985:2).

Agricultural development plans do not give an indication of the extent of the hunger problem because of the focus on aggregate performance. The crisis in food production in peasant households is not addressed. A major reason for this crisis is that women's role as food producers is not acknowledged. Food security at national and household level cannot be achieved unless women's work in food production is recognised and women's needs are coordinated into a truly integrated strategy of rural development, which specifically addresses the problem of hunger.

The Communal Land Development Plan does not address the problem of land shortage and the particular difficulties which women face in this regard. The use of the masculine gender to refer to farmers indicates that women are still not regarded as farmers in their own right.

A positive strategy would be the increased distribution of land to women in their own right as well as extension services, technical support and credit facilities which are accessible to the poorest women.

7.2.4. Health Policy

Government's objective of making health care accessible to the whole population is commendable. However the present organisation of health care perpetuates differential treatment between different socio-economic classes as well as between urban and rural areas.

For the peasantry the burden of health care is placed squarely on the shoulders of women. The Village Community Workers bear a large part of the costs of health care by providing cheap labour. The primary health care programme has emphasized self-help programmes. In this way the poorest peasants, mainly women, are asked to construct toilets, and provide clean water supplies using the meagre resources at their disposal.

The unequal distribution of responsibilities between men and women continues because development programmes place the entire responsibility of children's health and nutritional status on women. The fact that children's health and nutritional status is also dependent on the extent to which men exercise their responsibilities toward their families is largely ignored. It is the mothers' supposed ignorance of nutrition or hygiene which is addressed through education programmes. No policy measures are taken to address the fathers' alcoholism or failure to provide financial support for the family. Women are viewed as promoters of health care for their families. Little attention is paid to the health of the women themselves.

In the area of health care there is a need for a greater redistribution of technology, manpower and other resources to areas previously underserved as well as a redistribution of responsibilities between men and women.

7.2.5. Training and Employment Policy

The policy of free primary education for all has resulted in an increasing proportion of girls attending school. This increase at primary school level has not been matched by a corresponding increase at secondary and tertiary levels where there is a fall in the proportion of women to men. Training programmes run by Government and NGOs focus on leadership and improvement of women's status.

The legal provisions in the Labour Relations Act have offered some protection to already employed women. However, while the passing of the legislation is a positive step for women, the enforcement of laws has been weak due to both prevailing patriarchal attitudes as well as the unemployment situation.

Policies on women's employment therefore have to treat women not as supplementary wage earners but as workers in their own rights. Policies should also be sensitive to women's unpaid and unrecognised work.

7.3. Conclusion

An overall assessment of development policy shows that women's issues are relegated to the Ministry of Cooperative and Community Development and Women's Affairs. Few other Government Ministries address the gender issue seriously. The Ministry of Justice is a notable exception in that it has promoted legislative changes in women's favour, even in the face of male resistance. However, there are many aspects of the law which continue to be discriminatory to women, some of which are enshrined in the Constitution of Zimbabwe. MCCDWA faces the problems of marginalisation and neglect experienced by Women's Ministries and Bureaux worldwide.

MCCDWA programmes have low priority in the allocation of funds and other resources. In all national development plans since Independence women have been categorized together with youth and mentioned only in connection with community development, health and the informal sector. Women are marginalised in national development plans as Muchena points out:

What relationship is there between women's projects and local or national plans? Usually none and so women continue in their piecemeal isolated project approach as if they were a separate nation within national development plans (Muchena 1982:57).

Finally women and development policy is characterized by an economic view of women's oppression i.e. women are oppressed by their poverty and their problems will be solved if they can earn a cash income. While the eradication of poverty should be a major goal of any policy, economic well-being alone cannot solve the problems of women. Discrimination on the basis of gender cuts across social class as well as race and ethnic group. Policies aimed at transforming women's lives both economically and socially must also address the sexual division of labour and men's control over women within the household.

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SECTION B - NORWEGIAN ASSISTANCE TO WOMEN IN ZIMBABWE

1991

1. OVERALL STRATEGY FOR ASSISTANCE TO WOMEN IN ZIMBABWE

1.1. Main goals and target groups

Norway's strategy for assistance to Women-in-Development (WID) was presented by the Ministry of Development Co-operation (NORAD) at the UN Conference on Women in Nairobi 1985. The document stresses that a strategy for women in development must build on women's strengths, needs and interests, and thus put stronger focus on human and social aspects of development than is usually being done. It further emphasises the importance of recognising the interrelationship between the productive and reproductive roles of women, and of facilitating women's ability to organise and participate in political activities so as to fight for their own rights.

Norwegian development assistance to Zimbabwe should therefore seek to utilise the strengths of women in the development process, as well as making sure that Norwegian funds contribute directly to giving women a better life.

For this reason, the Norwegian development assistance to Zimbabwe should have two main goals in relation to women:

- I. To alleviate the poverty and heavy work load of the majority of the women.
- II. To reduce the oppression of women as gender.

Women's socio-economic conditions can be improved through programmes with the objective to:

- increase their production, productivity and incomes by developing infrastructure and available services (such as water supply, health facilities, transport systems and marketing depots);
- reduce the demands on their labour - particularly for domestic work - in order to release more time for productive, educational and social activities.

Male dominance and oppression of women can be reduced through programmes with the objective to:

- increase women's control over their own time, body, means of production and incomes;
- increase women's influence in society.

It follows that not only the poorer sections, but also well educated and better-off groups of women can be targets for the assistance. The latter group often plays an important role in the struggle for legal rights and equal opportunities for women.

1.2. Strategic sectors

In some sectors women-oriented assistance makes greater impact and is easier to implement than in other sectors. The strategy is to concentrate input where development potentials are the greatest. The Norwegian country programme for assistance to Zimbabwe should contain several of these strategically important

sectors. Strategically important sectors are agriculture and management of natural resources like forests, game and fish, water development, health and family planning, education and employment.

The state of the economy, and the level of development of e.g. electricity supply, communication networks and the industrial base limit the policy options within the above sectors. It is therefore important to design programmes within these sectors which specifically increases women's access to goods and services, and which makes goods and services more relevant to the specific needs of women.

1.3. Feasible channels for the assistance

As outlined in Section A, it is stated as the overall policy of the Zimbabwe Government to achieve equality between men and women, and increased equity in society in general. MCCD and other Government institutions carry out activities with the specific aim to improve the lot of women. Programmes such as the National Integrated Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Programme and the Family Health Project have women as their stated major target group, and are considered to have substantial positive impact on women. It is therefore both possible and desirable for NORAD to channel the bulk of the assistance to women in Zimbabwe through Government institutions.

However, despite the Government's overall policy of promoting equality between women and men, most of the sector policies and programmes implemented by Government institutions tend to favour men and therefore reproduce the traditional division of labour and oppression of women. NORAD should therefore monitor the programmes the agency supports thoroughly, and where necessary recommend changes to make them more beneficial for women. The strategy should be to support ministries, institutions and individuals who fight for women's interests so as to strengthen their ability to reach these goals.

There are in Zimbabwe various institutions, milieus and NGOs which work for women's interests. Some of them are important pressure groups lobbying for change of discriminatory and oppressive laws, procedures and practices. NORAD should give high priority to support for their activities, by utilising the various schemes over and above the country programme allocations such as the schemes for NGOs, women in development, conservation of environment, research, culture and scholarships.

TABLES IN PARAGRAPH B.1

TABLE B.1.1.

ZIMBABWE COUNTRY PROGRAMME 1991 -1994 (NOK million)

	Total commit- ments	Account disburse ments up to 90	Anticip- ated Disburse ments 91	Planning 1992	Figures 1993	Figures 1994

Planning figures			90.0	90.0	90.0	90.0
Carried over from 90			20.0			

At disposal			110.0	90.0	90.0	90.0

1. Water/Sanitation Prog. ZIB 007	190.9		35.0	20.0 (15.0)	(35.0)	(35.0)
2. Commodity Import Prog. ZIB 016/100	90.0 (80.0)		(40.0)	(40.0)	()	()
3. Family Health Prog. ZIB 015	40.0 (50.0)	40.0	0 (3.0)	(7.0)	(10.0)	(10.0)
4. Agriculture/Nat. Resources						
4.1 Bulk Milk Tanks ZIB 011	20.0 2.5	0.3	1.0	1.2		
4.2 Dairy Dev. Prog. ZIB 017	22.0	4.2	6.0	6.0	5.8	(6.0)
4.3 Women's Ext. Programme	(4.5)		(1.0)	(1.5)	(1.5)	(0.5)
4.4 Environmental Proj. ZIB 025	(2.8)		(0.5)	(1.0)	(0.8)	(0.5)
5. Women's Programme ZIB 027	(9.0)		(1.5)	(3.0)	(3.0)	(1.5)
6. Other Projects:						
6.1 Wood Tech Ctr ZIB 005	15.6	12.8	0.8			
6.2 CSO In/Out Matrix ZIB 012	1.8	1.8	(0.3)			
6.3 Fertilizer Project	20.0		20.0			
7. Planning and Con- sultancy Services			(0.9)	()	()	()

TOTAL			110.0	94.7	56.1	53.5

OVERPLANNING				4.7	1.5	

UNALLOCATED					33.9	36.5

2. WATER DEVELOPMENT

2.1. THE INTEGRATED RURAL WATER SUPPLY AND SANITATION PROGRAMME (ZIB 007)

NOK 190 mill. has been granted for the programme for the period 1988-92. The programme is based on the recommendations in Zimbabwe's National Master Plan for Rural Water Supply and Sanitation (NMWP), and the grant is a continuation of Norway's previous extensive engagement in the water sector.

The main objectives of the programme are:

1. Improved health conditions.
2. Reduced workload for women and children.
3. Improved socio-economic conditions.

Improved health conditions require that health education and better sanitation facilities are introduced as integrated components together with clean water supply. One important component of the programme is therefore construction of pit latrines at the homesteads, schools and other natural assembly points such as water points and business centres.

Reduced workload: The NMWP states the target that all households in the Communal Lands and Resettlement Areas shall have clean water supply from tap, borehole or well within reach of 500 m. from the homestead within 20 years.

Civil works, such as washing stands (for laundry) and washing rooms (for personal hygiene) near the water source will also ease the workload by reducing the amount of water one has to carry home.

The objective of improved socio-economic conditions points to water used for productive purposes; namely for watering cattle and for irrigation. Cattle troughs are usually erected in close proximity to the the well/borehole. Apart from this, the NORAD-supported programme concentrates generally on water for domestic use, though excess water from naturally high-yielding boreholes have also to a limited extent been exploited for micro irrigation. Water from such sources is usually used for hand-watering of small gardens. More comprehensive micro irrigation schemes would require construction of small dams. The Zimbabwean Government has decided not to include dam construction for micro irrigation in the water and sanitation programme, but to develop such irrigation through separate programmes.

The institutions involved in the implementation of the programme are the Ministries of Health (MOH), Energy and Water Development (MEWRD), Community and Co-operative Development (MCCD) and Local Government Rural and Urban Development (MLGRUD), together with the District Development Fund (DDF) and Department of Agricultural Extension Services (AGRITEX). The implementation takes place at the district level, co-ordinated by the District Administrator, the District Development Committee and the District Council. At the national level, all the integrated district water and sanitation programmes are coordinated by the National Action

Committee and its secretariat National Co-ordination Unit, situated in MLGRUD.

The beneficiaries are to participate in the planning process by presenting identified needs to the district administration and site requirements to the planners. They are also to take part in the construction works by digging the first three meters for wells, providing sand and stones, and moulding bricks for headworks. They are also to dig pits, mould bricks and hire builders for construction of their own pit latrines. A professional contractor will be responsible for borehole drilling and well sinking. Finally, the communities, through their elected pump caretakers will be responsible for basic maintenance of the pumps and headworks.

Each water point shall have a voluntary water committee, which is a permanent sub-committee under the Village Development Committee (VIDCO).

2.2. Women and the water programme

2.2.1. Improved sanitation and reduced workload?

The programme is considered to be most beneficial for women, as one of its main objectives is to reduce the workload for women and children. Shorter distance to a clean water source undisputedly reduces the time required for collecting water. This is to a large extent labour saved for women, as most children today attend school and assist their mothers only to a limited extent.

In order to improve peoples' health and sanitation standard, the programme aims to increase the households' water consumption. This would again increase the women's workload, particularly if there is an increased demand for warmed water for personal hygiene, requiring more firewood. However, recent research indicates that the shorter distance has so far lead to only marginally higher domestic water consumption, and that gradual changes in consumption can only be expected to occur as a result of long term efforts to provide health education.

However, the provision of clean drinking water, construction of Blair latrines and health education have together with other preventative health programmes improved the average health standard, and this might have implied a reduction in the workburden of women which is of greater significance than the effect in time saved from the shorter distance between homestead and water point.

Recommendations:

- NORAD should encourage NAC to continually monitor the effects of the water programme on women's, children's and men's work burden respectively. This should be done as part of NAC's regular monitoring of the programme
- NORAD should encourage NAC to put high priority on provision of health education under the water and sanitation programme.

2.2.2. Headworks (civil works)

The choice of headworks (also called civil works) in connection with the water point has crucial impact on the extent to which women benefit from the programme. The headworks require contribution from both the communities (labour) and the implementing ministries (cement, wages for builders etc.). There are discussions and disagreements both within the villages and the ministries as to which headworks should be included. Women and men often have different priorities, but the conflict lines would, in many cases, also reflect different social strata and difference between traditional/modernising orientations.

Washing stands and washing rooms near the water point are of particular value to women, as such facilities will reduce the amount of water to be carried to the homestead. Construction of such facilities should therefore be encouraged in the water programme. Washing stands are fairly uncontroversial and they are often included both in the integrated district programmes. There is far more disagreement over the value of washing rooms; whether they will be used, will be kept clean etc. Such facilities have, however, been included with success in a DANIDA/UNICEF-funded water programme in Midlands and Matabeleland. There is sufficient provision of funds for construction of washing rooms in NORAD's programme budget, but it has so far not been systematically encouraged.

If washing rooms are established near the water points, pit latrines would also be required, to avoid that the washing rooms are being used as toilets. Pit latrines near the pumps are also useful by themselves, as women and small children spend long hours at the washing stand. Latrines at public places can furthermore have an important educational function. They are commonly included in the integrated district programmes.

Cattle troughs are frequently constructed near the water points. As the children now spend a large part of the day at school, the women have had to take over most of the herding. Cattle troughs are likely to be labour saving devices, as they may enable women to water the cattle and collect water for domestic use simultaneously. But there are also strong arguments for keeping cattle away from the pumps, as they will easily pollute the water. Special water points for cattle would be a better solution from this point of view.

Some villages have established small gardens near the pumps for hand-watering, but there has not yet been any attempt to systematically exploit the use of excess water from high-yielding boreholes for micro-irrigation. There is a great need for irrigation in the Communal Lands, so the potentials need to be looked into. The watered areas would be very limited, and mostly suitable for vegetable gardens, a traditional women's domain. One should avoid that such opportunities are exploited by one or a few influential people, but ensure that the irrigated fields are earmarked for collective gardening by for instance women's groups. Women's groups already run many collective gardens as income generating projects or as part of the supplementary feeding programme.

Recommendation:

NORAD should encourage NAC to include financial provisions for both washing stands, washing rooms and pit latrines as standard headworks at the water points. NORAD should continue to provide sufficient funds for such facilities.

NORAD should furthermore encourage NAC to include in their guidelines for the integrated district programmes recommendations that all three types of headworks be offered as an option to the user communities.

2.2.3. Community participation

Community participation too often degenerates into a mechanism for mobilising free labour for construction of communal facilities in the rural areas. But community participation will only be a substantial tool for development when the communities are given a decisive say in the planning process and also get access to training as part of the project. The Ministry of Community and Co-operative Development has over the last couple of years done research into ways and means of mobilising the different sections of the community to participate in the water programme. The findings are background for the guidelines MCCD currently is preparing for community participation.

2.2.3.1. Strategies for mobilising women

Due to traditional values, few Zimbabwean women speak their mind in community meetings where men are present. Furthermore, women are a primary target group for the water and sanitation programme. At the same time, women and men will often have different priorities as regards headworks and suitable sites for water points. There is, therefore, a need to make special efforts to mobilise the women in the user communities to take active part in all stages of the community participation process, in particular in the planning stage.

One potential strategy could be to organise separate meetings for the women in the village in order to ensure that their priorities are expressed. However, this strategy runs the danger of generating great resentment among the local men, and thus create great difficulties for the whole community participation process.

An alternative strategy could be to conduct separate workshops at district level for female extension staff (e.g. VCWs, WCCs, HAS, LGPOs), women's representatives (Women's League, women's clubs, female VIDCO-, WARDCO- and District Council members) and other outstanding women to discuss the women's needs in the programme, and how to mobilise women to fight for their interests.

Recommendation:

NORAD should advise NAC to put particular emphasis on mobilising the women of the user communities to participate in both planning and implementation of the programme at the village and ward level. MCCD should be encouraged to identify suitable strategies and systematically test different models for mobilising the women.

2.2.3.2. Community Participation Officers

MCCD has the responsibility for coordination of the community participation, and the Ministry's staff at district, ward and village level (DCDOs, WCCs and VCWs) are given a crucial role in the integrated district programmes. As most of the staff is female, they will hopefully encourage women villagers to express their needs and priorities.

In order to strengthen MCCD's otherwise rather weak extension apparatus, NORAD provides funds for 6 specially trained Community Participation Officers (CPOs) in the project districts, and 2 Community Participation Coordinators (CPCs) in 2 provinces. The CDOs and CPCs are engaged on local consultancy contracts during the planning and implementation phases of the projects. Despite certain (limited) efforts to recruit women, all the CPOs and CPCs recruited so far are male.

Recommendation:

NORAD should strongly advise MCCD to make more efforts to recruit female CPOs and CPCs. Where more than one CPO is positioned in a district, at least one of them should be a woman. This is of particular importance in districts where the DCDO and several of the WCCs and VCWs are men.

2.2.4. Maintenance of water points and headworks

District Development Fund has established a three-tier maintenance system consisting of:

- 1.) Two unpaid, voluntary pump caretakers per water point, with responsibility for the most elementary maintenance together with keeping the area around the well/borehole clean;
- 2.) Pump minders employed by DDF. Each pump minder covers today 2-3 wards, or an average of 50 water points;
- 3.) Mobile DDF-teams in charge of repairs and more complicated aspects of maintenance.

2.2.4.1. Pump caretakers

The task as pump caretaker is today earmarked for women. As the main users of water, they are believed to be more reliable than men. Two women per pump are selected for an indefinite period, and the work is expected to be done on a voluntary basis, like most other collective tasks in the villages that women are expected to carry out (e.g. pre-school teaching, literacy training).

It is not reasonable to expect the caretakers to perform these tasks on a permanent basis without any kind of remuneration. It is, therefore, likely that after some time they will abandon their responsibility, and with nobody willing to take over, the three-tier maintenance system will collapse. This has been the case with both pre-school teachers and literacy trainers.

However, the remuneration will have to be organised locally, as it will be impossible to cover such expenses over the central Government budget.

Recommendation:

NORAD should recommend introduction of a system of locally generated remuneration for the pump caretakers. One feasible form of remuneration could be to give them land for private vegetable gardening close to the water point, where they could exploit excess water for hand watering. This is also recommended in the National Master Water Plan.

2.2.4.2. The water point committees

The NMWP recommends that three out of four members of the water point committees should be women. However, the committees will not be important bodies in the planning and decision making process, as they are normally established after the decisions regarding sites for water points, headworks etc. have been made. Strong representation by women in the committee will therefore not be a mechanism to ensure that women's needs and wishes are given priority. Their over-representation is rather motivated by the belief that they are more reliable and willing to do voluntary work than men. There are no extra benefits for the committee members. The recommendation of three women to one man will furthermore have the effect of reinforcing the marginalisation of issues related to domestic water supply from the men's sphere and consolidate the traditional attitude that provision of water rests within the women's domain.

Recommendation:

NORAD should recommend NAC to advise the user communities to elect an equal number of women and men in the water point committees.

2.2.4.3. The pump minders and DDF store keepers

The pump minders are employed at the district level by DDF. Although they are unskilled, local people who are given only three months training, their wage has been fixed at a relatively high level, three times as high as the level for the Village Community Workers, who have three months of training as well. The pump minders are appointed by the District Councils, and so far only men have been selected.

However, DDF has also established stores for tools, dynamite and other materials required for the water points in the project districts. The stores are manned by paid store keepers (employees of DDF), and the Fund has made great efforts to recruit women as store keepers, as they are considered to be more reliable and less likely than men to steal from the stores.

Recommendation:

- NORAD should recommend NAC to encourage the District Councils to select at least as many female as male pump minders. For instance women with experience as pump caretakers would be suitable candidates.

2.2.5. Training of the user communities

The water point committees and other local resource persons in the programme are given short training sessions aimed at giving them a basic understanding of the programme, the need for maintenance and for improved health and sanitation standards. A large proportion of these participants are women.

Pump minders, blasters (for construction of deep wells) and builders (of pit latrines and simple headworks) are given more comprehensive training which provides them with a basis for an income afterwards. So far, only men have been trained as pump minders. DDF has, however, in some districts made efforts to train female blasters, and in Mount Darwin District 18 out of 40 blasters are women. Few women have so far been trained as builders.

The user communities are themselves to select candidates for the various forms of training. Unless they are explicitly encouraged also to nominate women, traditional values and perceptions of sexual division of labour will in most cases imply that only men are selected.

Recommendations:

- NORAD should recommend NAC to encourage the villages to come up with an equal number of male and female candidates for training as builders, blasters and pump minders.
- NORAD and NAC should in the annual review meetings for the water programme set joint training targets, specifying the proportion of women to be trained in the various relevant skills.
- The annual reports from the integrated district projects should specify the number of women and men who have been trained and the skills they have acquired.

2.2.6. Personnel and staff development

There is a shortage of women with the necessary qualifications for the professional jobs in most of the fields within the water and sanitation sector. There is a number of women employed by MCCD and MOH, but few of them have extensive qualifications in the skills required for planning and implementing the comprehensive, integrated district projects.

In order to ensure that the water and sanitation programme addresses the needs of the women of the user communities, it is considered more essential to recruit a high number of women in the areas of planning and monitoring, community participation, sanitation and health education, than in the strictly technical fields. Priority should thus be given to training and recruitment of women in the above fields at both national, province and district levels.

Recommendations:

- NORAD should encourage NAC and other relevant Government institutions to adopt a policy of recruiting women for at least 50% of the professional positions involved in the planning and implementation of the water programme, in particular for the positions as as CPOs, CPCs, DCDOs,

Environmental Health Officers and Assistants to the District Administrators.

Concrete targets should be set jointly by NAC and NORAD in the annual review meetings for the programme.

- NORAD should advise NAC deliberately to use the Manpower Development Fund to train potential, female candidates who at the moment have insufficient background to qualify for the professional posts in the sector.
- NORAD should recommend NAC and the Training Centre for Water and Sanitation at the University of Zimbabwe to encourage women to attend courses at the Centre. It should be considered to offer special scholarships for female candidates, either from within or outside the Manpower Development Fund.

2.2.7. Water for productive purposes

As stated in paragraph 2.2. above, improved socio-economic conditions is one of the main objectives for NORAD's support to water development in Zimbabwe. This objective can best be achieved through improving water supply for productive purposes, notably for micro irrigation, ~~and Zimbabwe~~. The large productive potential lies in exploiting the rivers and streams, and Zimbabwe's Government has decided to develop these resources in programmes separate from the National Water and Sanitation Programme. However, some of the boreholes too can yield enough to irrigate gardens of a reasonable size. These resources have only to a limited extent been utilised, although the scope and budgets for the integrated district programmes in principle can include such facilities. More emphasis should be put on systematically exploiting these water resources.

Recommendations:

- NORAD should advise NAC to systematically encourage NGOs, Local Government Authorities and any other able bodies to utilise excess water from high-yielding boreholes by establishing micro-irrigation schemes.
- NORAD should allocate sufficient funds for such schemes within the annual budgets for the water programme.

2.3. Strategic events for influencing the Water and Sanitation Programme

2.3.1. The annual and half-annual programme review meetings

As referred to above (para 2.2.), NORAD's assistance to the water sector in Zimbabwe has the character of budget support granted for programmes designed and implemented by Government ministries. Due to this mode of co-operation, NORAD's ability to influence the detailed planning and implementation of the programme is quite limited. The programme will only be a tool for improving the situation of rural women if such objectives and targets are adopted by the Zimbabwean institutions which are responsible for the programme.

NORAD's best opportunity to influence the programme are the half-annual and annual programme review meetings, during which the plan

of operation for NORAD-funded activities in the following budget year is to be agreed upon. In the annual meeting 1990, it was agreed to set up an ad hoc committee under NAC which is to identify the pertinent issues relevant to women, and recommend measures, including concrete targets for training, employment of staff etc.

Recommendations:

- NORAD and Zimbabwe should in the annual review meetings agree upon concrete measures and targets aimed at ensuring that the programme is beneficial to women.
- The advisor on women-in-development issues in NORAD's resident representation should participate in these meetings and the preparatory discussions on the plans of operation proposed by the Zimbabwe Government.

2.3.2. Evaluations

In addition to the ongoing, regular monitoring of the integrated district projects, specific evaluations should be carried out by independent teams from time to time. In 1990, the National Co-ordination Unit intends to evaluate the integrated district projects in Makoni and Mt. Darwin districts, both of which have been funded by NORAD.

Recommendation:

NORAD should strongly advise NAC/NCU to give explicit attention to the impact the water programme in general and the integrated district projects in particular, have had on women and men respectively in the user communities.

TITLE OF PROJECT / PROGRAMME:

Integrated Water Supply and Sanitation Programme (ZIB 007)

1. Starting date: July 1988

2. Duration: 1988-1992

Phase 1: 4 years

Budget: NOK 190 mill.

3. Implementing agency: National Action Committee (NAC), consisting of representatives from MFEPD, MLGRUD, MEWRD, MCCD, MOH and AGRITEX. Secretariat: National Co-ordination Unit (NCU) in MLGRUD.

4. The project purposes stated in the project document concerning women:

Phase 1: To improve health conditions and to reduce the physical burden of fetching water, particularly for women and children.

Phase 2: To be formulated

5. **Technical assistance:**

- External assistance to the project over the last 12 months:

Persons-months
(split on M/F)

60M

Professional
field

Water- and
sanitation
engineers

- External assistance with competence on WID over the last 12 months

Nil

6. Special funds for women have been used in connection with the project for:

Sum: Nil

7. Other / special funds that have been used in connection with the project:

Sum: Will be used in 1991

8. **Concrete results obtained (ref. purpose) (data broken down by gender):**
 Physical development: By end 1989 some 600 new waterpoints have been established, serving about 76.000 persons or approx. 12.000 households, where the women and children are in charge of fetching water and washing clothes. All new water points include washing stands for laundry; some also cattle troughs. Washing rooms for personal hygiene are rare.
 Community participation: Village water committees: 3F to 1M
 Pump caretakers (unpaid): 3F to 1 M.
 Training and education: Pump minders (paid): Only M.
 Builders and blasters: Varies from district to district. In Mt. Darwin 18 of 40 blasters are F.
 Technicians: Only M.
9. **Effects and impacts obtained concerning women: (direct measures or through indicators):**
 Health impact monitoring in progress.
10. **To what degree have the recommendations from the last Action Plan been followed up?**
 Most relevant recommendations have been followed up. NAC has agreed to establish a short-term working group for formulation of specific strategies for involvement of women in all activities.

Constraints:

Department of Women's Affairs has been transferred from MCCD to Min. of Political Affairs, thus weakening the concentration on WID-issues in MCCD.

The position of Department of Community Development in MCCD is insecure, and the Department as a whole is weak.

Traditional/sociocultural attitudes towards women are barriers against their active involvement in training, decisionmaking and in paid labour.

Recommendations:

NORAD to follow up the work of the NAC WID-group.

Programme Officer: Ruth Kove

Date: 29.03.90.

3. THE POPULATION AND HEALTH SECTOR

3.1. NORAD's involvement in the population and health sector

The provision of primary health care and mother and child healthcare (MCH) has been a high priority since independence, and several donors have been involved. The population sector has strong links to the health sector through the comprehensive family planning programmes which Zimbabwe is internationally well known for. The provision of modern family planning methods and adequate services relating to reproductive health is the single most important factor in reducing morbidity among the large majority of Zimbabwean women.

The Norwegian support for the population and health sector will in the foreseeable future be concentrated to:

1. Family Planning/Mother and Child Healthcare
2. Improved sanitation standards, as part of the water programme. This programme has been described in chapter 3 above.

3.2. Family Planning/Maternal and Child Healthcare (MCH)

3.2.1. THE FAMILY HEALTH PROJECT (ZIB 015)

Norway have supported the Family Health Project I, which is a large project implemented by the Ministry of Health (MOH) and the Zimbabwe National Family Planning Council, and coordinated by the World Bank. It aims to increase the availability and use of family planning services, improve the health status particularly of mothers and children, and strengthen Government's institutional capacity to plan, manage and evaluate MCH and family planning services.

The project has the following components:

- Upgrading of eight district hospitals and 66 rural health centres, located in one district in each province.
- Improved family planning and maternal care services in the pilot districts, through training of 2250 nurses in mid-wifery, 2670 nurses and a large number of Village Community Workers (VCW) and Traditional Midwives (TMs) in family planning motivation and techniques, and finally general upgrading of the TMs skills as birth attendants.
- Improved family planning services at 22 urban hospitals through training of doctors and nurses in family planning methods, including sterilisation methods (doctors only) and intra-uterine devices (IUD).
- Public information and education in family planning.
- Expansion of the cytology service from the present capacity of screening 25.000 to screening 200.000 women per year, in order to be able to discover and treat cervix cancer at an early stage.

- Strengthening management of MoH at national, provincial and district levels.

Norway has granted NOK 80 mill. for the five-year period 1986-91 to this project, which is budgetted to cost altogether US\$ 52,6 mill. Other financiers are The World Bank, ODA, GTZ, The Netherlands, and the Zimbabwe Government itself.

Norway finances the following components:

- All costs for upgrading the rural health clinics.
- Part of the costs for training, management strengthening and public information/motivation.

The Norwegian contribution is financed with NOK 40. mill from the bilateral country programme and NOK 40 mill. as a grant in a co-financing scheme with the World Bank. All the Norwegian support is administered by the World Bank. It is primarily through participation in the joint donor supervision missions (held twice annually) that NORAD can exercise some influence on the programme.

FHP I will be concluded in 1991, and Norway has been asked to continue support for the sector through the new FHP II. Norway has indicated willingness to continue the co-operation in the sector, possibly from both the country programme and multi-bilateral grants channeled through the World Bank.

3.2.2. Women and The Family Health Project

3.2.2.1. Minimise women's health risks and increase their control

Family planning programmes can have three different objectives:

1. To reduce national/global population growth.
2. To improve the families' socio-economic and health status.
3. To increase women's ability to exercise control over their own lives.

The objectives may well be combined. However, they may also lead to different strategies and choice of techniques. For example programmes primarily aiming at reduced population growth have in some cases tended to force or fool women into sterilization, without properly explaining to them the medical consequences. A programme with the main objective to increase women's ability to control their own lives could not have chosen a similar strategy.

The objectives also influence choice of family planning techniques. From the perspective of women's health, one should be careful about recommending insertion of IUD, which given the present sanitation standards and high level of sexually transmitted diseases (STD) may lead to increased severity of the STDs. Still, IUDs are a good alternative for some women. It is cost-effective and should be included as one of the methods offered. The Family Health Project explicitly aims to increase the availability of a varied spectrum of family planning methods. NORAD should aim to ensure that this ambition is given sufficient priority in the implementation of the project.

The objectives of Zimbabwe's family planning policy are a

combination of objectives 1 and 2. Thus, the Family Health Project emphasizes both family planning, in order to reduce population growth and improve health facilities for mothers and children. Family planning as a tool to increase women's control over their bodies and lives is not a stated objective.

Women's role as mothers, and their medical needs deriving thereof, is being recognised in the MCH-concept. Research has shown that the risks of morbidity and mortality are highest for delivering mothers below 18 or above 35 years old, for women with four or more births, and women who last delivered less than two years earlier. More than 80% of Zimbabwean mothers fall into one or more of these high-risk categories, for example 1/3 of all childbearing women have their first baby before reaching the age of 18. It is therefore the Government's policy to aim at postponing the first pregnancy and increase the space between each child.

Whereas Zimbabwe in the last ten years has managed to reduce the infant mortality rate impressively from 140 to 68, there are no indications that women's health status has improved accordingly. Birthgiving women still have a high mortality rate, and the Family Health Project aims to reduce this through:

1. Training of 2250 nurses in midwifery;
2. Providing training of the TMs, who are estimated to cater for more than 50% of the births in the rural areas.

In addition, the component of expanding the cytology service aims to reduce women's mortality from cervix cancer, today the most common form of cancer in Zimbabwe.

Recommendations:

- NORAD should recommend family planning strategies and techniques which minimize women's health risks and maximize their ability to exercise control over their own bodies and lives.
- NORAD should aim to ensure that the Family Health Project fulfills its stated intention of providing a varied spectrum of family planning techniques.
- NORAD should support the Government's efforts to implement its policy of postponing the first pregnancy and create greater birth intervals.

3.2.2.2. The new target group: men

The whole family planning exercise is to date geared towards women. Most of the Village Community Workers (VCWs) and Community Based (Pill) Distributors (CBDs) are women, and for socio-cultural reasons many of them find it difficult to approach men on the issue.

Women in Zimbabwe are generally far more positive to family planning than men. Men often prevent their wives from using contraceptives, and only a small minority accept to use condoms themselves within the family setting, although the use of condoms have increased tremendously with the spread of the HIV virus. There has been no campaign for male sterilisation, and this is not an offered service.

However, the attitudes have improved a lot since Independence, and the acceptance rate among women is today the highest in Sub-Saharan Africa (above 40%) The impression among health personnel is that men's attitudes are also changing, as they realise that given the present conditions of expensive education, land shortage and high unemployment rates, having many children is more likely to lead to poverty than prosperity and a secured old age.

Zimbabwe National Family Planning Council (ZNFPC) has recently decided to direct their information and education efforts more towards men. As the information, education and communication component of the Family Health Project is the joint responsibility of ZNFPC and the Health Education Unit in MoH, this will hopefully ensure that men are made an important target group for the material to be produced.

Recommendation:

NORAD should stress the need to direct the information and education on family planning more towards men. This should be proposed as a recommendation in the supervision missions for the Family Health Programme.

3.2.2.3. Training

As shown above, training of existing health personnel is a very important component in the programme. Training not only is offered to the modern health personnel, but also to the TMs, who are given recognition for their important role in the health system.

In order to reach men with family planning, special emphasis should be put on training male nurses and VCWs in family planning techniques, particularly in motivational techniques.

Recommendation:

NORAD should recommend MoH to encourage male health workers to participate in courses on motivation for family planning, perhaps by setting quotas and giving them preference.

3.2.2.4. Teenage pregnancies

Very little education in family planning is given in schools, and young girls who fall pregnant are regarded as examples of bad morals and expelled from schools and colleges. They are not given any public assistance, and their future educational and professional career is blocked or at least made very difficult. The majority are accepted and looked after by the family, but many others are abandoned even by them. The most desperate resort to baby-dumping, the most frequent reason for imprisonment among female inmates.

Recommendations:

- NORAD should recommend to the MoH and Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education that family planning be given much more emphasis in all secondary schools. NORAD should if requested be willing to allocate funds for such activities. This could be financed from the country programme or, on a

short-term basis, from the special scheme for women.

- NORAD should support organisations and institutions which work to change the policy of expelling pregnant girls from schools and colleges. The activities could be supported via the NGO-budget or the special scheme for women.

3.2.2.5. Infertility

As Zimbabwean women, to a great extent, obtain their status through producing children, infertility is a great social and personal tragedy for the women affected by it. A large percentage of the infertility is caused by STDs and can be treated. In many other cases the problem could be overcome through biological information or simple treatments such as temporary use of pills.

Recommendations:

- NORAD should recommend to MoH that simple biological education on how to make children be included in the curriculum in family planning courses given under the Family Health Programme. It is particularly important to include this in the courses for VCWs and TMs. Health personnel in the villages and clinics should also be informed about existing methods for treatment of infertility, and encouraged to refer cases to the hospitals for treatment.
- As part of the training in family planning techniques, doctors and nurses should also be taught relevant methods for treatment of infertility.

3.2.2.6. Abortion

Abortion is illegal in Zimbabwe unless there are strong medical grounds justifying it. One result of this is a large number of illegal abortions every year, of which an alarmingly high proportion ends with sterility and other severe complications. The only way to prevent this, is through ensuring that abortions are done early and under medically safe conditions in hospitals or health centres. It is particularly important that HIV positive women are offered the option to take abortion, as pregnancy and child birth carry the risk of turning the latent virus into active AIDS (ref. paragraph 10 below).

Recommendation:

NORAD should support the activities of groups and institutions working for liberalization of the existing laws on abortion. Such activities could be supported from the NGO-budget or the special allocation for women.

TITLE OF PROJECT / PROGRAMME:
Family Health Project (ZIB 015)

1. **Starting date:** 1986
2. **Duration:** 1986-91
 - Phase 1:** **Budget:** NOK 80 mill.
 - Phase 2:** **Budget:** Proposed 80 mill.
3. **Implementing agency:** Ministry of Health
4. **The project purposes stated in the project document concerning women:**
 - Phase 1:**
 - Phase 2:**

<p>5. Technical assistance:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - External assistance to the project over the last 12 months: - External assistance with competence on WID over the last 12 months 	<p>Persons-months (split on M/F)</p> <p>60 pm, M</p> <p>12 pm, F</p> <p>Consultancies</p> <p>ca.4 pm</p>	<p>Professional field</p> <p>Medical, Building Medical</p> <p>Planners</p>
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6. **Special funds for women have been used in connection with the project for:**

Sum: Nil
7. **Other / special funds that have been used in connection with the project:**

Sum: Nil
8. **Concrete results obtained (ref. purpose) (data broken down by gender):**

9. Effects and impacts obtained concerning women: (direct measures or through indicators):
10. To what degree have the recommendations from the last Action Plan been followed up?

Constraints:

Recommendations:

Programme Officer: Mona Gleditsch

Date:

3.3. Other areas for future Norwegian assistance to the population/health sector

3.3.1. Research on women's health problems

Although women's medical needs as mothers are recognised, women still receive little recognition of their health problems as women, related to both their productive and reproductive roles. In addition to the problems described above, women have special medical problems as women deriving from:

1. The combination of many childbirths and hard physical work on the land, resulting in degenerative diseases and general exhaustion.
2. Women's role as subservient and subordinate to men, which results in for example women being allocated/allocating themselves insufficient food. In recent years there has been much focus on malnutrition among children, as a result of the custom of giving the adult men the best food. However, women tend to give themselves even less nutritious food than the children, though their need for nourishing food, especially during pregnancies, is high. So far, not much research has been done into women's nutrition status in Zimbabwe. However, aggregate figures indicate that the levels of malnutrition, and in particular anaemia, are high. A component aiming to improve the nutrition status of the rural population was included in the original project proposal for the Family Health Project, but was cut in the final and approved version. This decision has been criticised by many, and the component would possibly be included in FHP II.

Recommendation:

NORAD should support or commission research on women's health and nutrition status and on causes for bad health among Zimbabwean women. Such support should not be seen as a step towards general involvement in new areas of the health sector, but as assistance to establish more precisely which are women's health problems and subsequent needs for assistance.

Support for such research can be financed via the country Programme's allocation for consultancies or the special allocation for women.

3.3.2. Scholarships for studies in women's health problems

With the large commitments to the Family Health Project and sanitation in the water programme, NORAD is extensively involved in the health sector. As the project support is restricted to a few fields, it is feasible also to restrict the scholarships to these areas.

The support for the Family Health Project, being channeled through the World Bank, does not include scholarships for studies at higher levels.

Recommendations:

- As complimentary to lower level training supported through the Family Health Project, NORAD should offer a limited number of scholarships for studies at higher levels in population studies, family planning and maternal and child healthcare.
- NORAD should offer scholarships for studies on women's health problems.
- Male candidates should not be excluded.

4. MANAGEMENT AND PRODUCTIVE USE OF NATURAL RESOURCES

4.1. AGRICULTURE

Agriculture is a particularly important sector for assistance to women, as more than 80% of all Zimbabwean women live in the Communal Areas as peasant farmers. Norway's strategy for development assistance to Eastern and Southern Africa also gives priority to assistance for agricultural and rural development. The target group for the assistance is the poorer sections of the rural population.

There are two basic constraints inhibiting women farmers in Zimbabwe:

1. The shortage of land in the Communal Areas.
2. Women's lack of control over land.

To overcome the first constraint, a comprehensive land reform is required, where a substantial proportion of the land in the Large Scale Commercial Areas is transferred to peasant farmers. The second constraint can only be overcome - or reduced - by women obtaining primary land rights; that is access to land in their own right, not only through the husbands' allocation of a portion of their land to the wives. In the migrant labour households it might be reasonable to transfer the primary land rights to the woman, as she is the main user of the land. But another, and perhaps more realistic, solution would be to establish joint land use rights for husband and wife/wives to the land. Joint ownership (freehold titles) is at present not an option, as all land in Communal Areas belongs to the State and the communities only have use rights to it.

Both of the above issues are highly political ones, and decisions can only be made by the political authorities. Reforms in both areas will offend important interests and are bound to face strong resistance. Donor agencies can put pressure on Government to introduce reforms, but their influence will in most cases be quite limited. Most donors are in any case not interested in advocating such radical reforms, rather the contrary.

Women also tend to lack control over other means of production, such as cattle and ploughs, and have very limited access to monetary incomes, credit and extension services. They have in addition very limited ability to mobilize other people's labour. However, donor-funded programmes can assist in reducing the latter constraints in the project areas, if designed well.

4.1.1. BULK MILK TANKS (ZIB 004 and 011)

Until 1990, the only direct Norwegian assistance to the agricultural sector has been NOK 53 mill. for the supply of approx. 530 Norwegian farm milk tanks to the Dairy Marketing Board (DMB). The tanks were part of a strategy to modernise the commercial dairy industry, and made possible a shift from deliveries of milk in small cans to bulk deliveries in cooled tanks.

The project will be terminated in 1991 with the disbursement of NOK 2.5 mill. for spareparts and training in operation and maintenance of the tanks.

The introduction of the bulk milk tanks may possibly have lead to reduced employment on the commercial farms. Apart from that, the programme has not had any obvious impact on the situation of the farm labourers. Female labourers are not to any significant extent involved in commercial dairy production. The availability of relatively cheap milk of good quality, has a positive impact on family nutrition among the poorer groups in the towns.

Recommendation:

The Bulk Milk Collection Scheme is considered to have had neither positive nor negative effects for female farm workers, and it is not feasible for NORAD at this stage to attempt to include new components to make the project more women-oriented.

TITLE OF PROJECT / PROGRAMME:
Bulk Milk Tanks (ZIB 004/011)

1. **Starting date:**

2. **Duration:**

Phase 1:

Budget: NOK

3. **Implementing agency:** Dairy Marketing Board

4. **The project purposes stated in the project document concerning women:**

Phase 1: None

Phase 2: N/A

5. **Technical assistance:**

- External assistance to the project over the last 12 months:

- External assistance with competence on WID over the last 12 months

	Persons-months (split on M/F)	Professional field
- External assistance to the project over the last 12 months:	Nil	
- External assistance with competence on WID over the last 12 months	Nil	

6. **Special funds for women have been used in connection with the project for:**

Sum: Nil

7. **Other / special funds that have been used in connection with the project:**

Sum: Nil

8. **Concrete results obtained (ref. purpose) (data broken down by gender):**

9. Effects and impacts obtained concerning women: (direct measures or through indicators):
10. To what degree have the recommendations from the last Action Plan been followed up?

Constraints:

Recommendations:

Programme Officer:

Date:

4.1.2. PEASANT DAIRY DEVELOPMENT

4.1.2.1. DAIRY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

The commercial dairy farmers rent the tanks from DMB, and the rentals generate a counterpart fund which has been earmarked for dairy development in Communal and Small Scale Commercial Areas. The annual rent incomes to the counterpart fund is estimated to be approximately Z\$ 500.000 for the next 15 years. For the period 1990 - 1994 NORAD has in addition granted direct allocations of NOK 22 mill. from the country programme.

The Dairy Development Programme started in 1983, and was originally implemented by DMB. In 1989, the Dairy Development Unit was transferred to the Agricultural Development Authority (ADA).

The objectives of the Dairy Development Programme are:

1. To improve the socio-economic standard of peasant producers through the development of systematic milk production for domestic consumption and local sales.
2. To increase the availability of dairy commodities in the rural areas.

The programme has a very flexible and process-oriented approach, and the design is adapted from one project area to another. The scope for ensuring that the projects are designed also to benefit women is therefore quite good.

The strategy of the programme is to develop milk production in the peasant areas through improved management of the existing stock, and gradual improvement of the stock through cross-breeding. The programme does not attempt to create specialised dairy farmers, but to add another source of income for the peasant households. One of the most important components of the programme is improved feeding. The peasants are encouraged to grow high-yielding grasses and legumes, and establish grazing schemes so the cattle can be kept in paddocks. Grazing schemes reduce the labour required for herding and protecting the crops. They also have an important conservation value by preventing overgrazing, one of the most serious environmental problems in Zimbabwe.

4.1.2.2. Women and dairy development

It is a challenging task to ensure that women benefit from projects involving cattle, as cattle generally is male property. Only elderly women are likely to have some cows on their own, aquired as the "cow of motherhood" in the brideprice paid for their daughters. While women's rights to land are limited, their influence on the management of cattle is traditionally even more restricted. There is thus a real danger that the impact of dairy development on women may only be increased labour demands and no improvement in their diet or incomes.

Six issues are of particular importance if women are to benefit from the programme:

- I. The degree of influence women have in decisionmaking regarding the implementation of the programme at community level.

- II. Women's ability to acquire own cows/to influence decisions regarding cattle management in the household.
- III. The amount of labour required for milk production.
- IV. The way in which the payment for milk deliveries is made.
- V. Who is given training and in what areas.
- VI. The level of awareness of women's special needs among the decision-makers and personell involved in the programme.

4.1.2.3. Women's say in decision making at community level

The implementation of the programme is intended to be democratic and decentralised, with the producers organizing themselves to collectively manage the milk collection centres and fix the local producer price. The producers are themselves expected to establish or request others to establish necessary installations and support services such as dip tanks and veterinary services, clean water supply, transport and plants for simple processing of dairy products. It is important to ensure that the membership of these farmers groups are made up of the active participants, not just the cattleowners. In migrant labour households and many others all the labour will tend to fall upon the wives, whereas the husbands in general are the owners.

Meetings in the groups - as most community meetings - are likely to be dominated by middle-aged and elderly men. A strategy to balance this could be for the dairy development team to arrange separate seminars with women in the project areas where they are asked to identify their needs and constraints in relation to cattle and dairy production, and recommend solutions. Such seminars would create awareness and interest among the women, and provide the project team with useful information.

Recommendation:

- NORAD should recommend ADA to set as a criterion for support to a farmers group that only active contributors to the dairy development project can be members. Passive cattle-owners (resident or non-resident) should be excluded.
- NORAD should recommend to ADA that separate awareness-creating seminars for women are arranged at regular intervals in all project areas.

4.1.2.4. Women's control over cattle resources and ability to aquire their own cows

The women's degree of influence on decisions in the household regarding utilisation of the cattle has great impact on their ability to gain from the project. Neither NORAD nor ADA are able to create interventions which will strengthen the women's general control over the family's cattle. However, more limited interventions are possible.

One strategy would be to make it easier for women to acquire their own cows. This could be facilitated by setting very soft conditions on loans in the planned dairy credit scheme, and earmarking a reasonable proportion for women. Earmarking 50% of the credit for women might not be sufficient to secure that they are able to acquire cows etc. It is likely that

women will be unable fully to utilise their 50% of the credit offered. If that proves to be the case after a 1-2 years trial period, establishing a special credit facility for women, with conditions even softer than those in the general dairy credit scheme, should be considered.

Recommendations:

NORAD should set the following conditions for contributing to the planned dairy credit scheme:

- The loans should be given on soft terms, with a substantial grant component and long repayment period.
- 50% of the credit should be earmarked for women.
- If the scheme after 1-2 years proves to be insufficient to ensure that women get 50% of the credits, it should be considered to establish a special facility earmarked only for women.

4.1.2.5. Labour requirements

Milk production is labour intensive. It requires that one milks twice a day, delivers to the collection centre daily, and brings the cattle to a dip tank every week. Most of the work will fall upon the women, as the children are in school and many men are absent on migrant labour. Milking is also traditionally a women's task. However, dairy development will not only imply increased labour demands. Establishment of grazing schemes substantially reduces the amount of labour spent on herding and protecting the crops.

In order to minimize the labour requirements the distance from each farm to a milk collection centre, dip tank, grinding mill and artificial insemination centre should not be too great. This requires construction of many small and intermediate facilities rather than a few relatively large ones. This will be more expensive both to construct and run, and will surely be an issue of conflict both at local and national level. Farmer groups should also be encouraged to establish co-operative systems for collection and transportation of the milk to the collection centre.

Recommendations:

- NORAD should recommend ADA and the Ministry of Agriculture to set up a decentralised service structure of a number of small milk collection centres, insemination centres and dip tanks. NORAD should allocate sufficient funds to finance such a decentralised structure in the project areas.
- NORAD should support women's groups and other local co-operative associations who want to set up grinding mills for crushing maize stovers, snapcorns etc. into fodder. Such projects could be financed from the NGO budget, or preferably included in the overall support for the dairy development programme.

4.1.2.6. Payment for milk deliveries

Wives say in the disposition of the family's incomes obviously varies from one household to another, but the general trend is that the husbands make the basic decisions and also keep some of

the money aside as their own. Wives are usually allowed to keep incomes from "their" gardens and the so-called income generating activities aside as their own. However, these incomes tend to be very limited.

The way the payment for milk deliveries is made greatly influences the women's ability to dispose of the money. If payment is made once a month or with even longer intervals, there is a great probability that the husband will lay his hands on the money and often keep it all to himself, as the cows belong to him. But payment done weekly or at the daily milk delivery may increase the wife's ability to keep it. Frequent payments will require extra work for the accountant of the collection centre and also increase the risk of fraud. Still, the positive effect for women of small and frequent payments is likely to be great enough to make up for the negative effects.

Recommendation:

NORAD should advise ADA to recommend the dairy co-operatives to choose systems of frequent payment for milk deliveries.

4.1.2.7. Training

Milk production is relatively complicated, and much training and supervision is required if the programme's objectives are to be achieved. Training is required both in cattle management, fodder production, improved sanitation, co-operation in production and decision making, and management of co-operative and commercial units.

It is important to ensure that women are given at least as good training opportunities as men. It is desirable to give them preference to many of the courses, in order to balance their disadvantaged position in relation to cattle ownership. One must aim at participation from both sexes in all areas of training, and avoid a situation where women are trained only in for example fodder production and improved sanitation, and men not at all in traditional "women's areas". The content of the courses should explicitly address women's special needs and constraints as dairy farmers.

Nyarungu Training Centre (ADA's training center for small scale dairy development) must have child-care facilities to allow women to participate in the courses given there.

AGRITEX has today hardly any extension workers who are trained in dairy production, so special courses for extension personnel have to be established as a component of the programme. Female extension workers are more likely to address the particular problems faced by female farmers. An attempt should therefore be made to have a high proportion of women extension workers at these training courses. In addition all extension workers should be given special training in methods for reaching women farmers.

Recommendations:

NORAD should recommend to ADA that:

- A minimum 50% of the participants in the training courses should be women.

- Participation from both men and women in all areas of training should be encouraged.
- The training courses should explicitly address female peasant farmers' special problems and constraints in dairy production.
- Female candidates should be given preference on the training courses for extension workers.
- Both male and female extension workers should be given special training in methods for reaching women farmers.
- Nyarungu Training Centre should be expanded with creches and more dormitories for women.

4.1.2.8. Level of awareness among policy makers and personnel

The Dairy Development Unit in ADA is aware of the above issues and does attempt to give the various components of the programme a design which ensures that women also benefit from it. However, this unit is not the only body involved in the dairy programme, and the attitudes and level of consciousness in the relevant institutions vary a great deal. It would therefore be useful to arrange a special awareness-creating seminar for policy makers such as the National Dairy Co-ordinating Committee. One should also arrange workshops for extension workers and other personnel with the aim to create awareness of female farmers' special needs and constraints in relation to dairy production.

Female personnel involved in the designing and monitoring of the programme will increase the probability that the needs of female farmers are catered for. Of the seven project officers the programme employs as organisers in the field, only one is a woman. But of the nine liaison workers - the real field workers - as many as five are women. Two of the four milk centre attendants (in charge of the operational Milk Collection Centres) are women. In the central Dairy Development Unit in Harare one out of six professional staff members is a women. With the ongoing expansion of the programme, the staff is going to be expanded and planning activities to be decentralised to the province level.

Recommendations:

- NORAD should encourage ADA to organise an awareness-creating seminar for policy makers involved in dairy development.
- NORAD should also recommend that awareness-creating workshops for extension workers and other personnel are included as a regular component in the programme. NORAD should be willing to earmark funds for such seminars/ workshops.
- NORAD should recommend ADA to ensure that all the dairy development teams in the provinces and pilot areas include women in their staff.

4.1.2.9. Joint Zimbabwean/Norwegian programme of action

The recommendations in this Plan of Action will only commit NORAD. In addition, there is need for a joint Zimbabwean/Norwegian programme of action that will commit both parties.

Recommendation:

Norway and Zimbabwe should work out a joint programme of action to cater for the needs of women in the Dairy Development Programme. This programme should be approved and subsequently updated in the annual review meetings between for two parties for the Dairy Development Programme.

TITLE OF PROJECT / PROGRAMME:
Dairy Development Programme (ZIB 017)

1. **Starting date:** November 1989
2. **Duration:**
Phase 1: 1990-94 **Budget:** NOK 22 mill.
3. **Implementing agency:** Agricultural Development Agency (ADA)
4. **The project purposes stated in the project document concerning women:**

Phase 1:

Phase 2:

5. **Technical assistance:**

- External assistance to the project over the last 12 months:
- External assistance with competence on WID over the last 12 months

Persons-months (split on M/F)	Professional field
Nil	

6. **Special funds for women have been used in connection with the project for:**

Sum: Nil

7. **Other / special funds that have been used in connection with the project: CP fund for consultancies for LFA workshop**

Sum: Will be used in 1991

8. Concrete results obtained (ref. purpose) (data broken down by gender):
9. Effects and impacts obtained concerning women: (direct measures or through indicators):
10. To what degree have the recommendations from the last Action Plan been followed up?

Constraints:

Recommendations:

Programme Officer: Mona Gleditsch

Date:

4.1.3. IMPROVED EXTENSION SERVICES TO WOMEN FARMERS

Zimbabwe has in the later years expanded the agricultural extension services substantially, and the ratio of peasant households to extension worker is now 1:600, which is close to the target of one extension worker per ward. AGRITEX' expansion in the Communal Areas has been given much of the credit for the impressive increase in production of maize and cotton in the peasant sector since Independence.

In 1986-88 Norway part-financed a multi-bilateral FAO-project on how to improve the agricultural extension services to women in Africa. Zimbabwe was one of five countries selected as cases, and the following were identified as the main problems:

- More than 90% of the extension personnel are men, and they often do not meet female farmers with a very constructive approach.
- Little attention is paid to the particular information requested by female farmers, such as advice on traditional women's crops, on rearing of small animals and poultry, and on the nutrition value of the different food crops.
- Due to traditional cultural values, female farmers find it difficult to approach the male agricultural extension workers (AEWs), or to speak in meetings where men are present.

NORAD has made a principle decision to fund a three years' project with AGRITEX with the aim of reorienting the male staff and improving the Department's services to female farmers.

The project is currently in the final decision-making stage within NORAD. The main components will be:

- In-service training of AEWs and other staff members in order to 1) enable them to identify and handle effectively the extension needs of female farmers; 2) find ways of overcoming cultural barriers that impede the extension contact between male AEWs and women farmers.
- Production of required training materials, including manuals to be used by the AEWs in the field.
- Identification and institution of measures that will make it more attractive for female AEWs and Extension Officers to stay in the field.
- As the low level of literacy among female farmers makes communication between them and the AEWs more difficult, it is also considered to include in the project a component of adult literacy training with a bias towards agriculture, together with production of special agricultural literature aimed at the illiterate/semi-literate farmers.

In addition to the measures above, it is seen as important to increase the proportion of women among the extension personnel, as they are more likely to address themselves to women farmers' specific needs. The number of female students at agricultural colleges and institutes is limited by lack of dormitories etc. for women. The number is also limited by lack of finance, as few families are able and willing to finance girls' higher education, particularly in an untraditional field.

Recommendations:

- NORAD should continue to give high priority to collaboration with AGRITEX on preparation and implementation of the project on improving extension services to female farmers.
- NORAD should consider granting scholarships to female students at the agricultural training institutions in Zimbabwe. The grants could be financed from the general training and scholarship budget.
- NORAD should give priority to female candidates for the diploma course in agriculture.

4.1.4 JOTSHOLO PILOT CONSERVATION PROJECT.

NORAD has agreed to fund a pilot conservation project in Jothsolo Ward in Matabeleland North. The pilot project has been developed by the Ministry of Environment and Tourism, and has as an overall objective "to secure a future sustainable development with sufficient production of food and energy".

The short-term objectives are

- improved water retention,
- reduced soil erosion,
- improved vegetation cover,
- increased productivity of cattle,
- enhanced food production for the poorer families,
- eased burden for women.

It is assumed that livestock development and establishment of village vegetable gardens and woodlot will form the main components of the project.

No information has yet been collected regarding the differentiation of the target group in terms of needs, expectations, abilities, etc., and no attention has so far been paid to the gender aspects of the project.

The project is being funded by NORAD on the assumption that the sole responsibility for planning and implementation shall rest with Zimbabwe. The possibilities for NORAD to influence the project in respect of involvement of women, therefore lays mainly in the later project preparation stages.

Recommendations:

NORAD should recommend that the Project Steering Committee look into the following issues:

- 1) The composition and the social stratification of the households;
- 2) the division of labour between the genders within the household and the villages;
- 3) the likely impact of the various project components in terms of labour requirements and changes in division of labour;
- 4) measures to ensure that the cattle development component also will benefit women;
- 5) to what extent and in what ways the nutrition gardens will benefit women of the various social strata;

- 6) mechanisms for involving women in the planning of the various activities,
- 7) possible alternative or additional activities that may secure that the women benefit from the project.

4.2. FISHERIES

4.3.1. ZAMBIA/ZIMBABWE SADCC FISHERIES PROJECT (REG 027)

NORAD and DANIDA have recently granted NOK 25 mill. each for a project which aims at creating structures for a sustainable management of the shared fish resources in Lake Kariba. A pre-project phase was funded from 1988 by the same donors, during which the project was designed in detail. The project is planned for five years starting 1991, with possible extension for another five years.

The objective of the project is to develop and set in operation a joint Zambian/Zimbabwean strategy for sustainable exploitation and management of the fish resources in Lake Kariba. The project will primarily look at the industrial fishery for kapenta, but will also look at the artisanal fisheries. It has the following main components:

- Socio-economic studies of the communities living on the lake shores.
- Research on biological aspects and stock exploitation models for both kapenta and inshore fish stocks.
- Establishment of a common system for collection and analyses of fisheries statistics.
- Preparation and adoption of management plans for the respective fisheries.
- Preparation and adoption of long term lake and lake shore development plans.
- Training of staff in the relevant Government departments in both countries.
- Upgrading and equipment of the relevant fisheries research and training institutions in both countries.

The project is implemented jointly by the Zambian Department of Fisheries (DOF) and the Zimbabwean Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management (DNPWM), and co-ordinated by an expatriate technical expert provided by the project. The socio-economic studies are to be carried out by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences (CASS) at the University of Zimbabwe.

4.2.2. Gender issues in the fisheries project

Of the above project components, gender issues have the greatest significance in relation to:

- the socio-economic studies;
- the fisheries management plans and long term development plans for the lake and lake shore areas;
- the training and staff development.

4.2.2.1. Socio-economic studies

The kapenta fishery is a capitalised form of production, carried out by men as hired labourers. However, a number of women are indirectly engaged in the production, as employees in fish processing plants.

Although women do not take part directly in the artisanal fisheries as fishermen, they are more heavily engaged in this sub-sector through gillnet mending, and drying, preparing and trading (often illegally) the fish. The artisanal fisheries are furthermore an integrated element of the households' total productive activities, to which women also contribute as (subsistence) farmers.

Women's economic contribution in the artisanal fishing communities is generally not recognised, neither by Government authorities or by the communities themselves. It is therefore essential that the socio-economic studies take into account all the elements of production in the households and communities. The activities show marked seasonal variations, particularly in Zimbabwe where the women are often absent from the fishing camps in the rainy season, farming in the hinterland. The studies must thus collect data during different seasons to get a complete perspective. The studies must aim to identify the nature of the division of labour between the genders and between different social strata in the communities.

Recommendations:

- NORAD should ensure that the socio-economic studies adequately cover all productive and reproductive activities which the households and communities in lake shore areas are involved during in the different phases of the year (fishing, processing and trading, farming, child rearing etc). They should also study the transactions between the communities and the wider economy (through trade, migrant labour etc).
- The studies should explicitly address the division of labour between the genders within the households and communities.
- NORAD should ensure that the team of researchers include at least one expert on gender relations.

4.2.2.2. Fisheries management plans and long term development plans

The communities in the lake shore districts make their living from a combination of fishing, farming, hunting and other economic activities. The Government authorities in both Zambia and Zimbabwe acknowledge that the artisanal fisheries alone are not likely to provide a reasonably high income for a large number of households, and that long term development plans must place fisheries within a much wider picture of economic activity.

It is essential that the plans take into account the fact that the various economic activities usually are combined within each household, and that one-sided development of one economic activity will have impact on the other ones. The most visible activities (e.g. fishing) are carried out by the men, and unless

deliberate efforts are made to identify and develop the activities performed by women, the women are likely to become marginalised and increasingly dependant through the development efforts. The plans must therefore be prepared in close liaison with the socio-economic research team and representatives of the communities themselves.

The management plans for the respective fisheries are by nature less comprehensive and more technical. However, also these plans should explicitly take into consideration the (invisible) contribution from women, particularly in the artisanal fisheries.

Recommendations:

- NORAD should ensure that the long term development plans are prepared in close liaison with the socio-economic research team and the affected communities.
- NORAD should strongly recommend to DOF and DNPWM that the long term development plans have as one explicit objective to strengthen the situation of women in the lake shore communities.
- NORAD should aim to ensure that the development plans take into account the interphase between the different productive and reproductive activities carried out by each household.

4.2.2.3. Training and staff development

One of the objectives of the project is to strengthen DOF and DNPWM through staff development and upgrading of physical facilities. The training component involves biologists, technicians, statisticians, social scientists and planners. The number of women involved varies between the departments and disciplines. Deliberate efforts should be made to recruit and train women in all fields of the project. It is particularly important to include female social scientists and planners.

Recommendations:

- NORAD should recommend DOF and DNPWM to prepare specific targets for recruitment and training of female staff in connection with the project.
- The annual reports should break down training figures on gender.
- Particular efforts should be made to recruit and train female social scientists and planners.
- NORAD should ensure that female staff in all disciplines and at all levels in the institutions involved in the project get at least as good training opportunities as their male counterparts.
- Female candidates should be given preference to the diploma course in fisheries biology in Bergen.

TITLE OF PROJECT / PROGRAMME:
Zambia/Zimbabwe SADCC Fisheries Project (REG 027)

1. Starting date: January 1991
2. Duration: 1991-96
Phase 1: Budget: NOK 50 mill.
3. Implementing agency: Department of Fisheries, Zambia
Department of National Parks and
Wildlife Management, Zimbabwe
4. The project purposes stated in the project document concern-
ing women:
Phase 1:
Phase 2:

5. Technical assistance:

- External assistance to
the project over the
last 12 months:
- External assistance
with competence on WID
over the last 12 months

Persons-months (split on M/F)	Professional field
12 pm, M	Nat.Science
Nil	

6. Special funds for women have
been used in connection with
the project for:

Sum: Nil

7. Other / special funds that have
been used in connection with
the project: Training Funds

Sum:

8. Concrete results obtained (ref. purpose) (data broken down by gender):
9. Effects and impacts obtained concerning women: (direct measures or through indicators):
10. To what degree have the recommendations from the last Action Plan been followed up?

Constraints:

Recommendations:

Programme Officer: Mona Gleditsch

Date:

4.3. ARRESTING ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION

The most severe environmental degradation in Zimbabwe is found in the Communal Lands, mainly as a result of the high population density there. The three problems considered to be the most serious are:

- deforestation;
- soil erosion, and
- siltation of dams and rivers.

Deforestation and soil erosion have particularly negative effects for rural women, who have to walk longer distances to collect firewood and cultivate larger fields (if land is available) to harvest enough to feed the family. In addition to grazing schemes (partially included in DDP) fuel conservation have been identified as an area of interest to women.

4.3.1. Fuel-saving stoves and solar energy

Firewood is by far the most important source of energy in rural and low-income urban households. Although there is quite a range of fuel-saving stoves which are or could be produced locally, these are not yet in widespread use. The vast majority of the rural households cook on open fire. There is today not so much a need for assistance to develop new types of stoves, but for assistance for distributing the already existing ones. NORAD has over the last few years granted support for subsidised production and distribution of one fuel-saving stove, the Tsotso stove.

A different, and yet not much explored fuel saving technique, may be found in the utilisation of solar energy for domestic purposes. Some research and experimental trials on this are currently being carried out in Zimbabwe, and NORAD should support the efforts.

Recommendation:

NORAD should continue to encourage dissemination of cheap fuel-saving stoves. NORAD should also support research and experimental trials on utilising solar energy. Both types of projects should be given priority for financing under NORAD's special allocations for Non-Governmental Organisations and environmental projects.

4.3.2. Grazing schemes

The most important factor creating soil erosion is overgrazing by domestic animals. One solution to this would be destocking. However, it is very difficult to persuade individual farmers to reduce or limit their herds, particularly as they consider most of the land occupied by the commercial farms as rightly belonging to themselves and their ancestors. Compulsory destocking was several times attempted by the colonial regime with little success and great resentment from the local peasant farmers. The most feasible strategy seems to be to encourage the establishment of grazing schemes and development of collective management of the grazing resources at the village level. In the grazing schemes the animals stay within fenced paddocks, which protects both crops, grass and other plants from the animals. Consequently, grazing schemes also reduce the time required for herding. This

means a reduction in rural women's workload, as today many men are migrant workers and most children above 6-7 years are in school, so a lot of the herding tend to fall upon women and their very young children. There is today a rapidly growing interest for establishing fenced paddocks in Communal and Resettlement Areas all over the country. However, lack of suitable fencing material or money to buy it hampers the development of grazing schemes.

Recommendation:

NORAD should encourage the establishment of grazing schemes, for instance by providing money for fencing material. Such support could be channeled through NGOs or Government agencies such as AGRITEX or Department of Natural Resources. It should be an area of priority for financing under the special allocations for Non-Governmental Organisations and for environmental projects.

5. EMPLOYMENT

5.1. Introduction

The high and increasing level of unemployment is probably the most serious socio-economic problem facing Zimbabwe. In paragraph 1.4. employment was also identified as one of the most strategic areas for improving the situation of women.

Norway grants substantial indirect support for maintaining the level of employment through the commodity import support programme. But given the macro-economic focus and geopolitical objective of this programme, it is not feasible in the current phase to attempt to change it into a more women-oriented activity, by making special allocations to women's enterprises (done by other donors in Zimbabwe) or by making employment of women a condition for allocation of foreign currency to the individual companies.

Norway also is generally interested in supporting other initiatives with the intention to improve the employment situation, but so far no concrete projects have been identified and approved within the country programme. There is some support for this under the NGO-allocation.

Recommendation:

The planned evaluation of the CIP programme, and replanning exercise for the years after 1992, should look at the feasibility of making special allocations for women's enterprises, or stimulating industry with a high level of female workers.

5.2. Private sector co-operation

There has so far been little interest among Norwegian private companies for joint ventures or other forms of involvement in Zimbabwe. The Nordic-SADCC initiative and in particular the establishment of financial mechanisms such as the NORSAD fund might trigger off greater interest in the future. However, one should not expect establishment of a great number of joint ventures, as Africa usually is considered to be a market of limited interest to Norwegian and international capital in general. Due to this fact, no joint venture projects in the Southern African region is likely to come about without financial and possible other support from NORAD.

Recommendation:

It is doubtful whether - and in case to what extent - it would be feasible for NORAD to set as condition for support that the new companies employ women. Such conditions should in any case not be set exclusively for projects in Zimbabwe, but would have to be included in NORAD's general guidelines for assistance to private sector co-operation. However, NORAD should encourage companies to employ women and recommend them to pay equal salary to male and female employees. Where required in order to facilitate employment of women, NORAD should offer additional support to establish service facilities such as creches and separate bathrooms/toilets for men and women at the workplace.

5.3. Self employment through co-operatives and other income-generating activities

Many Zimbabweans today attempt to solve their need for employment and incomes by setting up co-operatives and so called income-generating projects (IGPs). The Government encourages such initiatives, and gives them support through MCCD. NORAD receives a number of applications for funding from NGOs and individual co-operatives and groups involved in such activities.

The full-time producer co-operatives tend to be made up of men, often skilled or semi-skilled workers who recently have lost their jobs and joined the ranks of the unemployed. Women more often participate in small, part-time IGPs. The most common activities are sewing of school uniforms, vegetable gardening and homecraft. Many of the projects in both categories are inadequately planned, and lack the necessary analyses of skill requirements and market for the products.

Almost all these projects fall into what is labeled "the informal sector", where they face very hard market competition. It is considered to be even more difficult to make good business in the informal sector in Zimbabwe than in most other African countries, as this country's economy is more heavily penetrated by chains of advanced capitalist producers and distributors. However, there should exist possibilities in such fields as agroprocessing, production of building materials, furniture, household utensils and clothing for local rural and semi-urban markets. It would be particularly useful to look into the possibilities at the recently established growth points, where there often is a certain demand but limited supply. And in more remote areas, where the commercial producers do not deliver bags of maize meal, co-operative grinding mills could be other feasible projects.

Many donors, NGOs and Government ministries grant support for IGPs, no matter how inadequately they have been planned, so the field is at the moment well funded. However, NORAD has identified a need for support to the establishment of structures intending to support and professionalise the co-operatives and IGPs. This could be independent co-operative channels for input supply, credit and marketing, and institutions offering relevant training in professional project planning and management, in addition to technical skills.

For 1991 NOK 4 mill. has been allocated for funding of Zimbabwean NGOs' projects, and activities aiming to support and professionalise co-operatives and IGPs are one concentration area for this scheme.

NORAD will as a rule not grant support for small and individual IGPs, but rather to programmes planned, supported and monitored by or with the support from larger NGOs with experience in this field. A large proportion of the funding goes to projects run by women's groups or groups and co-operatives with high female membership.

Recommendations:

- NORAD should continue to consider activities aiming to support and professionalise co-operatives and IGPs as the major area of concentration for support to Zimbabwean NGOs. At least 50% of this funding should go to projects which have the intention of benefitting women.
- NORAD should keep a continuous dialogue with the relevant NGOs and actively encourage them to develop and support projects aiming to offer women employment and increased incomes. NORAD should as a rule avoid the very small and often inadequately planned IGPs, but concentrate on supporting the promotion of a limited number of medium size and relatively professional co-operatives and IGPs.

In the later years NORAD has granted close to NOK 20 mill. annually to projects supported through Norwegian NGOs, and a large proportion of these as well fall in the category of income-generating activities. Many of the projects explicitly aim to benefit women. Redd Barna and Norwegian People's Aid - the Norwegian organizations with by far the largest programmes in Zimbabwe - put particular emphasis on this. Redd Barna for instance attempts to recruit female field workers where possible, and NPA has for several years co-operated closely with local women's organisations such as Association of Women's Clubs.

Recommendation:

All Norwegian NGOs are generally encouraged to give high priority to activities which benefit women. Apart from this, NORAD's ability to influence the large NGOs' projects are limited, as the NGOs are deliberately granted large scope for independent discretion. From the perspective of women-orienting the assistance to Zimbabwe there is no argument for changing this policy, as the large Norwegian NGOs are just as concerned as NORAD to benefit women with their assistance.

5.4. Strengthening women workers.5.4.1. Workers education for women farm workers (RAF/85/MO2/NOR)

Norway has since 1986 financed, through ILO, a multilateral project on providing workers education and organisational skills for female workers on plantations and large scale commercial farms. The first phase (1986-89) comprised activities in Kenya, Ghana and Zimbabwe, for which Norway granted NOK 3.5 mill. Norway has recently granted addition NOK 6.4 mill. for a second phase, during which activities will take place in Uganda, Ghana and Zimbabwe. In Zimbabwe the General Agricultural and Plantation Workers Union (GAPWUZ) is the implementing agency.

The farmworkers are considered to have the worst socio-economic conditions in the country, and women farm workers are generally worse off than their male colleagues, as the majority of them are only seasonal and casual labourers, without the social benefits the law proscribes for permanent labourers.

The project aims to educate the women on their rights and encourage them to organise to fight for better security and improved working and living conditions in general. In the second phase, the project has expanded its scope to also assist the women in setting up viable income-generating projects for those periods of the year when they are not engaged as seasonal farmworkers.

Recommendation:

Norway should continue to follow up the support for the project, which aims to meet the needs of a particularly weak group of women.

5.5. Creches and pre-schools

With urbanisation and the rapid disintegration of the extended family, responsibility for child care is increasingly becoming a constraint on women's participation in the labour market. There exist some creches run by large employers, city councils, church groups and other NGOs, but these are a far cry from fully meeting the needs for child care facilities. This is primarily a constraint for women in low-income employment, as working middle- and upper class women in Zimbabwe can overcome the constraint by employing low-paid housemaids to look after their children. Although the problem in principle is one of both mothers and fathers alike, in practical terms it only represent an immediate problem for the women.

MCCD started soon after Independence a pre-school programme, under which ca. 6000 pre-schools have been set up all over the country, catering for ca. 10% of the total number of children in pre-school age. 4000 of the centres are in the Communal and Resettlement Areas, but the majority of those only stay open 4-5 hours per day. Of the approximately 2000 pre-schools in the towns, mining- and farm compounds, a larger proportion stay open full day. Where the pre-schools function well, they offer valuable educative activities to the children and some hours' relief for their mothers.

However, the need is far from satisfied. And further, as most pre-schools only stay open half day, they do not cater for the needs of mothers in full-time employment. The pre-schools also tend to be rather unstable with high turnover of teachers, as they are expected to perform the service on an unpaid voluntary basis. The pre-school programme was in 1988 transferred to the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC), and that Ministry has expressed intention to gradually engage the teachers and pay them a small allowance, hoping that will reduce the turnover rate.

To facilitate participation in wage employment for women workers a system of creches should be built, particularly in the mining- and farm compounds, high density suburbs and industrial areas. Some creches should also be constructed in the low density areas, to cater for the needs of domestic workers and other low paid workers.

Recommendation:

NORAD should offer NGOs, local municipalities, MEC and other relevant institutions financial support to establish creches. One should encourage cheap solutions, as NORAD ought not offer support for running costs. The grants could be financed from the scheme for local NGOs or the special allocation for women.

6. EDUCATION AND TRAINING

6.1. Norwegian assistance to the sector

As stated above, education and training are strategic areas for improving women's situation. However, NORAD does not plan to enter into general involvement in the education sector in Zimbabwe in the foreseeable future.

The Norwegian support is currently limited to:

- University co-operation between the universities of Zimbabwe (UZ) and Oslo (UiO).
- Scholarships for training in selected areas.

6.2. University co-operation (ZIB 303)

NORAD has granted NOK 2.1 million for 1987-90 for co-operation between University of Zimbabwe (UZ) and University of Oslo (UiO).

The grant covers training of Zimbabwean students in Oslo, and staff exchange for shorter periods in eight departments. Where the counterparts find it of interest, the co-operation can also be expanded to cover research.

Perhaps the most successful area of co-operation so far has been in Law, where it has strengthened the areas of women's law and family law considerably at UZ, and at the same time given the Department of Women's Law at UiO insight into women's legal problems in Southern Africa. One very positive outcome of this is the new diploma course in women's law, instigated by the UiO, now a joint responsibility of UiO and UZ, now being offered to candidates from Norway's main co-operating countries in Eastern and Southern Africa.

The areas of collaboration between the other departments do not specifically focus on women's issues. However, a fair proportion of the students being trained in Oslo are women. The implementation of the collaboration is deliberately being left to the universities, so NORAD's ability to influence choice of candidates is limited.

6.3. Scholarships

It is NORAD's policy to concentrate scholarships to the following areas:

1. Training of personnel in programmes receiving substantial financial or technical assistance from Norway.
2. Training of personnel on areas of special concern/in sectors Norway generally would like to see strengthened, e.g. conservation of environment, and women in development.
3. Candidates attending diploma courses in Norway.

Outside these areas Norway would generally not grant scholarships.

Training of personnel in NORAD-funded programmes should in principle take the form of a systematic staff development component in the programme, and be financed as part of the

programme. The chapters on water development, natural resources and health all suggest some priorities for training of female personnel.

NORAD offers diploma courses in Norway in Professional Shipping, Pulp and Paper Technology, Hydropower Development, Electric Power Distribution Systems, Marine Civil Engineering, Management of Natural Resources and Sustainable Agriculture, Petroleum Exploration, Animal Husbandry, Soil Science, Fisheries Biology and Fisheries Management, and Women's Law. Most of the courses fall within traditional male areas, and the proportion of women attending them is very low.

Recommendations:

- NORAD should actively use scholarships to promote training of more female personnel in traditional male areas. NORAD should where possible give female candidates preference to such training courses.
- NORAD should actively use scholarships to increase the level of knowledge on women's issues in ministries, training and research institutes and other Government institutions by granting scholarships for the special courses in women's studies at relevant international institutions, e.g. Institute for Development Studies in Sussex and Institute for Social Studies in The Hague.
NORAD should aim to finance at least 4 candidates at such courses in 1991-93.
- NORAD should put pressure on Zimbabwean authorities to nominate female candidates for the diploma courses in Norway. NORAD should aim that at least 50% of the candidates in 1991-93 are women.

6.4. Literacy training

The literacy rate among women is much lower than that among men in Zimbabwe. The high illiteracy rate - especially among rural women - inhibits their ability to improve their technological (e.g. agricultural) skills and increase their production and incomes. It also limits their ability to be informed about national development and social and political changes with implications for their own lives. It further restricts their ability to take part in the political institutions at all levels. Consequently assistance to abolish illiteracy is also assistance to improve women's control over their own lives and their ability to influence the socio-economic development of the nation.

In 1985-87 NORAD earmarked NOK 2.4 mill. of the country programme as support for the National Literacy Campaign, which was implemented by the then Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs. However, the campaign gradually faded away, and in 1987 the request was withdrawn by the Ministry. NORAD has expressed willingness to positively consider a new request in this field at a later stage. Furthermore, NORAD has since 1986 supported on a very small scale literacy training of a group of women in Mbare high-density suburb in Harare. The Adult Literacy Organisation of Zimbabwe (ALoz), which works in close liaison with both relevant

Government institutions and other NGOs, gives training to a large number of groups at grass roots level all over the country.

Recommendation:

NORAD should support the work of ALOZ and other Government- and non-Governmental institutions offering literacy training to adult women.

7. AIDS

The spread of the HIV virus and the AIDS pandemic is a new and threatening development to everyone. The social and economic costs are likely to be considerable in Zimbabwe. To women AIDS poses unique problems which have, so far, been given little attention in the international debate. No major studies have been done so far on the particular consequences of AIDS on women in society.

AIDS attacks the people of sexually active, and therefore productive, age. Since it has no cure the institutionalised health services have little to give. Most AIDS patients will not be taken into hospital, but are expected to be cared for at home. This places an additional burden on women, who must also learn to care for the sick without becoming infected themselves.

To women, being infected by the HIV virus is not only a threat in the medium to long run, but also a serious problem in the short run because of their reproductive role. Pregnancy and birth carry the risk of turning the latent virus into active AIDS, and should be avoided. In addition to the risk for the women, a large percentage of the children born by HIV positive mothers are also HIV positive, and are most likely to die before they reach the age of three. HIV positive women should therefore be given the option to terminate pregnancies.

As giving birth to many children is a very important basis for women's status, HIV positive women who are married but are advised not to have children, and women who are advised not to marry, will find themselves in a difficult position in Zimbabwean society. They are likely to face social isolation as well as economic hardship.

Recommendations:

- NORAD should support production and dissemination of information directed at women on their particular problems related to AIDS.
- NORAD should support activities by Government agencies and NGOs for counselling and for establishing productive and income generating activities for the HIV positive. The agencies should be encouraged to make special efforts to assist HIV positive women who are abandoned and face social isolation and poverty as a result of their inability to fulfill their reproductive role.
- NORAD should give support to studies on the consequences of AIDS on women in Zimbabwe.

8. RELIEF ASSISTANCE

Norway has in the later years given relief assistance to Zimbabwe for :

1. Victims of drought, in particular in the southern regions
2. Refugees from Mocambique, who are assembled in five large camps along the border.

The amounts granted for these puposes have in the later years been of a limited magnitude, normally less than NOK 2 mill.

As women and men have different roles and areas of responsibility, a relief situation will have different impact on the two. There is for instance reason to believe that given the practice of allocating more and better food to adult men and children, food shortage is likely to have a more immediate negative impact on women's food intake than men's. And further, among the suffering people there will be a larger proportion than normal of sick people, and consequently a greater demand on women to fulfill their caring role.

However, the target group for Norwegian emergency relief assistance is normally all suffering people in an area. The aid usually consists of food, clothes, blankets and shelter and other basic facilities in the refugee camps. Apart from ensuring that pregnant women are allocated extra food rations, it is not feasible to aim at women-orienting the emergency relief aid.

Recommendation:

It is not feasible to aim at women-orienting the emergency relief aid.

9. CULTURE

NORAD has a relatively small scheme for support to cultural programmes in Norway's countries of co-operation. In 1990 NOK 380 000,- was spent for such activities in Zimbabwe.

This included support for production of a theatre performance by Amakhosi Theatre Group of a play, "Stitsha!" dealing with the problems that a woman faces today when wanting to go her own way and defying her peers.

NORAD has also supported the production of a film produced by Media for Development Trust on women and law issues - "The Winds of Change", based on a script idea by Tsitsi Dangaremba. The film takes up the problems a widow faces in modern Zimbabwe society.

The remaining funds have not specifically been earmarked for women issues.

Recommendation:

NORAD should encourage female artists and promote art that highlights womens situation such as community theatre productions, film and videos on gender issues, female traditions in the collection of oral traditions and short term scholarships for female writers and artists.

The women writers of Zimbabwe have recently formed their own Union, Women Writers Union, and NORAD should consider supporting their venues.

10. RESEARCH

10.1. NORAD's policy for support to research

In the previous chapters on water development, natural resources, health and AIDS, some topics have been listed on which NORAD should commission research. The studies could either be financed within the sector-/project allocations, through the special scheme for women's projects, or through NORAD's general scheme for research.

It is NORAD's policy to use the general scheme for research to:

1. Strengthen research capacity and competence in Norway's countries of co-operation;
2. Promote regional research co-operation, particularly in Southern Africa;
3. Establish and maintain a research base in Norway in areas of relevance to NORAD's activities.

The total research budget is quite limited, so the allocations for research in Zimbabwe will be rather small. Up to 1990 nothing had been granted for research as such in Zimbabwe, whereas a substantial amount had been allocated for regional seminars/workshops with venues in Harare, and other forms of support such as provision of books and journals for research libraries. None of the seminars focused on WID issues.

10.2. Support for women-oriented research activities

10.2.1. Research programme on women and gender issues in Zimbabwe

Whereas in the Western world in the last few decades a tremendous amount of research on women and gender issues has been done, research on these topics in the Third World is still quite limited. There is very little reliable data on the various aspects of women's lives and position in Zimbabwean society, on relations between the gender with regard to division of labour, responsibilities, property and spheres and degree of influence. As shown in the previous chapters on water development and agriculture, these are all issues where more solid knowledge is required in order to enable planners to design development projects to best benefit women.

Today, some studies in this field are being carried out by various departments at the University, at the Zimbabwe Institute for Development Studies, and in some Government ministries. However, the projects tend to be isolated and of quite limited magnitude. Consequently, a multidisciplinary research programme on women and gender issues in Zimbabwe would be of great value. Furthermore, as many of the researchers in this field are young and inexperienced it would raise the level of competence within the area of research if they are given the opportunity to participate in a coherent programme where they would co-operate and be supervised by more senior and experienced researchers.

Some of the topics to be studied under such a programme could be:

- Women's participation and influence in political processes in the local communities.
- Women in paid labour; where, which rate and how to increase

it?

- Women's participation in income-generating projects and other activities in the informal sector; any scope for greater income-generation?
- Women's access to land, cattle, money and other means of production.
- The consequences of male labour migration on the division of labour and spheres and degrees of influence within the households.
- The effects of the tremendous expansion in school enrollment on women's work load and situation in general.
- The impact on rural women of the expanded agricultural output from the peasant sector since Independence.
- Women's health status and women's special medical problems.
- Development and dissemination of labour saving devices within women's areas of responsibility.
- Women's socially accepted roles and how can they be broadened.

Such a programme should be developed by and based in a local institution. It should be designed with the combined aim of generating more valid and reliable data, and strengthening the Zimbabwean research competence in this field. A reasonable total budget for the programme would be in the range of NOK 2-3 mill. NORAD is currently financing a research programme along these lines in Nairobi.

Recommendation:

NORAD should consider to finance a 4-5 years' multidisciplinary research programme on women and gender issues in Zimbabwe. Such a programme could be financed either through the general scheme for research, through the special allocation for women, or through a combination of the two.

10.2.2. Regional co-operation

As the number of established female researchers in Africa is very small, the few who exist tend to be invited to a large number of international conferences of both great and small relevance to their work. Consequently, they cannot be said to be isolated from the international debates, as is often claimed in the frequent application donors receive for funding of such events. NORAD should therefore give low priority to such applications.

However, there is an unfulfilled need for a much broader group which includes junior researchers and resource persons in ministries and other Government institutions working on women and gender issues to meet at regional workshops where they can exchange experiences and develop joint and/or comparative projects - both studies and applied activities such as training, information and experimental development projects.

Recommendations:

- NORAD should give low priority to individual applications for funding of participation in international conferences.
- In order to promote research competence and regional co-operation in research, training and experimental activities

on WID, NORAD should offer to finance a few regional workshops for researchers and other resource persons in this field. The workshops should primarily be financed through the general research scheme, subsidiary through the special allocation for women.

11. WOMEN'S PROJECTS

11.1. Production and Dissemination of materials on Legal rights for women.

As outlined in paragraph 5.2. in Section A of this document, the Government has since Independence passed several progressive laws improving the legal position of women. But, although public debates have made the general and superficial awareness of the changes quite widespread, very few people are familiar with the full consequences of the legal changes and the new rights they grant to women. Consequently very few women demand their rights.

The Department of Women's Affairs (DWA) in Ministry of Political Affairs therefore plans to embark upon an information/education campaign with the aim to educate the communities in general and women in particular on the full implications of the changes. In addition, the Ministry aims to use the campaign to raise debate about the unfair and discriminatory laws that still exist, such as the laws regulating inheritance- and property rights.

NORAD has made an allocation of NOK 90 million for the project over three years, and it is planned to start up in mid 1991. The project will include the following elements:

- Production and mass distribution of topical leaflets in all major languages;
- Production of some short films for educative purposes;
- Production of a handbook on the most important legal questions;
- Training of cadres in the implications of the laws and in the use of the handbook;
- Public meetings at ward and village level;
- Promotion of community theatre productions topics of relevance to the campaign.

It is planned to start as a pilot project in one district, and then be gradually expanded until it has activities all over the country. Key implementors are to be the staff of Ministry of Political Affairs itself, in addition to community workers (WCCs and VCWs), ZANU-PF Women's League, other women's organisations and any other local resource persons.

NORAD has worked closely with DWA in the planning of the project.

11.2. Crisis centre for battered/raped women

There are plans to develop a crisis centre for battered and raped women in Harare. NORAD is in touch with the initiators, and has expressed positive interest to fund such a project.

Recommendation:

NORAD should support establishment of crisis centres for battered/raped women. The support could be granted from the NGO-scheme or the special allocation for women.

12. PROJECTS OF LITTLE RELEVANCE TO WID

12.1. Commodity Import Programme (CIP) (ZIB 100)

As stated above, the objectives of Norway's Commodity Import Programme (CIP) in Zimbabwe are:

- To support strategic supplies and production with a view to decrease the economic dependence on South Africa.
- To stimulate the development of regional complementary industries and trade.

For 1991 an amount of NOK million has been allocated from the country programme for this purpose. The programme is made up of two components:

1. A commodity assistance scheme under which NORAD shall provide Zimbabwe with import of goods and services from overseas. The scheme is in principle untied, but Norwegian producers will be given priority to the extent that they can deliver the requested commodities at competitive prices.
2. An import support scheme under which NORAD provides foreign currency for import of goods and services from other third world countries, primarily within the SADCC and PTA region. Zimbabwe is responsible for procurement of these commodities and services and NORAD shall re-imburse the import bill. It is envisaged that approximately 25% of Norway's total grant for the CIP shall be spent on this component.

The two Governments have established general guidelines for selection of goods and services under the CIP. Eligible for support are sub-sectors that:

- Have a nationally or regionally strategic position.
 - Have macro- and socio-economic importance, particularly with regard to employment.
 - Are import-dependent, particularly upon South Africa.
- The commodities/services/investments must:
- Stimulate intra-regional trade.
 - Promote development of complementary, not competitive, production structures.
 - Support delinking from South Africa through long term restructuring and/or short term contingency measures.

Funds shall be directed towards the private as well as the public sector. Companies with South-African ownership are as a rule excluded from the programme. The focus is on provision of commodities rather than services and investments. However, the CIP may also cover the latter categories, particularly when supplementary to commodity provisions.

Zimbabwe (Ministry of Finance) shall each year submit to NORAD for approval proposals regarding imports to be undertaken during the subsequent year, distributed on the commodity assistance and import support schemes. The proposals are to be based on and justified with explicit reference to the guidelines.

Recommendation:

Given the macro-economic focus and geopolitical objectives of the Norwegian CIP in Zimbabwe, it is not feasible to attempt to change the programme into a more women-oriented activity in the

current phase.

In the planned evaluation and replanning exercise for a new phase, after 1992, the feasibility of making special allocations for women's enterprises, or allocations to stimulate industries with a high proportion of female workers, should be looked into.

12.2. Input-output matrix

NORAD has, since 1986, financed a small project on assisting the Central Statistical Office in the Ministry of Finance in the development of models for analysing the national accounts. One female - expert from the Norwegian Central Bureau of Statistics was employed on the project for one year in 1987/88.

The project consists of developing models for analysing existing material at a very aggregated level, and has not in itself any direct relevance for women's situation in Zimbabwe.

12.3. Telecommunications (REG 004, REG 024, REG 043)

NORAD has, since 1982, granted altogether NOK 60 mill. for establishment of direct telecommunication links between Francistown - Bulawayo - Lusaka and Harare - Tete - Blantyre. Prior to these links, all telecommunications between these areas had to connect via South Africa or via a limited number of telephone lines. The projects are part of the PANAFTEL system, and aim at developing improved regional telecommunications as well as improved services at the national level. They are of limited direct relevance to women's situation. However, by emphasizing on employment and training of female technicians in PTC they can contribute to improve women's options for employment. The introduction of new technology in the REG 004/024 has been followed up NOK 9.2 mill. for Technical Assistance to the Zimbabwe Post and Telecommunication Corporation (PTC) (REG 043). The main objective of this project is transfer of knowledge to staff at PTC.

Recommendation:

NORAD should encourage PTC to select at least as many female as male candidates for any NORAD-funded training.

TITLE OF PROJECT / PROGRAMME:

Technical Assistance to Zimbabwe's Post and Telecommunication Corporation (REG 043)

1. Starting date: April 1988
2. Duration:
Phase 1: 2 1/2 years Budget: NOK 9.2 mill.
3. Implementing agency: Zimbabwe's Post and Telecommunication Corporation
4. The project purposes stated in the project document concerning women:
Phase 1: Training of women not specified

5. Technical assistance:

- External assistance to the project over the last 12 months:
- External assistance with competence on WID over the last 12 months

Persons-months (split on M/F)	Professional field
36M	Telecommuni- cation
Nil	

6. Special funds for women have been used in connection with the project for:
Sum: Nil
7. Other / special funds that have been used in connection with the project:
Sum: Nil
8. Concrete results obtained (ref. purpose) (data broken down by gender):
The training of telecommunication engineers has involved women at a rate of approx. 2F to 8M

9. Effects and impacts obtained concerning women: (direct measures or through indicators):
N/A

10. To what degree have the recommendations from the last Action Plan been followed up?
NORAD has requested the Norwegian Training Advisor and Planning Advisor in PTC to submit proposals for scholarships for female telecommunication technicians.

Constraints:

No applications received so far.

Recommendations:

NORAD should follow up with new requests to PTC.

Programme Officer: Ruth Kove

Date: 29.03.90.

12.4. Power Plan II

Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority (ZESA) has since 1988 received Norwegian assistance for a five year project on improving the generation and transmission capacity of the electricity supply system. The project will mainly benefit urban and major rural centres. Norway has granted NOK 44.4 mill. for engineering services and consultancy studies. The project is co-financed with the World Bank, and Norway's contribution is given as a tied grant. The project consists of developing a resource at national level, of little direct relevance to women's situation, especially as rural electrification is not included in the project.

TITLE OF PROJECT / PROGRAMME:
Power Plan II

1. Starting date: July 1988

2. Duration:

Phase 1: 1988-1993

Budget: NOK 44.4 mill.

3. Implementing agency: Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority (ZESA)

4. The project purposes stated in the project document concerning women:

Phase 1: Nil

5. Technical assistance:

- External assistance to the project over the last 12 months:

- External assistance with competence on WID over the last 12 months

Persons-months (split on M/F)	Professional field
80M	Engeneering
Nil	

6. Special funds for women have been used in connection with the project for:

Sum: Nil

7. Other / special funds that have been used in connection with the project:

Sum: Nil

8. Concrete results obtained (ref. purpose) (data broken down by gender):
N/A

9. Effects and impacts obtained concerning women: (direct measures or through indicators):
N/A

10. To what degree have the recommendations from the last Action Plan been followed up?
The last Action Plan did not contain any particular recommendations regarding this project.

Constraints:

N/A

Recommendations:

It is not feasible to attempt to make this project - or components of it - into a women-oriented project.

Programme Officer: Sonja McLeod

Date: 20.04.90.

SECTION C - WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS AND RELEVANT RESEARCH
INSTITUTIONS

By Elinor Batezat and Margaret Mwalo

1991

1. INTRODUCTION TO SECTION C

In the preceding section we examined Government policies and attempted to show what successes and constraints the Government has experienced in implementing its policies. In addition to the Government machinery discussed, there exist a number of other women's organisations which encourage women in economic, social, religious and political activities as well as acting as pressure groups to preserve the rights of women. We now proceed to describe some of these women's organisations in order to illustrate how women have organised themselves in an attempt to change their situation.

It is important to mention that well over 250 voluntary organisations exist in Zimbabwe according to the records compiled by the Ministry of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare. These organisations promote programmes aimed at improving women's income earning capacity as well as the welfare of their families. They stem from different backgrounds. There are religious voluntary organisations which stem from churches; political organisations which are mainly women's wings of political parties or trade unions; associate organisations which do not strictly concentrate on women's issues but do help in funding, technical advice, education and training of women, and non-Governmental voluntary organisations which fall in neither of the categories stated above.

2. THE ORGANISATIONS

2.1. Adult Literacy Organisation of Zimbabwe (ALOZ)

94 Cameron Street, Box 4480, Harare
Phone 723877 / 704890

ALoz, known as the Adult Literacy Council at its inception in 1963, was established to teach literacy skills to adults who had no chance to go to school. Given the fact that the colonial state did not think it necessary to provide resources and facilities for adult literacy classes, the council had to operate from only two offices in Harare and Bulawayo concentrating its efforts in developing literacy courses and materials and training adult literacy teachers.

At Independence, with the knowledge that there were approximately 2.5 million illiterate people, most of whom were women - the Government set one of its objectives as the need to eradicate illiteracy. This objective coincided with the major aim of ALOZ which is to promote literacy among disadvantaged groups in the country. By taking an active part in the planning and development of the Adult Literacy Campaign which was launched in July 1983, ALOZ activities became intensified and widened to embrace most of the country. Working closely with the MCCDWA, ALOZ activities include training literacy teachers for industry, agriculture and rural and urban communities. Instead of teaching only the basic skills of reading and writing, the orientation is now to teach literacy for functional purposes. Thus ALOZ now supports literacy related income generating projects through advice, training, loans and grants.

To oversee its programmes, ALOZ has a management committee which appoints a Director for planning and execution of its functions. The majority of ALOZ staff are women and are responsible for running literacy programmes in which 80% participants are women.

2.2. The Association of Women's Clubs (AWC)

64 Selous Avenue, Box UA 339, Causeway, Harare
Phone 726910

Formerly known as the Federation of African Women's Clubs, the AWC was founded in 1952 with the aim of assisting African women in both rural and urban areas to:

- exchange ideas and teach each other domestic skills such as cooking, sewing, knitting and child care; and
- participate in the prevailing economic atmosphere.

After 1980, the organisation reviewed its aims and approach so that its activities could fit in with Government policy. To date its objectives have expanded to include:

- promoting income generating projects;
- promoting literacy;
- coordinating club activities through shows, training and workshops; and
- representing club members at national and international fora.

Generally these objectives are meant to enable women to participate in development programmes.

To fulfill these objectives, the Association has a national executive body and a leadership composed of voluntary workers. In addition it has an administrative staff comprising of the National chairperson, National Executive Secretary, Accountant, Programme Officer, Project/Training Officer at head office and Regional Organising Secretary, Demonstrators and non-salaried Area Trainers. The functions are facilitated by the existence of five regional offices in Mashonaland, Matebeleland, Manicaland, Midlands and Masvingo which are linked to the grassroots level through district and area committees. Such an organisational structure enables it to cater for as large a membership as 23,000.

Training appears to be the major activity of the Association because it offers courses related to agriculture, nutrition and health, craft work and management and administration. These courses are generally linked to income generating projects.

2.3. National Federation of Women's Institute of Zimbabwe - Homecraft (NFWI - Homecraft)

13 Five Avenue, P O Box 8263, Causeway, Harare
Phone 705761

NFWI, Zimbabwe chapter is internationally affiliated to the Associated Country Women of the World and was first established in 1925. Its major objective was to encourage women to effectively participate in the development process of the country. To do so, the NFWI encourages active participation of women in matters pertaining to health, education, rural development, equity, self reliance and self improvement.

Organisationally, the NFWI is composed of two sections: the women's homecraft clubs and the women's institutes. The homecraft section draws its membership, which stands at 8 000, mostly from African women, 99% of whom are based in the rural areas. The functions of this section have not changed much because its main interest - to improve the status of rural women - is attained through training in agriculture and home management.

The women's institute has mainly been involved in training communal farmers, youths, commercial farmers, mine workers and NGO staff in agriculture, sanitation, nutrition and health. This has been done through 40 women's institutes spread in various parts of the country.

For operational purposes the women's homecraft clubs are assisted by staff at the national level. These organise training programmes for field workers - their staff at the grassroots level.

Due to lack of funds the NFWI has had to limit its functions although currently some of its field staff work on a voluntary basis.

2.4. Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU PF) Women's League

88 Robert Mugabe Road
Phone 793721

ZANU (PF) Women's League was formed along side the main party in 1963. Since it is an organ of the party its aims and objectives are guided by the party's policies as enunciated in its constitution.

Membership to the League is open to every woman who has attained the age of 18 years and is a member of the party. Entitlement to the membership is through the cell, village committee or branch. The League is therefore a women's organisation which builds itself upwards from the cell to the branch, district, provincial and national level.

The execution of its functions which is mainly the political conscientisation of women is done through the national, provincial and district executive councils and branch and cell or village executive committees.

It is interesting to note that although there has been an awareness within the league of women's oppression, its programmes have not addressed themselves to the fundamental causes of oppression. Instead the League has been preoccupied with:

- establishing and supervising women's cooperative ventures;
- encouraging self improvement and self reliant projects and programmes; and
- establishing and maintaining women's clubs.

As such the League, like other women's organisations has failed to move away from "gendered" activities and has emphasized that :

Men should allow their wives to join clubs and the 3party so that they could share ideas with others and participate in meaningful projects. (Herald 1984)

2.5. Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions Women's Department (ZCTU-Women's Department)

50 Stanley Avenue, P O Box 3549, Harare,
Phone 793092/3

The ZCTU is an umbrella organisation of the labour movement in Zimbabwe. All registered trade unions are supposed to be affiliated to this mother body which seeks to ensure that working people are guaranteed their rights. The ZCTU established a women's department whose major objective was to mobilise all working women and conscientise them about the labour movement in Zimbabwe.

With this objective in mind the ZCTU and unions affiliated to it have undertaken a massive campaign to educate women about their rights at work. The recognition that women lagged behind in education and employment urged women trade unionists to form women's wings within their organisations. These women's wings have taken it upon themselves to tackle issues such as the need

to have creches at work places and the need to fight against sexual harassment and discrimination - issues which are not given priority by the main trade unions. Research is underway to find out the number of women's wings in existence, their objectives, achievements and problems.

2.6. Women's Action Group (WAG)

P O Box 135, Harare
Telephone: 702986

WAG spontaneously arose in 1983 as a result of women who came together in order to protest against the indiscriminate arrests of women who were alleged to be prostitutes. At this early stage it was not a legally constituted organisation with a constitution and a formal leadership structure. Instead it was an organisation based on an interest in struggling for and preserving women's rights. Individuals volunteered to work in subcommittees such as the case study group which was responsible for compiling a dossier of individual arrests and detention with a view to taking legal action; the publicity group which was responsible for publishing articles of protest on behalf of arrested women and for general public relations.

Since its inception WAG has,

- organised seminars to discuss and clarify the root causes of problems facing women;
- established contact with various other women's organisations; and
- demonstrated the fact that there is power in solidarity and enormous potential for achievement where there is commitment to a common cause.

In August 1986, WAG members unanimously decided to establish a fund which would enable them to publish a quarterly magazine known as "Speak Out". Through "Speak Out" the groups hoped that the voice of most Zimbabwean women would be heard. So far the magazine has discussed such issues as domestic violence, maintenance, baby dumping.

Membership is open to every Zimbabwean woman and the joining fee is \$1.00.

WAG faces the problem of having no permanent staff and no office accommodation. It has also experienced opposition from women who see it as a middle class organisation proclaiming feminist ideas for which most women in Zimbabwe are not yet ready - yet the issues that it deals with cut across class or ethnic divisions.

2.7. Zimbabwe Women's Bureau (ZWB)

43 Hillside Road, Cranborne, Harare
Telephone: 84205 / 84295

ZWB was formed in 1978 to further the advancement of women in Zimbabwe. Its objectives then were:

- to study and promote measures for integrating women into the economic life;
- to carry out research on all problems relating to women especially their employment; and
- to mount conferences and seminars as a way of stimulating awareness and local initiative among women.

After Independence these objectives though modified to suit the conditions of today continue to direct the activities of the Bureau in that it has taken practical steps to conscientise women about the necessity of involving themselves in income generating projects.

For its conscientisation programmes to be effective the Bureau functions through the National Executive Committee which is the body that oversees functions relating to personnel, information, projects and finances. The NEC is composed of voluntary workers, most of whom are engaged in full time employment, to implement its programmes. The Bureau works through the coordinator, Administrative Secretary, Information/Training Officer, Projects Officer and field workers.

The Coordinator's duties include planning of Bureau's work, organising seminars and workshops, initiating communication with other organisations, working with the finance committee, representing the organisation at international and national conferences and submitting reports to funding agencies.

The Administrative Secretary plays the public relations role and sees to all office practice work, while the Information/Training Officer collects data, writes reports, photo pamphlets and does most of the information related work. In addition the information/training officer is responsible for training.

The projects officer coordinates the bureau's projects and organises workshops in development while field workers are the Bureau's employees at the grassroots level. These are responsible for

- identifying groups of women and determining their specific needs;
- initiating agreed projects;
- linking the groups with local training and technical resources;
- offering advice on structuring, monitoring and evaluating projects; and distribution of assistance materials.

Through the field workers the Bureau guides and advises women in 11 districts and has a total group membership of 2 000 women and 75 men.

The Bureau's organisational structure is conducive to coordination of women's activities. It does however experience transport problems which hinder progress.

3. CONCLUSION TO SECTION C

The positive Government policy after Independence encouraged the existing women's organisations to increase their activities, as well as the formation of many new organisations. Because of the problems of duplication and competition women's organisations expressed the need for an umbrella body to co-ordinate their activities. The MCCDWA made proposals for a National Women's Council to coordinate the activities of all women's organisations and monitor the use of resources.

Many of the women's organisations were uneasy about the MCCDWA proposals because these proposals emphasized control of the organisations rather than co-ordination of their activities. As a result the formation of a National Women's Council was postponed and the whole issue is still under discussion.

The emphasis by most women's organisations on improving women's income-earning capacity has yielded insufficient insights into women's situation. The organisations need to break out of this narrow focus if they are to challenge, in any meaningful way, the local and global causes of women's oppression.

4. LIST OF RELEVANT NATIONAL RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS AND MILIEUS

1. AAWORD (Ass. of African Women for Research & Development)/WOMEN's NGO Forum
2. Department of Agricultural Technical and Extension Services (AGRITEX) Ministry of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement.
3. Department of Research and Planning, Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs
4. Department of Research and Planning, Ministry of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare
5. Department of Research and Specialist Services, Ministry of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement
6. The Legal Research Department, Ministry of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs
7. Research Department, Ministry of Information, Posts and Telecommunications
8. Research Departments in the Ministry of Health (Blair Research Laboratory and Government Analyst Laboratory)
9. Research Department, Parliament of Zimbabwe
10. Research Department, Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions
11. Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC)
Sub-Committee - Women in Development
12. University of Zimbabwe in the following Departments
 - i. Centre for Applied Social Science
 - ii. School of Social Work
 - iii. Sociology Department
 - iv. Department of Adult Education
13. Voluntary Organisations in Community Enterprise (VOICE)
14. Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies (ZIDS)
15. Zimbabwe National Family Planning Council
16. Zimbabwe Women's Bureau