3 1293 00538 1094

LIBRARY
Michigan State
University

This is to certify that the

dissertation entitled

THE CULTURE, URBAN CONTEXT AND ECONOMICS OF
WOMEN'S FRESH PRODUCE MARKETING
IN HARARE, ZIMBABWE

presented by

Nancy Ellen Horn

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Anthropology

William Derman
Major professor

Date August 12, 1988

MSU is an Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity Institution

O-12771

MSU
LIBRARIES

RETURNING MATERIALS:
Place in book drop to remove this checkout from your record. FINES will be charged if book is returned after the date stamped below.

JUN 13 1994

THE CULTURE, URBAN CONTEXT AND ECONOMICS OF WOMEN'S FRESH PRODUCE MARKETING IN HARARE, ZIMBABWE

By

Nancy Ellen Horn

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Anthropology

1988

5459

ABSTRACT

THE CULTURE, URBAN CONTEXT AND ECONOMICS OF WOMEN'S FRESH PRODUCE MARKETING IN HARARE, ZIMBABWE

By

Nancy Ellen Horn

Why do so many women in urban Africa generate incomes through small scale food marketing? This dissertation seeks to answer this question in terms of the female fresh produce vendors in Harare, Zimbabwe.

The analysis of cultural, urban contextual and economic variables to explain this phenomenon takes its lead from assertions in marketing anthropology put forward by Plattner (1985:xi):

> . . . individual economic behavior [i]s the outcome of a multi-causal, goal-driven decision procedure, where the actor is operating in relative ignorance and uncertainty, with complex goals and constraints.

Since this economic slot is occupied almost exclusively by women, the first part of this analysis explores the historical background that brought women to the fresh produce vending enterprise. Subsequent chapters analyze data generated through participant observation, the administration of an interview schedule and collection of pricing data. These chapters discuss the cultural beliefs about women's work roles in Shona-speaking societies, the urban contextual factors making it necessary for women to generate an income, and the economics of the fresh produce vending business. The critical factors determining women's participation in these enterprises are identified as the urban need to generate cash income

in order that women can fulfill their family food provisioning roles and can care for the well-being of their children.

The conclusions focus on the outcomes and implications of women's marketing activities as they apply to their families and to urban food security. Policy suggestions are made in order that women can continue to generate incomes in this manner and to fulfill their provisioning and child-welfare roles.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my son, Andrew, for his intuitiveness and his joy to be in Africa once again, and to my mother and father, Lilla and Richard Horn, who did not survive long enough to see the honor conferred upon me on the day I received my degree.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study would not have been possible without the assistance of many people. A Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Award and a National Science Foundation Dissertation Improvement Award provided the funding to conduct the research reported in this dissertation.

Professor Charles Morrison, Associate Dean, Social Science, and Professor David Wiley, Director, African Studies Center, each contributed to the construction of my proposal and were instrumental in my receiving the funding acknowledged above.

Professor William Derman, Acting Deputy Director, African Studies Center, and Professor, Anthropology, served as my committee Chairperson and research advisor throughout the period of research and writing. Harold Riley, Professor, Agricultural Economics, provided significant guidance in analyzing the economic data.

Professor Mandi Rukuni, Dean, Faculty of Agriculture, and Professor Kingston Nyamapfene, Chairperson, Land Management, both of the University of Zimbabwe, welcomed the research I conducted in Zimbabwe, and provided me with an office and material support to conduct this study.

My research assistants, Elijah Dhauka, Takawira Mamvura, Edias Cherera, Florence Kundhlande, and Junior Muchena, were all extremely helpful and insightful during the course of research.

The friends who provided moral support and editorial

assistance, namely Nancy Radtke and Joyce Wood, will remember the year it took me to write this dissertation.

Lastly, I wish to acknowledge the patience and endurance of my son, Andrew, whose zest for life in Africa, as well as his perceptiveness during the period of writing, provided me the time and space--as well as the tacit encouragement--I needed to fulfill my goals.

Contents

Page

CHAPTER ONE 1
Women and Marketing in Africa

Introduction 1
Economic Anthropology and Markets. 4
Women, Income Generating and the Informal Sector 6
Informal Sector and Migration. 8
Women and Informal Markets 10
Women and Markets in Africa. 11
1. Locus and Focus of Research. 12
2. Trade in Food Commodities. 13
3. Pricing. 15
4. Visibility and Women's Income Generation 16
5. Disposal of Income 17
Data Generation. 19
Research Assistants. 30
Data Analysis and Chapter Organization 32

CHAPTER TWO. 35
Agricultural and Urban Development: Historical Background to Fresh Produce Vending in Harare

Introduction 35
The Rural Division of Labor and Pre-Colonial Trading Practices. 35
Land Alienation and the Labor Reserve Economy. 38
Migration, Urbanization and Housing. 44
The Formal and Informal Sector and Fresh Produce Marketing System 49
Women's Retail Vending Niche 55
Conclusion 57

CHAPTER THREE. 59
The Fresh Produce Marketing System in Harare

Introduction 59
The Fresh Produce Marketing System 59
Production and Marketing System Based on Color 64
Formal Sector Wholesalers. 66
Informal Sector Wholesalers. 73
The Production/Marketing System and Retail Vendors in Harare. 77
1. Seasonality. 78
2. Quality. 78
3. Commodity Access 78

4. Market Access. 79
5. Reliability of Published Prices. 80
6. Makoronyera. 80
7. Competition. 81
Conclusion 82

CHAPTER FOUR 84
Women, Migration, Making Sense of the City and Fresh Produce Marketing

Introduction 84
Language, Birthplace and Ethnicity 84
Growing up in Zimbabwe 86
Marriage 88
Migration to Harare. 91
Family Life and Children 93
Linkages to Rural Kin. 96
Widowhood, Divorce and Remarriage. 100
Making Economic Sense of the City. 106
"Formal" and "Informal" Sector Income Generation 109
Establishing the Fresh Produce Business. 110
The Conduct of Business. 113
Conclusion and the Ethic of Work 122

CHAPTER FIVE 124
Economic Aspects of Women's Marketing Activities

Introduction. 124
Gross Margins 125
Case 1--Amai Daniel 132
Case 2--Amai Tendai 134
Case 3--Amai George 136
Case 4--Amai Dino 137
Case 5--Amai Tatu 139
Case 6--Amai Paul 141
Analysis of Variability in Gross Margins. 143
1. Variation in Wholesale Price Due to Seasonal Supply. 144
2. Variation in Wholesale Price Due to the Place Where Commodity is Purchased. 146
3. Commodity Differentiation 146
4. Physical Properties of and Vendor Position in the Marketplace 147
5. Physical Location of the Marketplace. 148
6. Duration of Enterprise. 149
7. "Regulars" and Credit 152
8. Necessary Absences. 153
9. Competition 154
10. Wholesaler Cheating 156
11. Labor 156

Summary of Constraints to Increasing Gross Margins and Returns to Labor. 156
Cost of Doing Business. 156
1. Wastage 157
2. Rent. 158
3. Transport 158
Household Expenditures. 161
Additional Income 163
Additional Expenditures 164
Conclusions 165

CHAPTER SIX 167
Cultural and Contextual Variables Determining Women's Fresh Produce Vending Activities in Harare

Introduction. 167
Culture, Work and Women's Choices 167
Urban Life and the Need to Generate an Income 168
1. Housing and Population. 169
2. Marriage and Marital Status 171
3. The Family and Female Fertility 178
4. Male Employment Levels. 179
5. Cash Needs. 183
6. The Myth of the "Household Economy" 185
7. The Disintegration of the Family Unit 187
Why Women Become Fresh Produce Vendors. 188
1. Female Employment Opportunity Structures. . . . 188
2. Women's Provisioning Roles and the Division of Labor 192
3. The Cultural Value of the Substance Exchanged . 193
4. Exercising "Psychic Control" Over an Urban Economic Activity 198
5. Other Incomes and Professional Bonds. 200
6. Women's Needs and Childcare 201
Summary and Conclusions 201

CHAPTER SEVEN 205
The Consequences of Women's Marketing Activities

Introduction 205
Summary of Cultural, Urban Contextual and Economic Arguments 205
Why Vendors Do What They Do 208
Implications of Women's Activities. 210
1. The Family and Nutrition. 210
2. Urban Provisioning. 211
3. Urban Food Security 212

Women's Marketing Activities and Development. 213
1. EEC-Funded Project: Mashonaland East Smallholder Fruit and Vegetable Programme . . . 213
2. Zimbabwe Women's Bureau Musika Co-Operative . . 215
Conclusions and Policy Recommendations. 216

APPENDIX A--Interview Schedule. 227

APPENDIX B--Pricing Schedule 242

BIBLIOGRAPHY. 245

Tables

Page

1.1--Population Distribution in Harare Based on Ethnicity. . . 21
1.2--Suburban Distribution of Harare Population 23
1.3--Suburban Distribution of Stall and Table Vendors. 27

3.1--Characteristics of Informal/Formal or Two-Circuit Economies 62
3.2--Estimated Volume of Crops Being Sold Through Formal Sector Marketing Channels in Harare, July 1985-June 1986 70
3.3--Average Wholesale Prices for Selected Commodities, December 1985-November 1986 72
3.4--Comparative Wholesale Prices Per Kilogram of Selected Fresh Produce, Independent Market (IM) and Mbare Musika Farmer's Market (MM), March through July 1986 73
3.5--Typical Wholesale Transport Costs to Selected Areas . . . 75

4.1--Distribution of Zimbabwean Languages Spoken by Vendors. . 85
4.2--Vendor Migration to Harare. 91
4.3--Vendor Fertility Expressed in Number of Children Alive. . 93
4.4--Number of Children Living with Vendor-Parents 94
4.5--Distribution of Other Residents in Vendor Households. . . 95
4.6--Frequency of Vendor Visitation to Rural Kin 97
4.7--Amounts Vendor Pays for Transport "Home" 98

5.1--Fresh Produce Being Sold at Retail Marketsites Throughout Harare 128
5.2--Gross Margins per Kilogram of Sixteen Crops, March 1-July 24, 1986 129
5.3--Actual Wholesale Unit Purchased and Retail Mark-Up. . . . 131
5.4--Gross Margins--Amai Daniel--Week of March 3, 1986 133
5.5--Gross Margins--Amai Tendai--Week of April 1, 1986 135
5.6--Gross Margins--Amai George--Week of May 19, 1986 137
5.7--Gross Margins--Amai Dino--Week of June 9, 1986. 139
5.8--Gross Margins--Amai Tatu--Week of July 7, 1986. 142
5.9--Gross Margins--Amai Paul--July 24, 1986 143
5.10-Summary of the Number of Years Vendors Have Been Selling at the Location Where Interviewed 150
5.11-Customer Pool for Selected High Density Suburbs 151
5.12-Sample Percentage of Commodities Discarded. 157
5.13-Net Returns to Capital Per Week for Six Case Study Vendors 159
5.14-Mean Net Returns to Capital for 40 Vendors. 159
5.15-Weekly Expenditures for Six Vendor Case Studies 161
5.16-Mean Weekly Expenditures for All Vendors. 162
5.17-Other Financial Resources for Six Vendors 164
5.18-Weekly Mean of Additional Vendor Financial Resources. . . 164
5.19-Total Weekly Net Incomes and Expenditures of Six Vendors. 165

5.20-Total Weekly Net Incomes and Expenditures of Vendors. . . 165

6.1--The High Density Suburbs of Harare. 171
6.2--Marital Status of Women in Zimbabwe 172
6.3--Marital Status of Female Fresh Produce Vendors in Harare. 173
6.4--Marital Status of Women in Highfield Township 173
6.5--Lobola/Roora Required for Marriage. 176
6.6--Fertility Levels of African Women in Harare and of Fresh Produce Vendors 179
6.7--Education of Males in Harare. 182
6.8--Educational Levels of Male Spouses of Female Fresh Produce Vendors in Harare 182
6.9--National Educational Levels and Unemployment. 183
6.10-Average Monthly Expenditures for Harare Vendor Housholds. 184
6.11-Monthly Incomes Generated by Male Spouses 185
6.12-Educational Levels Achieved by Women in Harare. 189
6.13-Educational Levels of Female Fresh Produce Vendors in Harare. 190
6.14-Male and Female Unemployment Levels in Urban Centers. . . 191

Figures

Page

1.1--Harare Suburbs 22

3.1--Formal and Informal Fresh Produce Marketing Channels . . . 61

CHAPTER ONE

Women and Markets in Africa

Introduction

Throughout urban Africa, women can be observed selling fresh and cooked foodstuffs from pavements, streetcorners and market stalls. While circumstances bringing African women to cities vary broadly, the context of urban life, the need for cash on a daily basis, and the cultural considerations demarcating women's work are aspects that help determine women's marketing roles. What are the socio-historical events that bring women to this economic role? Why have so many women chosen to establish these small scale enterprises? Given their ubiquitous presence and the competition between vendors selling similar commodities, do women experience returns to labor sufficient to meet their financial obligations?

This study focuses on a particular subset of market women--those who sell fresh produce from the market stalls and streetside tables located throughout the many suburbs comprising Greater Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe. The core questions explored are: whether or not the returns to labor generated by selling fresh produce meet urban women's cash needs; and, if they do not, why do so many participate? In effect, if economic returns do not sufficiently meet women's income generating needs, what then are the cultural and urban contextual variables that must be analyzed to understand why women do what they do?

A problem ensuing from the identification of these questions is which body of literature to draw upon. While the anthropological

rationale to study markets emanates from the literature of economic anthropology, what has been advanced in this sub-field does not adequately cover the questions explored.

The feminist literature on women in Africa tends to rest on a Marxist rationale of the subordination of women to capitalist forces over which women have little or no control. This study, however, casts women as positive actors deriving the means to meet their financial needs from their cultural expertise and their ability to create an urban niche for themselves.

The market phenomenon studied is situated in the so-called "informal" sector, originally delineated by economists, in which transactions and incomes are not recorded and, therefore, are not subject to government taxation or included in state statistics. The arguments posited in this study, however, do not deal with the theoretical morass in which these small-scale enterprises are situated.

The physical setting of this marketing activity is urban, an area less studied in the past by anthropologists than by sociologists. While anthropologists have considered a number of urban topics on migration and social relations, this study only peripherally considers these issues in the analysis of how women came to occupy their occupational niche.

The geographic location of this study also differs significantly from other market women's studies. Earlier studies, primarily conducted in West Africa, reflect the exploration of social theory of interest at the time: capitalist penetration of the market, central

place theory, the relationship between social structure and social organization of the marketplace, changing social structure in accordance with changes in access to the means of production, and Marxist feminist theory. The case of Zimbabwe differs from those in West Africa due to its unique setting within the labor reserve economy and policies of racial segregation instituted during the period of British colonization. Thus, theoretical considerations reflect the socio-historical circumstances of the labor reserve economy that created a need for women to generate an income without adequately providing the means to do so.

The specific focus of this study is a women's income generating activity, a subject considered by researchers in many disciplines under the general heading of women in development. Findings in this field focus largely on constraints women must overcome to generate the incomes they need. This study considers just how much income women generate in operating these micro-enterprises. Moreover, following recent research on how women dispose of their incomes, this study also presents an analysis of how incomes are utilized to fulfill female provisioning roles and to contribute to the well-being of their children.

In summary, this study does not have one theoretical "home." Instead, it draws upon many theoretical and empirical bases in order to focus on an empirical problem. "License" to present such an analysis on marketing, however, rests within the discipline of anthropology itself:

> An anthropological economic analysis should, almost by definition be grounded in broad knowledge of local

> context. . . . In explaining economic behavior people draw ideas as befits the need from formal economic theory, economic geography, political economy and economic history as well as from cultural anthropology (Plattner 1985:viii).

The context out of which an anthropologically explored economic behavior is generated is as important as are the cultural and economic variables forging women's marketing roles. While the focus is the women themselves, one must not lose sight of the varied experiences that brought them to where they are:

> . . . individual economic behavior [i]s the outcome of a multi-causal, goal-driven decision procedure, where the actor is operating in relative ignorance and uncertainty, with complex goals and constraints (Plattner 1985:xi).

Economic Anthropology and Markets

The study of markets by anthropologists derives from inquiries attempting to discern the "economic" in cultural groups (Malinowski 1922). The debates in economic anthropology arose as the result of Raymond Firth's attempt to apply "formal," neo-classical economic theories of maximization to a pre-capitalist society (Firth 1929) and Herskovits' (1940, 1952) consideration of what constitutes "economic" as opposed to simply "rational" behavior in another pre-capitalist society.

An alternative to this approach occurred in Southern Africa with Schapera's (1928) work on the effects of the labor reserve economy of South Africa on the Tswana in the then Bechuanaland Protectorate. Ensuing studies by Dalton (1961) in Africa asserted that neo-classical economic theories cannot be applied to the study of ethnic economies because of the nature of the institutions governing the "economic." He argued for a more "substantial"

definition of the economic in pre-capitalist societies, that is, the economic cannot really be separated from other aspects of social organization.

While this study does not extend this polemic, it does concern some of the issues raised. Whereas the formalist/substantivist debates concerned the analysis of pre-capitalist societies, the present analysis concerns the range of variables forging a particular economic behavior within a capitalist framework. While prior literature addresses the determinative instance--culture or economics--of a society's collective behavior, this study considers both the cultural and economic variables contributing to individual behavior.

Although the polemic developed further to include the arguments of neo-Marxists, decision theorists, and the like,[1] this analysis theoretically branches off at this juncture to address the anthropological literature on markets that arose out of these debates. As colonial economies, and later independent economies, intruded upon rural production, transformation in the division of labor and mode of production occurred. The creation of the market economy gave anthropologists the opportunity to study the "structural connections between economic transactions and the rest of culture and social organization" (Bohannan and Dalton 1965:1).

The studies incorporated in the Bohannan and Dalton volume illustrate, on the one extreme, the inability to separate the

---

[1] For a discussion of the various routes this polemic took in its early years, see Firth (1967); and for later years see Orlove (1985).

"economic" from patterns of social organization within ethnic groups, and on the other, how the existence of both market places and a market or exchange principle serve to enhance economic development through the sale of cash crops. Interestingly, the main question posed in these early years of market analysis is similar to the one this study explores:

> [D]o transactions in market places or by the market principle provide sellers and producers with the bulk of their material livelihood, or do they not? (Bohannan and Dalton 1965:5).

While the findings in the Bohannan-Dalton volume indicate the decreased importance of market "place" and the subsumption of human interaction under the market "principle" (exchange), this study, because of the particular characteristics of Zimbabwean history, argues that "place" is a very important variable in determining the ethos of the market "principle."

Women, Income Generation and the Informal Sector

Many studies of markets in Africa focussed, beginning in 1972, on whether markets fell under the purview of government regulation--"formal markets"--or not--"informal markets." The latter, labelled as a "residual" of capitalist development (Sethuraman 1976), incorporates enterprises characterized by: an ease of entry; self or family ownership; reliance on indigenous resources; a high degree of competition; and a laissez faire attitude on the part of government. Incomes generated are normally compared to the lowest obtainable salaries for unskilled workers in the formal sector (Davies 1974).

The formal economy, and markets within it, on the other hand, are characterized as: protected by legalized barriers to entry;

owned and operated under government regulation; relying upon both indigenous and imported resources; oligopolistic or monopolistic; and regulated by government standards and taxation (ILO 1972; see also Moser 1978, and Peattie 1980).

Research conducted on enterprises in the informal sector have explored further the themes identified by Sethuraman and the ILO. Berndt and Ferman (quoted in Tinker 1981) argue that the development, growth, and continued existence of the informal market is attributed to the structural imbalance of the formal economy--"to a failure of the distribution and pricing systems to adjust and serve areas of unmet needs" (Tinker 1981:54).

While this argument is integral to our understanding of the links between the formal and informal sectors, what it does not consider is how government regulation itself can create the informal economy. In Zimbabwe, policies of racial segregation were implemented to control the number of Africans coming into the white domain of cities. Legislation sought to make Africans invisible in the white northern suburbs of Harare. Although African labor was crucial to the economic development of the country, their personal needs for food and housing were dealt with on either a de facto or de jure basis of invisibility. That is, shops catering to white clientele did not sell the range of foodstuffs in demand by Africans. Since Africans were not legally allowed to operate enterprises in the white suburbs, they sought to meet their needs in the legally created African townships. By government regulation preventing the issuance of licenses to Africans to sell in white domains, Africans,

particularly African women, provisioned African labor domiciled in the townships some kilometers distant from the white suburbs.

Additionally, since the number of provisioners seemed to multiply in accordance with demand and the need for women to generate an income, and since different townships fell under the purview of various regulating bodies (Greater Harare was not incoporated until 1972), by-laws governing stall marketing and hawking were both ambiguous in their interpretation and difficult to enforce. Thus, this study illustrates that the historical development of such a sector vis-a-vis retail fresh produce marketing is equally important to an understanding of this phenomenon as an economic analysis of its creation as a "residual" in capitalist development.

Informal Sector and Migration

A sub-theme in informal sector studies is its pre-eminence as the first line of employment for newly-arriving urban migrants. A comparative study by Sethuraman in Africa (1977) and a particular case study of Nairobi by Werlin (1981) attribute the growth of the informal economy to increased rural/urban migration:

> A vast majority of workers in the informal sector are migrants, often from regions not far from the urban centres where they now live. Apart from the limited amount of employment available in the formal sector, their reasons for entering the informal sector in such large numbers--despite their expressed preference for secure wage employment--seem to be connected mainly with their level of education, age, skills and training (Sethuraman 1977:345).

As this study illustrates, the economic history of Zimbabwe created structural imbalances such that migration by certain members of the rural household away from the family farm was necessary for

economic survival. While forced migration was an initial strategy of mine owners (see van Onselen 1976), later strategies to generate more African labor included land alienation, forced relocation, and differential pricing for agricultural commodities. Once in the city, racially-based structural imbalances reflected in African salaries (kept low for white industrialists to accumulate capital) necessitated that family incomes be generated both by a rural producer and an urban laborer. When it became possible for the entire family to migrate to the city (when it was found industrialist needs could be better served when families resided with laborers), gender-based biases in hiring prevented women from obtaining formal sector employment except on a casual or seasonal basis.

Informal sector activities, characterized as they are as having largely escaped recognition, enumeration, regulation and protection by governments, have not been included in national economic statistics (Davies 1979). Data on incomes generated by many national bureaus of statistics do not consider the category "self-employed" as relevant. As such, the incomes generated through petty commodity production and marketing remain invisible to the state.

This neglect and oversight in data collection most critically affects our understanding of women's urban economic activities, since it is women who comprise the majority of owners and employees in this sector in Sub-Saharan Africa. For instance, Milimo and Fisseha (1986:52) found that in Zambia women own 60% of small scale enterprises, and constitute 54% of the employees. If only marketing enterprises are considered, then women own 75% of enterprises, and

constitute 69% of the employees.

Women and Informal Markets

While only a handful of studies conducted in Africa specifically concern women's work in the informal sector, per se (see Jules-Rosette 1982), the majority of studies of female vendors and entrepreneurs do fall within the purview of this sector (Hill 1963; Hodder and Ukwu 1969; Johnson 1973; Wood 1974; Eide 1979; Obbo 1980; Jules-Rosette 1981; Kaba 1982; African Training & Research Centre for Women 1984; Robertson 1984; and Clark 1986). These studies clearly document the significance of women's activities in the urban economy. Since the studies are not specifically situated in the informal sector, however, they do not identify limitations to further development the informal sector imposes (for example, the size of the enterprise or access to credit).

For instance, as this study points out, women's ability to accumulate capital and expand their retailing operations to more profitable wholesaling enterprises is curtailed by several factors, among which are: the structural limitations of capital availability; transport that is costly, time-consuming, and inappropriately routed; and faulty design and location of marketplaces. An additional factor concerns the relationship between the vendor's gender and consistent supply. If female vendors sought to establish a wholesale operation, a crucial variable in determining the success of such an enterprise is the relationsip established with suppliers. Since African producers must overcome many obstacles to market their harvests, trading relationships would have to be established with the

commercial producers in the Harare environs. That is, an African female would have to create an agreement with a white male commercial producer, a relationship that would come under question both on cultural and historical grounds.

More intensive research on activities in this sector has delineated a gender-based division of labor according to materials, implements and conformity to culturally-based perceptions as to what constitutes women's work and what constitutes men's work. For instance, men, on the one hand, generally use wood, metal, rubber, and spun thread (carpenters, furniture makers, shoemakers, weavers and tailors) (Howard 1986). They are also involved in electrical repair, tinsmithing, building and upholstery (Moyo et. al 1984). Women, on the other hand, use straw, fibers, and clay (baskets, mats, and pottery). They also brew beer, make confectionary items, knit, and crochet (Milimo & Fisseha 1986). Marketing activities are not so easily divided, although it appears that volume of trade, and thus returns to labor, play a role in whether women have access: women are generally the retail traders, while men are the wholesale entrepreneurs. Such is primarily the case among the fresh produce vendors in Harare.

Women and Markets in Africa

" . . . the world of the market is a woman's world" asserted Gloria Marshall/Niara Sudarkasa (1969:249) in the conclusion of her dissertation. Her conclusions parallel those of Frolich (1940/1982), Johnson (1973), Gore (1978), Trager (1979), Obbo (1980), Kaba (1982), the African Training and Research Centre for Women (1984), Robertson

(1984) and Clark (1986). Each of these studies focuses on various aspects of women's marketing activities, primarily in West Africa. While none specifically asks the questions explored in this study, findings of their research are pertinent. Relevant to this study are their discussions on: 1) the locus and focus of research; 2) trade in food commodities; 3) pricing; 4) visibility and women's income generation; and 5) disposal of income.

1. Locus and Focus of Research. Data were collected in this study from the market women solely in the marketplace, similar to the approach utilized by Johnson (1973), Trager (1976), Kaba (1982) and Clark (1986), each of whom followed the suggestions of Polly Hill (1970:11-12) that "market women should be interviewed in the market." The rationale for following this advice for the current study is based on the profitability questions I sought to answer, and the very long hours vendors spend in the marketplace.

Other researchers, however, sought to ascertain data to answer different questions. Other studies conducted in the marketplace concerned the following: the ways in which market women in Nigeria employed various goals and tactics to meet the objective of acquisition, accumulation and manipulation of money capital to enhance their positions within the marketing structure (Johnson 1973); the utilization of central place theory in consideration of the relationsip between market spatial structure and the social organizations it enhances in Yoruba markets in Nigeria (Trager 1976); the generation of a data base on women's socio-economic activities in Liberia (Kaba 1982); and how Asante women's position in Kumasi

Central Market in Ghana helps determine their capacity for autonomous social action (Clark 1986).

Studies that sought to contextualize women's marketing activities or to measure their effect upon social relations both within and outside the marketplace (Sudarkasa 1973; Obbo 1980; Robertson 1984) included interviewing market women in the markets and in their homes. By so doing, Sudarkasa could ascertain "the effect of trade by women on the structure of, and the behavioral patterns within, the kin and residential units to which women belong" (Sudarkasa 1973:2). Obbo determined how and why women in Uganda migrate. In identifying their "struggle for economic independence," she found many women become self-employed engaging in marketing activities so as to reduce male dependence (Obbo 1980:125). Robertson set out to analyze social change among Ga women in Accra, Ghana, "[B]ut by the time I had tried an initial pre-survey in 1971-72, the overweening importance of trading activities in pervading every aspect of the women's lives made a consideration of economics imperative. . . . I started out to work with women; I ended by working with traders" (Robertson 1984:25).

2. Trade in Food Commodities. The cultural and historical circumstances forging the link between women and fresh produce, and the socio-historical account of how women during the colonial era in Zimbabwe were "permitted" to sell these commodities constitute apects of uniqueness in the exploration of market women. While women's marketing activities are specifically linked to yams and kola nuts in Nigeria (Trager 1976), and to various fresh food crops in Ghana (Gore

1978; Robertson 1984; Clark 1987), the link between women and specific food commodities goes beyond that which they are observed to market.

Kaba (1982) in Liberia, and Gore (1978), the African Training & Research Centre for Women (1984) and Robertson (1984)in Ghana, and Schildkrout (1979) in Nigeria have all linked women to food marketing via their roles as rural food producers and family food provisioners. In particular, Schildkrout demonstrates how the cultural values of Hausa society validate the categorization of work. She successfully argues that the cultural expectations of Muslim women's behavior in Kano determine what women can do to generate incomes. These expectations or boundaries require an intermediary for exchange to take place: the women's children.

Although the current discussion primarily concerns writings on Africa, the link between women and food marketing has been established in other places. In Papua/New Guinea, women are said to be involved in the food trade because of their rural link to food cultivation and distribution (Epstein 1982). In Jamaica, women are said to supply at least 80% of fresh produce needs because they are traditionally the gardeners of the society (Durant-Gonzalez 1976). In Costa Rica, women enter these businesses because the rhythm of buying and selling is compatible with women's domestic chores (Ashe 1985).

While this study does not try to establish a time when Shona-speaking women began their involvement in food trade, it does suggest an ideological link between women and food production. It is highly

likely that such a food/market link is established for women because of their expertise in food production in the rural areas. Guyer's statement seems to apply to this situation: ". . . new tasks [are] subsumed under existing cultural categories . . ." (Guyer 1978:6). That is, when the cultural context out of which women's economic activities have been derived changes, the expertise they have acquired is carried with them to their new environments. Thus, women who are linked to food production in the rural areas through their culturally ascribed roles carry with them to the urban areas the expertise that has been generated in their former contexts:

> . . . those regions where women dominate the food trade of rural and urban markets are usually the regions which are characterized by female farming traditions (Boserup 1970:91).

3. Pricing. The dynamics involved in price determination of any given commodity rest upon the elements of supply and demand. While these economic principles go far in explaining price variability, other factors contribute to fluctuation. In Zimbabwe, an aspect of this dynamic concerns the expectation a consumer has of what s/he will be required to pay for a given quantity of a commodity. Clark (1986) found that women vendors and customers engage not only in price but also in quantity bargaining. For example, a heap of tomatoes might be offered at a certain price, but a consumer might "bargain down" that price until she reaches a level she wishes to pay. While the vendor is wrapping the purchase, she "dashes" her customer an extra amount. If that amount is insufficient in the customer's eyes, she will ask for more. Thus, although the price of a particular quantity of a commodity has been

agreed upon, the tacit understanding is that that price includes a certain extra portion.

The Zimbabwe case offers little evidence of this dynamic. While certain vendors include a free tomato when a heap is purchased, the added quantity generally comes from a pile that is "going off" (spoiling) that the vendor keeps under her stall. In only two instances did I observe vendors giving "fresh" tomatoes to entice the customer's return. While pricing is not absolute, there is less variability in Zimbabwe than in West Africa.

4. Visibility and Women's Income Generation. Making "visible" the income generating activities of women who have been "invisible" to national statistics and to development planners (see Lewis 1981) was targeted as a research challenge specifically by Boserup (1970) in her seminal work on women in development. In most instances, the economic contributions women make to the rural household are as invisible to national statistics as their activities in the urban informal sector:

> A significant part of women's actual economic contribution goes unrecorded in national statistics and it is on the basis of these statistics that development plans are devised (Gill 1984:9).

There is the danger that this invisibility to the national economic eye precludes women from enjoying the fruits of "development." While studies conducted subsequent to Boserup's publication have identified the many economic activities in which women are engaged in rural Africa (see, for Cameroon: Guyer 1977, 1980; Henn 1978; Bryson 1979; Ferguson and Horn 1984; for Botswana: Fortmann 1980, 1981; Horn 1984; and comparative works on Africa:

Staudt 1979; Bryson 1984), other research continues to point out that women are still not appropriately considered in the design and implementation of development programs (see Dulansey and Austin 1984; Cloud 1984).

Gender blindness is also characteristic of development programs in Zimbabwe designed to enhance the production and marketing of horticultural crops. Little recognition, if any, has been accorded the major producers of these crops--women--and new plans for distribution and marketing stop with male wholesalers.

While the focus and major bodies of literature upon which this study draws are not centered on "women in development," the consequences of women's fresh produce marketing activities need to be examined in this light. Government failure to consider women's contributions to urban food provisioning and family maintenance perpetuate women's invisibility in the development process. Making the consequences of women's marketing activities more visible is one of the goals of this study.

5. Disposal of Income. Methodological difficulties created problems in income data collection in Zimbabwe. Polly Hill has captured the essence of this difficulty:

> . . . an [African] market is one of the most uncomfortable and inconvenient places in the world in which to conduct respectable field work--the difficulties are the extreme fluidity and complexity of the undocumented situation and the need to trouble informants at their moment of maximum anxiety, when they are concluding transactions (Hill 1963:444).

These difficulties had to be overcome if anything approximating accurate income data could be collected. Unlike other studies that

attempted to collect income data from recall, I conducted daily weighing, counting and recording exercises with each of the vendors. These activities produced the incomes reported in Chapter Five.

Having collected this data, it was of theoretical importance to ascertain what women do with the incomes they generate. An assertion made and attested to in this writing runs parallel to the findings of Blumberg (1987): that men and women in Africa have separate incomes and separate obligations for spending it; where women have resources under their independent control, they tend, more than men, to devote them to feeding their families and to their children's well-being; and given so many African women's needs for resources for family provisioning, they tend to allocate their labor toward activites that put income and/or food under their direct control (Blumberg 1987:2). While Robertson relied mainly on reported household income, she found similarly that women's income was disposed of largely in meeting household expenditures and investing in the well-being of their children (Robertson 1984:216).

In summary, this study both parallels and contrasts with other studies conducted on market women. It diverges from other studies in the questions asked, methodologies employed and many of the findings. Remarkably, however, it is similar to other studies in that most appear to draw the conclusion that the income women generate through marketing activities largely remains under their control, and that incomes are utilized to satisfy the needs of family provisioning and child welfare. In its conclusion, this study complements other studies on market women in that it suggests policy changes to enhance

women's ability to generate greater income, thus enabling them to better provision their families and to invest in their children's future.

Data Generation

> Economic activities in African society cannot be separated from the social context within which they take place (Bell 1986:170).

This study considers the cultural, contextual and economic, variables that contribute to our understanding of an urban economic behavior in Africa. How this analysis proceeds is a reflection of the research methodologies employed.

In line with the anthropological, economic, and sociological nature of this research, the methodologies employed in data collection reflect a challenge Polly Hill advanced 18 years ago:

> If the investigator is an economist, he should usually discard his traditional procedure of collecting most of his material through field assistants using questionnaires in favor of a method learned from anthropologists which mainly relies on questioning and observing individuals while they are at work. Marketwomen should be interviewed in the market. . . . The procedure should be semi-statistical, in the sense that similar, even identical, questions should be put to many informants independently, with a view to comparing, even totalling, their results (Hill 1970:11-12).

My concern as an anthropologist conducting this research was to ascertain information on the African population of Harare. Given Zimbabwe's relatively recent independence--April 18, 1980--I was interested in identifying some of the changes that had taken place in the city, especially as they affected women.

My assumption that human behavior does not result from a single line of reasoning led me to consider the broad contexts in which

women in Harare make decisions. While I explored an economic activity, I did so in the sociological context of the city, the economic context of the informal market, and the cultural context, primarily, of the belief systems and patterns of behavior of Shona-speaking people (although the information reported is not limited to Shona speakers). Since African women have not always been a part of the urban economic landscape in the same way as they are today, setting the historical context for these activities was also seen as important if I was to determine what changes had taken place. These approaches, assumptions and concerns led me to design the research in the manner reported below.

One of the first tasks of this research was to identify the distribution of the population delineated for research. Colonially-imposed African urban influx legislation created a segregated city in which population distribution effects are measurable in Harare today. According to the 1982 census, the population of Zimbabwe at the time of enumeration was 7,501,470 (Zimbabwe, CSO 1985:8). The population of Harare was reported as 658,364 (Zimbabwe, CSO, Table 20, January 3, 1984).[2] The distribution of this population, reported in accordance with the categories used by the Census, is presented in Table 1.1.

---

1 These figures are based on the 1982 Census. The population of Harare has incrased annually, although at a range of estimated rates of between 4.8% and 10.5% (Rhodesia, Ministry of Finance 1979:6). A current estimate of the population of Harare is somewhere between 800,000 and 1,000,000.

TABLE 1.1*

Population Distribution in Harare Based on Ethnicity

Group	Male	Female	Total
African	318,300	264,127	582,427
European	29,743	32,395	62,138
Asian	1,854	1,813	3,667
Colored	3,932	4,271	8,203
Other (non-specified)	1,000	929	1,929
TOTALS	354,829	303,535	658,364

* Source: Zimbabwe, CSO, Table 20, January 3, 1984.

This population is distributed among the many suburbs of Harare. Africans live primarily in the sixteen or more high density suburbs (in earlier years called "townships"), two of which have been constructed since independence--Hatcliffe and Parkridge/Fontainbleu (see Figure 1.1). People of European descent live in the seventy plus low density suburbs. Table 1.2 illustrates this population distribution.

The distribution of the African population in Harare presented me with certain methodological problems in determining an appropriate sample. Each suburb contained between one and eight markets. How could these be identified and enumerated?. How I resolved this issue is presented in the description of the research process.

The research included: personally administering an open-ended set of questions asked of fresh produce vendors identified throughout the city; delineating a sub-sample of 325 vendors to whom a more intensive survey questionnaire was administered by my research assistants and myself; personnally collecting pricing information on

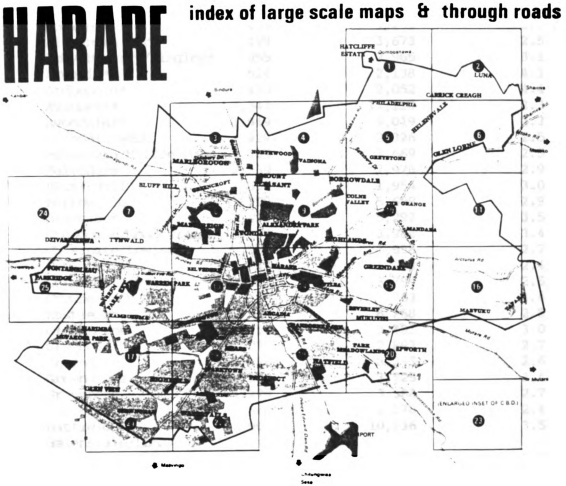


Figure 1.1. Harare Suburbs (taken from The Guide to the Streets and Buildings of Greater Harare, Vol 6, No. 2, Revised October 1983, published by the National Marketing & Publishing Co. (Pvt.) Ltd.).

TABLE 1.2

Suburban Distribution of Harare Population (excluding Institutions)[3]

Suburb	No. Households	Population	Av. HH Size
Low Density			
Adylinn	459	1,291	2.8
Alexandra Park	1,499	3,673	2.5
Amby/Beverly/Bingley*	955	2,965	3.1
Arcadia*	524	2,138	4.1
Ardbennie*	470	2,052	4.4
Avenues**	7,347	17,128	2.3
Avondale**	3,949	9,019	2.3
Avondale West	929	2,326	2.5
Belgravia/Milton Park	1,495	3,669	2.5
Belvedere	2,739	7,976	2.9
Bluff Hill	651	1,954	3.0
Borrowdale	1,979	5,698	2.9
Braeside*	1,493	5,292	3.5
Chadcombe/Meadowlands	1,157	3,984	3.4
Chisipite/Lewisham	701	1,858	2.7
City Center	1,747	4,192	2.4
Colne Valley	1,547	3,794	2.5
Crowborough	159	703	4.4
Eastleigh	2,518	6,268	2.5
Glen Lorne	1,154	3,485	3.0
Greencroft	1,072	2,883	2.7
Greendale	3,198	8,243	2.6
Greengrove	1,110	3,725	3.4
Greystone	1,276	3,388	2.7
Gun Hill	488	1,178	2.4
Hatfield	2,903	10,236	3.5
Helensvale/Luna/ Carrick Creigh	659	2,129	3.2
Highlands	3,406	8,448	2.5
Hillside	876	2,404	2.7
Horley	181	774	4.3
Houghton Park	442	1,854	4.2
Industrial Area	911	2,247	2.5
Kopje	878	2,646	3.0
Lochinvar	472	2,000	4.2
Mabelreign/Hazel Park/ Meyrick Park	5,232	17,397	3.3
Mandara	1,054	3,030	2.9
Marlborough	2,220	6,954	3.1
Mt. Pleasant Groombridge	2,923	7,649	2.6
Northwood	1,231	3,243	2.6
Parktown	671	2,708	4.0

[3] Zimbabwe, Central Statistics Office, Table 41, January 26, 1984.

Pomona	390	1,033	2.6
Prospect Hill	1,049	3,929	3.7
Queensdale	406	1,567	3.9
Rietfontein	383	1,148	3.0
Ridgeview	792	2,995	3.8
Rolf Valley	435	1,238	2.8
Southerton*	92	4,132	4.5
St. Martin's*	225	995	4.4
Sunningdale*	278	1,485	5.3
Strathaven/Monovale	867	2,137	2.5
The Grange	467	1,333	2.9
Tynwald	580	2,504	4.3
University	54	179	3.3
Uplands	156	754	4.8
Vainona	769	2,186	2.8
Waterfalls	1,768	7,186	4.1
Westwood***	247	874	3.5
Willowvale	239	1,030	4.3
Wilmington Park	227	782	3.4
LOW DENSITY TOTALS	74,832	220,088	2.9
High Density****			
Chikurubi	1,347	5,131	3.8
Cranbourne	1,322	5,479	4.1
Dzivarisekwa	4,818	22,718	4.7
Glen Norah	11,265	45,668	4.1
Glen View	15,960	59,775	3.7
Highfield	19,201	73,501	3.8
Kambuzuma	6,607	25,521	3.6
Mabvuku	9,151	38,958	4.3
Marimba Park	813	3,342	4.1
Mbare	14,211	59,366	4.2
Mufakose	9,291	44,703	4.8
Rugare	1,475	8,362	5.7
Tafara	4,602	21,069	4.6
Warren Park	3,301	13,672	4.1
HIGH DENSITY TOTALS	103,364	427,265	4.1
HARARE TOTALS	178,196	647,353#	3.6

* Suburbs formerly reserved for "colored" people.

** Aparment dwelling dominate these suburbs.

*** This suburb was racially mixed from the time of its establishment.

**** This list does not include two high density suburbs created after the census was taken, i.e., Parkridge/Fontainbleu and Hatcliffe.

\# It is unclear to me why the official published census figures do not tally with the tables with which I was supplied by the Census Bureau.

wholesale and resale transactions; and personally conducting participant observation and informal interviewing at 23 different market-sites throughout the city. The research was conducted in three phases.

Phase One (October 1985 through February 1986). My empirical concerns with the Harare vending population stemmed from funded research proposals that sought to link urban migrant vegetable vendors to their rural kin. I hypothesized, contrary to much of the literature on the disintegration of the family as a result of migration, that rural/urban family ties would be strengthened as the result of the creation of a dual dependency between rural producers and urban vendors. That is, rural female producers would be dependent upon their husbands for cash remittances, but male migrant vendors would be dependent on their rural kin to supply them with crops to sell.

My initial forays into the field indicated my total misconception of the enterprise. Marketing fresh produce in Harare did not rest upon a wife/husband, rural/urban kin exchange, but upon commercial transactions between African female retail vendors and African and/or white wholesalers. Thus, I developed a set of questions designed to elicit information on the nature of the enterprise and its extent throughout the city. The results of this initial mapping and fact-finding research appear in a working paper written for my host institution--the Land Management Department of the University of Zimbabwe (now known as the Agricultural Economics Department) (Horn 1986).

In the process of riding up and down all the streets and byways of Harare, I noted the relatively sparse distribution of vendors. In conducting earlier research at Michigan State University and at the National Archives and the University of Zimbabwe, I learned that the city had been divided along racial lines and that certain regulations prevented the spontaneous establishment of small scale enterprises. Figure 1.1 illustrated the division of the city into high and low density suburbs, while Table 1.3 illustrates where and how many vendors were identified.

The responses I received from conducting initial interviews led me to the investigation of the actual incomes women generate. It appeared that the large number of vendors in any one marketsite selling similar commodities precluded women's chances of meeting their cash needs. If returns to labor are so limited, I hypothesized, why are so many women engaged in the enterprise? This question, along with many others, led me to design the next research phase.

Phase Two (March through August 1986). The need to discern anthropological, economic and sociological information, as well as to identify variables affecting women's marketing enterprises in particular, led me to creating a lengthy interview schedule and a pricing data sheet (Appendices A and B, respectively). My problem, having generated these information-gathering tools, was identifying a relevant sample of the 3,462 vendors.

To meet the time criteria inherent in participant observation, I had to stay at a vending location longer than the time it took us

TABLE 1.3

Suburban Distribution of Stall and Table Vendors

Suburb	Table Sites	No. of Vendors	Stall Sites	No. of Vendors
High Density Suburbs				
Ardbennie/Mbare	8	30	3	60
Downtown & Southerton	4	52	3	106
Dzivarisekwa	9	59	3	51
Glen Norah	1	8	5	137
Glen View	8	157	4	108
Hatcliffe			1	8
Highfield	14	117	5	245
Kambuzuma	4	35	4	60
Mabvuku	4	108	3	86
Mbare/ Pedzanhamo			3	1209
Mufakose	6	138	5	106
Parkridge/ Fontainbleu			4	88
Rugare			1	7
Tafara	1	8	3	101
Warren Park	1	4	3	54
SUB-TOTAL	60	716	50	2426
Low Density Suburbs*				
Arcadia			1	10
Braeside			1	10
Kilwinning/ Hatfield			1	16
Other Suburbs	40	248		
SUB-TOTAL	40	248	3	36
TOTAL	100	964	53	2462

TOTAL NUMBER OF VENDORS ENUMERATED--3,426

---

*The location of vending sites in the low density suburbs is such that by enumerating them I would be revealing their identity. Since these vendors are not registered nor do they own valid licenses, the presentation of their locations might possibly subject them to harrassment. Such presentation is not restrictive in the high density suburbs where vendors are located in many different sites.

to interview. To understand the internal dynamics of each market-site, it was necessary to interview every vendor at a selected site. How to incorporate these two necessities of anthropological research in a survey that would produce statistically reliable results presented research design problems.

With the assistance of Dr. James Rosenberger, then statistician in the Department of Land Management at the University of Zimbabwe, I developed a sampling strategy that brought these divergent research methodologies together: a directed random cluster sample. For the high density suburbs, this term translated into choosing one vending site per suburb on a random basis. For the low density suburbs, it meant grouping all vending sites and randomly choosing eight. At all selected sample sites, all vendors conducting business were defined as the "cluster" and all were interviewed. A total of 325 vendors conducting their trade at 24 marketsites were selected. Intensive interviewing was conducted at one site two days per week, while participant observation, informal conversations, and information gathering on wholesale and retail pricing were conducted the remaining days of the week. The amount of time it took us to interview all vendors at the selected site helped determine how long we remained.

At interviewing day's end, a Polaroid picture was taken and given to each respondent as a way of expressing my thanks for their help. As an additional indication of my gratitude, I baked cakes and cookies from the produce vendors were selling--bananas, carrots, zucchini, mangoes, apples--and distributed some to each vendor during

their morning tea break.

These small tokens of thanks had a profound effect on the relationship I was able to establish with many of the vendors. As I subsequently learned, only a very few white people in Zimbabwe have ever learned how to speak any of the Shona or Ndebele languages. My facility in Shona and my casual chats with vendors over tea made them feel more at ease and more interested in my work.

I had found, during Phase One, that questions posed would often elicit expansive responses. In training my research assistants, I instructed them to mark direct responses to questions on the interview schedule; expanded responses were to be recorded in a notebook kept open during the course of the interview. This very rich data source provided me with information the interview schedules could not--and also clearly illustrated to me my shortcomings in questionnaire design.

Phase Three (September through November 1986). The objective of the final phase of research was to ascertain the institutional context in which the women operate, the analysis of which appears in Chapter Three. To determine the extent of wholesaling enterprises, and the degree of control they had in determining what gets marketed where, I undertook an informal survey of some 50 wholesalers conducting their trade in both the informal and formal markets of Harare. To understand more about the production/marketing problems, I interviewed approximately 175 farmers either on their farms, at the farmers' market at Mbare, or at the ad hoc farmers' market held every weekend at Mabvuku. Conversations with leaders of the farmer unions,

agricultural extension (AGRITEX) personnel, the marketing manager of the para-statal involved in horticultural crop production, and officers of the Municipality rounded out my knowledge of the institutional context of the women's activities.

Before concluding this section, some mention needs to be made of the people who provided me with the depth of understanding I achieved in this research undertaking--my research assistants.

Research Assistants

How I identified and chose my assistants/informants is a relevant point to discuss in a dissertation since the quality of information generated depends, in large part, on who is asking the questions.

I found Eddie selling strawberries outside of a downtown medical office block. He entreated me to purchase his final three boxes so he could catch an early bus home to Chitungwiza, the urban location of Seki Communal Area some 30 kms. from Harare. After I engaged him in a 30-minute conversation about his trade, and after I purchased the three boxes of strawberries, we agreed to meet the following day to continue talking.

Elijah appeared the following day, selling string beans and potatoes. He reported that Eddie was busy selling fruit at a nearby school. Eddie had told Elijah of our conversation, and Elijah continued to further my knowledge of the vending enterprise. He had been engaged in the trade on and off for the past 18 years. I asked Elijah whether he and Eddie could go with me to help me conduct the first phase of the research. After consulting with each other, they

agreed to help me.

For several days we travelled up and down the streets of Harare. With intimate knowledge of the trade and marketing locations, Elijah and Eddie pinpointed many marketsites I might have misssed. It seemed I would have two very resourceful research assistants who not only knew the city very well, but who also knew many of the vendors from their casual interactions at the wholesalers.

Without warning, Elijah absented himself from our forays into the city. In his place, Eddie brought Taka, another friend who was selling fresh produce at the same location. Since Eddie was more comfortable with someone along, I agreed to hire Taka as well. Unbeknownst to me at the time, the "plan" was for me to hire all three, but the gentlemen could not find the means to ask me outright. Instead, they merely played substitute so I could see that each of the three would be equally resourceful.

I was somewhat hesitant to hire three male research assistants since the methodological training I had received on conducting research on women stressed that women might feel more comfortable being interviewed by women. I shared this concern with my assistants, the reply to which offered me the first cultural insight of my field research. They argued that Shona-speaking women are trained "from small up" to talk to men. Enmeshed in political hierarchies dominated by men, participating in patrilineal, patrilocal lineage and marriage systems, women acquire the rules of male/female interaction as a part of the socialization process.

Interactions between women oftentimes, I was informed, led to jealousy, misunderstanding, and witchcraft accusations. Their warnings implied that friendship in the marketplace among vendors would not be possible. While I did not necessarily agree with what they said, their desire to have paid employment and the insights into the vending business I believed I would receive from them led me to hire all three.

I also hired two women to help in the interviews. One had been a personal friend of mine at Michigan State and the other had worked for a number of other foreigners in Zimbabwe. The six of us would all be together interviewing two days per week, while just one of them accompanied me the remaining days to help with weighing, customer counts, and other activities.

Data Analysis and Chapter Organization

The data generated by the implementation of these methodologies have been grouped to respond to the various questions inherent in this analysis. The information collected in the archival research appears in Chapter Two, the purpose of which is to identify the cultural and historical events that led to the establishment of the fresh produce marketing system and to women occupying the economic niche of retail vendor.

Material collected in Phase Three on the institutional structure of fresh produce marketing appears in Chapter Three. The purpose of this chapter is to situate the retail vendors in an institutional context that can both impede and enhance women's income generating activities.

Information gathered from the administration of the interview schedule, participant observation, and informal interviews constitutes the data base for Chapter Four. The many experiences that brought vendors to their economic world are the focus of this chapter, which considers the rural origins of vendors, the many push and pull factors that precipitated vendor migration to Harare, how family life adapted to urban life, the ties vendors maintain to rural kin, how vendors established their fresh produce marketing enterprises, and the problems of doing business. The discussion provides a broad contextual background to the specific points analyzed in Chapters Five and Six.

Building on some of the economic parameters of the fresh produce vending business presented in narrative form as the women see them in Chapter Four, Chapter Five discusses the question: does the economic activity of selling fresh produce satisy urban women's cash needs? The analysis proceeds in six sections: gross margins and the non-economic variables that contribute to generating those margins; net returns to labor, that is, subtracting from weekly gross margins the cost of doing business; household expenditures; additional incomes from spouses and kin as well as from other vendor sources; additional expenditures; and the portion of household expenditures met by women's income. The final part of this analysis seeks to determine whether or not women's earnings are sufficient to meet household cash needs.

The aim of Chapter Six is to analyze the cultural and contextual variables contributing to women's decision to sell fresh

produce as an urban income generating strategy. Urban contextual elements affecting this decision include: Harare's population distribution and housing policies; marriage and marital status; the family and female fertility; male employment levels; cash needs; the household economy; and the disintegration of the urban family unit. Elements of why women become fresh produce vendors, specifically, include: female employment opportunity structures; women's provisioning roles and the division of labor; the cultural value of the substance exchanged; exercising "psychic control" over an urban economic activity; other incomes and professional bonds arising out of the produce vending experience; and women's needs and childcare.

The concluding chapter considers the answers to the core questions around which this study is organized. The consequences and the future of women's activities are then considered from a policy perspective. As the result of increasing development activities, will market women's income generating activities be attenuated? Drawing conclusions from the arguments presented in previous chapters, the answer to this question is based on my personal assessment of the future of women's marketing activities in Harare, Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER TWO

Agricultural and Urban Development: Historical Background to Fresh Produce Vending in Harare

Introduction

This chapter discusses the historical development of fresh produce vending in Harare[1] by considering the questions: what are the events that led to the establishment of the fresh produce marketing system in Harare, and why do women occupy the economic niche of retail vendor? The historical background to the development of women's fresh produce marketing roles in the informal markets of Harare incorporates a number of themes. These include: the rural division of labor and pre-colonial trading practices; land alienation and the labor reserve economy; migration, urbanization and housing; and the establishment of the formal and informal fresh produce marketing system.

The Rural Division of Labor and Pre-Colonial Trading Practices

Women in Zimbabwe are now and always have been active participants in the economic maintenance of their households. The contributions they made in pre-colonial times arose out of the rural division of labor practiced on the farming homestead.[2]

---

[1] While the capital of Zimbabwe was first named Salisbury, and the country itself was at different times called Southern Rhodesia and Rhodesia, throughout this dissertation I shall consistently use current names--Harare, Zimbabwe--regardless of the time period I am discussing.

[2] Homestead is here referred to as the definition of musha (home) that incorporates several houses generally occupied by members of an extended family, fields for plowing, gardens, and a grazing area (du Toit 1981).

Pre-colonial Shona-speaking farmers grew a wide variety of both grain and horticultural crops. Crop diversification derived from several aspects of Shona life: individual taste, ritual cycles (more green, leafy vegetables are eaten by pregnant and lactating women), trade with neighboring groups and with the Portuguese, and periodic drought (shangwa) that made for a precarious existence.

> . . . in spite of years of experience of the southern Zambezian environment, and in spite of the wide range of crops known and the effectiveness of hoe cultivation, Shona agriculture was remarkably fragile (Beach 1977:43; see also Bhila 1982:62).

The basic staples during the period included (Palmer 1977a):

finger millet	-	rapoko/rekweza	bullrush millet	-	mhunga
sorghum	-	mapfunde	maize	-	chibage
		rice - mupunga			

Horticultural crops included:

pineapples	pumpkins	lemons	zucchini
papaya	cucumbers	melons	groundnuts
peas	yams	beans	cassava
	sweet potatoes		

Cultivation of these crops was divided spatially according to land allocation practices among Shona-speaking groups. Married men were allocated homestead land by the headman (sadunhu) (Holleman 1951:362). The homestead area included a plot each for the construction of male and female houses, a kitchen and a granary; the cultivation of rain-fed field crops; the pasturage of cattle (in common with others); and a vlei (wetland) area for vegetable and fruit cultivation (Truscott 1986:30). In turn, men allocated to each of their wives their own fields--tseu--over which they exercised domain. Wives cultivated crops to feed their families and could dispose of any surplus in trade (Holleman 1951). Traditional law

ascribed to women domain over their garden plots (Holleman 1952) and over any harvests ensuing therefrom as part of mawoko (labor of the hands) property (May 1983).[3]

> A woman is dependent on her husband for the allocation of land and will be given a plot for a garden. She has control here of the produce over and above the needs of her family, and property gained through outside transactions belongs to her alone. She must also till her husband's fields and, although she does not own the produce, she has control of the granary where the family staple food is stored. Women are responsible for the production of food for the family and their control over this represents an important status source. . . . She has, as the producer of food for her family from cultivation through the stages of preparation to the final serving, considerable autonomy in its production (May 1983:26-27).

Agricultural tasks during the pre-contact period were delineated according to gender. Men were concerned periodically with land clearing, tree felling, and soil preparation, while women were ever occupied with planting, weeding, harvesting, shelling and winnowing (Weinrich 1979:13; England 1982:58). Native Commissioners in Mt. Darwin, Mutare, and Mtoko as early as 1903 discerned that women are the tillers of the soil and that it is due to their efforts that family food consumption is ensured (England 1982:5).

Agricultural trade was conducted between various Shona- and Ndebele-speaking groups. Documentation from the 16th Century indicates Shona-speaking cultivators also traded with the Portuguese. The Portuguese established trading feiras, at which both metals and crops were exchanged (Bhila 1982:74-75). African farmers responded

---

[3] Mawoko property included anything a woman acquired via craft production, acting as a midwife, or in her activities as a nganga (traditional healer/herbalist) or a spirit medium (see May 1983:65).

positively to the stimulus of this market:

> The bazaars were operated on a weekly basis and it is not unlikely that where the African peasant producers took gold dust to the bazaar they also brought with them some agricultural produce. One can only guess that this must have stimulated production of surplus grain, meat and vegetables for the resident Swahili communities in the various bazaars (Bhila 1982:253).

African women also figured in these exchanges (see, also, Schmidt 1987):

> There was perhaps, as in the markets in West Africa, a segregation of merchants according to the products they sold and also according to sex; that is, some women traders probably sold different articles from those sold by men (Bhila 1982:77).

During the pre-colonial period, therefore, Africans had exchange relationships with other Africans and with Portuguese and Swahili traders. This trade was in agricultural commodities and in metals. Agricultural trade was made possible by surplus crops produced largely through the labor of women.

Land Alienation and the Labor Reserve Economy

Initial relationships established between Africans and members of the Pioneer Column when they arrived in 1890 were those of trade in both grains and vegetables (Riddell 1978; Beach 1977:55; England 1982:24). Women's trading activities in these and other food crops were described in Baines' diaries: women would gather around the wagons with "eggs, corn, honey, mealie-meal more or less finely pounded, white, dull grey or pink in colour according to the quality of the corn" (Baines quoted in Bhila 1982:208).

The Union Jack was hoisted over the area known today as Harare on September 12, 1890, by the Pioneer Column occupying the area under

the auspices of the British South Africa Company (BSAC) (Salisbury, Municipal Council 1932:1). Shona-speaking Africans living on and/or near the Kopje and Mt. Pleasant areas of Salisbury settlement came to the fort/town to market or barter their crops to whites who required the produce of African lands (Tanser 1965:14-16). The BSAC, more often than not, failed to transport sufficient food staples to the Fort and hunger was a common problem to the settlers in the early years.[4] African surplus production was thus able to buffer white starvation (Tanser 1965:50).[5]

Although Africans claimed ownership via their ancestors to the lands occupied by the settlers, white settlers did not agree. Ostensibly to protect Africans "from competition with Europeans on land" (Kay 1970:50), the BSAC created the first African Reserves in 1892. It was anticipated that African labor would be obtained from these Reserves to work at the mines from which the pioneers sought to extract great riches. An attempt was made to co-opt African labor by imposing a hut tax of 10 shillings payable in coin (Ordinance No. 5

---

[4] Parsons argues this was due mainly to problems with rinderpest and other cattle diseases in Botswana that prevented wagon trains moving north: "'hundreds' of wagons were abandoned with oxen rotting in their yokes--the value of goods abandoned between Mafeking and Phalapye (a distance less than 400 km) was estimated at L25,000 in April 1896. . ." (Parsons 1977:126).

[5] Much like early United States history in which the Indians provisioned the colonials and helped provide the meat and crops for the first Thanksgiving, so too did Africans assist in the first festival in Zimbabwe held on St. Patrick's Day, March 17, 1891. "The menu included Mashona fowls, roan antelope and sable cutlets, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, green mealies and Mashona rice" (Tanser 1965:33).

of 1894)(Johnson 1968:79).[6] Instead of producing a labor force to serve the needs of white enterprises, however, the ordinance stimulated an increase in African agricultural production and trade.[7] African ability "to relate to the new economy as peasants rather than as workers" (Ranger 1985:25) frustrated settlers who were in need of African labor.

> The sale of labor was attractive only when it increased the total real income, i.e., when it added more than it subtracted from the income achieved through agricultural production (Jambwa and Simmons 1980:2).

In a bid to entice African labor, mining companies steadily increased wages between 1899 and 1902 (Phimister 1977:258-9; Arrighi 1970). The necessity for the rising supply price of labor was based on the ability of African peasants to generate incomes without selling their labor (Mosley 1983).

> The basic contradiction between capital and African peasants was that capital required wage labour and peasants resisted this by producing for the produce market. Peasants would do this as long as their unity with their means of production was not torn asunder, as long as they remained on the land (Sibanda 1985:17).

Thus, it can be argued that the pattern of African response to economic stress was increased agricultural production. Due to market demand, production was expanded to include a variety of crops that

---

[6] The continued attempt to induce African labor via taxation led to subsequent increases in levies. In 1904 the tax was expanded to include all males over 18, and every additional wife over the first. Amounts demanded were also increased from ten shillings to one pound each (Johnson 1968:79).

[7] It is highly likely, because women constituted the bulk of agricultural labor, that their burdens increased to meet the demands of the market (Schmidt 1987).

appealed to the European palate--potatoes, cabbage, cauliflowers, onions, cucumbers, beans, etc. (Native Commissioner, Umtali 1898).[8]

Increased and expanded agricultural production by Africans created an opportunity for settlers who had little ability or desire to farm:

> Most "farmers" were primarily transport riders, storekeepers or traders, who bought--and sometimes stole--food from their African neighbours, while even 'the most elaborate farm consisted of little more than a collection of thatched huts and up to ten ploughed acres of land' (Palmer 1977a:228).

At times, white traders received five times the amount they paid to an African producer for grains and other produce (Phimister 1977:261). Though aware of being exploited by the traders, Africans grew even more to sell to reduce their risk of having to become wage labor (Ranger 1985:22-28). The trader's ploy, in response to increased African production, was to offer goods--not cash--in return for produce (Schmidt 1987:22). Perhaps this was the impetus for Africans, both men and women, to establish their own trading networks in which they could assert greater control over pricing.

Separating Africans from their means of production was a systematic policy of the Rhodesian government and its forerunner, the British South Africa Company.

> . . . one of the main strategies pursued by the colonial administration was to embark on a deliberate policy of dispossessing Africans of their land, and also moving them to marginal and poor lands, culminating in the creation of Reserves. This was for two notable reasons:

---

[8] African farmers did not grow these crops solely to trade with the colonials; by 1921 it was documented that these same crops were being consumed by Africans themselves (Ranger 1985:37).

> to force them into the labour market and more significantly to undermine their economic power and potential thus ensuring that they did not compete with the emerging white farmers (Shava 1986:6).

If white farmer goals were to be realized, African competition had to be stifled (Riddell 1978:6). In 1925, as a result of the recommendations of the Morris Carter Commission, the entire country was divided along racial lines. Under the Land Apportionment Act of 1930, some 48 million acres were set aside for the habitation of 250,000 non-Africans, while only 39 million acres were made available as Reserves for some 2-1/2 million Africans (Brown 1959:5). Africans were removed from their high potential arable lands and resettled on to much less productive Reserves. Between 1931 and 1941, long after the 1920 government reports indicated the Reserves were full, some 50,000 more families were resettled; these were followed between 1945 and 1959 with another 85,000 families; and from 1964 to 1977, another 88,000 families joined this population (Riddel 1978:8-9).

If limiting the amount of land Africans could cultivate and forcing Africans to deal with a radically different farming system were not sufficient to stifle competition, the Maize Control Amendment Act of 1934 sought to finish the job. The Report of Native Production and Trade in 1944 found that white farmers were paid proportionately for their maize while Africans were paid at set prices less the trader's fee for the "identical product" (Johnson 1968:48). Moreover, African farmers living in the Reserves had to travel long distances to market their maize. Their only other option was to barter with local traders who were not willing to pay cash for deliveries. Women who complained of having to carry various measures

of grain on their heads to these traders were helpless to alter the newly-imposed pattern (Schmidt 1987:22).

The Native Land Husbandry Act 1951 was the final stroke to force Africans into becoming full-time labor. Ostensibly passed to provide for a reasonable standard of good husbandry and for the protection of natural resources in the Reserves, the law effectively gave license to government to force the destocking of family herds (Pendered and von Memerty 1955:103-105). Harrassed by these new promulgations that cut into their income generating abilities, farmers (both male and female) sought livelihoods elsewhere. Once a farmer became an urban laborer, however, the Act provided that such a worker could not own land, i.e., no split vocations: either the farm, or the job. In effect, the Act created a class of landless proletariat in which African urban laborers were deprived of the right to cultivate in the Reserves (Bush and Cliffe 1982:2; Rifkind 1968:97). Apparently, Africans found many ways to maintain their toehold in the rural areas while, at the same time, government found it too difficult to enforce the provisions of the 1951 Act. It was so problematic to implement that it was ultimately abandoned in 1962 (Weinrich 1975:29).

The effects of these agricultural and labor policies on women's rural economic roles were significant. The combination of land alienation and male labor migration meant that many women were left behind in the Tribal Trust Lands to cultivate patches of land that were decreasingly fertile. Where male and female labor was sufficient, an attempt was made to expand grain crop production for the market. This expansion took place at the expense of women's food

crop production:

> The introduction of cash crops and general land shortage 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 (Zimbabwe, Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs 1982:5).

The onerous nature of cultivation, the low economic returns to their labor, the limited cash they received from their salaried husbands, plus the difficulties of managing a geographically split household precipitated women's movement into cities. The difficulties in fulfilling their economic roles as food provisioners women encountered in the cities, however, were equally as cumbersome as those in the rural areas.

Migration, Urbanization and Housing

As a consequence of the need for African labor in Harare, in 1894 the Municipal and Town Management Ordinance was passed that gave power to local authorities to set aside land for African occupation in the urban areas (Gargett 1977). All Africans who came to Harare to trade or to work were required, as a result of the passage of the Registration of Natives Act of 1896, to register their movements in order that "malingering" would not become a problem (Mitchell 1969:162).

By 1899 the first African township--Harari--was created for African workers (Christopher 1977:18).[9] The Township was situated some four kilometers from the then town center and was composed of

---

[9] The urban Location was so named after a Shona-speaking chief--Mharawa--who had once occupied the area, but who was, just subsequent to the arrival of the Pioneer Column, forced to leave as the result of a battle waged with another chief, Gutsa (Tanser 1965:14-16).

some 50 huts and a brick barracks said to be suitable to house 328 Africans (Patel and Adams 1981:5).

Harari became not only the dwelling place for male African labor, but also the weekend meeting place for Africans coming from out of town (Mitchell 1969). Over the ensuing decades, the growing concentration of Africans in this area who were unable to cultivate gave rise to a demand for African grown food crops. Women who traded in these commodities sought to meet this demand.

While the bulk of legislation requiring passes and/or registration certificates was directed at males,[10] females were not so controlled.

> In Salisbury municipal authorities only minimally enforced legislation that was passed to help African women out of town, and this was coupled with a persistent refusal on the part of the colonial state to require African women to carry the registration certificates with which African men were burdened (Barnes 1987:10-11).[11]

In the 1950s, legislation was passed making it necessary for wives to carry certificates indicating their spouse's workplace and residence. This was also not enforced:

> In no single area were the provisions relating to an "approved wife" being enforced strictly, if at all (Southern Rhodesia 1958:112).

---

[10] See, especially, Ordinance 16 of 1901, the 1901 and 1913 Registration and Pass Ordinances, and the 1906 Native Urban Locations Ordinance (No. 4) (Devittie 1974, Gargett 1977).

[11] A similar situation prevailed in South Africa shortly after formation of the Union in 1910. Although passes were required of women in the Orange Free State for a brief period, their defiance led to the law's subsequent repeal. A governmental Committee to Investigate the Pass Laws delineated the reasons why passes were not required of women: harrassment, interference and control to which police subjected women (Wells 1982).

Since urban influx and registration ordinances were not enforced against African women, they were able to come to Harari to sell their surplus harvests to African laborers. In this manner African women established their economic roles as urban fresh produce provisioners.

As urban industrial development expanded, more African labor was required for longer periods of time. As the demand for permanant wage labor increased, so did the demand for family housing.

> . . . we have had ample evidence to show that many more families would in fact come into Salisbury if accommodation was available for them and thus the existing structure of the population is conditioned by the type of accommodation available (Southern Rhodesia 1958:18).

The Legislative Assembly debated the need for more African housing in 1935 on the basis that:

> . . . the native is a visitor in our white towns for the purpose of assisting the people who live in towns and that no other natives should be present in the towns unless he is of some assistance to the white people inhabiting them (Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Assembley Debates 1935: cols. 583-584).[12]

---

[12] Beliefs held by many white settlers in Rhodesia followed those of their counterparts in South Africa. For instance, the Stallard Commission of 1921, reported in the 1921 Transvaal Commissioner's Report, declared that

> The Native should only be allowed to enter the urban areas, which are essentially the white man's custom, when he is willing to enter and to minister to the needs of the white man and should depart therefrom when he ceases so to minister.

Murray (1979:341) found that Africans not so "ministering" were despatched to their homelands:

> Black people in "white" areas who are not engaged in wage employment are not "economically active" and may therefore be "endorsed out" to the "homelands" without loss to the white economy.

Between the two World Wars, Africans became increasingly dissatisfied with their urban circumstances. Salaries paid to urban laborers were insufficient to cover the costs of either the single male or his family. The combination of low wages and lack of family housing effectively prevented large-scale migration of females to Harare. However, the increasing demands for long-term, stabilized African labor made necessary the presence of African families. The passage of the African (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act (No. 6) of 1946 attested to the official recognition of this fact. The Act compelled local authorities to: 1) set aside lands for urban "Native Areas", as provided in the 1930 Land Apportionment Act; 2) provide adequate housing for all Africans in urban areas; and 3) equalize rental payments made by employers regardless of whether housing was for married or single employees (Cormack 1983:79).

The passage of this act meant that more African families were legally allowed to live in Harare and would be able to find suitable accommodation. Prior to the 1946 Act only two townships were available for African habitation: Harari (Mbari), established in 1899; and Highfield, established in 1934. It was not until 1952, a full six years after the 1946 Act was passed, that Mabvuku was established, some 17 kms. from the city center--and jobs (Moller 1978:83-84). In this township Africans, for the first time, could acquire freehold title to housing in townships (Moller 1978; Barber 1967:101).[13] What did not occur, however, was significant salary

---

[13] The date for urban freehold is disputed in the literature (see Kay 1970; Davenport 1972).

increases to reflect the financial needs of an urban family.

Although habitation for Africans continued to expand over the ensuing decades,[14] the only acknowledgment that employment opportunities were not keeping pace with increased urban migration was the opening in 1961 of all African township centers to African trading (Rifkind 1968). With Independence in 1980 all restrictions on African movement into the city were removed, with the resultant "Explosion in the Cities."

The capital had an enormous inherited housing backlog:

it was deliberate past policy to encourage lodging rather

---

[14] Mufakose was founded in 1960 some 14 kms. from the city; Dzivarisekwa township was established in 1961 some 13 kms. from the city; Kambuzuma was opened in 1963, 9 kms. from town; Tafara was constructed as a township of the Greendale council some 18 kms. from the city; and Rugare, 7 kms. from the city, was established in the same period (see Kay and Smout 1977).

All told, during the 1960s some 16,462 new housing units for Africans were added to the already existing 18,217 units, plus 51 hostels (with an addition of 2,846 at St. Mary's, a township never incorporated as part of Greater Harare), for a total of 37,525 dwelling units and 51 hostels available for an African population in 1969 of about 280,000 (Moller 1978:83-85; Whitsun 1980). On a per housing basis, each dwelling unit, composed largely of one or two rooms, housed 7.5 Africans (slightly less when the hostel population is deducted from the total).

Census results and population estimates for the 1961/62 and 1969 surveys have been challenged on the basis that data was collected "during the harvesting period when it is known that a significant number of Africans return to the tribal areas to help with the harvest" (Rhodesia. Ministry of Finance 1979; ff. 4). The population of Highfield is cited as an example. In 1969 52,560 African were enumerated, and 7,424 dwelling units were counted. Because the African population was underreported, an unofficial estimate of the real population of the township was 72,280 (Stopforth 1977). This would bring the housing density for Highfield Township to 9.7 individuals per dwelling unit.

In the 1970s Glen Norah was established 12 kms. from the city, providing 6,444 more housing units; subsequently, Glen View was established, and others were put into the implementation stage.

> than build more homes--the new freedom of families to join their menfolk working in the city, and the number of people too poor to afford even the cheapest rents, the growth of squatting must follow ("Explosion in the Cities, Moto, Sept. 1982:6).

Rising unemployment, in combination with salary levels that did not meet urban household budgets, precipitated further creation of small scale enterprises on the part of both men and women. How these informal enterprises emerged, especially those concerned with food provisioning, is a consequence of the historical events discussed.

The Formal and Informal Sector and the Fresh Produce Marketing System

The fresh produce provisioning system was shared in the early settler years between African farmers and white traders. The development of a dual, color-based provisioning system into a formal and informal sector has its origins in 1893 when the Market Hall was constructed in Harare to provide a permanent, central location at which agricultural commodities could be traded:

> From its inception and many years thereafter the Market Hall was used almost entirely for the selling of market produce. This was grown by Chinese and Indians on small holdings along the banks of the Makabusi (Howland 1963:40).

It appears that Africans were not allowed to trade in this "formal" market, but Howland provides no further insight as to why. It can be argued that Africans did not produce the grade, quality or quantity of produce in demand, but more likely is that Africans were not allowed to demonstrate their economic power in such a public forum. The following quote might support such an argument:

> In the early years, the market was well supported by growers and buyers. It was a weekly event to look forward to. The drawback, however, was that everything was sold by auction and larger buyers, such as hotels and

> retailers, monopolised the proceedings, and it was very difficult for the ordinary person to obtain his small requirements. The small customer, therefore, transferred his custom to hawkers who had gardens outside the municipal boundary. Hawkers became more numerous, and by about 1918 no further supplies of vegetables were brought to the Market Hall and sales came to an end (Howland 1963:40).

Subsequent to the close of the Market Hall, white traders sought to control the provisioning of white inhabitants (see Christopher 1977, Smith n.d.). Those taking greatest interest were Hellenes who had migrated into the area via Egypt, Mozambique, Tanzania, and South Africa (Kosmin 1974:69). Many settlers of Hellenic origin did not have a very high regard for farming and manual work, both of which were associated with low-level peasant status in their homelands.[15] It is this non-farming, non-mining population who became the traders, and later, wholesalers, of fresh produce and other commodities (Kosmin 1974:109).

As far as the "formal" retail trade in foodstuffs is concerned, in 1936 twenty-six ethnic Greeks applied for and were granted bakery licenses in Harare. Bakeries constituted the cornerstone on which general provisioning dealerships were built (Kosmin 1974:108) and, subsequently, greengrocers that sought to ensure a steady stream of white customers by selling only the finest quality produce.

As far as trade in produce in the "informal" market was concerned, Greeks hawkers had competition from African women who were

---

[15] The exception to this dislike of farming was in tobacco growing. Having acquired this skill in the course of Greek/Turkish history, Hellenes excelled in the cultivation of this crop which is still today one of the most profitable crops earning foreign exchange in the country.

not content to sell fresh produce just in Harari. By 1927 women were regularly found hawking in Salisbury Commons (Barnes 1987:33). By 1930 an African spokesman registered his concern at the lengths African women were going to sell produce. He requested that "native" markets be established officially "so girls don't have to wander around hawking" (Barnes 1987:33). During the 1930s, especially, a marked increase in the number of women selling fresh produce was observed throughout the city (England 1982:55).[16] Perhaps the continuous pressure exerted by many African fathers and husbands of female hawkers provided the impetus for the establishment of a more structured marketing setting for Africans in Harare.

The Native Land Board in 1931 argued that Africans should receive preferential consideration in the granting of trading licenses within the African townships and Tribal Trust Lands (Holleman 1969:143). Since Africans were denied licenses to conduct business in the exclusive white suburbs, Government indicated a willingness for Africans to trade in their own townships. Toward that end, and in response to the many complaints the municipality received about the plight of African females hawking fresh produce, in 1932 a "Native Market" was established at the earlier abandoned Market Square. The tenure of the women at that facility, similar to their predecessor, was short-lived: by 1942 all the female traders were moved to the newly established township of Highfield where

---

[16] It appears the flight of so many women to town was objectionable to traditional leaders in the rural areas. The "chiefs wanted a pass system for women introduced to restrict the number of women who `escaped' by taking trains" (England 1982:53).

market stalls were allocated (Kosmin 1974:260). The building, and thus a "formal" African trading location outside the townships, was abandoned.

In that same year only four general dealer's licenses had been granted to Africans (Kosmin 1974:217). Kosmin speculates on why this was the case:

> Lack of capital for purchases and transport also inhibited African trader participating in produce buying. The problem was that in order to do a bigger turnover and increase the size of his business the trader needed to increase his selection of goods but this needed capital to which his access was severely limited (Kosmin 1974:220).

As more townships were created at a greater distance from Harari, a demand arose for the sale of foodstuffs locally. As the townships expanded, female vendor ability to meet these needs became problematic: how could continual restocking take place when distances to be traveled through and out of town to the farms was made problematic by the system of transportation? The Native Trade and Production Report of 1944 discerned what happened: African farmers sold their crops to African middlemen who in turn resold them to female vendors.[17]

---

[17] While I am unable to provide an analysis of when and how African men developed the wholesale trade in fresh produce, I might speculate that this occurred as more African men became unemployed, as the population in the townships grew, and as the source of African-demanded fresh produce became more distant owing to land alienation by white farmers. African male fear of what might happen to their women while travelling far distances and while remaining in the cities overnight in order to sell their surpluses might have guided males into assuming the wholesaler role. Others might argue that males perceived a means by which they could generate an income from the surpluses their wives produced, thereby usurping the female income-generating role. A further argument might be the mobility of males in being able to leave the rural homestead for longer periods

Greek traders created their own niche in the formal markets of the white communities of Harare. When locally-produced foodstuffs were insufficient to satisfy demand, traders established exchange linkages with their kinfolk who were fruitgrowers in South Africa. The firm of Maltas and Divaris, Ltd., was a very active importer of fruits from South Africa when settler farmers had not yet begun large-scale fruit production in Zimbabwe in the 1920s and 1930s (Salisbury Municipal Council 1932).

As more white commercial farmers took an interest in growing horticultural commodities, the need for wholesale operations to market those commodities also developed. The municipality established an auction at which white growers could come into the city and sell their harvests. Although this market fell on to bad times owing to embezzlement, Hellenes took greater interest in

---

than, say, a woman who had responsibility for small children. Also, male knowledge of the city might have made them more perceptive in trading at the wholesale level, since male informational networks were more constant owing to the pattern of employment in cities biased in favor of males. Women, at the early stages, moved in and out of the cities; they were not necessarily permanent city dwellers able to develop strong communication and support networks that would provide certain economic information to them. Men, on the other hand, while at first oscillating migrants, became permanently ensconced in the city and could develop ties on the basis of work or residence.

A very different argument might entail identifying who the producers were. Where consistent wholesale supply necessitated making an agreement with a white producer, husbands of vendors might not have consented to an African female negotiating with a white male producer. These agreements could be entered into between African male wholesalers and white male peroducers with little or no hidden agendas.

promoting local production and subsequent marketing operations.[18]

Continued expansion of fresh produce wholesaling and retailing by whites occurred over the stressful economic years of UDI (Unilateral Declaration of Independence). In the late 1960s and early 1970s, after sanctions were imposed against Rhodesia in 1965, importation of fresh produce from South Africa became problematic. Greek marketeers were instrumental in developing further the local production of these once-imported commodities. Once an importing business, Wholesale Fruiterers was transformed into a local and export market enterprise.

Today Hellenes maintain their wholesaling and retailing businesses under general dealership licenses throughout Harare.[19] Wholesalers, who either purchase their commodities outright from farmers or who, as agencies, act on behalf of farmers, are subject to government income taxes. It is this factor, in particular, that characterizes these enterprises as "formal." In contrast, African wholesalers and retailers who sell from Mbare Musika or other vending sites throughout the city are not subject to taxation and thus do not fall under the purview of national statistics. Their non-existence

---

[18] The Babliokos brothers, whose parents came to Zimbabwe via Mozambique at the turn of the century, were involved in the produce trade beginning in 1953. At that time they established Wholesale Fruiterers, an outright purchase wholesaling business, and imported many fresh produce commodities from their kin in South Africa. In 1970, they established the Independent Market as an agency acting on behalf of producers.

[19] Four out of six of the wholesaling enterprises are either owned or managed by Hellenes, while the greengrocers and small grocery shops throughout the low density suburbs are owned almost exclusively by members of this ethnic community.

to any officially recorded government documentation is the factor that characterizes these enterprises as "informal."

Women's Retail Vending Niche

While it can be argued that women have been selling/trading fresh produce in Harare since the arrival of the Pioneer Column in 1890, the increasing number of vendors has presented problems at various times. For instance, once family housing was made available to Africans, women found the sales they conducted in their neighborhoods were limited because too many other women were doing the same thing. If the women crossed the railway line into the city center or the northern white suburbs to sell, they were fined (see Herald, January 14, 1964).

From the mid-1970s on, the population of Africans in Harare grew considerably as a consequence of the liberation struggle being waged in the rural areas. By 1977, the police were unable to deal with the number of informal sector activities that had been established in the city (see Herald, May 13, 1977). Pressure to find suitable outlets for the overwhelming numbers of these spontaneously-established businesses resulted in the designation of ten sites at which informal trading could take place (see Herald, June 20, 1978).

Certain city councillors who sought to provide a voice for Africans argued that these sites were too far from pedestrian thoroughfares, and pointed out that regardless of whether spaces had been designated, Africans would sell where customers were. As one alderman argued:

> Do you really think that you are going to direct these Africans to go to these out-of-the way sites? (Herald, June 24, 1978).

An editorial four days later reported the following:

> To set aside only 10 sites for the whole of Salisbury is quite inadequate and when people are struggling to make a living it seems pointless to introduce new laws which, if they could be enforced, would restrict their activities (Herald, June 28, 1977).

These ten sites, I might add, were to be distributed among vegetable vendors, women who make and sell crochet items, and men who sell fresh flowers.

To avoid conflict over designated selling sites, as new townships were planned, marketsites were included. Moreover, in 1981, Eddison Zvogbo, then Minister of Home Affairs, advocated the construction of "people's markets" in pre-existing townships. Later in the same year the Harare City Council elicited suggestions for the location of 25 new market stalls "in the high density suburbs to cater for the 1,300 women selling without a license" (Herald, September 1981). At that time, there were 2,300 stalls at 28 markets throughout the city, but there were an additional 1,300 women selling at 40 other streetside sites without the approval of the Council.

Throughout the period 1977 to the present, many incidents of police intervention into vending business were reported. To protect themselves from police harrassment, in 1982 many women were enticed into joining the Fruit and Vegetable Vendors Co-operative by Mr. M who guaranteed he would personally stop the harrassment. Vendors paid a joining fee of $10, plus a monthly fee to maintain their membership. In 1984, however, when the harrassment didn't stop, and

membership records mysteriously disappeared, as did membership fees, the co-operative disintegrated.

In August 1982 an attempt was made to take a census of all vendors. At Mbare, 1,035 were identified; and 1,344 were counted at 26 markets in other high density suburbs (at markets located in Dzivarisekwa (1), Glen Norah (5), Glen View (2), Mbare (2), Kambuzuma (3), Mabvuku (5), Highfield (7), and Warren Park (1))(Herald, August 20, 1982). With pressures for more stalls continuing to mount, by the time I conducted my research I found 110 market and table vending sites throughout the high density suburbs, with 1,209 vendors at Mbare, 1,933 in other high density suburbs, and 284 in the low density suburbs (see Table 1.3, Chapter One).

Conclusion

I have discussed how each marketing sector evolved and how African women, in particular, came to occupy their retail niches. While women have steadily sought other means of employment, salaried jobs in the formal economy of Harare were not generally open to unskilled and uneducated females. The reasons cited most often for women's unemployment during the colonial era include the following: 1) men were perceived by white employers as the "breadwinners" of their families (Muchena 1982; England 1982); 2) women who were still in the child-bearing years of the life cycle were considered high-risk individuals since pregnancy prompted dismissal; and 3) medical examinations required for domestic work acted as a disincentive to many women to seek such employment.

As a result of formal employment not being an option for

women,[20] many sought to generate an income in the "informal" sector—"a lifeline to security in the urban setting" (England 1982:119):

> Women workers regard informal sector trading as a substitute for unobtainable wage employment, or see it as more compatible with household responsibilities, as it may largely be carried out in or near the home, or the children may accompany the mother to the trading place. It is often seen as an extension of domestic work and the accepted sex-role, the using of normal "women's work" to exploit the urban situation (May 1979:48).

What many women traded was premised on what they new best: fresh produce. Beset with financial problems in the city brought about by the policies of the labor reserve economy, women were faced with a dual economic problem: how to generate an income and how to provision their families. For many, selling fresh produce helped resolve this problem.

---

[20] Even where formal sector employment was open to women, they consistently received lower wages for the same work performed by men (England 1982:115).

CHAPTER THREE

The Fresh Produce Marketing System in Harare

Introduction

The institutional arrangement facilitating the movement of commodities from the producer to the consumer, and the retail vendors' place within it, are the subjects of exploration in this chapter. Specifically, how does the marketing system limit or constrain women's ability to sell fresh produce throughout the city of Harare? The answer to this question begins with an analysis of the marketing system itself, and then explores the problems and constraints vendors must overcome to participate.

The Fresh Produce Marketing System

A marketing system includes

> . . . exchange activities associated with the transfer of property rights to commodities, the physical handling of products and the institutional arrangements for facilitating these activities (Harrison et al. 1974:4).

Institutional arrangements are commonly referred to as marketing channels:

> . . . a series of stages, or activities, through which a product passes in going from producer to consumer (Scott 1985:20).

The development of a bifurcated set of marketing channels in Harare originated in the context of a city divided along racial lines. The dual channel system is characterized in the following manner: white, large-scale commercial producers sell the bulk of their harvests to white "formal" sector wholesalers, who, in turn, sell to white "formal" sector retailers (supermarkets, greengrocers

and "cafes" (neighborhood grocery stores)), institutions, and consumers. African, small-scale commercial and communal farmers sell their commodities to African "informal" sector wholesalers, who, in turn, sell largely to "informal" sector retail market vendors and/or consumers (see Figure 3.1).[1]

I have chosen to use the distinction between "formal" and "informal" markets because, as an analytical tool, certain characteristics of trading can more easily be identified. McGee (1973), adapting the characterization of the urban economy generated by Santos (1972), explains what he terms the "two-circuit" urban economy. An analysis of the "lower circuit" indicates a close resemblance to the informal sector (see Sethuraman 1981; Portes 1983) (see Table 3.1).

In Zimbabwe, the most significant factor differentiating the two sectors is that the formal is government regulated via registration, licensing and the imposition of taxes, while the informal is not. Most other characteristics are variable. For instance, one formal wholesaling enterprise is run by a Greek-immigrant family that utilizes family labor, calls upon family members for loans, varies prices in accordance with the relationship

---

[1] I found little, if any, evidence of shops in the high density African suburbs selling fresh produce. General dealership licenses to sell in the African townships historically were granted to Africans. Supermarkets established in the low density suburbs have no direct equivalent in the high density areas. In the low density suburbs, supermarkets sell fresh produce, but in the high density areas they do not. It was assumed, in the African areas, that women would occupy the role of retail fresh produce vendor; therefore, shops and supermarkets in the high density suburbs do not sell these commodities.

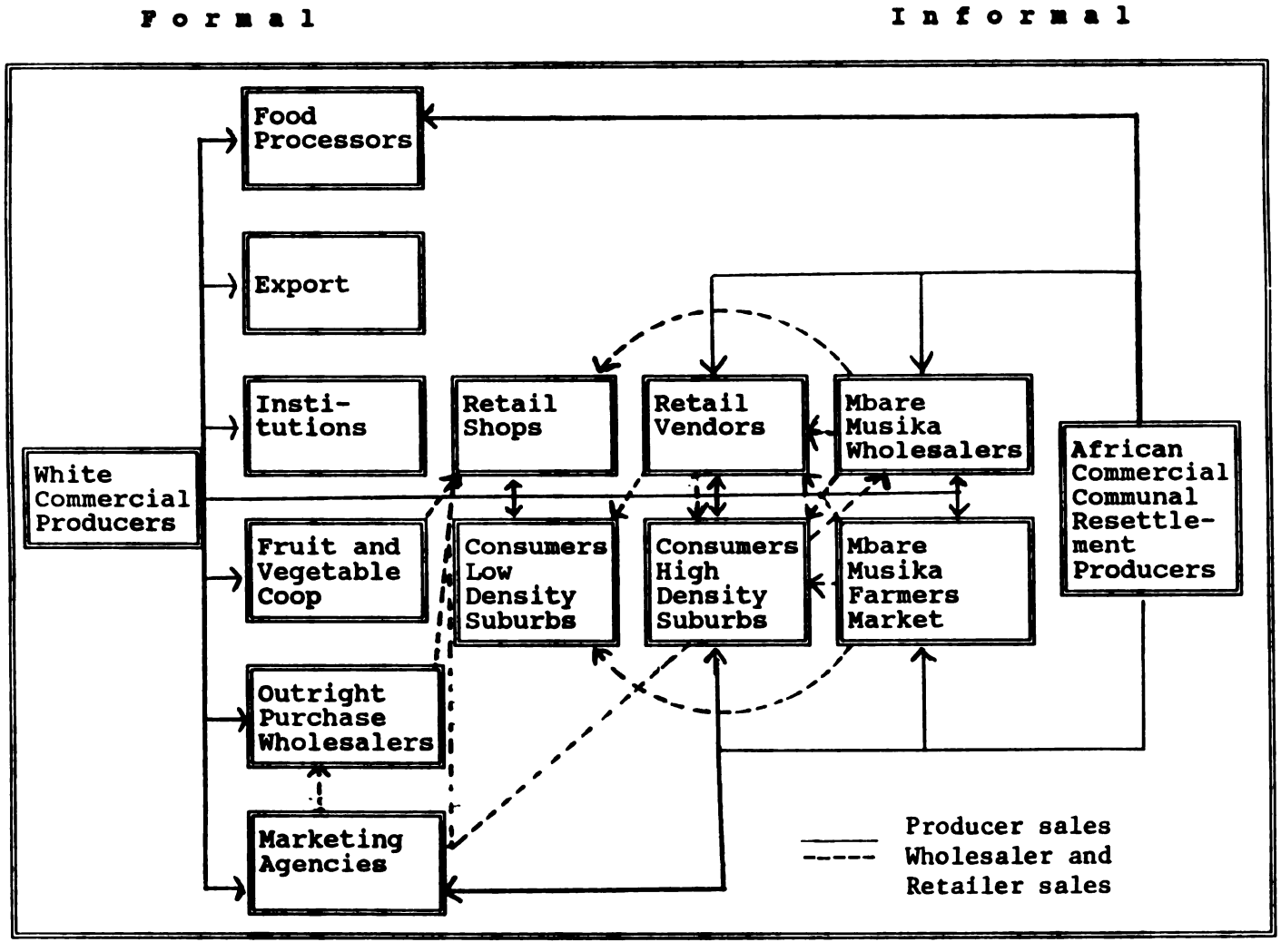


Figure 3.1. **Formal and Informal Fresh Produce Marketing Channels**

TABLE 3.1*

Characteristics of Informal/Formal or Two-Circuit Economies

Characteristics	Formal/ Upper Circuit	Informal/ Lower Circuit
Scale	Large	Small
Organization	Bureaucratic	Family-Organized
Technology	Capital-Intensive	Labor Intensive
Capital	Abundant	Scarce
Training	Formal Education	On-the-Job or Informal
Earnings	High	Limited
Inventories	Large	Small
Government	Regulation	No Regulation
Financial Resources	Banks	Personal
Hours of Work	Regular	Irregular
Pricing	Fixed	Variable
Reporting	In Govt. Statistics	Not Reported

* Source: Adapted from McGee (1973) in comparison with Sethuraman (1981) and Portes (1983).

of the family with the customer, does not require formal educational qualifications to conduct business, and works irregular hours. Thus, for my purposes, what I term as "formal" include those enterprises that: are formally registered with the government; have dealers' licenses to trade and/or export; pay taxes on the recorded profits made in the course of transactions; and come under certain government pricing regulations. Marketing enterprises classified as "informal": are subject to minimal government intervention (in the form of stall or table rent paid to the Municipality, or in the negative form of harrassment and commodity confiscation if a "spontaneous" marketsite has been developed without approval of the Municipality); have no licenses to trade; pay no taxes as incomes are not recorded; and do not fall under the purview of government pricing regulations.

Individuals who have spontaneously developed their marketing enterprises in the informal sector are not officially acknowledged in government documentation and not included in national income statistics (Davies 1979). Moreover, there is no government body to turn to when individuals are mistreated, no security of tenure and no means of ensuring an income (Davies 1979).

Structural imbalances in the urban economy are generally identified as the underlying cause for the creation of the informal economy:

> Capitalist development requires an adequate supply of low-cost labour. In typical third-world economies, and particularly in Rhodesia, this supply is ensured through maintaining the underdevelopment of the peasant (tribal) economy. Over the decades, the result of successive policies has been to force people from the land and to become workers in industrial, plantation and mining industries (Davies 1978:20-21).

Keeping African wages low was one indicate of a structural imbalance. Another was legislative policy that created the informal market in fresh produce. Urban influx laws imposed upon Africans sought to make the their presence in Harare invisible. Although African labor required provisions, retailers in the licensed shops did not cater to their needs. De facto a niche was created in the townships for provisioning enterprises to be established. Thus, the case of Zimbabwe illustrates not only the structural economic imbalances that created the informal economy, but also how government regulations contributed directly to its formation.

Production and Marketing Systems Based on Color

The racial bifurcation of the marketing system actually has its roots in farming systems practiced by Africans and whites. People of

European descent established large scale commercial farms, gaining access to the most productive land, water, credit, improved seed, fertilizer, and other manner of technological inputs. With virtually unlimited supplies of African labor, commercial farmers developed trading relationships with food crop exporters (generally wholesalers), food processors, institutions requiring steady supplies of fresh produce (for example, the army, hospitals, boarding schools), retail shops and supermarkets, and, in some cases, with individual consumers (where producers opened a farm kiosk).

African farmers practice at least two types of farming systems, neither of which can produce the quality and quantity of product as the white large scale commercial farm: small scale commercial and communal. The former entails cultivating both cash and subsistence crops on land that has been individually purchased. The location of these lands is oftentimes situated as a buffer zone between white commercial and African communal farms. As buffers, small scale commercial farmers cultivate on soils that are not as good as those of large scale commercial farms but better than those of communal farms. Such farmers may or may not have access to permanent water sources, credit, improved seed, fertilizer, etc. With limited resources, small scale commercial farmers are not able to produce fresh produce crops consistently. Limited amounts of labor and roads somewhat inaccessible to main thoroughfares prevent these farmers from gaining access to the range of market outlets.

Communal farmers cultivate primarily for home consumption, but also sell some of their harvests commercially. Women have domain

over garden crops, and it is they who market them on neighboring farms and in local markets. If a harvest is sufficient, it will be boxed and brought to the Harare farmers' market for sale. Harvests are limited, however, owing to the amount of land available for horticultural crop cultivation under communal tenure--between one-fourth to a whole acre. Seeds planted are generally those saved from previous harvests, and the only fertilizer that might be applied is manure. Technological inputs are almost nonexistent, and labor is that of the woman and her children. Harvests are not always dependable, and neither are amounts available for sale. Transport is difficult since communal areas were historically situated in nonproductive areas many kilimeters distant from the roads and lines of rail.

While the farming systems I describe appear to be based on class divisions, in fact they reflect an historical division of land based on color. Production systems differentiated by color gave rise to marketing systems based on the same principle. The African women who sell fresh produce in Harare are both a part of this system and victims of it. Prior to independence, they were permitted to sell only in the townships. Since independence, they have been granted the right to sell at certain designated locations in the low density suburbs. Their supply lines, however, have not yet changed sufficiently to provide them a wider choice to make their wholesale purchases. The following discussion of the formal and informal wholesalers should illustrate why the market women are still victims of an historically-biased supply system.

Formal Sector Wholesalers

Formal sector wholesalers generally fall into two categories: outright purchase wholesalers and marketing agencies. The former may make individual supply arrangements with producers and/or may fetch a crop at time of harvest. The latter generally requires marketing agency delivery where commodities are sold on a commission basis. The former category included, in 1986, Wholesale Fruiterers, P & P Wholesalers, PGS, Mudjgiwa, and Ramanlal; the latter, for the same time period, includes the Independent Market and the National Fruit and Vegetable Marketing Agency.

Concerning outright purchase wholesalers, transactions are based on a supply/demand price that is negotiated with the producer generally at the time of delivery. Mutual agreements are generally arrived at with large scale commercial producers while purchases from others are normally on an ad hoc basis (PTA Consultants 1982:99). It is not uncommon for outright purchase wholesalers to obtain their commodities from the marketing agencies. One wholesaler indicated all the vegetables he supplies come from one agency, while another wholesaler reported that only 25% of his requirements come from the agencies, while 50% comes from white commercial farmers, and 25% from African producers.

Up until recently, a 15% sales tax was levied against the sale of all food commodities. Payable at the wholesaler level, the amount of the tax was incorporated into retailer prices and passed on to the consumer (see Cheater 1979:12). The tax was done away with on vegetables when the new budget was introduced in 1986; it remains,

however, on fruits, although the rate has been reduced to 12-1/2%. This tax is not payable in market agency transactions as the agencies are not buying and selling per se; rather, they are selling for--or on behalf of--the farmers. A handling fee of 12-1/2%, however, is charged to the producer for all commodities sold. The tax is ultimately levied by the retailers in consumer transactions.

When supplying supermarkets, wholesalers must weigh and package commodities purchased.[2] One wholesaler indicated that this extra task can be very problematic. He related that a bottleneck in operations had occurred one season when a permit to import the plastics necessary to produce the small trays used in packaging retail amounts was not issued in time to meet marketing needs. Wholesalers, as a result of such tardiness, try to have at least a two-year supply of packaging materials on hand. Owing to their high cost, a wholesaler must tie up a portion of his capital in order to satisfy his customers.

Outright purchase wholesalers must also factor into their prices the cost of wastage since the goods they sell have already been paid for. Although these businesses all have cold storage facilities, a wholesaler assumes a great deal of risk in purchasing

---

[2] Up to this point very little, if any, weighing of commodities is conducted--it is assumed that a box of tomatoes weighs 10 kgs., a pocket of peas weighs 6 kgs., etc. Farmers are responsible for purchasing relevant sacks, pockets, boxes, etc., and then filling them accordingly. Major problems in filling containers with appropriate number of kilograms have arisen owing to the fact that few farmers own scales. The same can be argued for the Mazoe citrus syndicate: when weighing small pockets of oranges at one retail vending site (purchased directly from the distributor who had not repackaged them), I found each weighed anywhere between 3.5 and 5.0 kgs., yet each was priced the same.

commodities outright. As a result, their demand is for very high quality produce that has a greater likelihood of being sold than produce of a lesser quality or grade.

If farmers are unable to produce top-quality commodities on a consistent basis, an alternative marketing outlet is chosen: the marketing agencies. Each of the two agencies in Harare act as the farmer's agent, selling commodities brought in by the producer on a 12-1/2% commission basis.[3] Each agency has a cold storage facility so perishables such as deciduous fruits and green leafy vegetables can be stored. Commodities are sold on a supply/demand basis with prices changing as many as four times per day. A wholesaler that has the largest portion of stock at any one time might be deemed the market price leader, but pricing is very dynamic and market leadership shifts with the arrival of additional supplies of a given commodity--which can occur on an hourly basis. General practices at the Independent Market are as follows:

> Provided produce is accepted, it is then sold by one of four salemen. They are controlled by a Market Master who, in consultation with his assistant and the owner, fix the prices for the range of fruit and vegetables they expect to sell each morning. This organisation owes much of its success to a very efficient market intelligence network which makes an accurate assessment of the volume of all fruit and vegetables likely to appear on the wholesale markets in Harare every day, before prices are decided (PTA 1982:96).

In conducting this portion of the research, I attempted to ascertain the volume of commodities sold through these formal Harare

---

[3] The operators of one marketing agency informed me that they are attempting to attract more African producers by reducing their commission.

channels. I asked wholesalers, based on the records they kept on disbursements to producers, what proportion of shares they felt they had of a given commodity. This line of questioning produced the surprising response that they did not calculate volumes traded; they only calculated cash flow. One wholesaler, however, provided me with their records for one full year and I was able to calculate just how much of a given commodity they handle. Based on these records and wholesaler/agency perceptions of the percentage of their market shares, the volumes in Table 3.2 were calculated.

Although these estimates are very crude, I rationalize presenting them on two counts: no production records exist anywhere for these commodities and thus their presentation can be interpreted as one set of working figures to be manipulated as recording practices are further developed; and information on crop deliveries and prices is shared among wholesalers at several times during the day so that each wholesaler/agency is acutely aware of whose crops are being brought where and at what price they are being purchased/sold for.

To entice customers, or perhaps merely to provide a base line wholesale price for fruit and vegetable crops sold, the Independent Market publishes its prices in the Herald once or twice a week. A figure is also published in the weekly Financial Gazette. How these prices fluctuate over the year December 1985 through November 1986

TABLE 3.2

Estimated Volume of Crops Being Sold Through Formal Sector Marketing Channels in Harare*
July 1985-June 1986

Crop	Estimated Tons
Avocadopear	31.427
Baby Marrows (zucchini)	35.547
Green Beans	253.280
Beet Root	81.040
Brinjals (eggplant)	30.520
Broccoli	7.555
Buttermut Squash	66.073
Cabbage:	
Drum Head (449,422 heads)	224.711
Sweet (74,547 heads)	27.955
Carrots	540.476
Cauliflower	75.636
Celery (3,111 bunches)	.778
Cucumbers	279.503
Gem Squash	167.970
Gooseberries	5.605
Grapefruit	302.818
Green Pepper	64.504
Hubbard Squash	25.745
Lemons	128.610
Lettuce (101,970 heads)	25.493
Mealies (maize) (507,670 cobs)	126.918
Onions: Dry	1,406.943
Spring (16,612 bunches)	4.153
Oranges	3,716.500
Peas	106.574
Potatoes	83,174.523
Pumpkins	112.708
Spinach (32,482 bunches)	8.121
Sweet Potatoes	735.340
Tomatoes (gem/jam)	102.345
Tomatoes	1,484.070
Turnips	223.125

* These figures represent only an estimation of goods that move through the formal wholesale markets of Harare. They do not take into account the commodities that never reach these markets as they are marketed elsewhere; nor do they consider direct retail shop, consumer, food processing, and export sales.

for selected commodities is presented in Table 3.3.[4]

For comparative formal/informal sector purposes, Table 3.4 illustrates the formal sector wholesale prices per kilogram published in the Herald on various dates, as well as the actual prices I obtained when informal sector retail vendors reported what they had paid for a particular wholesale quantity of a commodity. This record covers the period of my intensive research, March through July 1986.

The produce sold by most formal sector wholesalers in large part meets the demands of the supermarkets, greengrocers, cafes (grocery stores), and other shops in the white-dominated low density suburbs. While one wholesaler made a concentrated effort to have African farmers bring in all their crops, not just those in demand by people of European descent, difficulty in selling the crop ensued since a sufficient number of retailers had not yet begun to sell such crops in large quantities.

Producers have many more options to sell their commodities than to formal and informal sector wholesalers. These include export markets, food processors, the Fruit and Vegetable Growers' Co-operative, institutions, directly to retailers or to consumers.

Since this study concerns the effect of the marketing system upon the African retail vendors, I will simply summarize these different marketing options pointing out how vendors are affected by producers exercising a particular choice. Additionally, I will

---

[4] A price analysis for tomatoes, onions, cabbages and mangoes was performed as part of the EEC proposal for the years 1979-84 (ARDA 1985:75-76). These prices related to the seasonal variation in harvesting noted in PTA 1982:30.

TABLE 3.3*

Average Wholesale Prices for Selected Commodities[5]
December 1985-November 1986

Commodity	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov
Apples												
Case (18 kg.)**		19.88	17.63	18.00	18.30	18.75	19.00	17.50				
Tray (6 kg.)**		4.25	3.44	2.44	2.25	2.25						
Avocadoes												
Tray (5 kg.)												
Large	(4.00	4.19	4.25	3.25	1.75	1.94						3.25
Small	(			2.22	.69	.88						
Pkt. (12 kg.)							2.00	2.20	2.69	2.75	2.90	3.25
Cabbage (head)												
Small	.04	.05	.07	.06	.07	.07	.08	.08	.08	.06	.05	.04
Medium	.08	.10	.13	.12	.13	.14	.18	.17	.12	.11	.10	.05
Large	.13	.18	.25	.22	.22	.24	.29	.27	.19	.21	.14	.09
Lemons (Pocket (10 kg.))												
Grade 1 (sm)	4.38	4.46	4.16	3.81	3.50	3.31	3.44	4.30	4.50	4.50	5.88	5.50
Grade 2 (rf)	1.31	1.38	1.31	1.25	1.25	1.25	.88	1.00	1.13	.88	3.13	3.75
Onions (Pocket (10 kg.))												
Grade 1	3.25	4.50	5.38	6.38	8.55	9.50	9.00	9.30	8.50	5.00	3.25	2.50
Grade 2	2.38	3.81	4.53	5.41	7.30	7.25	7.25	6.90	6.00	4.25	2.63	1.88
Oranges (Pocket (10 kg.))												
Valencia			2.25	2.25	2.50	2.50	2.63	2.75	2.75	3.53		
Naval					3.50	3.72	4.00	3.69				
Potatoes (Pocket (15 kg.))												
Grade 1	4.00	4.53	3.39	2.84	4.16	4.92	4.25	4.35	5.25	5.42	6.63	6.56
Grade 2	2.25	2.69	1.97	1.53	2.19	2.38		3.75	3.42	3.79	4.75	4.75
Grade 3	1.75	1.94	1.50	1.63	1.75	1.75				3.00	3.70	3.50
Sweet Pots (Pocket (10 kg.))												
Grade 1				2.29	1.73	1.78	1.75	2.03	2.08	2.25	2.75	3.50
Grade 2				1.25	.88							
Tomatoes												
Tray (6 kg.)**	1.75	2.50	4.75	4.50	3.05	4.13	4.00	4.23	2.83	3.38	3.94	2.13
Box (10 kg.)***	.75	2.56	5.06	5.88	4.31	5.44	5.13	6.25	4.75	4.25	3.63	1.25

* Source: compiled from twice-weekly published prices in the Herald.
** First grade only.
*** Second grade only.

[5] While sixteen crops have been selected for further analysis, on the basis of the main income generating crops women sell retail, only seven of these are sold at the Independent Market. That not all crops in demand by African retailers are sold by formal sector wholesalers is an indication of the bifurcation of cropping and marketing outlets, and a compelling feature directing retailers to make their purchases elsewhere. These figures, however, will be compared with prices women reported paying for the same commodities, at the informal market at Mbare Musika.

Table 3.4*

Comparative Wholesale Prices Per Kilogram of Selected Fresh Produce
Independent Market (IM) and Mbare Musika Farmers' Market (MM)
March through July 1986
(in Zimbabwe Dollars)

Crop	March		April		May		June		July	
	IM	MM	IM	MM	IM	MM	IM	MM	IM	MM
Apples	1.00	.53	1.02	.64	1.04	.77	1.10	1.10	.97	1.32
Avocados	.46	.53	.20	.56	.24	.43	.20	.79	.22	.47
Cabbage	.13	.20	.14	.21	.15	.21	.18	.26	.17	.22
Lemons	.13	.26	.13	.25	.13	.26	.09	.22	.10	.27
Onions	.54	.82	.73	1.30	.73	.93	.73	.90	.73	.65
Oranges	.23	.72	.23	.50	.30	.48	.31	.43	.33	.45
Potatoes	.13	.25	.18	.25	.20	.26	.28	.28	.27	.32
Sweet Pots.	.18	n/a	.13	.22	.18	.21	.18	.29	.21	.21
Tomatoes	.51	.70	.59	.67	.43	.86	.59	.85	.51	.61

* Source: Compiled from twice-weekly published prices in the Herald and from field notes and pricing questionnaires administered to vendors.

indicate where farmer choices reflect participation in either the formal or informal sector.

Informal Sector Wholesalers

Historically, conducting the wholesale trade in fresh produce shifted geographically for the African community between Mbare (Harari) and Highfield. Ultimately, in 1979, Mbare Musika was built to provide informal wholesale marketeers a more permanent site (Herald, February 19, 1979). Each of the 148 spaces in the open-air market is rented on a daily basis to semi-permanent wholesalers. Slots are said to be rented on a first-come, first-served basis. To gain access to a space, however, the entrepreneur has to construct a trading shed, at his own capital expense. Those who have constructed sheds receive priority treatment for rental by the Municipality. If

rents are in arrears, however, the Municipality will knock down the shed and re-allocate the space.

> Most stalls at the market place are on open ground with no shelter from the rains and the blazing heat. All the vendors said they had no means to preserve their wares (Herald, November 20, 1980).

Since there is no water in this market and no adequate means of overnight storage, one wholesaler reported:

> Every day we throw away about a third of the commodities because they will have gone bad. We also have to reduce the prices of the times because people become reluctant to buy as days go by and customers who usually buy in bulk start reducing their orders (Herald, November 20, 1980).

Wholesalers purchase their commodities either at the farm gate (from white or African farmers) or await producer delivery at the wholesale market at Mbare Musika. On-farm wholesale purchasing takes place at the farm gate. A wholesaler may arrive with his own transport, may be willing to pick the portion of the crop to be purchased, and may have his own packaging materials. The price of commodities at the farm gate are generally lower than that paid to the producer at the Harare markets because wholesalers absorb the costs of packaging and transportation. Table 3.5 illustrates some typical prices paid to transport commodities from given destinations by wholesalers who purchase at the farm gate. The type of vehicle hired is generally a 7-ton truck, although larger vehicles are sometimes used to make purchases at farms a greater distance away, e.g., Chimanimani, Chipinge, Nyanyadze.[6]

---

[6] In research conducted in Northeast Brazil, peasant producers were found to prefer selling their harvests to wholesalers who came to their farms to purchase. This was apparently because middlemen

TABLE 3.5*

Typical Wholesaler Transport Costs to Selected Areas[7]

Destination	App. Kms. from Harare	Commodities	Transport Cost Z$
Mutare	265	tomatoes	400
Bindura	88	tomatoes,carrots	300
Shamva	90	tomatoes,carrots,cabbage	350
Borrowdale	15	cabbages, carrots	45
Mutoko	143	tomatoes, onions, guavas	150
Chimanimani	523	bananas	750
Nyanyadzi	350	tomatoes	500
Mazoe	40	tomatoes	60
Rusape	180	sweet potatoes	112

* Source: Field notes.

The risk wholesalers take in using relatively scarce capital to make farm gate purchases entails whether or not the resale price will cover the costs incurred in purchase and transport. Wholesalers, either having hired transport or paid for the fuel for their own transport, are at a disadvantageous bargaining position. It is

paid cash for their purchases, albeit at lower rates, while Market Place middlemen in urban areas only offered credit (Forman and Riegelhaupt 1970:205).

[7] Information for this table was provided by semi-permanent wholesalers selling from Mbare Musika who go to the farms to make their purchases anywhere from one to four times per week, depending on sales, distance, availability of capital, etc. The cost of transporting commodities from the farm gate depends on whether or not the wholesaler owns or rents his/her vehicle, the size of the vehicle, and the distance to be travelled. Not all vehicle rentals are reckoned in kilometers; an owner may charge a flat fee for vehicle rental, or vehicle rental plus driver expenses. Rental transactions are generally undertaken with individual owners, as opposed to transport companies. Thus, with rental fees not reckoned on standard charges per kilometer, wholesalers may pay above what rental agencies would charge if vehicles were available for such transport.

highly unlikely, so it was reported, that once a wholesaler goes to the farm he will not come to some sort of agreement on price for the commodities offered.

Wholesalers can avoid the expense of transport by awaiting the arrival of producers at Mbare Musika. An accurate number of farmers coming into Mbare Musika on a daily basis could not be ascertained beause those coming to sell at the farmer's market are not identified as either producers or wholesalers. Between 65 and 232 farmers/ wholesalers per day were recorded during the latter months of this research.[8] The 143+ semi-permanent wholesalers, however, are extremely competitive in bidding for a truckload of commodities. To bring some order to the chaos, producers (or, in the case of white commercial farmers, their drivers or farm managers) make agreements with different wholesalers to supply them on a continual basis throughout the season. Problems arise, however, when there is a glut and contracted wholesalers cannot handle what a producer delivers. While there are no written agreements, the verbal agreement reached between producer and wholesaler normally suffices. However, in this sector, if this understanding is breached, there is no real recourse for either party.

While I have characterized the dual marketing channels in terms

---

[8] This information was available beginning only April 1986 when a change occurred in the administration of the Department of Housing and Social Services, a division of the Harare Municipality in charge of collecting rent at Mbare Musika. In order that appropriate rentals could be levied against farmers for their daily 5:00 - 10:00 a.m. sales, farmer names, origins, and commodities to be sold were recorded. Since the system was a new one, there were some gaps; therefore, numbers of farmers selling a given commodity should be taken as an indicator rather than an actual fact.

of white producers selling to white wholesalers and African producers selling to African wholesalers, this is not totally the case. White commercial producers maximize on their marketing options by sorting and grading their harvests. The top grades are delivered to the white wholesalers to obtain top prices. Lesser grades are marketed at Mbare Musika or at individual, retail markets throughout the city. In the same way, African producers who have created a formal sector marketing option deliver their higher quality commodities for resale in this sector, and sell lower grades either at the farmers' market or to the wholesalers at Mbare Musika. While the incidence of African producers delivering a portion of their harvests to formal sector wholesalers is increasing, the color bias generally sets the parameters of operation.

The Production/Marketing System and Retail Vendors in Harare

African women who sell fresh produce in the marketplaces of Harare are dependent upon both the producers and marketing system operational in the city. Which crop is sold by which producer to which wholesaler are all factors in the continuum strongly affecting female retail vendors. Considering that the production and marketing systems have both been bifurcated in their development along the lines discussed, certain commodities never reach certain markets. For instance, in times of scarcity, high-quality tomatoes do not appear on the informal market because they are either exported or sold directly to formal sector wholesalers who resell them to formal sector retailers. In other instances, many formal sector wholesalers do not sell the green, leafy vegetable eaten daily in African

households because white commercial farmers do not grow them.

The problems market women selling fresh produce encounter relate both to the bifurcated structure of the marketing system and the perishable nature of the commodities they sell.

1. Seasonality. It is clear, from the constraints experienced by several types of producers, that only those farmers who have irrigation or permanent water sources can bring their commodities to market when there is a high demand and very low supply. This means that the prices market women must pay during seasons of scarcity are very high. In certain instances (e.g., onions during the winter months), a commodity is not purchased wholesale as it is simply too expensive. Retail prices might not cover the wholesale purchase price.

2. Quality. It has already been stated that high quality produce is either exported or sold to formal sector wholesalers who, in turn, supply greengrocers, cafes, and supermarkets largely in the low density suburbs. While it can be argued that cooking practices of African women do not require top quality produce, it can also be argued that such qualities are available to high density suburb dwellers only at great expense. However, during glut periods, formal sector wholesalers may be unable to move all the high quality stock at their disposal. At this juncture, a producer may attempt to sell his fruits and vegetables at the Mbare Musika farmers' market, and female retail vendors might take advantage of the opportunity to purchase first quality produce at lower prices.

3. Commodity Access. Vendors travel many kilometers from

their homes to the wholesale market to purchase their daily needs. Mbare Musika is located south of the city center several kilometers distant from the market agencies and outright purchase wholesalers. Since neither of these latter sets of wholesalers sell the entire range of commodities in demand by African retail vendors, and wholesalers at Mbare do, women opt to purchase what they need at Mbare. The exception might occur when the choices at Mbare are so limited that women must go elsewhere to find what they need.

4. Market Access. As will be discussed in Chapter Five, retail vendors may pay a mean of $1.30 per day to transport themselves to and from the wholesaler, and anywhere between $.20 and $2.00 to transport their purchases from Mbare to the retail site. Transport can entail taking one or two buses from home to Mbare, and the same for the return to the retail site, or taking an "emergency taxi" (a Peugeot 404 station wagon), along with neighbor vendors, from Mbare to the retail vending site.

The way in which the urban transportation system was devised also reflects the racial divisions of the city. The depot for buses traveling throughout the low density suburbs is located in one section of the city, while the depots for those traveling throughout the high density suburbs are located in others. No bus going to the high density suburbs in Greater Harare originates at or near the formal sector wholesalers. Only the depot for buses going to Chitungwiza is near the Independent Market, the National Fruit & Vegetable Marketing Agency, and Wholesaler Fruiterers.

Retailers who would like to purchase their daily needs from the

formal sector wholesalers would have to pay for additional transport. Moreover, these wholesalers, as noted in (2) above, do not sell all the commodities retailers need. Thus, a trip to Mbare would be required, in addtion to a trip to the wholesalers. The incomes generated by retailers are insufficient to absorb such an expenditure for transport. This means that, regardless of whether a commodity is cheaper at the formal sector wholesaler, a retail vendor will opt to purchase from Mbare because she can satisfy all, or almost all, of her commodity demands there.

5. Reliability of Published Prices. Wholesale prices quoted by the Independent Market in the newspapers once or twice per week do not necessarily reflect wholesale prices throughout the city. Retailers reported the following:

- Day-to-day commodity price fluctuation may be the result of the commodity "going off" overnight at the wholesaler if it had not been properly stored.

- On-the-spot price reductions might be granted to those who wish to purchase an entire lot of a commodity.

- Prices may vary from hour to hour of business operation, depending on what time and how much of a commodity is brought in to the market.

- Certain customers may receive preferential pricing, thus reducing the average reported in the newspaper.

6. Makoronyera. While vendors stated they prefer to purchase their commodities at Mbare, they also reported a major problem in so doing. So-called makoronyera--thuggish middlemen who exercise

control over a farmer's crops before the farmer is actually paid for them[9]--continually harrass the women as they make their purchases. I was informed that if a vendor wishes to inspect a particular quantity of tomatoes, for example, she will be made to purchase them as soon as she touches them. The reason for such behavior became clear to me one day when I was interviewing producers at the farmers' market.

I was observing a man packing tomatoes in a cardboard box. At one point, he looked up and saw me watching him. He began to unpack the tomatoes. And then he removed a rather large layer of grass. Once the grass had been tossed aside, he replaced the tomatoes, this time filling the box with more tomatoes than grass.

Makoronyera are extremely abusive "buyem'-sellem'" operators whom the Municipal police cannot (or perhaps are not willing to) control. Their numbers vary at any one time between six and fourteen, and each is very active as farmers arrive at the adjacent bus stop or lorry park. On any number of occasions, I watched them jump atop an arriving bus and begin offloading before the bus had even come to a stop. They toss the pockets and boxes of fruits and vegetables to their colleagues, and then proceed to sell the commodities before the farmer has even alighted from the bus.

7. Competition. The physical location of marketplaces, the

---

[9] A similar phenomenon was observed in the highland markets of Bolivia, especially in the La Paz market where:

> farm people dismounting from lorries in the area of the main wholesale and retail markets of La Paz are often seized by wholesalers or retailers and forced to sell their goods at a low price (Preston 1978:118).

consumer need to purchase fresh produce provisions daily and the urban contextual need for women to generate income all contribute to the proliferation of vendors throughout the high density suburbs. Although new marketsites were constructed over the past decade, and more will be built in the low density areas in the near future, problems have arisen with the number of stalls designed. There are two sides to this argument.

On the one hand, the Municipality has responded, in part, to the expressed need of many women for stalls. In some cases, as many as 105 stalls were constructed at one site. On the other hand, it is extremely difficult for that many women to generate an adequate income when each sells, more or less, the same type of commodities. Desire on the part of municipal planners to design and construct markets adjacent to shopping centers (see Mpofu 1979) has prevented them from seeing how uneconomic such designs are for the women who operate their businesses from them. While it may be economic to construct one, centralized marketplace, it is very inefficient from the perspective of the vendor.

Conclusions

Both the production that feeds the marketing channels and the bifurcation of the marketing system itself impose limitations on the incomes that can be generated by African retail vendors. As discussed above for tomatoes and green, leafy vegetables, the dual system brings certain commodities into one sector, with the remainder entering the other. The urban transportation system also impinges upon the accessibility of commodities. Variable pricing between

formal and informal wholesale markets leaves women in a quandry as to whether to buy a limited number of commodities at a lower price from a formal sector wholesaler, or whether to buy a larger number of commodities, perhaps at a higher price, from the informal wholesale market. If the latter is chosen, then women must overcome the problem of makoronyera who would cheat them. And when women return to their respective marketsites to sell, they must compete with their colleagues for customers. Women who wish to enter or continue in this trade as an income generating activity must therefore cope with a number of structural obstacles inherent in the system itself.

Women must also cope with the barriers to entry imposed upon them by virtue of the limited number of "legal" spaces available to them. Shortly before my departure, the Herald reported that the national political party, ZANU, also had something to do with women getting a place in the market. In a brief informal investigation of this assertion, I found in one marketplace all the women who had agreed to become ZANU members were allocated stalls, while the remainder who had been selling there for many years who did not agree to become members were forced out of the market. I found them selling "illegally" on an adjacent street.

Women themselves set up barriers to entry for other women. At one marketsite in the low density suburbs I asked the women what they would do if others came along and wanted to join them. I was frankly told "We would chase them away. We are already too many here." This complaint echoed throughout the conduct of this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

Women, Migration, Making Sense of the City and Fresh Produce Marketing

Introduction

This chapter explores the individual experiences of market women found selling fresh produce throughout Greater Harare. By expanding on the several themes introduced in previous chapters, several sub-themes are considered: language, birthplace and ethnicity of vendors; growing up in Zimbabwe; marriage; migration to Harare; family life and children; linkages to rural kin; widowhood, divorce and remarriage; making economic sense of the city; "formal" and "informal" sector employment; establishing the fresh produce businesses; and doing business.

Language, Birthplace and Ethnicity

Shona speakers can be found throughout Zimbabwe, but they reside primarily in the northern two-thirds of the country. For the 325 women interviewed, 82 birth places were identified. While the preponderance of vendors were born in Zimbabwe, 6.2% (20) came from Malawi, 5.2% (17) from Mozambique, and 1.2% (4) from Zambia. Of the remaining 87.4%, 14.15% (46) were born in Harare. Thus, almost 74% of the population surveyed originated in rural Zimbabwe.

Ethnicity is largely related to the area in which one is born. Table 4.1 illustrates the percentage and number of vendors who reported their native language as either a variant of Shona or Ndebele. The remaining 58 respondents indicated their mother tongue

TABLE 4.1

Distribution of Zimbabwean Languages Spoken by Vendors

Language	% of Vendors	No. of Vendors
Chi-Zezeru	45.8	147
Chi-Ndau	3.1	10
Chi-Karanga	10.3	33
Chi-Manyika	8.1	26
Chi-Ungwe	3.4	11
Chi-Toko/ Chi-Budya	5.9	19
Chi-Korekore	4.0	13
Sindebele	1.2	4

is a language spoken in Malawi (Chi-Nyanja or Chi-chewa), Zambia, or Mozambique.

Languages spoken are closely related to home areas of origin. For instance, those who speak Chi-Toko/Chi-Budya are found in the Mutoko environs and are culturally distinct from those who speak Chi-Manyika in the Eastern Highlands and those who speak Chi-Ndau in the Sabi Valley region. Sindebele speakers are found largely in the Bulawayo region and in the southwest quadrant of the country. Each of these groups has a different history of occupying Zimbabwe, and different cultural traditions.[1]

The language bringing these culture groups together in the marketplace is that spoken in the Harare environs, Chi-Zezeru. Until a customer establishes his/her origin through language in a purchasing transaction, the vendors use Chi-Zezuru. If a customer is known as coming from the same home area as the vendor, then the

---

[1] For an analysis of various cultural traditions represented in Zimbabwe, see Beach 1980; see, also, Bourdillon (1976) and Lan (1985) for cultural background of the VaKorekore people, and Ranger (1985) for an analysis of people who speak ChiUngwe in the Rusape area.

mother tongue is used.

Growing Up in Zimbabwe

As vendors were growing up, going to school was an important way in which parents invested in the future. Where possible, girls as well as boys were sent to school, but, in one vendor's estimation, educating boys seemed more important.

> Long back, only boys went to school. If a woman was educated it was only to teach her how to write. Boys are more educated. Only men were working long back, so the boys were sent to school so they could get work. Girls didn't know they could also benefit from going to school. It was always thought that only boys could take care of their parents. The girls were sent to herd cattle so the boys could go to school.

Family finances seemed to be the overriding problem in sending children to school. As one vendor, whose parents had been working on a tea estate, reported:

> None of us went to school because there was no money. My parents were farmers at Chipinge on the Jersey Tea Estate past Mt. Selinda. They just weren't paid enough to send us to school.

Although some 18.8% (60) of vendors never went to school, 63.4% had achieved between grade one and grade seven, while almost 18% had had some secondary education. The preponderance of vendors without education are either older (over 40) or come from Mozambique or Malawi where fewer educational opportunities existed.

From comments elicited, it appears women born in rural areas might have received some formal schooling, but not as much as males. Of the 238 vendor spouses, 18.9% had not been to school, 48.7% had received between grade one and grade seven education, and 32.4% had achieved some secondary education. In comparing percentages, there

is a parallel between men and women who did not attend school, but differences emerge in the number of years they attended. Men appear to have been in school several more years than women.

Vendors were socialized into the world of women's work. They learned from their mothers not only their domestic chores, but also how to grow garden and field crops. They learned, in helping their mothers to produce food crops, that their responsibilities in their families of creation would be similar. Moreover, the women learned their acceptance into their husbands' families of origin is measured in terms of their own ability to grow food to provision their families. As women would marry, they would be allocated a well-watered plot on which to grow vegetables, the abundant harvests from which would stand as a measure of spiritual acceptance into their husbands' patrilineages. If such harvests were not forthcoming, then divination by a nganga might occur with subsequent gifts being offered to the vadzimu (family ancestors) to pray for a second chance.

Another skill women acquired as they grew up was how to brew beer. Beer served both an economic and a ritual function. When the community had to be activated to help at peak agricultural times, a work party would be called--kushandira pamwe--generally by a male head of household. While a certain willingness on the part of neighbors to participate was in evidence, the promise of good beer and/or a good meal as payment for the day's labor acted as a further incentive.

Ritually, women are required to brew beer for many ritual

celebrations, including the kurova guva (bringing the spirit home) ceremony about a year after the death of a family member. The aroma of the beer, the active gathering of people, and the rituals performed collectively woo the spirit home to care for the living members of the family.

Marriage

As vendors grew up, they also learned that when they married, they would have to move from their parents' homes to that of their husbands. The groom's tete (father's sister) was especially important as her task was to socialize the new bride into particularistics of the groom's patrilineage, and to physically bring the bride to her new husband on their wedding night.

Marrying required the payment of lobola or roora[2]--bridewealth. Amounts varied according to whether the young woman had been educated and for how many years, and/or whether the woman came from a "good" family in which people were known to be honest, hard-working, and not tainted by any spirit possession. Additionally, the ability of the negotiators helped determine the "price" a groom's family was to pay for his and their patrilineage's rights over any ensuing children.

While lobola is being contested rigorously by many of Harare's educated women, of the 281 vendors who reported once having been married, only 28% indicated that their husbands had finished paying lobola. This means, technically, that any children ensuing from the remaining 72% of the marriages "belong" to the wife. Husbands/

---

[2] Lobola is the term for bridewealth in Sindebele, while roora is the term in Shona. For reasons I was unable to discern, lobola is the term generally used, even by Shona speakers.

fathers have full rights over their children only once lobola payments have been completed.

One vendor argued very strongly that lobola is good:

> When a woman gives birth it will be her husband who pays for school. Lobola is the first indication of responsibility. Lobola is responsibility and authority over the rights of the child.

While this is the ideal in lobola exchange, Chapter Five considers whether this is the case among vendors in Harare.

Marriages take different forms, among which are chipare and kutizisa. Chipare is the practice of two sisters marrying the same man. Such a marriage might take place if: the sisters' parents are financially unable to support them; a younger sister is desired when the elder has not yet been married; or two wives are desired to help with the farm.

> I was married together with my elder sister and I had problems with her. My parents forced me to go and stay with my sister because her husband was helping my father with everything. My husband thanked my father a lot and gave him $30 more, not a part of lobola, but thanks only. My sister was told to go home and plow, but she started screaming saying "I can't leave you staying with my husband; better you go home and plow because you are young."

Inherent in the elder sister's behavior is her belief that her sister, as the younger of the two, would not be abandoned if she were to go "home" and plow, implying that the elder would be forgotten once she was in the rural areas.

Among the vendors the incidence of kutiza marriages (the groom "kidnaps" the bride and pays "damages" to the bride's parents afterwards) is relatively high, especially among the younger, more educated women. Men pay "damages," in lieu of lobola, which are

invariably lower than the amounts required in marital prestations. However, sometimes not even kutiza is required:

> I can't get money to educate my children. If I get someone to marry me and help me with the children, I could like it. This time, my young sisters are helping me with school fees and all other things I need. This time I don't want to have a child--only a boyfriend. Finally, I have someone to give my problems to. I don't want to be given laws by someone. I have one looking after me now. He gives me $10 after two or three weeks. He comes home every day, so we nearly stay together. This man is known by my brother and they give me permission to sleep with him.

In this instance, the woman had already been divorced from the father of her children. Knowing that she is unlikely to find a man who will take on the financial responsibility of her children, or someone who would actually pay lobola to her father, she accepted the next best thing--someone who will live with her, listen to her problems and help her solve them, and who will also give her some financial support.

Vendors who spoke about polygamy did not favor the institution, perhaps because of the complicated economics of running two households in the city. Others related their fears ensuing from such marriages:

> This other wife uses a lot of magic. She once wanted to kill me. After I left home being sick, I had three operations. We never stayed properly with that lady. I also left my property there. I am ever scared to go and take my things. My husband knows that his second wife uses magic. My husband was also given medicines so he really doesn't know what to do.

The "medicines" to which this vendor refers are powerful herbs, or "magic," put into the husband's food to make sure the man thinks only of the woman who gave him the "teaspoonful."

Housing also acts as a deterrant to polygamy:

> My husband is trying to chase me as he took another wife, but we got the house together and government won't let them chase me.

When a man applies for housing from the Harare City Council, his wife's name must appear on the application. If the couple subsequently divorces, the woman is entitled to remain living in the house as much as her husband. Who ultimately remains in the house is now a matter for the courts to decide.

Migration to Harare

Most women (63%) reported having come to Harare after they were married. The women reported migrating to Harare beginning as early as 1939. Of the 270 vendors who said they had been migrants, Table 4.2 presents a summary of when vendors left their homes for Harare.

TABLE 4.2*

Vendor Migration to Harare

Time Period	Percentage	Number
1939	1.2	3
1940-1949	3.0	8
1950-1959	11.1	30
1960-1969	24.5	66
1970-1979	30.4	81
1980-1985	16.0	43
1986	14.1	38

*Source: interview schedules.

The preponderance of vendors (68.9%) reported having moved from their places of birth only once--after marriage--coming directly to

Harare.[3] Another 23.9% said they had made a prior move, most of whom had gone to their husbands' homesteads at marriage. The remaining 7.2% have moved several times, for the following reasons: parents were moved from their homestead "during Hitler's war;" "the land was not fertile, so we had to find a place to plow;" "my father lost his job so we had to move;" "the white farmer sold the place my parents were working on;" "to run away from the war;" and to migrate to a number of other, smaller urban centers to look for work.

The women who came to Harare on their own looking for work (17.6% of 273) said they migrated for a number of reasons: "I ran away from the war;" "my husband died, so I came here with the children;" "I didn't like living in the rural areas any more, so I ran away;" and "I just knew there was a better life for me in the city."

Once in the city, the women reported linking with a number of relatives and/or friends. Since finding accommodation has been and still is highly problematic, migrants usually resided with kin when first arriving. A significant portion of vendor spouses (34%) who migrated first, however, resided in hostels or found some sort of lodging. Women, when they migrated, either joined their husbands at whatever accommodation they had found (55.3%), or stayed with relatives. Only .7% said they found lodging, and 1.7% said they had

---

[3] Drakakis-Smith and Kivell (1988:21), in their study of Mabelreign, Glen View and Epworth, reported that about half of their population interviewed had "moved in directly from village or rural settlement . . ., whilst another 40 per cent moved directly to Harare from a small town, missing out the larger intermediary settlements, such as Mutare or Bulawayo."

nobody to stay with.

While accommodation for Africans has long been a problem (see Chapter Two for the historical development of this problem), vendors reported having lived in the same place in Harare between one and forty-seven years, with a mean of 11.6. Interestingly, the mean falls directly on the year when guerrilla activites heightened in the rural areas during the liberation struggle.

Family Life and Children

Family size in relation to type of housing available has presented problems of finding urban accommodation. Table 4.3 presents the number of children vendors have. When I asked vendors how many of their children were still living with them, they reported a range between one and ten. Table 4.4 illustrates the population of children in vendor households.

TABLE 4.3*

Vendor Fertility Expressed in Number of Children Alive

No. of Children	% of Vendors	No. of Vendors
0	3.1	10
1	8.7	28
2	10.3	33
3	14.7	47
4	14.1	45
5	9.1	29
6	16.2	52
7	13.4	43
8	5.3	17
9	3.4	11
10	.9	3
12	.3	1
14	.3	1

* Source: interview schedules.

TABLE 4.4*

Number of Children Living with Vendor-Parents

No. of Children	% of Vendor-Parents	No. of Vendor-Parents
0	10.5	33
1	15.3	48
2	16.6	52
3	13.4	42
4	15.7	49
5	11.5	36
6	8.3	26
7	5.8	18
8	1.9	6
9	.6	2
10	.3	1

*Source: interview schedules.

Urban households are not comprised solely of members of a nuclear family, however. When vendors were queried on whether other people lived in their households, 47.3% responded positively. When asked how many other people lived with vendors, the response ranged between one and twenty-three. Table 4.5 illustrates the distribution of other people in vendor households as a portion of the percentage of households with additional members.

Summarizing this data, vendor households are occupied, generally speaking, by vendor, her spouse, a mean of 4.6 children and a mean of 3.7 other people, for a total mean household size of 10.3.[4]

When I asked who the additional residents in vendor households

[4] This mean is much higher than that reported by the Census. It is possible that vendors more freely reported the number of people living in their housholds to me than to the Census takers. This, in turn, could be a reflection of certain lodging regulations that are supposed to limit the number of people who can be domiciled as a lodger.

TABLE 4.5*

Distribution of Other Residents in Vendor Households

No. of Residents	% of Vendor Households	No. of Vendor Households
1	19.1	62
2	11.4	37
3	5.8	19
4	3.7	12
5	2.5	8
6	1.2	4
7	.9	3
8	.9	3
9	.3	1
10	.3	1
11	.9	3
17	.3	1
23	.3	1

*Source: interview schedules.

are, I was overwhelmed with the 71 different responses given. Some 23 categories of kin living with vendors are derived through the husband's kin, 35 through vendor's kin, and 11 through vendors and their spouses. Two others reported that lodgers and domestic workers are also included in this category.

The presence of so many kin living in the same urban household gives rise to a number of questions anomalous to several assertions in the Zimbabwean literature: that roots to the rural homeland are always maintained; and that urban households are proportionately smaller than those in the rural areas due largely to economics and the size of housing available.

Linkages to rural kin appear tenuous if the parents of both vendor and her spouse are living with them in Harare. Where husbands' fathers remain in the rural areas, sons can always return

to the patrilineal homestead with their families. If the farm has been relinquished, however, there is no rural homestead to return to.

Linkages to Rural Kin

A portion of vendors indicated that certain members of their families still lived in the rural areas. When I asked vendors whether either or both of their parents were still living, 72% responded that at least one parent was still alive. A similar question was asked of vendor spouses' parents, to which 45.2% responded either one or both parents were still living. When asked where parents resided, 19% of vendor parents and 12.5% of vendor spouse parents reportedly reside in one of the Harare suburbs. Of the remaining mothers and fathers, 6% of vendor parents live either in Malawi, Mozambique or Zambia, while 17.4% of spouse parents reside in these countries. Other parents reportedly reside in approximately 62 different rural locations. The link between these rural families and vendors is maintained in several ways: visitation of rural family members to urban vendors; urban vendor family visitation to rural homesteads; remittances; and maintenance of rural land holdings.

One of the last questions I asked vendors was whether kin come from the rural areas to visit. In response, 74.8% indicated relatives come at least once a year, if not twice: on Christmas or on Easter. Again, the range of kin represented in responses was very broad, although visitation appeared to favor vendor parents or siblings. Some 34 different responses including one or more of vendor parents were given, 18 related to vendor siblings and their

offspring, 18 related through vendor spouses, and the remainder are related through vendor parents of either side.

Believing that vendors might gain access to fresh produce grown in the rural areas to sell in their stalls via gifts from their kin, I asked whether relations brought food for vendors grown on the farm: 31.7% of vendors replied they did. I was informed, however, that food brought by relatives must be eaten in the home and not taken to the stall to sell. It would be in very poor taste to sell a gift. Green mealies (fresh maize cobs) and home-ground maize were the dominant gifts, with fresh-ground peanut butter, nyimo, groundnuts, and seasonal fruits coming in a close second. All together, relatives reportedly brought at least 25 different foods, in family-size portions, to be eaten by vendor household members.

Vendor family members also go to the rural areas to visit and attend ritual celebrations, including funerals. Of the total population, 80.3% of vendors reported they go home to the rural areas anywhere between once a month and once every two years. Table 4.6 illustrates the frequency of vendor visitation to rural kin.

Whether a vendor visits her rural kin is partially determined by the distance between Harare and the rural homestead and the cost of transport. The cost of transport, I was informed, is a limiting factor in determining who and how many of vendor's family accompany

TABLE 4.6*

Frequency of Vendor Visitation to Rural Kin

Frequency of Visit	% of Vendors	No. of Vendors
once a year	25.5	83
twice a year	16.6	54
three times a year	16.0	52
four times a year	6.8	22
once a month	7.7	25
once every two years	.3	1
once every four years	.3	1
funerals only	.3	1

*Source: interview schedules.

her on her journey. Table 4.7 illustrates cost of transport "home."

TABLE 4.7*

Amounts Vendor Pays for Transport "Home"

Z$ Amounts	% of Vendors (n=259)	No. of Vendors
under $1	2.7	7
$1 - $1.99	6.9	18
$2 - $2.99	12.0	31
$3 - $3.99	11.2	29
$4 - $4.99	8.9	23
$5 - $5.99	10.8	28
$6 - $6.99	8.9	23
$7 - $7.99	8.5	22
$8 - $8.99	3.1	8
$9 - $9.99	3.9	10
$10 -$10.99	5.0	13
$11 -$11.99	2.7	7
$12 -$12.99	2.7	7
$13 -$13.99	1.5	4
$14 -$14.99	1.9	5
$15 -$15.99	3.1	8
$16 -$16.99	.8	2
$18	.8	2
above $20	4.6	12

*Source: interview schedules.

While vendors reported going home mainly during the Christmas holidays, many women said they returned to their parents' rural homes at the time of plowing. Sometimes this coincides with Christmas break, if the rains are late, but usually this occurs during October/November.

Another means vendors use to stay in touch with their rural kin is through cash remittances. Similar to the practices asserted for men when they migrate, vendors who generate their own incomes remit certain portions to help rural kin. I asked vendors twice what amounts they remitted: once in the context of asking about family expenditures, and once in the context of "other" annual financial outlays. In response to the first inquiry, the mean monthly remittance for 157 vendors was $21.52, with a range between $2 and $200. The second inquiry yielded a mean annual remittance for 149 vendors of $87.53, with a range between $4 and $600.[5] Rural families are said to use this financial input to maintain the farm and/or support schoolchildren.

While I have no hard evidence on this point, in informally interviewing vendors I found that the probability of remitting consistently is related to whether a vendor has sent a child to her relatives to be raised in the rural areas. This could be a consequence of being divorced, widowed, or simply not having enough

---

[5] Clearly, these figures do not concur. It is most likely that reporting error is in evidence here. It is probable that vendors could report a monthly figure for remittance but, owing to memory and inability to calculate, many misrepresented the amounts they remit annually.

money to raise children in the city.

While it was assumed that men who migrated for work simultaneously kept one foot in the rural areas, the passage of the 1951 Land Husbandry Act was designed to end the dual basis for economic livelihood. If men were registered as urban dwellers, they would not be able to have land in the rural areas. While the Act was never fully implemented, I explored the issue of rural land ownership (or rights of usufruct under traditional tenure) with the vendors. Out of the 325 vendors interviewed, only 23 (7.1%) said their husbands had been allocated a plot. When I probed further, trying to determine whether what was grown on their own land at home ultimately was sold at their stalls and tables, I was informed by 20 of the vendors that the land no longer belonged to them because they do not cultivate it. Of the three remaining, problems of labor and water prevented them from using it effectively. Thus, if women return "home" periodically to cultivate, it is to their relatives' farms rather than to their own.

Widowhood, Divorce and Remarriage

When families are divided through widowhood or divorce, women can be left in economic peril. Repeatedly related to me was the practice of a dead husband's kin coming to claim the family assets after the funeral, leaving the widow destitute. In earlier times, I was told, the woman's in-laws would also take the children, if the lobola had been paid. Nowadays, however, assets may be taken, but children are not. Women said the high cost of sending children to school was the main reason children were left with their mothers: the in-laws did not want the additional financial responsibility.

> They [in-laws] told me to go back to my parents, and they gave me money equal to the bus fare only. They even took the bank book. The one who conducted the funeral wanted to take over [kugarwa nhaka], but his wife refused. She shouted very strong. But I really wanted to stay there because they told me that I was going to leave my child with them.

Kugarwa Nhaka is the practice of levirate marriage among Shona speakers. It was common practice in the rural areas for a widow to be taken, as either a second or third wife, by her dead husband's brother. I was informed that such a practice prevented embarrassment on the part of the widow's parents because, technically, the lobola would have to be returned if the husband died. This was especially the case if the woman was still relatively young at the time of her husband's death. Since marriage was a preferred state of being, such a woman could marry again and command another lobola. Thus, the first one had either to be returned or used in the marriage of the widow to her husband's brother.

Vendors reported how this practice has given rise to a number of problems:

> I am staying with my dead husband's younger brother, but he is also married. He is a painter. My "brother" is very economic—he doesn't want to pump out money. Since my husband died, my husband's relatives couldn't even come to look for me and couldn't buy these children some clothes. Within some days of his death, they brewed beer for the funeral. After that they wanted to take over and they all wanted me to be their wife. And they started to fight. My husband's brother is the one who was serious about taking over. The elder one said "you can't because you didn't do anything during brother's illness". My father said "you did not pay lobola and you want to take over. Who is going to pay the lobola?" Nobody answered. Then my father said "I am taking my child home. She can't suffer in my presence." I was given two acres to plow by my husband's father, but I refused because the soil was very bad.

> The main problem now is my husband's wife. She is now refusing to keep my children, saying she has plenty of relations who are suffering and nobody is looking after them. I can't kill myself, but I'm not supposed to be here on earth. I've been treated like a small mad boy.

A vendor to whom kugarwa nhaka was imposed reported as follows:

> I refused to be married by my husband's young brother, so he just moved into our house for free. Instead of taking me, he tried to take over the house.

Another vendor linked nhaka with economics:

> After my husband died and I refused nhaka, my husband's brothers took all the furniture and cattle saying that they wanted to keep the cattle for his sons when they grow up. They did not take the sons. They didn't even give my children the cattle when they grew up.

It would appear that this practice was once valued more in the rural areas than it is now in the city. A period when women were pressured into complying with this practice, according to the vendors, was during the liberation war when many men died:

> After my husband died, his brothers wanted kugarwa nhaka, but I refused. That's when my troubles started. They reported me to the freedome fighters saying that I was having affairs with the Rhodesian soldiers. That's when I ran away.

Probably the most important issue in extending this practice into the city concerns whether or not lobola has been paid to the wife's family. As women create the means to be self-supporting, they refuse nhaka on the basis that they will be discriminated against in the husband's brother's household, especially if he already has a wife. Rather than put up with the difficulties of two wives in one household, widows opt to remain alone and struggle along as best they can.

The proportion of vendors who had been widowed is 13.4%, with

women having been in this state between 1 and 35 years. I asked the women what kind of help they received after their husbands passed away. Of those widowed, 35% reported that nothing was done to help them. Some (17.5%) were given money, but many indicated that in-laws confiscated furniture, cattle, children, and other assets. Interestingly, 83.3% reported that the lobola was not asked to be returned. Perhaps this is linked to two factors: that lobola payments had never been completed; or that the children of the marriage were not taken by the in-laws.

Divorce can also leave women in economic straits. The percentage of women who reported having been divorced is 17.9%. Vendors had been divorced for between 1 and 32 years. Of these, 4.3% indicated they had remarried. Some of the reasons given for divorce include: "I could not have any children;" "I gave birth to girls only;" "he had too many girlfriends;" "I was accused of being possessed by vadzimu;" and "he got drunk and beat me so my parents took me away."

It is common practice, I was informed, that when a man divorces his wife he takes with him many of the household assets. If the couple were living in Harare, a man might bring his new wife to the household, essentially forcing out the first wife. If a husband demands that his children remain with him, the new wife might make life very miserable for the youngsters:

> When I went to look for my father in Harare, I found him living with a new wife. My mother didn't even know he had taken another wife. I told him I wanted to say with him so I could continue my secondary schooling. He agreed. But after a few months, I started getting very bad stomach pains. I had to go back to Masvingo to my

> mother. While there, the pains stopped, so I went back to Harare. The pains started again. After some time I realized my father's new wife was trying to poison me because she didn't want me around. She wanted everything for her children.

Because of the problems mothers feel their children will encounter when staying with their fathers' new family, and because of husbands not having finished paying lobola, 61.4% of the divorced vendors reported keeping the children; 18.2% reported that their husbands took the children (in the remaining cases, custody was shared). In some of these latter instances, women reported never seeing their children again until it was time for them to marry.

Similar to information reported on the disposition of lobola after being widowed, 83.7% of divorced women said nothing happened, and 8.2% said the in-laws asked for it back. Of the majority, women said since many of their husbands had not finished paying, they really did not have a right to ask for that portion that had been paid to be returned.

Since so many women are left destitute from widowhood or divorce, I asked these women whether they tried to go back "home" to the rural areas to get assistance. Of a total population of 88, 67% reported they did. The 33% who did not reported some 43 reasons why they did not want to return. Some of these include: "I had nowhere to live; my parents were dead;" "nobody in the rural areas could support me and my children;" "I wanted to keep my children, which I couldn't do if I went home because my husband would have taken them;" "my husband wouldn't have supported me if I went home; besides the kids are used to living in the city;" and "my parents were going to

force me to go as a second wife to my sister's husband, and I didn't want that."

The upset caused by death and divorce left women with choices. For the most part, either they did not want to/could not return to their parents' rural homes or they went "home" and ultimately returned to Harare. In the city, they had to learn to cope as single parents with the problems of finances, housing, schooling, and provisioning for their families. As reported above, several women sought another husband and remarried. Remarriage, however, did not necessarily resolve their financial burdens.

When ascertaining family expenditure information, one woman who was divorced and remarried took the trouble to explain to me why her position with her new husband was not economically secure:

> After I divorced my first husband, I stayed with my children at my parents' home here in Harare. After some time, I met and married my husband. He took me to his parents' home, also in Harare, and we stay with them. Unfortunately, there was no room for my three children in my husband's house, so they stayed with my parents.
>
> I can't really tell you much about household expenses. Until this day I don't know how much my husband pays for rent, because he gives it to his mother every month. Also, since the birth of our daughter, he refuses to pay anything to support my other children. I have just received a letter saying that they are going to attach my first husband's salary so my children can have a better life. But until they start sending me the money, I have to keep selling vegetables so my children can go to school.

It would appear the complex problems of divorce and widowhood, linked to changes in lobola practices have left children the real victims of social change. It is unclear to me whether the problems are the same in the rural areas, or whether they are exacerbated as a

consequence of city life; further empirical research in future should enhance our understanding of this phenomenon.

Making Economic Sense of the City

One of the most difficult problems for women--whether married, divorced, widowed or single--generated by city life is the need for cash on a daily basis. In informal interviews, many women said they had thought living in the city would be easier than living in the country. Physically, they said it was, because they did not have to work in the fields, draw water or gather firewood. However, they were "troubled" by how much everything costs--accommodation, food, water, transport, etc. Moreover, many were disturbed at what they saw happening to their husbands and their families. Too often husbands would take their salaries directly to the Municipal beer hall and drink away money required for household expenses. Many women also told me of their husbands' wandering eyes, and how salaries were spent on other women. While 90.1% of respondents indicated their husbands were living with them at the time of the interview, this has not always been the case for some. Women were concerned about the steadfastness and reliability of the relationship and felt, as mothers, that they must take a more pro-active position to ensure the incomes necessary to cover household expenditures.

Vendors also felt incomes generated by their husbands were not really adequate. Since occupations of many spouses largely fall into the "unskilled" category, their income levels were reportedly very low. While incomes have increased over the years, especially since independence and the passage of minimum wage legislation, women still

feel their husbands' earnings do not adequately meet urban costs of living. When they first migrated to Harare, as now, women felt the need to contribute economically to the urban houshold.

When I asked women what they did when they first came to Harare, 60.5% said they stayed at home taking care of children (either their own or those of a relative), or just occupied themselves with domestic activities. The remaining found it necessary to establish almost immediately some means of generating an income. Approximately 10% said they looked for work in the "formal," salaried sector either in factories, tobacconeers, hospitals, schools, and the like. Some 15% looked for work as domestics, while the remaining 15% went directly into the "informal" marketing sector selling a number of commodities out of their homes, door-to-door, or from streetside tables.

In families where husbands were working and receiving a relatively "comfortable" salary, I was interested in finding out why these women felt they also had to generate an income. The responses to informal questioning on this issue fell into two categories: husbands do not adequately share what they earn; or "women just can't stay at home."

The latter response led me to probe deeper and to expand the questioning to women whose husbands were not earning enough or were not working at all. A similar response was given. The notion of women not working was not acceptable. In the rural areas, they worked on a constant basis either in the fields, in their gardens, in domestic activites, fetching water, and fetching wood. The constancy

of the demands made on their time meant there was little structural leisure time.

For men, whose labor in Shona agricultural communities is somewhat sporadic, periods when their labor was not required left them free to embark upon other ventures. In pre-colonial times, this might have included long-range gold trading expeditions. During the colonial phase, men might have migrated to the mines as target laborers to earn tax money. In the city, this time might be shortened to weekend social or drinking activities with friends.

What is important in this discussion is what the women themselves told me about their work. An illustration of this work ethic guiding the way women spend their time is a song the vendors sang for me after completing a week of interviewing: Shandira! Hapana chinouya chega! "Work! Nothing comes without it!" This is not only the name of the song, but also the repeated refrain following the individual verses/phrases identifying the individual tasks that women must accomplish throughout the day. While I am unaware of such a song for men, although no doubt they have their corollary, that women identified this as their song raises a number of issues about how women view their economic activities, how their contributions are made in the rural and urban areas, and how they resolve any conflicts arising out of the multiplicity of tasks they must perform wherever they are.

In sum, women who either did not receive adequate contributions from their spouses, or women who had no spouses from whom to receive a contribution, felt the need to be economically active in Harare.

But their activities cannot be linked solely to the particular financial situations in which they found themselves: the underlying work ethic of women, as evidenced in their work song, also played a role in moving them out of their homes and into the workplace.

"Formal" and "Informal" Sector Income Generation

The workplace, as noted above, might have been another person's home (most likely a white family), an institutional or business setting, or an "informal market." Depending on the age of the women when they arrived in Harare, and their position in the life cycle, their educational levels, and the employment opportunity structures open to them, women found they had to balance their domestic with their income generating activities. For women who had no small children to care for, "formal" sector employment was possible. Women who had received an education sufficient to speak and/or understand English might have opted to find domestic employment, if childcare did not conflict. Those who had the abilty to read and write in English might have been employed in institutional or business settings where such skills were required, again if childcare did not present a problem. All these activities would have been possible had the opportunities been open to women, but colonially-generated biases against hiring women mitigated their chances.

As the data presented in Chapter Six indicate, as the population of women rose in Harare, there was no corollary rise in employment. Their salaried assistance was generally sought on a casual basis--such as when the tobacco crop came in and had to be sorted before going to the auction floor. Because women were

perceived by white employers as being "home on the farm,"[6] no real provision was made for their participation in formal urban employment. If women did come to town permanently and if they did want to work, whites assumed African women would just hire themselves out as domestics.

It would appear that this was the accepted practice for a large number of vendors when they first came to Harare and looked for work: 67.6% of 108 vendors initially sought employment as domestics. Some 17.6%, however, sought and found salaried employment in clothing factories, nursery schools, hospitals (cleaning and cooking), hotels (cleaning), and, for the more educated, as teachers, receptionists, shop girls, and in bottle stores.

The job categories open for women with an education were and are still very limited. The number of women who have received secondary school education and who cannot find jobs is greater than that for males, as supported by the documentation in Chapter Six. The formal economy, in any event, has been unable to generate the number of jobs needed to match the increasing numbers of young people graduating from secondary schools.

Establishing the Fresh Produce Business

Where "formal" sector employment opportunities were not available to women, or were not compatible with childcare, women

---

[6] Even the pattern of accommodation attested to this assumption. Up to the 1960s, primarily dormitory housing was provided for male African labor migrants to Harare (see Chapter Two for a further discussion of this point). Since that time, however, more family housing has been constructed, some for rental from the City Council and some for freehold.

opted to establish "informal" enterprises. These included selling second-hand clothes, taking in laundry, at-home dressmaking, at-home crocheting and/or knitting, and selling fresh produce. While each of these activities require an initial amount of working capital to start, my questions to the vendors concerned the initial investment for the vending enterprise.

When I asked whether vendors had any assistance financially with their first purchases from the wholesalers, 74.8% of all vendors said they did. Of these, 69.1% indicated their husbands had provided them funds to make their initial purchases. Of the remaining 30.9%, 8.2% had been helped by a sister or brother, another 7.8% had been helped by either one or both of their parents, while others reported receiving initial assistance from a variety of kin including husband's brother, mother's sister, father's sister, and the woman's children.

Those who did not receive any assistance, 23.4% of the total population interviewed, said they relied upon their own resources to get started. These resources emanated from other income generating activities that might have included salaried employment.

In an effort to determine the importance of the fresh produce vending enterprise as a category of work, I asked the women whether vending constituted their "main work." While 96% indicated it was, when I asked if they identified themselves with work other than that of vending, the remaining 4% (n=13) indicated they saw themselves primarily as domestics, clothes saleswomen, dressmakers, and crocheters. I then asked whether vendors had ever (in the past) sold

vegetables and simultaneously done something else to earn money: 16.3% indicated they had. Selling second-hand clothes and crocheting constituted 4.9% and 3.4%, respectively, of these activities, while others included knitting, dressmaking, making cushions and operating a shebeen (house where home-made beer is sold).

Following this question, I asked whether vendors are currently earning incomes in other ways. Only 8.9% of the population responded affirmatively, indicating they sell clothing (2.2%), crochet (1.2%), sew dresses, take in lodgers, and help their husbands run a tuckshop (a small kiosk selling manufactured goods or processed foods).

The marketplace affords women the opportunity to build a clientele in used clothing and the time to crochet doilies, tablecloths, and the like while awaiting customers. Slack time occurring between the mid-day meal rush hour and the evening when people came home from work gives women the opportunity to perform these extra activities.

Women in South Africa generate an income from brewing and selling beer. While only one vendor interviewed in Zimbabwe freely admitted to this activity, I decided to ask directly whether brewing beer was an income generating alternative for any vendors. For the past, 6.8% of vendors indicated they had, while for the present only 1.8% said they did. Of these six women, only one indicated it was really profitable (she said she took in some $240 per month), while the others asserted brewing wasn't really worth their time. One was quick to recognize that she perhaps had revealed something of herself she ultimately did not want known and added, "of course, the beer I

brew is for funerals."

Given that proportionately few vendors earn supplementary incomes, it is not a surprise that 73.6% of the population declared that selling vegetables is better than any other work. The indication that something is amiss in the opportunities for other employment can be found in the 26.4% who indicated other work is better. When I asked why or why not, some 48 different responses were elicited. Sixteen of these related directly to the positive aspects of the incomes women receive from the enterprise, six related to their inability to find work elsewhere owing to education or conflicts with childcare, and thirteen negatively reflected upon the business. These included the problems with wholesalers, low level of earnings, heavy loads that must be carried, and long hours. Several of the women indicated they would like to find other work, but are unable to do so.

In summary, women who sell fresh produce perceive a need to generate an income, have either tried to find salaried jobs in the "formal" economy or have been so employed and have left because the occupations conflicted with other activities, might have created other income generating opportunities in the "informal" economy, and might still be so engaged, but who settle upon fresh produce vending because it resolves the issue of childcare compatability, provides a relatively consistent income, and allows vendors to provision their families with fresh produce they obtain at wholesale prices.

The Conduct of Business

A bottleneck in the marketing system affecting vendor

businesses is the "buyem-sellem" activities of the makoronyera--defined by the vendors as common thugs who steal crops from farmers and resell what they have stolen at inflated prices. In informally interviewing a vendor's husband, who had just brought his wife and her commodities from the wholesaler to her marketsite in his van, he encapsulated the range of makoronyera activities:

> Many farmers come to sell at Mbare. The makoronyera take the things from the farmer--buy 30 cents, sell 60 cents. Makoronyera really set the prices at Mbare. I help my wife out. I go with her to buy at Mbare and argue with makoronyera.
>
> When trucks come, one makoronyera jumps on the truck and says to the farmer "we want to buy". If women come and want to buy from the farmer, makoronyera chases them away saying the vegetables are his. The farmer wants 30 cents a bundle; makoronyera says 20 cents, and before the money is given to the farmers, makoronyera sells the bundle for 60 cents.
>
> The City Council police just stand around. Makoronyera swear and use bad language. They hit women if they try to persist. Makoronyera are a well organized group. They steal money also, and push women around to get money.

Choosing which wholesaler to go to also presents problems, as discussed in Chapter Three. If the farmers' market or the wholesalers at Mbare Musika do not have the commodities in demand, then a vendor must decide whether or not to spend the money for transport, if she has it, to see if the Independent Market, the National Fruit and Vegetable Marketing Agency, or Wholesaler Fruiterers has what the vendor wants. Moreover, if a vendor's intelligence network informs her that such commodities are available, can she get them at a price that will afford her a "profit" in their resale? It would appear, from the economic analysis presented in

Chapter Five, that only vendors who enjoy higher returns for their labor are those who have the liberty to make the choice to go to an alternative wholesaler. For most vendors, the daily trip to Mbare has to satisfy their demands.

In times of city-wide scarcity, vendors must resort to alternative sources of supply, if there are any. For instance, at the outset of this research, the wholesale cost of tomatoes exceeded $20 per 10 kg. case. Regardless of glut or scarcity, customers seem to have a fixed price in mind for a certain quantity of a given commodity. Thus, the smallest heap of tomatoes must cost 20 cents. Selling the tomatoes for this price, however, would have meant vendors would take a loss. Rather than raising the price, and risking the potential loss of a customer, vendors went out of their way to find a cheaper source of supply. They were willing to take a bus to a U-Pick farm some 20 kms. from the city, pick quantities desired, and transport them back on the bus. Seeing their predicament, I volunteered to take four to the farm, help them pick, and pack as many boxes as we could into my trunk. They were very happy that they would not have to pay transport costs.

In preparation for our expedition, word was sent to the farmer the previous day that several vendors would be there to pick. Upon our arrival, we found that although the message had been transmitted, the farmer was unwilling to set aside a portion of her fields for the women to pick. Consequently, all that remained in the fields were very green tomatoes. While I made it clear that the women were under no obligation whatsoever to purchase the 10 kg. boxes for $12 (not a

very good discount according to the vendors), and that we could search for other farms in the area, the women decided they would pick what they could and set the very green ones aside to ripen. As an epilogue to the story, the following week, when the green tomatoes would have ripened, the price of a 10 kg. box of tomatoes fell to $8.

As we went from one vending site to another, I noticed certain wholesalers coming directly to the markets to sell. This occurred, I learned, when wholesalers had overages from their morning deliveries, and wanted to sell what remained. At times women could buy onions and tomatoes at advantageous prices, but at other times wholesalers would increase their prices arguing that women would not have to pay transport costs to have their purchases delivered.

Transport, as voiced by the vendors, poses the biggest problem both financially and logistically. Bus and "emergency taxi"[7] fares have increased over the years, impinging on amounts vendors use to purchase fruits and vegetables. Logistically, bus routes more or less are derived from the colonial practice of supplying transport to and from the place of work, but not between African residential areas. Thus, some vendors find it necessary to take two buses to the wholesalers at Mbare--one to the industrial area or city center, and another on to Mbare. Of course, this adds to transport expenses. Bus schedules are also a problem. Women feel it is necessary to be at the farmers' market at Mbare when it opens at 5:00 a.m. Few buses are running at that time, and even fewer when it is time for them to

---

[7] These vehicles are Peugeot 404s used as multi-person taxis with definite points of departure and destination.

return as all buses are employed in bringing people from the high density suburbs to town, and not vice versa.

Women must also pay to transport their commodities on whatever conveyance they use. Vendors reported difficulties with bus drivers who would either not accept vendor purchases or would charge vendors exorbitantly for what they carried on the bus.

When taking emergency taxis from Mbare, vendors reported being harrassed by police as many taxi drivers are not licensed:

> When we get transport from Mbare, the police always stop us on the way so we might spend the whole day on the way. On another day, the policeman arrested our emergency taxi driver. They do this whilst there aren't enough buses.

In response to these problems, vendors have sought ways to hire transport regularly. Where 15, 20 or more vendors sell, the possibility of contracting for transport for all has alleviated the transport problem somewhat. While prices paid for delivery of people and goods are set, vendors must all be ready at the same time to board the vehicle with their purchases. This presents other problems of cooperation.

Throughout the city, I observed evidence of cooperation among vendors, but not to the extent that government would like. For instance, when vendors are short of cash preventing them from purchasing a full wholesale quantity, they will "share" with another vendor, and divide what they have jointly purchased either right at Mbare or, if they have "shared" with a neighbor vendor from the same vending site, at the marketsite.

In no instance did we find cooperatives, which the government seeks to increase. Indeed, when I asked vendors whether they had a

cooperative, 11.4% indicated they did. When probed for details, most could not even provide a name (which had to be registered with the Ministry of Cooperatives to be official). A range of responses was recorded to the question, "Why/why not would you belong to a cooperative?" Most vendors were concerned with the disposition of their money. With daily wholesale purchases dependent upon daily intake, women were reluctant to part with any of their funds that would not produce an immediate return.

> If the government tells us to form a cooperative, I will go home to plow beacuse cooperatives don't pay you.

Another vendor had a different view:

> Having a cooperative is like having two wives: one is always lazy and not dependable.

Many had belonged to either one of two cooperatives formerly established for the vendors: M's--12%, and ZWB's--4.3%. Both dissolved when leadership proved irresponsible and untrustworthy:

> Near the Independent Market some women vendors told us there was a man who wanted to help us. We had trouble with the police so we needed some help. We asked around andwere directed to Mr. M's office in Pioneer House. If we joined the cooperative, we were told, he wouldhelp us--the police wouldn't trouble us any more. The women should contribute to the co-op so that they could buy a farm. From the $10 registration fee, a farm would be bought to grow tomatoes. M was to then transport the tomatoes to the women.
>
> The City Council built this <u>musika</u> [market] in November 1983 and we were told to pay them as M was a crook. But M came again for another $10 for a new card when the old one was filled. He came early in 1985 to collect more money. We didn't know he had taken all the money.

The type of cooperation we did find concerning money were revolving credit/savings societies. It appeared two types of societies were in operation: market-wide, and small group. Of the

former, 40.3% of vendors reported they belong, contributing a mean of $2.47 per day (with a range between 25 cents and $10.00). Of the latter, 56.9% of vendors indicated their participation, making a mean daily contribution of $2.67 (with a range of ten cents to $10.00 per day). Membership in these smaller groups (which may spill over to other vendors in other marketplaces) ranged between two and 40, with a mean of 12.5. Participation in such a society, taking the mean daily contribution of $2.67, and a mean membership of 12.5, would yield to each vendor the sum of $33.38 every thirteenth day, or about once every two weeks. The meaning accorded to this extra income is discussed further in Chapters Five and Six.

Cooperation was a difficult element to identify in each of the marketsites. When vendors had to be absent for a few hours, I observed that often a neighbor vendor would sell for her in her absence. But at other times, a vendor some three or four stalls down would take over. When I queried the women on this, I was told "that one cannot be trusted; she uses mushonga [magic]." For this reason, and probably for reasons of lack of trust, when I asked vendors who sells for them when they are away, 36.9% said "another vendor," while 34.2% said one of their children comes to watch the stall; 17.2% indicated no one sold for them.

> I don't know whether they pitch my money when they sell for me during my absence. When they sell for you, the money is less than the heaps you have left over.

One vendor spoke of an ethic of interaction in the marketplace, which appeared to be absent:

> There is a lot of quarrelling here--a non-Christian spirit. They don't want to help each other; they are

> jealous. A person must have self control to be called a human being--"chimunhu"--to be trusted. The war spoiled people. People have not been raised well. People are suspicious--they think things will be taken away from them. If ambuya [his wife] stays to sell, then there is no fighting. If she goes home and leaves our granddaughter here, then we find out how badly people act toward each other.

The issue of "magic" in the marketplace was encountered at almost every site. Vendors would make observations about other vendors, and then say that their business is good anyway because they use "magic":

> No. 2 doesn't have fresh things to sell, but people just buy from her whilst they do not buy from us. I don't even know the kind of magic she has.

Another comment:

> We usually find magic on the tables and in front of the tuck shop. Whey they use magic, I usually fail to get customers, both for vegetables and the tuck shop. Sometimes I become sick. I really fail to get power--loose eyes, and shoulders being heavy as if I am carrying stones.

The perceptions of whose "magic" was stronger were interesting: for Shona women, the mushonga from Bulawayo was very strong; for Ndebele and Manyika women, the mushonga from Mozambique was very strong; and for a variety of others, the mushonga ethnic Indians used was very strong.

In one instance I observed a vendor from Malawi conducting her business. She had been identified by several other vendors as having extremely strong mushonga that she receives often from Malawi. I found that customers are attracted to this woman's stall for several reasons: it is always overflowing with very fresh produce; she is very cordial and has a happy demeanor in the way she treats her

customers; and, most of all, to every customer's purchase she adds a fresh tomato or two to provide an incentive for them to come back to buy from her. From other observations, the suspicion of using mushonga is based more upon aspects of competition in the marketplace, the personal demeanor of vendors and the display of commodities.

Vendors spend very long hours occupied in their businesses. For many, the day begins at 4:00 a.m. when they wake up and prepare to get the bus to Mbare. Usually, they arrive at the marketsite at about 8:00 a.m., when they set out their new purchases. If commodities had been brought home the previous evening, then the vendor must go and fetch them to add to her display. At mid-morning, many women prepare tea and have their breakfast--normally some bread, margarine and/or jam. Shortly thereafter, customers come to purchase fresh greens to prepare for lunch. At 1:00 the primary school children are finished for the day, and many parents must fetch their sons and daughters, accompany them home, and prepare lunch for them. Those without these responsibilities cook lunch at the marketplace. Those who have gone home to eat lunch return to the market mid-afternoon when customers come to buy what they need for dinner. This evening "rush hour" extends through the time when people come home from work and buy what they need for the evening meal. The "rush" ends between 7:00 and 8:00 p.m., when women pack up what is left and carry it to their homes (as most markets do not have lockers for overnight storage). The long day continues as women attend to domestic matters before going to sleep.

There can be no doubt that the hours spent in this enterprise are not adequately compensated by the returns vendors experience from selling. While vendors would argue that this life is preferable to cultivating in the rural areas, or to many other forms of work, objectively speaking a 16-hour work day far transcends what would be required in many other types of employment. In a conversation I had with a woman who had recently established a "table", after having worked as a domestic for the same white family for 23 years, she reported that she was tired from her years in domestic employment. She added she wanted to "take it easy" and that is why she started selling vegetables!

Conclusions and the Ethic of Work

The ethos of vendors' workday is guided by their belief that they must work--Shandira! Hapana chinouya chega!--and that the consequence of that work is the betterment of their families. Many women imparted to me that their husbands were not reliable partners in the marriage or that they were not reliable financial contributors to the maintenance of the household. Many women also told me of the joy their children bring to them and how, in the long run, they work for their children. For those who have no children, a family fostering arrangement would provide one, or more. For the younger women who were just starting out, they saw in selling fresh produce the means to build a future--not only to provide increased household resources for the present, but to build a reputation as a good saleswoman for the future. Some of the younger vendors saw their public position as a means to meet potential husbands, while some of

the older women saw selling fresh vegetables as a means to overcome the loss of a husband.

In this chapter I have described the rich variation in vendors and how they see themselves and their activities. Since vendors view themselves as having a "profession"--as having acquired the skills to establish and maintain a business--part of this study seeks to analyze vendor operations in terms of the business maximizing ethic. Chapter Five, therefore, explores the returns vendors experience from their long hours of toil. As a consequence of these returns, further analysis determining specific motivational forces for participation in the fresh produce enterprise appears in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER FIVE

Economic Aspects of Women's Marketing Activities

Introduction

The benefits accruing to women as a result of their marketing activities cannot be measured solely in terms of economics, or solely in terms of their urban adaptive abilities. This chapter addresses the social and economic complexity of marketing roles and determines whether the economic returns from market participation meet women's cash needs.

The format of this chapter includes an analysis of incomes and expenditures of all vendors and the presentation of six case studies to illustrate individual variability. The chapter begins with a gross margin analysis, following which a breakdown of non-economic variables contributing to the variance in these figures for each vendor is presented. Net returns to labor are then calculated by deducting the cost of doing business from gross margins. Vendor household expenditures are then analyzed, as are additionial incomes and additional expenditures. The final section considers the proportion of income coming from each source, and how each of these contributes to the overall maintenance of the household.

Chapter Six continues to answer the question--Why do market women in Harare do what they do?--by considering the cultural and contextual forces guiding women in their choice to sell fresh produce. Socially, women meet and interact with a number of "strangers," incorporating them, through exchange, in a network of relationships. Economically, women gain, through exchange, an

ability to increase utility; that is, by generating returns to their labor, they can fulfill their urban provisioning obligations and care for the well-being of their children.

The location in which exchange takes place affords female vendors other opportunities to come to grips with urban life not readily accessible when other means to generate an income are employed. Socially, women establish an urban reference group that is based upon informal professional association with other vendors who can provide information, moral support and specific kinds of assistance in dealing with the institutional complexities of urban life. Economically, women gain access to other forms of income--revolving credit/savings societies. Thus, through the social interaction afforded by marketplace vending, greater economic returns can be realized by vendors.

Gross Margins

While several questions on the survey attempted to ascertain from each vendor a figure for daily and for weekly cash intake, I found that most vendors were unable to report this information accurately. Reasons include: inability to count very high (due to their lack of formal education); disinterestedness by some and inability by others to keep written records; use of incomes to purchase commodities throughout the day causing confusion in remembering incomes; and an unwillingness to report financial information for fear that I would report their individual earnings to the government.

Additionally, the women informed me, as did my male research

assistants, that it is not appropriate among Shona speakers for woman to appear to be too clever financially. If male spouses believe their wives are earning "pocket money," there is no threat to the perceived dominant male financial position. However, should a vendor distinguish herself as earning well, husbands might appropriate a vendor's income.

Another reason was rendered for not accurately reporting incomes. If a woman is doing well in her vending business, it is highly likely she would become the target of witchcraft accusation by her colleagues. As reported in Chapter Four, those who sell most of their commodities daily are highly suspect because it is believed, even by the vendors, that no woman can do business that well. Excellence in vending can only come with the assistance of the supernatural.

Thus, for both pragmatic and ideological reasons, I feel that incomes reported on the interview schedule are not reliable. I believe I achieved greater reliability from the daily records I kept of each vendor's purchases.

The gross margins a commodity earns are ascertained by subtracting wholesale cost from retail revenue: GM = R - W, where GM = gross margin, R = retail revenue, and W = wholesale cost.

Some 56 fruit and vegetable commodities were being sold at marketplaces throughout the city during the period of research. To discern their importance in the daily transaction of business, the incidence of their availability is presented in Table 5.1, along with

the percent of vendors selling these commodities.[1]

The 16 crops identified by vendors as producing the highest "profit" (piri piri was not included because it could not be measured accurately as in its dried form it weighs less than the scale could indicate) include the following:

Vegetables		Fruits
cabbage (drum head)	potatoes	apples
covo	rape	avocadopear
derere	sweet potatoes	bananas
magaka	tomatoes	guavas
onions (dry)	tsunga	lemons
		oranges

Table 5.2 illustrates the changes in gross margins for these 16 crops over the months of intensive research--March through July 1986.[2] Amounts are expressed in dollars/cents per kilogram, although neither wholesale purchase nor retail sale are actually conducted using these measures. Measures used at the wholesale level include boxes, pockets, bundles, and heaps, and at the retail level, heaps, pieces, bunches, and bundles, all of which are measured "by hand" or "by eye." The only way my research assistants and I could ascertain per kilogram amounts was by weighing all commodities purchased as vendors returned from the wholesaler, and then weighing out the bunches, bundles, pieces, and heaps that vendors displayed for sale.

---

[1] Baby marrow, chamollier (a green-leafy vegetable), mazhanje (a wild fruit), mufushwa (dried, cut-up greens), papaya and strawberries are not included as these were sold at markets not a part of this analysis.

[2] Inter-vendor gross margin and returns to labor variability are explained under "Analysis of Variability in Gross Margins and Returns to Labor" below.

TABLE 5.1

Fresh Produce Being Sold at Retail Marketsites Throughout Harare

Commodity	% of Sites (n=24)	% of Women Selling (n=325)	Commodity	% of Sites (n=24)	% of Women Selling (n=325)
apples	58.3	30.9	avocadopear	87.5	21.0
bananas	95.8	41.0	brinjals (eggplant)	4.2	0.3
broccoli	4.2	0.6	cabbage (drum head)	70.8	34.0
broccoli leaves	4.2	0.3	carrots	20.0	5.8
cabbage (sweet)	37.5	13.5	cassava	4.2	0.3
cauliflower	8.3	0.6	chibage (maize)	20.8	1.9
covo	70.8	18.2	derere(okra)	58.3	23.5
cucumber	45.8	13.3	gem squash	4.2	0.3
derere lvs	4.2	0.3	guava	50.0	16.0
grapes	4.2	0.3	madumbo	4.2	0.3
lemons	87.5	34.8	mangoes	16.7	1.9
magaka	58.3	22.4	masaui	8.3	1.1
mapudzi	16.7	1.4	mborah	16.7	3.6
mauya	4.2	0.3	nyimo	16.7	1.1
naartjies (tangerines)	29.2	9.4	onions(dry)	91.7	50.3
onions(sp)	37.5	21.8	oranges	83.3	40.0
peaches	8.3	0.6	peanuts	8.3	1.1
pears	4.2	0.3	peas	12.5	4.1
peppers	4.2	0.8	pineapples	16.7	1.1
piri piri (red pepper)	54.2	9.7	potatoes	79.2	49.2
rape	100.0	68.8	pumpkins	41.7	11.9
sugar cane	29.2	3.3	rugare	37.5	7.5
sweet cabbage leaves	12.5	1.9	sugar loaf	8.3	0.8
tsunga	100.0	39.2	sweet pots.	70.8	19.3
			tomatoes	100.0	88.7
			watermelon	4.2	0.3

TABLE 5.2
Gross Margins per Kilogram of Sixteen Crops
March 1-July 24, 1986

Dates	Apples		Avocadopear		Bananas		Cabbage(DH)		Covo		Derere		Guava		Lemons	
	$ Charged/	% Increase	$ Charged/	% Increase	$ Charged/	% Increase	$ Charged/	% Increase	$ Charged/	% Increase	$ Charged/	% Increase	$ Charged/	% Increase	$ Charged/	% Increase
March 3-7	.68	221	-.03	94	.33	158	.06	126			1.01	320			.25	181
March 10-14	.45	187			.38	183	.20	205			1.17	241				
March 17-28	.53	204	.10	119	.42	175	.09	147	.44	238	.80	229			.61	405
April 1-5	.58	184	.15	119	.44	173			.26	179	.80	205			.37	219
April 7-8	.55	171			.52	184			.27	159						
April 8-9	.39	165	.36	209	.34	163	.08	135			1.31	270	.07	123		
April 14-18	.36	157	.26	149	.43	190	.03	114			1.04	241	.55	467	.34	289
May 19-23			.34	194	.33	192	.03	114	.69	277	1.12	227			.52	336
May 22-30	.43	156	.36	172	.26	143	.18	190	.22	156	.81	190			.28	193
June 2-6	-.19	86			.34	149	.10	124			.70	138			.21	200
June 9-13					.28	147	.07	130	.22	167	1.00	256			.35	240
June 16-18					.48	189	.12	175			.46	153				
June 19-20																
June 23-26	.94	216	-.08	90	.46	194	.14	167	.26	174	1.72	234			.34	262
June 30-July 4	.10	108	.26	160	.35	160	.08	142	-.04	92					.29	221
July 7-11			.10	123	.60	254	.11	173								
July 14-15			.41	473											.54	345
July 14-15																
July 16-17					.42	181	.04	113								
July 21			.43	430	.74	251										
July 22					.75	400										
July 22					.86	332										
July 23			.18	134	.19	136	.03	113	.40	248					-.07	84
July 24					.24	143									.51	343

continued...

TABLE 5.2 (continued)
Gross Margins per Kilogram of Sixteen Crops
March 1-July 24, 1986

Dates	Magaka		Onions		Oranges		Potatoes		Rape		Swt Pots		Tomatos		Tsunga	
	$ Charged/	% Increase	$ Charged/	% Increase	$ Charged/	% Increase	$ Charged/	% Increase	$ Charged/	% Increase	$ Charged/	% Increase	$ Charged/	% Increase	$ Charged/	% Increase
March 3-7			.29	143			.22	185	.29	167			.04	104		
March 10-14			.33	137			.95	575	.28	157			.92	251	.07	119
March 17-28			.79	189			.30	230	.27	166			.74	268	.33	183
April 1-5	.32	329	.52	163			.23	192	.31	167	.42	283	.20	120	.40	195
April 7-8			1.14	167	.60	250			.35	183	.37	237	.49	226	.14	123
April 8-9	.15	183	.33	124			.31	263	.17	133	.35	284	.57	195	.30	148
April 14-18	.23	172	.52	140	.29	148	.19	163	.21	150	.03	115	.19	128		
May 19-23	.36	325	1.86	374	.29	167			.68	262			.29	132	.62	227
May 22-30			.55	147	.25	152	.36	238	.29	169	.62	370	.40	149	.08	116
June 2-6			.36	127	.19	140	.33	203	.24	156	.26	170	.19	121		
June 9-13	.20	267	.48	155	.36	216	.26	181	.19	166	.26	237	.28	147	.21	164
June 16-18			.67	177	.16	129	.40	267	.31	282			.38	158	.29	226
June 19-20			1.70	559			.37	318	.42	268			-.05	95	.16	167
June 23-26			.74	237	.31	178	.24	183	.21	160	.22	173	.44	141	.12	136
June 30-July 4			.57	174	.15	133	.19	161	.11	131	.24	233	.11	111	.12	134
July 7-11	.12	155	.78	215	.26	163	.25	200	.16	162	.37	370	.47	157	.22	192
July 14-15									.74	374			.80	245	.44	233
July 14-15									.41	258					.37	254
July 16-17			1.13	292	.19	132					.16	162	.56	190	.35	240
July 21			.66	208	.38	175			.33	274			.53	208	.63	333
July 22			.52	218					.35	294	.46	407	.90	390	.31	241
July 22			.84	295	.41	200			.31	207			.70	235	.45	261
July 23			.21	122	.10	124	.11	128	.41	258	.14	152	.28	141	.26	174
July 24			.52	172	.32	184			.43	287	.31	282	.53	220	.33	214

Table 5.3 presents the average prices paid per wholesale unit purchased during the period of intensive interviewing, and its retail mark-up expressed numerically and in percentage terms.

TABLE 5.3

Actual Wholesale Unit Purchased and Retail Mark-Up

Commodity	Unit	Wholesale Price	Retail Price*	Gross Margin	% Mark-Up
avocadopear	each	.20	.50	.30	250
cabbage	head	.25	.60	.35	240
chibage	dozen	1.20	2.50	1.30	208
lemons	dozen	.50	1.20	.70	240
magaka	dozen	.50	2.40	1.90	480
onions (sp)	bunch	.80	1.20	.40	150
rape	bundle	.50	.60	.10	120
rugare	bundle	.50	.60	.10	120
tsunga	bundle	.50	.60	.10	120

* Retail prices are quoted for the sale of total sub-units sold once the wholesale quantity has been divided, e.g., a bundle of rape will be tied into six smaller bundles that will be sold for 10 cents each; lemons will be sold for 10 cents each, etc.

A vendor must be very astute in purchasing her commodities in order that a deficit is not realized. This factor may be intuited by many women, but is not known as a fact because of the daily flows of business and women's inability to keep records. In my survey, only 54 of the 325 vendors interviewed (16.6%) said they kept any kind of record of their wholesale and retail transactions.[3] I personally

[3] Research conducted on small scale manufacturing enterprises in several different countries produced similar results as to record keeping. In Jamaica, 16% of proprietors in this sector kept records; in Seirra Leone, 18%; in Honduras, 14%; in Egypt, 6%; and in Bangladesh, 6% (Liedholm and Mead 1987:33).

observed only two actually recording anything.[4]

The following six case studies illustrate the variability of women's gross margins as recorded during each respective week of interviews. Following this, a summmary of gross margin data is presented for the remaining cases for which complete wholesale/retail data exist.

Case I—Amai Daniel

Amai Daniel sells her fruits and vegetables in an area once called a "buffer" suburb--a township historically designated for "colored" people in between the white city center and the former African townships. She is 40 years old, is divorced with no children, and lives in the neighborhood of the Mbare wholesale market. Amai Daniel has received four years of primary schooling and has had some training in "homecraft," but this was insufficient to help her get a job. She left her home area of Masvingo in 1972 to migrate with her husband to Harare in search of employment. A few years after her arrival, her husband divorced her because she had had four stillbirths and no living children. Although her lobola had been set at $100, her husband had not finished paying it. Upon divorce, her in-laws did not request any part of the lobola to be returned. After being divorced, she returned to her parents, but

---

[4] The women, however, expressed great interest in knowing how to keep track of their cash flows, and at one marketsite I was asked to teach them a simple means of record keeping. My inability to do this for non-literate individuals caused me to seek assistance from the Zimbabwe Women's Bureau. It is my understanding that they are currently devising such a record-keeping system as part of their overall plan to rejuvenate a women's producer/marketing cooperative made defunct several years ago by mismanagement.

came back to Harare shortly thereafter because she was not happy in the rural areas. In Harare, she is a lodger and lives alone.

Amai Daniel had been a produce vendor for 12 years when we interviewed. She had been conducting her business from this very location the entire time (albeit when she began she positioned herself under a tree as the marketplace had not yet been built).

While making her purchases at Mbare, she also purchases plastic bags of varying sizes in which to package her fruits and vegetables. Since customers in this suburb have electricity, they are able to purchase larger quantities and can store them in refrigerators. By repacking her commodities in plastic bags, Amai Daniel can sell her packets at $1.00 each--this includes tomatoes, potatoes, onions, apples, and oranges. Smaller packets sell for half the amount.

Amai Daniel was interviewed the week of March 3. Her gross margins are presented in Table 5.4.

TABLE 5.4

Gross Margins--Amai Daniel--Week of March 3, 1986

Commodity	Whlsle Cost	Whlsle Cost/Kg.	Kgs.	Retail Price/Kg.	GM/ Kg.	Total GM
apples	7.00	.60	11.750	1.50	.90	10.63
beans	4.00	.625	6.400	1.38	.755	4.83
cabbage (DH)	.40	.17	2.300	.30	.13	.29
derere	.50	.59	.850	1.25	.66	.56
lemons	.40	.33	1.200	.62	.29	.34
onions (dry)	7.00	.72	9.700	1.67	.95	11.20
potatoes	8.00	.26	30.400	.51	.25	7.50
rape	3.00	.86	3.500	1.11	.25	.89
tomatoes	33.50	.98	34.170	.87	-.11	-3.77

TOTAL GROSS MARGIN FOR WEEK--$32.44 NUMBER OF COMMODITIES SOLD--9

Case 2--Amai Tendai

Just one month later, we interviewed Amai Tendai who is a Malawian selling in one of the high density suburbs. She reported that she is 42 years old, married for 26 years, and that she came to Zimbabwe some 24 years ago with her husband who migrated in search of employment. Both she and her husband have never been to school, and she has not taken any type of training course. Her husband works as a messenger and earns $250 per month. When he first came to Harare, he obtained employment as a domestic, and the family lived at his employer's residence. When Amai Tendai first arrived in Harare, she stayed at home to take care of the children.

Amai Tendai has given birth to seven children, but only one has survived. Complications during her last pregnancy led to the stillbirth of twins and blood poisoning. Consequently, she had to have her right hand amputated. This disability has not prevented her from conducting her business, however. Amai Tendai began her business in 1972 after she buried her sixth child. She has been selling at the site where we interviewed her for the past 14 years.

Amai Tendai was conducting a very brisk trade, probably better than any other vendor at the site. Her astute business acumen has led her to devise a system that virtually guarantees her customers--giving each a little something "extra" when they buy from her. During the course of the interview, I directed my research assistant to record all of the items this vendor gave away free. She found

that for each customer, a tomato or two was provided.[5] While this practice is common for many vendors, what is different for Amai Tendai is that she gives away fresh tomatoes--those she purchased that very morning from the wholesaler--instead of those "going off." Her gross margins, presented in Table 5.5, are different from those of Amai Daniel.

TABLE 5.5

Gross Margins--Amai Tendai--Week of April 1, 1986

Commodity	Whlsle Cost	Whlsle Cost/Kg.	Kgs.	Retail Price/Kg.	GM/ Kg.	Total gm
apples	37.00	.64	57.800	1.00	.36	20.80
bananas	13.00	.66	19.700	.74	.12	1.58
beans	6.00	.46	13.000	1.33	.87	11.29
cabbage (DH)	24.00	.09	268.500	.26	.17	45.81
cabbage (Sw)	24.00	.21	116.400	.36	.15	17.90
carrots	2.00	.30	6.760	.68	.38	2.60
cucumber	3.00	.22	13.460	.40	.18	2.38
derere	10.45	.84	12.470	1.82	.98	12.25
guava	2.50	.24	10.400	.45	.21	2.18
lemons	.60	.26	2.280	.53	.27	.61
magaka	2.00	.16	12.630	.62	.46	5.83
onions (dry)	25.40	.83	30.600	.67	-.16	-4.90
peas	2.00	.67	3.000	2.94	2.27	6.82
potatoes	22.25	.29	76.800	.46	.17	13.08
pumpkins	4.00	.13	30.940	.30	.17	5.28
rape	54.85	.51	107.520	.63	.12	12.89
sweet pots.	5.40	.24	22.580	.65	.41	9.28
tomatoes	101.00	1.00	101.115	.83	-.17	-17.07
watermelon	.60	.09	6.700	.27	.18	1.21

TOTAL GROSS MARGIN FOR WEEK--$149.82 NUMBER OF COMMODITIES SOLD--19

---

[5] Giving away commodities to ensure regularity of customers seems to be a common practice. In the markets of La Paz "in addition to the payment for the eggs the La Paz dealer hands over either some sweets or, usually, a few onions and even some chili peppers or stale bread or a bun as a bonus" (Preston 1978:115). A similar practice is observable in the Kumasi market in Ghana (Clark 1986).

Case 3--Amai George

Amai George sells her fresh produce from a marketsite located in one of the currently developing high density suburbs some 20 kms. distant from the town center. She is 37 years old, has been married for 20 years and has given birth to six children, the last of whom died when she was in third grade. The ages of her five remaining children range between 7 and 21. One lives away, and the remaining four live with her and her husband.

Amai George also has her sister's son living with her. Amai George attended school up through Form 2 and is as conversant in English as she is in Shona. She was born in an area well-known for vegetable production--Chiweshe. She left her area of birth in 1964 with her husband to look for work in Harare, some 30 kilometers from the Chiweshe Communal Area. She reported not having been very successful at finding work, and since she fell pregnant she decided to give up the search. Now that her children are old enough to mind each other, and the costs of building a house are so high, she decided to try her hand at selling. Although she had only been selling vegetables for one year at the time of the interview, she was well connected to the trade.

Amai George reported, when we interviewed her the week of May 19, that several of her family members also traded in fresh produce: her mother had been a vendor at Mbare Musika retail, and her two sisters were involved in wholesaling at Mbare with their husbands. (While I hypothesized that Amai George would be able to purchase her commodities cheaper from her relatives, when I asked her if this was

the case, Amai George answered with an emphatic "no!")

The marketsite suffered from a number of anomalies: not all the houses in the adjacent community were inhabited because they were in varying stages of completion; commercial farmers in adjacent areas sold their produce cheaper from farm kiosks; transport costs to and from Mbare was among the highest in the city; and the selling day really only began when people came home from work in the evenings. Since the marketplace did not yet have electricity, the absence of light made it difficult for vendors to operate.

Amai George's gross margins are reported in Table 5.6.

TABLE 5.6

Gross Margins--Amai George--Week of May 19, 1986

Commodity	Whlsel Cost	Whlsle Cost/Kg.	Kgs.	Retail Price/Kg.	GM/ Kg.	Total GM
bananas	18.00	.37	48.450	.95	.58	28.03
derere	.60	.73	.825	2.86	2.13	1.76
lemons	.60	.18	3.300	.80	.62	2.04
magaka	1.20	.17	7.120	.53	.36	2.57
onions (sp)	4.50	1.32	3.400	1.67	.35	1.18
oranges	8.00	.38	21.060	.89	.51	10.74
potatoes	4.50	.30	15.000	.54	.24	3.60
rape	6.80	.42	16.340	.65	.23	3.82
tomatoes	82.60	.89	92.820	.97	.08	7.44
tsunga	4.85	.50	9.680	.94	.44	4.25

TOTAL GROSS MARGIN FOR WEEK--$65.43 NUMBER OF COMMODITIES SOLD--10

Case 4--Amai Dino

Amai Dino is 37 years old, has been married for 21 years and has six children, ages 6 through 20, all of whom are living with her and her husband. Two of her brother's children also reside with her.

Amai Dino was born in Mvuma where she left to join her husband when she married in 1965. Together they migrated to Harare in 1966

so her husband could look for work. Her husband, who never attended school, currently works for the Municipality and earns $250 per month. She completed six years of primary education but has never held formal sector employment. She began selling vegetables in 1972 and has been selling at this location the entire 14 years.

Vendors at this site were coping with a recurrent weekend problem--the Friday evening arrival of farmers from the African commercial fruit and vegetable growing area of Mutoko. Their presence over the weekend less than a kilometer distant from the marketsite translated into decreased weekend sales for the vendors--a time for increased activity at most other marketsites. Sales from Saturday to Monday, therefore, were not very good as residents of this high density suburb would purchase from the farmers what they could to carry them as long as possible without refrigeration.

Amai Dino places very high value on the education of her children. She reported that the sale of her vegetables had put all her children through school. She was concerned, however, about the kinds of jobs her children would find after finishing. She was especially concerned with one of her daughters who was being subjected to sexual harrassment on the job. Amai Dino was perplexed about how men should continually try to take advantage of women, regardless of the professional levels they achieve.

In spite of this problem, Amai Dino continued to sell her produce to educate her other children. Her gross margins are reported in Table 5.7.

TABLE 5.7

Gross Margins--Amai Dino--Week of June 9, 1986

Commodity	Whlsle Cost	Whlsle Cost/Kg.	Kgs.	Retail Price/Kg.	GM/ Kg.	Total GM
bananas	3.00	.21	14.300	1.00	.79	11.30
cabbage (DH)	.60	.13	4.600	.22	.09	.41
cabbage (Sw)	12.00	.19	62.000	.26	.07	4.12
covo	.90	.22	4.120	.67	.25	1.86
lemons	.30	.14	2.140	.67	.53	1.13
magaka	.40	.11	3.650	.37	.26	.95
onions (sp)	2.50	.55	4.550	1.08	.53	2.41
oranges	12.00	.31	38.360	.70	.39	14.85
potatoes	8.00	.27	30.000	.62	.35	10.60
rape	7.25	.26	27.860	.33	.07	1.94
sweet pots.	1.75	.15	11.700	.59	.44	5.15
tomatoes	18.00	.78	23.040	.83	.05	1.12
tsunga	2.45	.27	9.000	.74	.47	4.21

TOTAL GROSS MARGIN FOR WEEK--$60.05 NUMBER OF COMMODITIES SOLD--13

Case 5--Amai Tatu

When Amai Tatu related her life history to me, I could not help but be tremendously impressed by the obstacles she has overcome that brought her to the vegetable vending business. She is 32 years old, has been married and divorced, and was remarried to her second husband eight years ago. She had finished six years of primary school in her home area of Rusape. Because this region of the country was very active politically and felt the ravages of the liberation struggle early, she and her first husband felt they had to leave the area to prevent physical injury. She actually came to Harare in 1978, the reasons for which are discussed below. She has been selling vegetables only for a year, but because of her determination she has achieved a fair degree of success. But success and happiness have not come easy to her.

Amai Tatu told us that after marrying in the rural areas, she

gave birth to triplets. Her mother-in-law, at whose homestead she was residing, accused her of giving birth like an animal. To prevent the murder of one or two of her children, Amai Tatu fled to a nearby mission, where she was collected by her father some months later. When the triplets were past the toddler years, Amai Tatu married a man who saw no problem with the triplets, and she was sent with her three children, as well as her husband's three children by a previous "city" marriage, to his parents' rural homestead. There Amai Tatu encountered two other "country" wives. Determined not to become another woman "left at home," she came to Harare with the six children in search of her spouse.

In the process of looking for people who could help her, she met with several ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) leaders who took it upon themselves to help her. Once her husband was found, she continued her ZANU relations and began selling fresh produce. She also became the head of the ZANU women's club in her neighborhood. Additionally, because of the many social ties she created, she gained access to a parcel of land adjacent to her high density suburb home that either she or her children cultivate. The day we spoke with her, she had just harvested 43 kilograms of sweet potatoes from this plot, which she put on sale at the going rate. Her leadership of the ZANU women's choir provided a most enjoyable final day of research at this site, as the 20+ members came to entertain us for an hour or so before our departure.

Amai Tatu currently resides with her husband and six children who range in age between 8 and 22. Three other children reside with

her, two others belonging to her husand, and her sister's son. She reported that her husband, who completed a grade-three education, currently works for the Municipality, but she does not know how much he earns.

Amai Tatu sells at a marketplace that has had its problems. When I first visited the market on the mapping exercise, I found no women selling from the market itself but from makeshift tables across the street next to the bus station. When I returned to conduct the intensive interview, several vendors had moved back into the market, but many decided to sell from the street because potential customers alighting from the bus would not cross the street to buy what they needed. Instead, they looked for other vendors selling closer to the bus stop.

Amai Tatu, as a strategy to meet the demands of varying populations, also sold sweets to school children on their mid-morning break or immediately after school was out for the day at 1:00 p.m. I was unable to ascertain her earnings from these commodities. Her gross margins on fresh produce are presented in Table 5.8.

Case 6—Amai Paul

The final case was obtained in our last few days of interviewing at an open-air marketsite adjacent to a shopping center in a low density suburb. Amai Paul has been selling at this location for three years. She had one job previous to establishing her own enterprise, and this was as a domestic for less than a year. She is 36 years old, has been married for 21 years, and has five children. She reported the eldest of these children is 20, but she was unable

TABLE 5.8

Gross Margins--Amai Tatu--Week of July 7, 1986

Commodity	Whlsle Cost	Whlsle Cost/Kg.	Kgs.	Retail Price/Kg.	GM/ Kg.	Total GM
avocadopear	3.65	.45	8.080	.45	0	0
bananas	12.00	.38	31.516	.94	.56	17.63
cabbage (Sw)	42.00	.24	175.630	.34	.10	17.71
magaka	3.50	.23	15.440	.47	.24	3.76
naartjies	9.00	.36	25.100	.79	.43	10.83
onions (sp)	24.60	.69	35.700	1.58	.89	31.81
oranges	4.75	.34	13.960	.73	.39	5.44
potatoes	18.00	.30	60.000	.44	.14	8.40
rape	25.70	.38	67.690	.38	0	0
sweet pots.	0	0	131.520	.21	.21	27.62
tomatoes	168.70	1.05	160.650	1.56	.51	81.91
tsunga	22.40	.37	60.960	.56	.29	11.59

TOTAL GROSS MARGIN FOR WEEK--$216.70 NUMBER OF COMMODITIES SOLD--12

to recall the ages of the others, even though they all reside with her. No other residents occupy her home.

Amai Paul has never been to school nor has she ever participated in any sort of training course. She was born in Buhera, which area she left in 1965 to migrate with her husband to Harare in search of employment. Her husband, who has also never been to school, currently has a job as a gardener. Working for people of European descent, Amai Paul's husband receives his housing "free", but his salary is only $70 per month.

Amai Paul began selling fresh produce in 1983 and has held no other jobs since coming to Harare. She was very cautious in her purchasing and was selling only three commodities at the time we interviewed her. These three, however, were those constituting an integral part of the relish diet. These commodities are sold in the supermarkets across the street, but they are not kept very fresh.

Africans in this low density suburb prefer to purchase their needs from the vendors because their commodities are fresher. From the exclusive sale of these commodities, Amai Paul was able to do as well as other vendors selling more commodities elsewhere. Her gross margins are reported in Table 5.9.

TABLE 5.9

Gross Margins--Amai Paul--July 24, 1986

Commodity	Whlsle Cost	Whlsle Cost/Kg.	Kgs.	Retail Price/Kg.	GM/ Kg.	Total GM
rape	12.30	.24	51.240	.53	.29	14.86
tomatoes	41.00	.43	95.305	.88	.45	42.87
tsunga	4.25	.25	17.080	.73	.48	8.22

TOTAL GROSS MARGIN FOR WEEK--$65.95 NUMBER OF COMMODITIES SOLD--3

Analysis of Variability in Gross Margins and Returns to Labor

In calculating the gross margins for 40 vendors for whom complete wholesale/retail information was available, the mean amount vendors paid wholesale for their commodities per week was $107.84 (with a range between $2.86 and $623.62). The mean return received per week by vendors was $170.91 (with a range between $7.09 and $920.16). This created a mean gross margin of $60.55 (with a range between $1.81 and $242.08).

Variabilty in gross margins and returns to labor between vendors documented over the period of research is a consequence of the following variables: 1) variation in wholesale price due to seasonal supply; 2) variation in wholesale price due to the place where the commodity is purchased; 3) the number, type, and quantity of commodities sold; 4) physical properties of and vendor position within the marketplace, i.e., whether or not she is situated along a

well-travelled pedestrian/consumer pathway; 5) physical position of the marketplace itself vis-a-vis other shops and services; 6) the amount of time spent selling at that marketsite (as a function of "being known" and thus having more customers); 7) how many customers a vendor has (partially as a function of her offering credit; 8) the amount of time a vendor must stay away from the marketplace owing to family matters (e.g., funerals, sick children, personal health, including pregnancy, etc.); 9) competition in the marketplace and in the surrounding area; 10) wholesaler cheating; and 11) labor. Each of these are discussed in turn.

1. Variation in Wholesale Price due to Seasonal Supply. Seasonal supply is not just a matter of overall availability; it is also a matter of which market has the supply. In turn, who has the supply is a reflection of who has produced the commodity--a white or an African farmer. White commercial farmers plant to harvest in times of scarcity in order to ensure a premium price. African farmers cannot always follow this pattern owing to a number of production constraints.

While tomatoes are a commodity consumed by both white and African populations, during periods of scarcity they are not readily available either at Mbare Musika or the farmers' market; they are only available from the formal sector wholesalers or from U-Pick farms in the Harare environs. Given that supply is limited, the premium price requested is met by those retailers whose customers will bear an inflated price. When commodities are too expensive, women simply refuse to buy them (although in the case of the primary

relish ingredients, i.e., tomatoes, rape, and onions, a vendor will do her best to have some supply to ensure she will retain her customers).

This is mainly due to vendor retail pricing systems. Although wholesale prices vary seasonally, 29.5% (94 of 318 respondents) of vendors indicated they never changed the base price of a heap or a bundle, even though the size of the heap or bundle will alter: the cost of the smallest heap of tomatoes remains 20 cents, although the size of those tomatoes varies seasonally. Likewise, a bundle of rape may consistently be priced at 20 cents, but the size of the bundle increases during times of glut, and decreases during times of scarcity.[6]

When I understood how vendors adapt their prices, especially during the scarcity months of February and March and the glut months of September and October, I suggested to one vendor that she increase the price of green beans from 30 cents to 40 cents per packet. She laughed, and almost by design, at that very moment, a young woman came to the vendor's stall, handed her 30 cents and said "beans." The vendor very knowingly looked at me, and then took pains to explain that customer expectation of price limited how much a vendor could adapt to wholesale price changes. Had the vendor followed up on my suggestion, she felt certain she would not have sold her beans.

---

[6] The heaps of tomatoes and bundles of rape are determined "by hand" or "by eye." An additional factor is considered, however, in measuring: how much of each is required for a meal. An interesting topic of future research would be to determine whether households buy more bundles of rape when, during times of scarcity, the bundles get smaller, or whether they make do with the smaller bundles, and thus consume less.

Clearly, the ability to generate a higher return is not solely a function of supply and demand. Rather, the complexity of the relationship of vendor to consumer, consumer price expectation, vendor ability to supply scarce commodities, and vendor willingness to supply "elite" commodities (i.e., if a vendor feels she must make a certain commodity available and it is not being sold at Mbare Musika, she will no doubt incur the extra expense to buy what she needs from the Independent Market) all contribute to the variability among gross margins among vendors.

2. Variation in Wholesale Price due to the Place Where Commodity Is Purchased. In Chapter Three I presented the variability in wholesale pricing between Mbare Musika and the Independent Market. Even though the Independent Market may have published a lower price for a given commodity than what is being charged at Mbare Musika, a vendor will no doubt pay the higher price because she might purchase other commodities at Mbare not available at the Independent Market. This was reportedly the case for 79.4% of vendors who purchase exclusively from either the semi-permanent wholesalers or farmers at Mbare Musika. Only 4% indicated they purchase at the Independent Market, and this is usually when what they want is not available at Mbare.

3. Commodity Differentiation. Many vendors (43.2% of the 245 who respondend) feel that if they have more commodities for sale they will be able to generate higher returns to labor than those selling fewer commodities. The theoretical rationale contends that diversification reduces risk. I found, however, that specialization

in a given commodity can provide a different type of return.

One vendor in a high density suburb sold only tsunga that she picked herself from a nearby garden plot. Although calculation of her gross margin indicates only a $3.49 weekly return, she has made other gains. In establishing her reputation as "Amai Tsunga," customers who want to cook this green leafy vegetable on a given day go to her to purchase their needs as the leaves are always fresh. Her desire to establish a place in the community apparantly outweighed her need to generate higher returns.

4. Physical Properties of and Vendor Position in the Marketplace. The physical design of market stalls and the surroundings of the marketsite often mitigate increasing returns to labor. For instance, vendors who have lockers in which to store their produce overnight could, if a commodity shelf life was more than one day without refrigeration, reduce the number of times they must go to the wholesaler. Vendors who have to carry their unsold produce home every night are more conservative about the wholesale quantities they buy.

In certain suburbs, business does not really begin until lunchtime and ends only after completion of the workday and people have come home. At these same marketsites, however, there is no electricity and business must be transacted either in the dark or by candlelight.

Design of marketplaces is sometimes inappropriate: the roofs do not extend far enough to cover the customer so that, when it rains, customers are most likely to get wet. This factor has been

taken into consideration, however, in the construction of marketsites in newly-developed high density suburbs.

A woman's particular position within the marketsite also affects the amount of business she will conduct. In the larger markets where up to 40 vendors sell, women who have a stall on the inner rows are likely to have fewer customers than those who sell at stalls on the outside or along the perimeter of the market. Also, where markets are adjacent to bus stops, those selling closest to where people alight are more likely to have a higher number of customers than those on the opposite side. As one vendor reported:

> Those who are selling on the other side by the post office are doing better business. We are near the other market, the one where the street vendors are selling. By the time customers come here, they have already seen everything they want on the other side of the market.

In many instances control over who is allocated which stall is in the hands of the Municipality. Where there is a market chairperson, she might have the power to tell vendors where to sell. One vendor reported having been chased from stall to stall because she had done well wherever she went. The chairperson, thinking she might sell better at other stalls, continually usurped the vendor's position. This went on for several months until the vendor no longer withstood the harrassment and moved to another marketsite.

5. Physical Location of the Marketplace. Proximity of the marketsite to major shopping centers also seems to influence volume of trade. Marketsites adjacent to other shops or social services seem to do better business than those across the street or in more isolated locations. As one vendor reported:

> Our market is right at the end of the location; nobody can come and buy.

In conducting the first phase of this research, I found two marketsites overgrown with weeds, and one that could provide stalls to 78 women that was occupied by only 13. The ambivalence of city planning authorities about providing the appropriate means for African women to conduct their enterprises is made manifest in the way some markets are haphazardly situated. Some of the older markets, such as those at Stoddard, Mufakose, and Highfield, are in shopping centers or are adjacent to offices where various social services are provided. Newer markets, however, such as those in Dzivarisekwa, Tafara, and New Mabvuku, are situated adjacent to beer halls but nothing else. Bus depots may be close by, but vendors have found that unless the market is directly adjacent to the bus stop, customers are unwilling to go out of their way to purchase what they need.

6. Duration of Enterprise. Vendors reported having been conducting their businesses at the location at which they were interviewed for between less than one to over thirty-four years, with a mean of 5.5 years. The preponderance of vendors (approximately 75%) began their businesses after independence when urban influx laws were no longer enforceable. Table 5.10 presents a summary of this information. Vendors perceive their ability to do "good business" is premised upon the amount of time they have spent selling at a given site. They assert a correlation between the number of years at a site and the number of customers they have. Moreover, there appears to be a gender bias as to the types of customers one can have. As

TABLE 5.10*

Summary of the Number of Years Vendors Have Been Selling At the Location Where Interviewed

No. of Years	% of Vendors	No. of Vendors
<1	9.5	31
1	23.4	76
2	11.7	38
3	11.1	36
4	7.4	24
5	5.8	19
6	6.5	21
7	4.0	13
8	2.5	8
9	.9	3
10	1.5	5
11-15	6.0	20
16-20	1.8	6
21-25	1.2	4
26-30	2.4	8
31-34	1.8	6

*Source: interview schedule.

one vendor indicated:

> Women customers become friends after two to three purchases; male customers are "regulars," not "friends," as this has another meaning among us Shona people.

When I asked vendors why they felt others had more or fewer customers than they did, 24.2% of vendors responding (n=223) related that they or others were "well known" and this explained their volume of trade. More than 50 different responses were given in answer to this question. The second most frequent was "it depends on how many things you order [purchase from the wholesaler]" (16.1%).

The customer pool for each of the marketsites also affects the number of customers a vendor has. Table 5.11 establishes a potential customer-per-vendor ratio, based upon the population living in a

given high density suburb and the number of vendors enumerated for that suburb.

TABLE 5.11

Customer Pool for Selected High Density Suburbs

Suburb	Population	Vendors	Vend/Cust Ratio
Dzivarisekwa	22,718	110	1:207
Glen Norah	45,668	145	1:315
Glen View	59,775	265	1:226
Highfield	73,501	362	1:203
Kambuzuma	25,521	95	1:269
Mabvuku	38,958	86	1:453
Mbare	59,366	1,209	1:49
Mufakose	44,703	244	1:183
Rugare	8,362	7	1:1,195
Tafara	21,069	109	1:193
Warren Park	13,672	58	1:236

While it would appear that the figure for Mbare mitigates any potential to increase returns, the position of these vendors adjacent to the wholesale market guarantees them a higher number of customers from other suburbs. Conversely, the Rugare figure looks very promising, but the plots on which housing for railway employees is situated are surrounded by open fields in which women cultivate their own daily needs. The customer ratio in Mabvuku also looks promising, but this suburb is inundated with farmers from Mutoko every weekend thus decreasing the effective customer pool for vendors.

I tried to ascertain from vendors their perception of how many customers they had daily. This inquiry led to many blank faces as a response. I rephrased the question and asked how many "regular" customers they had. This precipitated a response between one and forty, with the mean of 9.8. "Regulars" were defined as those customers who, when they come to a marketsite, automatically go to a

particular vendor each time to purchase what they need. When I asked vendors why customers were called "regular," anticipating a response that indicated kinship or friendship, they responded that "customers just like the quality of my goods" (59.1% of 264). Slightly more than 24% indicated their regulars were friends or neighbors, and only 3% said their regulars were their relatives. "Regulars" are accorded specific status, as the following discussion illustrates.

7. "Regulars" and Credit. While all the women interviewed reported that they were never given credit by farmers or wholesalers, 92.8% (of 265 vendors) said they provide credit to their regular customers. A credit range of $1.00 to $40.00 was allowed before vendors required they be paid. The average amount of time allowed was until the end of the month or whenever customers received their salaries. One vendor reported she does not provide credit at the beginning of the month because "people should budget their money so they can eat properly just after they get paid."

I could not ascertain the extent of losses vendors incurred in extending credit. It would appear that when a person fails to repay the debt within a tacitly understood period of time, credit would not be re-extended. At one marketsite, a vendor kept very close tabs of who owed how much and for how long. I was present when a customer who owed the vendor more than $10 for several months came to try and purchase more produce on credit. The vendor not only refused to extend the line of credit further, but also shouted at the woman to go home and get her husband to be a man by paying off the family food bill.

8. Necessary Absences. Throughout the year, vendors find it necessary to be absent from their stalls, either due to their own ill health, to take care of sick children, return to the rural areas to plow, to attend a funeral or other ritual observance, or to take care of household errands. Each of these absences impinges upon the ability of vendors to maintain their incomes.

Vendor health suffers significantly during the rainy season and during the winter (hoar frost was on the ground on many mornings when my research assistants and I arrived in the field at 7:30 a.m.). Outside marketplaces might be very appropriate in the warmer climates of other African countries, but in Zimbabwe when temperatures can go below freezing the outside market presents particular problems.

Vendors maintained rural kinship ties by going "home" to see their relatives. For 71.9% of the vendor population, this occurred between one and three times a year. Women travelled home with one or more members of their families usually during school vacations, at the Christmas holiday, or when women's labor was needed on the farm. Women must also return to the rural areas to participate in certain rituals, e.g., funerals, kurova guva (bringing home the spirit a year after someone has passed away), ritual cleansing if one has had major problems, consultation with nganga for various maladies, among other reasons.

Many of those who do not go "home" were from Malawi (6.2%), Mozambique (5.2%), and Zambia (.06%). Up to a few years ago, however, family ties were maintained internationally via cash remittances. This practice was stopped, however, by government

intervention due to foreign currency shortages.

9. Competition. Vendors do not generally perceive themselves as being in competition with each other, regardless of the number of vendors selling in one location. When I asked vendors whether there was too much competition, about 27% reported that competition was against street vendors or those who sold door-to-door. The women felt that others who sold outside of the marketplace were unfair competitors because they did not have any rent to pay and thus could charge less.[7]

Attempts to lure more customers to a stall do not generally include price reduction. Base prices for commodities required daily by consumers do not change--the smallest heap of tomatoes is 20 cents, a bundle of vegetables costs between 10 and 20 cents (depending on the marketsite), and the smallest onion will cost 10 cents. Bananas and other fruits are normally price-fixed according to size, as is cabbage. What brings a new customer to a particular vendor is a composite of the vendor's display, her selling demeanor, and, perhaps, whether there is a neighbor/kinsman relation.

In several marketplaces, two or more generations of one family were competing with each other for customers. The women did not perceive themselves as competitors, however, because they sold from stalls somewhat separated from each other. Moreover, in most of these instances, the younger was a daughter and had learned the trade

---

[7] At one marketsite, there were 22 vendors selling at stalls, and several others selling on the street about a block away. When queried about their prices, the street vendors reported similar prices to those recorded at the stalls.

from being apprenticed to the elder or mother.

10. Wholesaler Cheating. Although I posed a number of questions on wholesalers, it appears vendors interpreted this term to mean makoronyera--the buyem-sellem "thugs" who harrass both producers and vendors at Mbare Musika and at bus depots. Among the many complaints vendors had about these people, 96% reported that wholesalers overcharged them, 75.7% said that wholesalers beat them when they are persistent in trying to buy a particular commodity, 95.4% said that wholesalers put grass at the bottom of boxes of tomatoes to make it appear the box is full, 95.1% said that wholesalers put rotten commodities at the bottom of a box, and 80.9% of vendors reported that wholesalers often took their money and never gave them what they supposedly purchased. Some 29 other problems were identified by vendors the most preponderant of which (37.8%) was that wholesalers don't allow the vendors to buy from the farmers at the Mbare farmers' market.

11. Labor. Labor is not factored in as a cost of doing business. This is also true in marketing activities in Nigeria:

> . . . the minimum price is based on cost (which includes cost price and transport) plus profit margin, but rarely labor as most traders did not report costing their labor (Johnson 1973:110).

Yet the number of hours a vendor occupies her stall, in addition to the time she takes going to the wholesaler and packing up her goods at the end of the day, far exceed the work-day of a "typical" wage earner in Harare who puts in a 44-hour work week.

Vendors also rely heavily upon their children for their assistance after school and during school holidays. While most

children who fulfill this role are girls who are at least 10 years old, occasionally I came upon a stall being tended by both boys and girls younger than 10. In two instances, husbands who were out of work were called upon to mind the stall when the wife had to be elsewhere for the day. In several other instances, when female relatives came to visit from the rural areas, they also were enlisted to help.

Summary of Constraints to Increasing Gross Margins and Returns to Labor

Although vendor activity can be viewed as primarily economic, many non-economic variables determine the incomes vendors can generate. Many of these constraints have little to do with vendor business acumen but more with cultural and contextual factors limiting vendor ability to expand their enterprises.

Gross margins constitute the basis of vendor returns to labor. Their actual or net returns to labor are calculated by deducting the costs of doing business. Costs include: 1) wastage; 2) rent; and 3) transport. Each is discussed below.

Cost of Doing Business

The formula utilized to calculate vendor net returns to labor is: $NR_{vw} = GM_{vw} - (W_{vw} + R_{vw} + T_{vw} + TT_{vw} + E_{vw})$, where NR = Net Returns to Labor, GM = Gross Margin, v = Each Vendor, w = Week of Research, W = Wastage factor for each commodity per day, R = Rent paid per week for vending site, T = Transport paid weekly for vendor to/from wholesaler and to/from market, TT = Transport paid weekly for commodities from wholesaler to market, and E = Expenses incurred weekly ancillary to the conduct of business.

1. Wastage. The amount of any commodity vendors must discard due to spoilage was very difficult to ascertain. We attempted to calculate wastage factors by weighing the commodities that had "gone off" and were about to be thrown into the dustbin, the rotten crops placed by makoronyera on the bottom of a box, and commodities not totally "gone off" that were set aside to be given away to those who had made a purchase. We then were able to deduce a ratio of unmarketable-to-marketable commodities. A sample percentage of wastage appears in Table 5.12.

TABLE 5.12*

Sample Percentage of Commodities Discarded

Commodity	Percentage Discarded
Apples	11.0
Avocadopear	9.4
Bananas	17.8
Cabbage (DH)	5.2
Cabbage (Sweet)	5.8
Lemons	9.5
Onions	11.5
Oranges	4.0
Potatoes	16.1
Rape	7.0
Tomatoes	9.0
Tsunga	7.1

*Source: price schedules.

These amounts do not easily translate into costs to labor since wastage depends on a number of factors: makoronyera packing rotten vegetables at the bottom of the box, temperatures for overnight storage, presence of vermin at marketplaces if produce is stored there overnight, and whether or not a vendor's stall is in the sun for any portion of the day. The proportions reported above represent

the wastage factor for 61 (18.8%) vendors. I am reluctant to assign numerical values to these factors because they cannot readily be applied to all.

2. Rent. While rent may not constitute a severe constraint on some women, others who generate only single-digit returns to labor are strongly affected. Rent must be paid on a weekly basis, and necessitates a trip to the Municipality for payment. In some cases, market chairwomen collect all rents, travel to the Municipality, and collect a receipt for each vendor.

3. Transport. The deepest cut into gross margins, however, is transport. Amai Tendai does not have to bear this expense herself because her son drives her to and from the wholesaler, absorbing the cost of transport himself. Amai Daniel sells in a marketsite not too distant from the wholesaler, so she walks there. However, she is unable to carry her purchases this distance herself, so she hires a man with a wheelbarrow to walk them over.

Many women reported the necessity of taking two buses in each direction and of paying for "parcels" on each of the two return buses. Others reported the "emergency taxi" driver practice of gouging market women to carry them and their purchases from Mbare to their marketsites. Given the distances many women must travel to purchase their commodities from the wholesaler, these expenses are out of proportion to their earnings.[8]

---

[8] Transport is also a problem for women in Brazil and Mexico where it was found that "women were subjected to more prolonged, complex, and costly trips to work compared with men because [the] existing transport system did not address their particular productive activities" (Schmink 1986:20).

Table 5.13 presents the net returns to labor for the six vendors in the case studies, while Table 5.14 presents this information on the other vendors.

TABLE 5.13

Net Returns to Labor Per Week for Six Case Study Vendors

Vendor	GM	Waste	Rent Week	Vend. Trans.	Commod. Trans.	Anc. Exp.	Net Returns
A.Daniel	32.44	0	2.45	0	7.00	.50	22.49
A.Tendai	149.82	35.96	3.15	0	0	0	110.71
A.George	65.43	4.49	1.75	8.89	2.00	0	48.30
A.Dino	60.05	3.10	1.40	7.00	1.05	0	47.50
A.Tatu	216.70	0	1.40	12.25	8.75	0	194.30
A.Paul	65.95	.80	1.05	14.00	8.40	0	41.70

TABLE 5.14

Mean Net Returns to Labor for 40 Vendors

Mean Gross Margin		$60.55
Minus		
- mean wastage	n/a[9]	
- mean weekly rent	$1.75	
- mean vendor transport	9.10	
- mean commodity transport	4.90	
- mean ancillary expenses	.87	
Total Expenses		16.62
Mean Weekly Net Returns to Labor		$43.93[10]

---

[9] As noted above, wastage figures were obtained for a very limited number of vendors. Since wholesale pricing varied considerably over time and between vendors, I was not able to calculate a reprsentative figure for this factor.

[10] This figure compares favorably to the minimum wage for industrial workers as specified in January 1982--$105 per month. Calculating a weekly income from this figure based on a 4-1/2 week month, an income of $23.30 per week can be realized (Brand 1986:69)--some $20 below what the mean for vendors is. This income figure differential might well represent one of the reasons why vendors perceive they are better off selling than working for a salary (see, also, Davies 1974:217, for a similar favorable comparison at an

Some 80.6% of vendors reported selling daily, with another 13.2% only taking off Sundays to go to church. The average selling day begins for 30.2% at 6:00 a.m., for 39.7% at 7:00 a.m., for 15.1% at 8:00 a.m., and 10.2% at 9:00 a.m. The selling day ends for 24.9% at 6:00 p.m., 54.2% at 7:00 p.m., and 17.8% at 8:00 p.m., making the average length of the selling day about eleven hours.

Even if selling ends at 7:00 p.m., the day will still not be over as most vendors do not have lockers and must take their commodities home for overnight storage. For 59.1% the one-way journey takes less than 10 minutes; for 21.8% it takes between 10 and 20 minutes; for the remaining 19.1%, the trip takes more than 20 minutes. This amount of travel time is multiplied when too many of a day's supply of commodities have not been sold thus necessitating more than one trip home.

Factoring in an hour for transport to the wholesaler, and another half hour to return home with her unsold commodities, the average workday for vendors is twelve and one-half hours. If a woman keeps up this pace six days per week, her average work week would be 75 hours long. Dividing this average number of hours into the mean weekly net returns to labor ($43.93 divided by 75), the average hourly wage would be less than 59 cents.

Our calculations are only half finished, however. The amounts needed by vendors to maintain their families are also a part of this general equation to ascertain whether the incomes women generate through produce vending provide enough cash to meet household

---

earlier time).

expenditures.

Household Expenditures

Expenditures vary greatly according to the number of children and other people living in the household. Variables considered in this calculation include school fees (paid by term but calculated to reflect a weekly budget), school uniforms (paid by year, but also calculated for a weekly budget), other clothing for the family (estimated for the year, but averaged for the week), house mortgage or rent (paid by month but averaged for a week), electricity and water (paid by the month, but averaged for a week), medical expenses, remittances to family members (reported by month, but averaged per week), food per week (including staples), fuel/paraffin for cooking per week, family transport other than vendor's either to school or to work, and other expenses (including washing powder, household furnishings, etc.). Expenditures for the six vendor case studies are presented in Table 5.15.

TABLE 5.15

Weekly Expenditures for Six Vendor Case Studies

Expenditures Incurred For	Amai Daniel	Amai Tendai	Amai George	Amai Dino	Amai Tatu	Amai Paul
School Fees	0	0	2.25	7.62	3.63	4.33
School Uniforms	0	0	2.62	3.40	1.83	.88
Clothing	5.00	5.77	7.69	9.62	13.46	9.23
Rent	3.92	6.69	11.54	5.54	3.46	0
Electricity & Water	0	9.46	0	12.00	3.46	0
Medical	4.62	1.00	6.00	2.00	1.00	0
Remittances	1.62	0	2.31	6.92	2.31	0
Food	6.00	50.00	40.00	14.00	30.00	40.00
Fuel/Paraffin	0	1.00	10.00	2.00	0	0
Transport	0	3.24	0	4.20	0	0
Other	0	0	30.00	0	12.00	0
TOTAL EXPENDITURE	21.16	77.16	112.41	67.30	71.15	54.44

The mean weekly expenditures for all vendors are presented in Table 5.16.

TABLE 5.16

Mean Weekly Expenditures for All Vendors

Expenditures	Weakly Mean
School Fees	3.88
School Uniforms	1.91
Clothing	4.41
Rent	7.49
Electricity & Water	4.21
Medical	1.53
Remittances	4.97
Food	26.89
Fuel/Paraffin	3.26
Transport	6.19
Other	15.05
TOTAL WEEKLY EXPENDITURE	$79.79

While the evidence I have presented on incomes and expenditures in general reflects only one week of data collection per vendor, it would appear that some vendors do not generate sufficient income to cover weekly cash needs while others exceed their needs. The mean weekly net return to labor of $43.93 could reflect, for some, the worst week of business, for others, the best, and for still others, a typical week. Clearly, more rigor is required in data collection of this type, but I shall return to this point in my conclusions in Chapter Seven.

For those whose incomes do not meet their needs, I hypothesized that vendors must have access to other financial resources in order that they can maintain their businesses. To determine what these other sources of income are, I asked vendors a number of other questions.

Additional Income

Vendors reported receiving financial assistance from a number of sources: if they were married, primarily from their husbands; otherwise from their grown children or other relatives. Vendors reported that when business was so bad that they did not even recover their wholesale costs, they would stop selling until the end of the month when their working husbands or family members received their salaries. At that point, several vendors reported, they would ask for an amount with which to purchase new stock at the wholesaler. In most instances, this cash advance constituted a loan to be paid back when vendor was doing business well. In other instances, according to intrahousehold dynamics, vendors just took the money as their due.

When income is being generated on a daily basis, vendors have access to another source of income: daily revolving credit/savings societies. Because vendors generate a certain amount of cash daily, they can use a portion of their intake to contribute to a revolving credit or savings society. Amounts vendors receive per week as a result of participating in one of these groups is calculated here as additional income. Additional contributions made by spouses, kin or other sources also appear in Table 5.17.[11] For the entire population, the mean of additional incomes is reported in Table 5.18.

---

[11] Contributions made in kind to the urban household by visiting rural kin could not be calculated and included in this amount because research was not conducted in vendor homes.

Additional Expenditures

Vendors incur at least two additional expenditures: transportation to rural homesteads and remittances. As an aspect of maintaining rural ties, vendors remit an average of $172.89 per year or $3.32 per week. Additionally, vendors return to the rural areas

TABLE 5.17

Other Financial Resources for Six Vendors

Vendor	Family Assistance	Credit Society	Other	Total
A.Daniel	0	14.04	0	14.04
A.Tendai	23.08	42.05	0	65.13
A.George	9.23	7.00	20.00	36.23
A.Dino	0	0	0	0
A.Tatu	0	17.55	0	17.55
A. Paul	16.15	10.53	0	26.68

TABLE 5.18

Weekly Mean of Additional Vendor Financial Resources

Family Assistance (n=131)	$13.66
Credit Society (n=185)	18.70
Other (food) (n=29)	n/a
TOTAL ADDITIONAL FINANCIAL RESOURCES	$32.36

to visit their kin at least once a year and pay a mean of $8.66 for transport for each person. Accompanying vendors on their journey are generally two other people, bringing the transport bill up to $25.98 or a weekly average of 50 cents. Thus, in addition to household expenses, vendors incur additional expenses of $3.82 a week to maintain ties with rural kin.

To obtain a total budgetary picture of the weekly cash flow of the vendors and our six case studies, the merging of incomes and expenditures is presented for the six case studies in Table 5.19 and

in Table 5.20 for the total vendor population.

TABLE 5.19

Total Weekly Net Incomes and Expenditures of Six Vendors

Vendor	Net Returns from Vending	Add'l Income	Household Expend.	Add'l Expend.	Surplus/ Deficit
A. Daniel	22.99	14.04	21.16	2.66	+ 13.21
A. Tendai	110.71	65.13	77.16	14.42	+ 84.26
A. George	48.30	36.23	112.41	.23	- 28.11
A. Dino	47.50	0	67.30	.23	- 20.03
A. Tatu	194.30	17.55	71.15	5.79	+ 134.91
A. Paul	41.70	26.68	54.44	.14	+ 13.80

TABLE 5.20

Total Weekly Net Incomes and Expenditures of Vendors

Mean Net Return to Labor from Vending	$43.93
Mean Additional Income	32.36
Mean Household Expenditure	79.79
Mean Additional Expenditure	3.82
Surplus/Deficit	- 7.32

Conclusions

According to vendors, it is their returns to labor that constitute the resources utilized to meet their cash needs to fulfill family provisioning and child welfare obligations. For some vendors, I feel the data presented confirms this assertion. For others, however, i.e., those who appear to be losing on their business ventures, two hypotheses require further exploration: 1) vendor husbands and families contribute more to meeting household expenditures than reported, and/or 2) vendors have other sources of income that were not reported.

Another issue requiring further exploration is that of cash

flow versus "profit." It appears that vendors are concerned with "the money I have more than what I started with," but of seemingly greater concern is the amount of cash a vendor has at the end of the day. With this amount, she can purchase something at the wholesaler the next day, feed her family, and take care of incidental daily expenses. For larger expenses, e.g., school fees, rent, she depends on her intake at the end of the month when people buy more and on her returns from participation in a daily revolving credit/savings society. If the amounts generated through marketing or savings are insufficient, then alternative financial resources need to be found. Resources may be found within the family or in participation in activities not covered by this research.

Regardless of whether vendor-generated incomes are supplemented or not, the facts presented here on their returns to labor clearly indicate that what they earn adds significantly to their ability to provision their families and care for the well-being of their children. It is important to note, however, that these returns do not constitute the only reason why vendors establish and maintain their businesses. Chapter Six presents a discussion of these variables.

CHAPTER SIX

Cultural and Urban Contextual Variables Determining Women's Fresh Produce Vending Activities in Harare

Introduction

With so many constraints to operating the retail vending business, and with returns to labor dependent on such a broad set of variables, why do so many women market fresh produce? This chapter considers the various cultural and urban contextual reasons for women's participation in small scale marketing enterprises.

In the first part of this chapter, the need to generate an income in the urban context is explored, taking into account such factors as housing, marriage and the family, unemployment levels in the city, the need for cash on a daily basis, the disintegration of the family unit, and the urban household economy. Individual reasons why women choose to generate incomes in the marketplace are explored in the second half of this chapter. Factors discussed include female employment opportunity structures, women's provisioning roles and the division of labor, the cultural value of the substance exchanged, exercising "psychic control" over an urban economic activity, other incomes and professional bonds arising out of the produce vending experience, and women's needs and childcare.

Culture, Work and Women's Choices

African women view themselves as active economic contributors to the well-being of their families whether they are in the rural areas or in the cities. As such economic and social actors, they develop strategies within a given economic and social order to

achieve the goals they set.

> . . . the goals that women set themselves are defined by their position within the overall social system and by the resources that they themselves possess. The strategies they use involve attempts to maximize these resources by manipulating the opportunities that they perceive in their environment (Dinan 1982:54).

The ethic governing the daily lives of Shona-speaking women resounds in their song: Shandira! Hapana chinouya chega! Work! Nothing comes without it!

Women in the rural areas of Zimbabwe invest their time in both agricultural and domestic activities to fulfill at least two goals: family food provisioning and child welfare. Some women might also engage in off-farm employment to generate incomes not forthcoming from other sources. In the cities, the constraints women face in finding suitable work constitute a complex of economic, social and cultural problems that each woman in Harare resolves in her own way.

The economic field in which women try to meet their goals is characterized by scarce capital, abundant unskilled labor and a poorly developed infrastructure (Johnson 1973:4). In these restricted economic circumstances, they try to develop their own individual niches that satisfy both economic and social needs (Jules-Rosette 1982; Gladwin 1980).

Urban Life and the Need to Generate an Income

Rural families need to generate incomes to pay for agricultural inputs, school fees, transport, and food, among other items. Rural incomes to meet these expenditures are generated through various means: an annual sale of cash crops or livestock to appropriate marketing boards; frequent sale of fresh produce in nearby towns or

industrial sites; sale of crafts; and off-farm employment. Urban families require cash on a more regular basis to pay for rent/mortgages, water, electricity, transport to work, and food. Urban lifestyles and the distance one must travel between home and work require that a daily sum be set aside for transport and worksite meals. All these demands make it necessary for monthly incomes to be generated.

The structural imbalance of urban economies, however, plays havoc with individual ability to generate needed income. Where formal, salaried employment is not available, urban dwellers seek to satisfy their financial needs in what McGee (1973, analyzing Santos 1972) terms the lower circuit, or what others term the informal economy: that portion of the urban economy characterized by labor-intensive technology, family-organized enterprises, scarce capital, irregular hours of work, small quantities of goods that are comparatively low in quality, small benefits, direct relations with clientele, negligible fixed costs, and little or no assistance from government, banking or other official units (McGee 1973:138). Individuals thus establish petty commodity production or trading enterprises in the informal sector to help them meet their cash needs.

How and why fresh produce marketing enterprises in this informal economy are maintained--from the perspective of the vendors themselves--concerns a complex of factors.

1. Housing and Population. In Chapter One, I presented a distribution of the African population of Harare. Here I consider

how the availability of housing affects this distribution as it relates to establishing informal sector and fresh produce vending enterprises. Table 6.1 illustrates several factors: the historical development of African urban habitation; the distance of African high density suburbs from the city center and industrial worksites; the number of housing units originally constructed; the number of households identified in the 1980 Census; and the population in each of the suburbs at the time of the Census.

The information on housing is particularly relevant to this analysis. As noted in Chapter Two, accommodation was once provided to single males while they were working in the city. Subsequent to the Plewman Commission Report of the 1950s, freehold housing was made available to men with families. Throughout the period of urban development, however, the number of dwelling units constructed has never kept pace with actual demand. In 1986 there was a backlog of over 24,000 families on the waiting list ("Housing: Keeping Pace with a Rising Demand," in Moto, No. 45 1986:7). Limited availability of accommodation means an employed person must live wherever housing is available.

In turn, opportunities for women to generate an income in a given suburb vary. Formal employment, as discussed below, may not be possible. Informal economic activities may require a large amount of capital outlay. Opportunities to sell fresh produce legally (i.e., paying rent for a stall or table) from a Municipal marketplace might also be limited by the number of units made available. Illegal door-to-door or streetside vending places a woman at risk as her goods can

TABLE 6.1

The High Density Suburbs of Harare*

Suburb (Township)	Kms. from Harare	Year Built	Housing Units	Current No. of Households	Current Population
Chikurubi+					
Dzivarisekwa	13	1961	2,823	4,818	22,718
Glen Norah	12	1971-73	6,444	11,265	45,668
Glen View**	15	1980	7,375	15,960	59,775
Hatcliffe++					
Highfield	9	1934	7,424	19,201	73,501
Kambuzuma	9	1963	2,467	6,607	23,521
Mabvuku	17	1952	5,296	9,151	38,958
Marimba Park	12	1974-76	55***	813	3,342
Mbare	5	1907	5,497	14,211	59,366
Mufakose	14	1960	6,585	9,291	44,703
Parkridge/ Fontainbleu++					
Rugare	7	?	1,255	1,475	8,362
Tafara	18	?	3,304	4,602	21,069
Warren Park++					
Westwood				247	874

---

* Source: Moller, Valerie 1978:83-85.
** Source: Patel and Adams 1981:17.
*** Housing in Mbare (formerly known as Harari Township) included 51 hostels that accommodated approximately 24,000 single male migrant laborers.
\+ I have no data on this suburb; it is the location of a prison and a police compound.
++ These suburbs were built after the Census, and I was unable to obtain any data on them.

be confiscated and she can be fined $20. Structurally, then, the location of urban housing imposes limitations on the ability of women to earn an income.

2. Marriage and Marital Status. African women migrated to Harare with or after their husbands, parents, siblings, and under their own auspices. Once in Harare, the exigencies of urban life can lead to familial breakdown and divorce, although no clear analysis or

statistical base reports actual figures. For the purpose of comparison, Table 6.2 reports the marital status of women nationally

TABLE 6.2

Marital Status of Women in Zimbabwe

Status*	Nationally**	% of Pop.	Urban***	% of Pop.
Never Married	453,512	22.4	46,671	25.2
Divorced/Separated	91,391	4.5	13,185	7.1
Widowed	171,736	8.5	9,702	5.3
Married	1,307,821	64.6	115,403	62.3
Not Stated			188	0.1
TOTALS	2,024,460	100.0%	185,149	100.0%

*Does not include women under the age of 15.
**Source: Zimbabwe. CSO, 1985:38.
***Source: Census, Table 19, October 3, 1983.

and, particularly, in urban areas, as reported in several government resources, while Table 6.3 reports the marital status of vendors interviewed. Further comparisons are made through the presentation of data in Table 6.4 on marital status ascertained as the result of research conducted in Highfield High Density Suburb.

Comparing the figures in each of these data sets, certain patterns can be discerned. The percentage of women who are married is reportedly lower for the entire country (64.6%), and for urban areas in general (62.3%) than it is for women in Highfield (84.9%) and for vendors in Harare (73.3%). Both the Highfield and Census data reported in Tables 6.4 and 6.2, respectively, were collected just prior to or just after independence in 1980, while the data on vendors was reported in 1986. A shift in urban marital status seems to have occurred. These figures might be explained in several ways.

TABLE 6.3*

Marital Status of Female Fresh Produce Vendors in Harare

Status	Percent	Number
Married	60.9	192
Divorced/Remarried	4.4	14
Widowed/Remarried	1.9	6
Married/Polygynous (one other wife)	5.7	18
Married/Polygynous (more than one other wife)	0.3	1
TOTAL MARRIED	73.3	231
Divorced	14.0	44
Widowed	11.7	37
Single (never married)	1.0	3
TOTAL NOT MARRIED	26.7	84

*Source: interview schedule.

TABLE 6.4

Marital Status of Women in Highfield Township*

Status	Percent	Number
Single	6.17	22
Separated/Deserted/ Divorced	5.89	21
Widowed	3.08	11
Married		
Customary Regist.	31.46	112
Customary Unreg.	32.86	117
Church/Civil	20.58	73
No Response/Other Category	3.78	14

* Source: Muchena 1980:23.

Access to housing in the townships of Harare in the two decades prior to 1980 was granted to male African migrant laborers who had resident wives. Remnants of this policy existed in the years just

after independence:

> . . . low income women have further problems in obtaining housing. When a couple who are tenants of the Municipality are divorced or separated, they must forfeit the house. The man may obtain "single" accommodation, but it is very difficult for a divorced woman with children to find accommodation. At the discretion of the township superintendent, and depending on demand in the housing area, widowed women may maintain the house providing that they can meet the rent; otherwise they have to find themselves alternative accommodation (Patel and Adams 1981:22-26).

It is highly likely, therefore, that a woman would not have reported herself as being divorced or widowed for fear of losing her accommodation. Since the passage of the Legal Age of Majority Act in 1981 (enforceable beginning in 1984), women are no longer perpetual minors and can own or rent their own housing in Harare. If a woman has the resources, and can meet the monthly rental requirements, legally she can live wherever she likes. Moreover, who resides in the former marital household is now a matter for the courts to decide. Consequently, the vendors I interviewed might have felt more free in reporting their divorced or widowed status than in studies conducted prior to the passage of this law.

Marriage, as a social institution, is highly regarded for cultural, economic and sociological reasons. As Robertson posits for Ghana, "marriage is not a choice but a social necessity" (Robertson 1984:177). Similarly, in Zimbabwe:

> Since the traditional family had to be large in order to guarantee the material well-being of all its members, of children, of the sick, the disabled and the old, and since this required continuity over time, every person had a moral obligation to marry and to contribute to the social reproduction of his kinship group. This most basic value, to beget or bear children, was instilled in all members of the society from early

> childhood onwards. Nobody was allowed to shirk this duty and social pressures ensured compliance. Even today a single life is still regarded as abnormal. . . (Weinrich 1982:34-35).

How such unions come about is challenged in the city, and this could be one of the reasons for the variance in marital status statistics. The prestations leading up to marriage between two corporate kin groups are many and varied. Among urban dwellers, as it was reported to me, these practices continue, although many well-educated young people feel the processes involved are anachronistic. Most emphatically, these women object to husbands paying lobola (see Chigwedere 1982) in return for exercising their rights over the children as well as over any income women generate (see May 1979:48).

It is unclear at what exact point a couple are said to be formally married under traditional practices. Holleman (1952:202) posits that it occurs when the bride is formally handed over to the husband; Bourdillon (1976:57) and May (1980:109-110) have identified earlier points for a marriage to begin.

Distance of the married couple from the rural homestead is a factor contributing to the discontinuance of bridewealth payment. For instance, of the 281 female vendors having reported that lobola was required upon marriage, only 28% of husbands actually finished paying the full amount. Lobola cash agreements ranged between less than Z$50 and Z$770. Requirements in cattle ranged between none and ten, and a combination of cash and cattle ranged between one beast and Z$30, and ten cattle and Z$200. Bridewealth, as reported by vendors, appears in Table 6.5.

TABLE 6.5*

Lobola/Roora Required for Vendor Marriages

Type of Payment	Percentage	Number
None	10.4	29
Less than Z$50	10.8	30
Z$50 - Z$100	15.1	42
Z$101 - Z$150	5.0	14
Z$151 - Z$200	7.5	21
Z$201 - Z$250	3.9	11
Z$251 - Z$300	6.5	18
Z$301 - Z$350	2.5	7
Z$351 - Z$400	5.0	14
Z$401 - Z$450	.7	2
Z$451 - Z$500	2.9	8
More than Z$501	1.8	5
Cattle/Cash Combo.	27.9	78

*Source: interview schedule.

Despite the "necessity" for marriage and the social and economic ties produced in the process, divorce is a growing phenomena ("'Till Death Do Us Part' No Longer Means Forever," Parade, February 1986:22). Refusal of conjugal rights, the inability of a woman to have children, and female infidelity are all reasons why divorce occurs ("Marriage Under Fire," Moto, No. 41, December 1985:4-5). A double standard exists in which men perceive their rights as being relatively unlimited because they have paid lobola.

> . . . I don't think she has a right to divorce me. After all I paid lobola for her and in any case, traditionally a man could marry many wives and a girlfriend or mistress could be seen in the same light (Moto December 1985:5).

Even in cases where bridewealth payments have not been made (mapoto marriages--see Muchena 1982:26), a man can discontinue his commitment at will leaving women without legal recourse to obtain maintenance.

The 58 female vendors who reported they were divorced cited the

following reasons: 34.7%, male infidelity; 16.3%, wife beating; 12.2%, inability to bear children. The remaining said divorce occurred, due to the women not bearing sons, desertion, and abandonment.

Of those divorced, 61.4% reported their children stayed with them, and 18.2% said the children went with their fathers. This finding runs counter to the traditional claim that men "own" their children as a result of having paid lobola (see May 1979:41). It is highly possible, using this finding as an indicator, that fewer men are paying bridewealth and thus cannot claim their children, or that men are unwilling to take on the financial responsibility of raising children from one marriage when they intend to start another.

Responsibility for children in the city means increased expenses a woman must bear. Oftentimes a woman who does not have the financial resources will send the children home to her parents, and send a cash remittance on a regular basis to maintain them (May 1979:42). I surmised this was the case with many vendors who reported their children were living away from them and who were sending remittances on a regular basis to their rural kin.

Widowhood also produces problems. When a husband dies, all the assets of the family revert to the man's kin. These belongings might include a house in the city, its furnishings, an automobile, in addition to the children. Increasingly, it has become the practice of so-called bereaved families to take the assets, but leave the children with the widow as they constitute a financial burden. Additionally, in many instances the deceased husband's family tries

to impose the levirate (kugarwa nhaka) on the widow, but more women appear to be refusing this option because it poses too many social and financial problems.

In the event of divorce or widowhood, many women (67%) attempted to return to their parents' homes afterwards. Major reasons for doing so are: having no other place to live (11.5%); his parents not wanting her to live with them any more (4.3%); her parents wanting her home because they saw she was suffering (5.8%); and nobody being able to support her where she was (7.2%). The preponderance of widows (70.3%) had no desire to return to the rural homes of their husbands because no one would take care of the women or the children there (13.8%), the women still felt a stranger living in the patrilineal homestead (6.9%), or because their husbands were foreigners having migrated to Zimbabwe from Mozambique or Malawi (10.4%).

3. The Family and Female Fertility. When I asked vendors about lobola, I also asked about the number of children they had, believing a relationship to exist between women's fertility and whether a husband had finished paying bridewealth. Fertility of vendors is reported in Table 6.6. For comparison, the fertility levels for African women in Harare are also presented in this table.

An approximate fertility figure for African women in Harare is 2.78, while the national average is 5.62 (Zimbabwe. First Five Year Plan 1986-1990. 1986:37). Comparing female vendors with these two figures, it would appear average vendor fertility falls between the two at approximately 4.8.

TABLE 6.6

Fertility Levels of African Women in Harare* and of Fresh Produce Vendors**

No. of Children	Women in Harare	Percent	No. of Vendors	Percent
0	58,588	35.2	10	3.0
1	23,488	14.1	28	8.7
2	21,124	12.7	33	10.3
3	16,137	9.7	47	14.7
4	12,635	7.6	45	14.1
5	9,490	5.7	29	9.1
6	7,689	4.6	52	16.2
7	5,777	3.5	43	13.4
8	4,299	2.6	17	5.3
9	2,859	1.7	11	3.4
10	1,884	1.1	3	.9
10+	2,436	1.5	2	.6
TOTAL	166,406	100.0%	320	100.0%

* Source: Census, Table 30A, August 17, 1983.
** Source: interview schedules.

There appears to be little significance between the number of children a woman bears and whether a husband values those children enough to complete payment of bridewealth. There also appears to be little correlation between the number of children a woman has and the amount of money her husband gives her to maintain the household. It is most likely that male incomes strongly affect both of these findings.

4. Male Employment Levels. According to the 1982 nationwide census, some 18.5% of the adult labor force was classified as unemployed (for males the percentage was 15.5, but for females it was

26.8).[1] Vendors reported that 21.3% of their spouses were unemployed,[2] an increase of 5.8% over the male average. Thus, households in which a husband is not working, and households where there is no male spouse--represented by 45.5% (n=148) of vendors--rely solely on the earnings of the vendors themselves or, alternatively, on financial assistance from relatives.

---

[1] The Census used the following occupational classifications: Professional, Technical and Related Workers; Administrative and Managerial Workers; Clerical and Related Workers; Sales Workers; Service Workers; Agricultural, Animal Husbandry and Forestry Workers; Production and Related Workers; and Workers not Classifiable by Occupation (Zimbabwe, CSO 1985). It would appear that the status "unemployed" was somewhat ambiguously assigned. The wording of the employment question--"Did this person work last week?"--is not defined and so was open to respondents' interpretation. While "Kind of Work" followed the above question, if the initial inquiry gave rise to a "No," then the reason for "Not Working" would have to be given. Ambiguity arises when "working" is defined as having a salaried job. The category would not necessarily include the many informal means Zimbabweans utilize to generate an income. I would suspect, owing to the number of shoe repairmen, fish mongers, automobile mechanics, and others engaged in informal income generating activities I observed, that the percentage of "unemployed" is really not accurate. The Statistical Yearbook of 1985 (Zimbabwe, CSO, 1985:47) reported that "According to the 1982 Census, about 130,000 or more than 9% of the labour force found themselves work in the informal sector. 90% of those were women. In total, 400,000 persons or almost 28% of the total labour force were either unemployed or found themselves work within the informal sector."

[2] Employment or "working" was defined for this research as either earning a salary or generating an income by any means. Thus, when vendors responded with the type of work their husbands were doing, they reported operating a tuck shop, shoe repair, hawking, sewing, "general labor," i.e., casual labor, and the like. Vendors see their husbands as being "employed" if they are generating an income in any way.

A similar argument can be made for the women themselves. When I asked vendors what types of "jobs" they had had before beginning their retail businesses, among the responses given were knitting, selling clothes, crochet, making clay pots, hawking, as well as domestic employment such as washer woman, cook, and childcare.

Of the vendors who said they were married, 78.7% (n=177) reported that their husbands were working. Of these 177 working husbands, 93.2% (n=165) were earning a salary on a regular basis. Some 59.9% (n=106) of the women whose husbands were working knew their husbands' earnings. These were reported as ranging between Z$30 and Z$1,500 per month, with the mean of Z$172.73. Comparatively speaking, in 1984 the minimum monthly urban wage for an unskilled worker was $115, with an average annual income of $1,015[3] (Riddell 1984).

For males, the inability to find work is more directly related to levels of education achieved; for females, unemployment rates are higher regardless of the educational levels they achieve (Zimbabwe, CSO 1985:122-130).

> The role of education in preparing a child for a working life is highly defective and gives young men a better edge in the choice of professions while relegating young women to jobs they have traditionally been identified with like nursing and teaching ("New Strategies Needed to Fight Sex Discrimination", Moto, No. 44, 1985:7).

Table 6.7 presents educational level of males in Harare. Unfortunately, the information in this table cannot be disaggregated for ethnic group. Table 6.8 presents the educational levels achieved by male spouses of vendors interviewed.

Among vendor spouses some 18.9% had never gone to school, while the total urban percentage is 22.7%. Yet the unemployment level for

---

[3] I cannot report with certainty the basis for this wage figure. It would appear that salaries paid to white labor have been included. Riddell (1984) does not include in his analysis the differentiation of salaries based on color and skills, nor does he cite the source of his figures.

TABLE 6.7

Education of Males in Harare*

Age Group	At School	Left School	Never Attended	Not Stated	Total
0-4	-	-	48,457	-	48,457
5-9	21,221	203	14,688	39	36,151
10-14	28,643	538	398	40	29,619
15-19	20,249	10,370	395	66	31,080
20-24	4,125	38,932	920	77	44,054
25-29	715	39,843	1,254	87	41,899
30-34	244	28,342	1,408	45	30,039
35-39	128	20,737	1,491	36	22,392
40-44	73	18,195	2,399	37	20,704
45-49	46	13,919	2,320	35	16,320
50-54	17	10,616	2,416	37	13,086
55+	51	15,359	3,993	118	19,521
NS	38	1,005	424	40	1,507
TOTAL	75,550	198,059	80,563	657	354,829

* Source: Census, Table 13A, September 27, 1983.

TABLE 6.8*

Educational Levels of Male Spouses of Female Fresh Produce Vendors in Harare

Educational Level	Percent	Number
None	18.9	45
Grade 1-3	8.4	20
Grade 4-5	13.9	33
Grade 6-7	26.5	63
Form 1-2	24.8	59
Form 3-4	3.8	9
More than Form 4	3.8	9

*Source: interview schedule.

vendor spouses in Harare is higher than that of the national average. Since no statistics on employment for Harare alone are currently available, I can only compare educational levels and unemployment on

a national level according to gender. Table 6.9 presents this information on national educational levels and unemployment. [4]

TABLE 6.9

National Educational Levels and Unemployment*

Educational Level	Employed				Unemployed			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	158,580	57.0	65,640	25.9	32,270	11.6	22,370	8.8
Primary (1-7 yrs.)	539,410	55.4	145,130	24.0	113,520	11.7	69,820	11.6
Secondary (Fm. 1 +)	195,330	75.5	73,480	63.8	17,990	6.9	12,130	10.5

* Source: CSO, 10% Sample, 1985:120-121, Tables V.12 and V.13.

Male unemployment makes it imperative for females to generate their own incomes. Given that female employment opportunities are fewer than those for males, it follows that women's incomes must be derived from informal economic activities.

5. Cash Needs. City life requires the daily expenditure of cash to purchase food and for transport. A sample of monthly expenditures incurred by vendors includes the items in Table 6.10.

I have already discussed the fact that some 45% of the population surveyed cannot rely on incomes from spouses, either

[4] The total urban labor force for Zimbabwe (based on a 10% sample) for all people ages 15 and above is 692,330 (or 62% of the entire urban population of 1,116,760). Of these totals, 180,770 (26.1%) of the urban labor force are said to be female out of a total urban female population over age 15 of 493,250 (38.3%). The total number of unemployed females is 104,320 or 26.8% of the population, while the total number of unemployed males is 163,780 or 18.5% (CSO, 10% Sample, p. 116).

TABLE 6.10*

Average Monthly Expenditures for Harare Vendor Households

school fees	$ 16.82
school uniforms	8.26
clothing	19.12
rent/mortgage	32.45
water/electricity	18.25
medical	6.61
remittance home	21.52
food	121.00
fuel/paraffin	3.26
transport (not including vendor)	6.19
other expenses	15.05
TOTAL	$268.53

*Source: interview schedule.

because husbands are unemployed, or because there is no resident spouse due to divorce or widowhood. For those spouses who are employed, Table 6.11 presents the salaries vendor husbands earn, as reported by vendors. The mean of monthly salaries is $172.73, representing a household expenditure deficit of $95.80. The preponderance of spouses, however, make considerably less than the mean--68 or 64% of the 106 reported incomes.

Thus, whether or not an urban household includes a male wage earner, it is highly likely that the incomes they generate are inadequate to meet household expenditures. Women's income generating activities must thus be seen as critical to urban family survival. The financial burden women bear not only includes daily food provisioning, but also purchase of and payment for basic human needs, i.e., shelter, food, and water (see May 1979 for Zimbabwe; Kaba 1982 for Liberia).

TABLE 6.11*

Monthly Incomes Generated by Male Spouses

Incomes (Z$)	Number	%
30-40	3	2.7
41-50	3	2.7
51-60	2	1.8
61-70	6	5.7
71-80	8	7.4
81-90	7	6.6
91-100	8	7.5
101-110	4	3.7
111-120	5	4.6
121-130	1	0.9
131-140	4	3.7
141-150	4	3.8
151-160	9	8.4
161-170	4	3.7
171-180	4	3.7
181-190	2	1.8
191-200	8	7.5
201-210	2	1.8
211-220	3	2.8
250	4	3.8
251-260	2	1.8
261-270	1	0.9
271-280	1	0.9
281-290	1	0.9
291-300	2	1.9
301-310	1	0.9
330	1	0.9
400	1	0.9
450	1	0.9
500	1	0.9
640	1	0.9
800	1	0.9
1000	1	0.9

*Source: interview schedule.

6. The Myth of the "Household Economy". It is assumed that household members (who can) contribute financial resources to meet the expenditures incurred for the benefit of its members. Indeed, incorporated in the definition of the household is the notion of it

being a locus of income pooling (see Wallerstein 1984:20). The assumption of income pooling needs re-examination in light of the data supplied to me by the vendors.

Out of the total number of women who are married, only 34% (n=79) reported that their husbands share their earnings in helping to pay for household expenses, school fees, rent, health care, and the like.

> . . . in many households where the wife works she is expected to pay for food and clothing for herself and her children out of her earnings, with the husband making up as far as is necessary from his wages. The husband usually pays rent and probably school fees. This is the urban adaptation of the traditional practices in which the wife is largely responsible for the production at all stages of food for the family (May 1979:54).

It would appear that where urban incomes are generated by both husbands and wives, each gender is expected to meet different expenditures. If the woman is working, she assumes responsibility for household food provisioning, and clothing for herself and her children; if there is a husband in the household and he is working, he should pay rent and school fees. If this were indeed the case, what average expenditures would males have to meet, and what would females have to meet?

Using the monthly expenditures listed above, men would be responsible for paying $91.84 per month, or 34.2%, while women would be responsible for $176.69, or 65.8%. More men would be able to meet these expenditures with their salaries--66% of spouses employed (n=70)--if they used them to support the household. This is not the

case for many vendor spouses, however.[5]

As an alternative to providing financial support to the household, I thought men might contribute purchased foodstuffs. I found that only 1.3% (n=3) of husbands provide this input for the family. Husbands' incomes are used to purchase their own daily worksite provisions and to create leisure activities.

The concept of "household economy" in the urban areas requires redefinition in light of the income data presented. Research conducted on this micro level indicates that urban males may or may not find it necessary to share their earnings with their spouses or take responsibility for providing financial inputs for their children's well being. Additionally, since women are purported to be the main provisioners of the household, the idea of a "household economy" where incomes are pooled seems erroneous. The inconsistency of contributions on the part of males, the disproportionate division of financial responsibilities according to gender in meeting household expenditures, and male unemployment all emphasize the need for women to generate a reliable income.

7. The Disintegration of the Family Unit. A final point on why women need to generate an income arises out of certain cultural beliefs about responsibility for step-children. Exacerbated by unemployment, social problems have given rise to a greater probability of marital dissolution, the rising incidence of children

---

[5] Rae Lessar Blumberg has written a very illuminating report for the World Bank that analyzes how women's and men's incomes are utilized (Blumberg (draft) 1987).

being born to single females, and greater cultural discord. If a woman marries, has children, divorces, and subsequently remarries, the second husband usually refuses to support the children of the previous marriage if the wife has custody. Custody of children will reside in women if bridewealth has not been paid (May 1983), if the families of widows do not want the financial burden of the chilren, or if the husband refuses to take them after divorce. Thus, if a woman wants the children of her first marriage to be educated, she must find the financial means to do so. (Under the new Zimbabwean maintenance laws, a woman can have a man's salary attached--if he is employed--to obtain child support.)

Why Women Become Fresh Produce Vendors

The first half of this chapter considered why there is an increased need in the city for women to generate an income. This section explores why fresh produce vending has been chosen by respondents.

1. Female Employment Opportunity Structures. Women in Harare employ a wide range of strategies to generate an income. For the preponderance of unskilled urban women, however, the range is limited. Educational levels limit employment options, although, as posited above, the structure of female employment opportunity more heavily influences the jobs women are allowed to obtain. A similar assertion has been made for women in other places. In Latin America

> . . . it is doubtful that increased education leads to better employment opportunities except at the higher levels of the occupational hierarchy, and here women are limited to those few "female" fields described earlier. Their wages are likely to be lower, and their mobility is more limited (Schmink 1986:13).

A more forceful argument is posited for the women of Africa:

> Societies are arranged in such a way that women's independent access to productive resources, to labor markets, to information, to political and legal rights are seriously constrained. Society permits them only limited control of their own productive capabilities (Cloud 1984:44).

Parallel to the analysis of the male population, Table 6.12 considers the educational levels achieved by females in Harare.[6]

TABLE 6.12

Educational Levels Achieved by Women in Harare*

Age Group	At School	Left School	Never Attended	Not Stated	Total
0-4	-	-	48,588	-	48,588
5-9	22,612	227	15,061	47	37,947
10-14	30,123	1,073	603	52	31,851
15-19	16,339	18,931	1,324	67	36,661
20-24	1,597	38,101	2,163	78	41,939
25-29	284	28,485	1,998	45	30,812
30-34	132	18,007	1,674	42	19,855
35-39	76	13,221	1,699	29	15,025
40-44	34	9,720	1,740	17	11,511
45-49	21	6,625	1,425	27	8,098
50-54	20	4,916	1,061	21	6,018
55+	57	11,601	2,620	164	14,442
NS	32	363	357	36	788
TOTAL	71,327	151,270	80,313	625	303,535

* Source: Census, Table 13A, September 27, 1983.

Table 6.13 then presents the educational levels of female vendors.

[6] Similar to Table 6.7 for males, the information presented in this table cannot be disaggregated for ethnic group.

TABLE 6.13*

Educational Levels of Female Fresh Produce Vendors in Harare

Educational Level	Percent	Number
None	18.8	60
Grade 1-3	14.4	46
Grade 4-5	21.9	70
Grade 6-7	27.2	87
Form 1-2	15.0	48
Form 3-4	2.5	8
More than Form 4	.3	1

*Source: interview schedule.

Similar to the figures on male educational levels, the overall Harare figure for women who have received no education is 26.5% of the total, while the percentage of female vendors having received no education is 18.8. For females, the percentage who have no education more closely coincides with the percentage who are unemployed. I make this assertion on the basis of certain calculations made with documents supplied to me by the Census Department (Census, Table 19, October 3, 1983) that reports various employment information for all urban areas.

The only data I have to support my contention that female unemployment levels are higher than those for males in Harare are those extrapolated from the Census figures appearing in the preceeding pages. This information appears in Table 6.14.

Of those who knew their ages, women reported they were between 16 and 73, with a converse relationship of age to education, i.e., the younger the vendor, the more education she had received. But years in school cannot be directly correlated to skills acquired.

TABLE 6.14

Male and Female Unemployment Levels in Urban Centers

Characteristic	Male		Female
Unemployed	22,516		18,069
Not Working	4,503		6,925
Home Maker*	686		83,426
TOTAL	27,705		108,420
Percent of Total Gender Population	270,221 10.3		217,000 50.0
Percent of Total Urban Population	5.7	487,221	22.3

* According to the 1982 Population Census 10% report, it is assumed that an indeterminate portion of the Home Maker population is also seeking work, or may be self-employed, in which case no statistics would be presented.

Colonial educational policies sought to create an African population with just sufficient knowledge to function in the colonial world at a level settlers required. Skills training was not a part of the curriculum, so the job opportunities open to those with education was limited by what colonials determined educated Africans could do. While educational curriculum is currently being revised to meet the skill needs of an independent Zimbabwe, the vendors I interviewed had been a part of previous educational processes.

The exceptions to participation in the formal educational structure are the non-formal training schemes that 15.7% (n=51) of the female vendors had undertaken. Courses included sewing/ dressmaking, Red Cross, and how to be a pre-school aid, among others. But these training schemes did not prove adequate in securing vendors a long-term, reliable source of income. Indeed,

after a brief foray into these fields, the endeavor was dropped in favor of fresh produce vending.

Vendors reported they had sought and found work in a number of enterprises: 22.5% (n=73) had been employed as domestics; of the remaining 35 who reported having worked for a salary, activities included working as a shopgirl, in a creche or nursery school, making greeting cards, sewing in a clothing factory, cleaning in a hotel, hospital, or office building, and as sorters and packagers at the tobacconeers.

The entrepreneurial economic activities women have developed for themselves include buying and selling clothing, knitting and selling sweaters, operating a tuckshop (kiosk), and crocheting and selling tablecloths and articles of clothing (see Brand 1982:42-44, for a further description of these activities). While each of these income generating activities provided vendors at one time with cash to purchase food, none was capable of sustaining them or their families over the long term.

2. Women's Provisioning Roles and the Division of Labor. African woman have traditional domain over certain enterprises, whether they be in the rural or urban areas. Owing to the pattern of accommodation developed during the colonial period, many urban housing plots do not have adequate garden space. Moreover, due to the rising price of real estate, many families have been forced to become lodgers in other people's houses (Patel and Adams 1981). This status entails no rights to cultivate any land that may surround the house; such cultivation is conducted only by the owners.

As asserted above, women do not discard the roles they are ascribed in the rural areas when they migrate to the cities. Women maintain their provisioning roles and are faced with a dilemma: how to provision their families without the productive means to do so. While wages and other income generating activities are considered the means to gain access to provisions for many women, establishing a food vending enterprise brings women closer to the food source. That is, by purchasing fresh produce wholesale from the earnings generated from prior sales, vendors can provision their families at wholesale cost, and generate an income at the same time. In this way, a cultural role is fulfilled in the process of meeting other economic objectives.

3. The Cultural Value of the Substance Exchanged. Valuing the substance of exchange has been elaborated on by Sahlins (1972). He draws an analytical distinction between use and exchange value in non-capitalist, non-market economies and asserts that investing value in articles of exchange is mediated by symbols ascribed with meaning in a given cultural context. That is, the commodity exchanged has value because it is used to fulfill certain objectives, and because if has symbolic value in the act of exchange itself (for example, establishing good relations between traders).

While Sahlins' arguments were made for pre-capitalist societies, I believe they can be applied to market transactions as well. Substance produced for exchange derives value from several arenas: the use of the item produced and exchanged; the social rewards achieved from the actual exchange; and the scarcity of the

substance produced relative to its demand. What is missing from this evaluative process is the cultural meaning of the substance in and of itself, i.e., what intrinsic meaning does the society ascribe to the substance itself? Indeed, does this sort of valuing exist?

Sahlins has attempted to ferret out these meanings and separate them from the "utility" of commodities exchanged. He posits that "meaning is the specific property of the anthropological object" (Sahlins 1976:x). Meaning, however, is derived from a system of codification that rests on yet another, more general debate on human behavior (i.e., nature vs. nurture). He posits that:

> whether the cultural order is to be conceived as the codification of man's actual purposeful and pragmatic action; or whether, conversely, human action in the world is to be understood as mediated by the cultural design, which gives order at once to practical experience, customary practice, and the relationship between the two

is not a trivial dichotomy (Sahlins 1976:55). He argues further that particular circumstances give rise to particular practices, which in turn are expressed through organization and codification, and that "codification expresses organization," i.e., codes are ascribed meanings that express certain human relations. I believe it is in this assertion that intrinsic meaning can be ascribed to certain cultural symbols that are then related to others in a system of codification that expresses a wider social organization than the symbol itself.

Such a symbol for the vendors is in the fresh produce itself. In the countryside, a woman is allocated well watered plots on which to cultivate fruits and vegetables. This plot, essentially, has two purposes--one practical and one symbolic: to provision the family

from continuously harvested crops; and to create a relationship between the woman who "married-in" and the patrilineal ancestors of the husband.[7] Ceremonies are conducted to acknowledge the intervention of the ancestral (vadzimu) or clan (mhondoro) spirits in helping to bring about an abundant harvest of mishashe, green vegetables (Gelfand 1970). This ceremony is normally held in April when the summer greens have been picked, and again in September when the winter greens are harvested.

Since abundant harvests depend, it is believed by various Shona-speaking groups, on the relationship between the cultivator and the patrilineage ancestors, such a harvest is a symbol of the woman having been accepted by her husband's ancestors. The crops grown symbolize an intrinsic relationship between the living and the dead. That women are responsible for the cultivation of these crops throughout the year seems not only a matter of economics and food provisioning, but also a continual indicator of a sustained relationship between a "foreigner" and an "insider," albeit in this

---

[7] David Lan (1986) found that the VaKorekore view life as a drying out process. Children are born wet, and as aging occurs, so too does drying out. The process is not exactly the same for men and women. Women's drying out occurs largely at menopause.

I find Lan's analysis particularly useful in considering the relationship of women to the land and women's agricultural roles. There is obviously a connection between water and fertility. Women are presumed wet and fertile when they marry; they are given wet and fertile lands to cultivate when they marry. Just as women prove their fertility in giving birth to children, the land they cultivate demonstrates its fertility in harvests. Fertility, however, is said to be enhanced by the ancestral spirits. Thus, a woman who cannot bear children, or a garden that does not produce abundantly, are each considered the result of a breach with the ancestors that must be healed through the appropriate ritual.

instance one who has passed away.

The relationship of this discussion to that on the meaning of substance is that a woman in the rural areas who can trade her surpluses is making at least two statements: 1) that she has harvested abundantly enough to trade her surplus; and 2) that she has been accepted by her husband's ancestors, and continues to be so, as evidenced in what she has to trade. Surplus garden crops are thus a symbol of patrilineage acceptance and women's achievement of status within their husbands' families. Surplus garden crops are also an indicator of an underlying ethic that reflects hard work and diligence; women's personal status in the community is enhanced as she displays the fruits of her labor.

In the urban areas, it is more difficult to see the relationship between the substance of exchange and status. The status a rural woman achieves derives from her ability to harvest aplenty and to provision her family. In the city, elements of personal status are more illusive. It is not sufficient for women to see that their families are fed; rather, greater status emerges in the number of children a woman can care for and send to school. If a woman can say she has sent all of her children to school through Form 4, her status is recognized among her peers as one who is clever and diligent enought to have done so. Thus, it is not the fruits and vegetables themselves that have the same intrinsic value as they do in the countryside, but the education of a vendor's children that the financial returns the marketing of this produce makes possible.

When financial returns appear problematic, a cause must be

discerned. In certain instances, women indicated they did not sell much because they did not have much to sell. In other instances, women indicated they had "bad luck." Bad luck is translated, for Shona-speaking people, into poor relations with the ancestral spirits.

The ability of women to trade in fresh produce is related to their continued, though tacit, good relations with those of the spirit world. Low incomes, no customers, rotten goods inadvertently purchased at the wholesaler, are all indicators of bad luck or a breach with the ancestors. If good relations prevail between vendors and their ancestors, ancestors would continually protect vendors from being "cursed" by other vendors.

On repeated occasions, vendors reported that their stalls had been sprinkled with powerful herbs (muti or mushonga) that would prevent customers from purchasing from them, or that a vendor had sprinkled certain herbs on her own stall to attract customers. When there are no customers, there is no income, and no means to provision the family or send children to school. Customers, by analogy, have taken the place of abundant harvests as indicators of good relations with the ancestral spirits. Customers are also seen as the vehicle through which vendors generate the cash needed to send their children to school.

What is of underlying importance in this discussion is that women could not become very good vendors if they did not have some expertise in the crops themselves. This expertise is an integral part of the cultural system into which women are socialized. The

knowledge they acquire in this particular cultural setting is brought to bear in conducting their trade.

4. Exercising "Psychic Control" Over an Urban Economic Activity. Women in the city need to feel they can control a portion of their environment. By establishing and maintaining a business in the informal economy, women enhance their self-esteem by continuing to be able to contribute to the finances of the domestic unit. This same advantage was identified for self-employed petty traders in Nairobi:

> These advantages are: getting all the profits, which do not belong to anyone else; not being answerable to someone else; one cannot be sacked; no harassment or supervision; more incentive and effort; free disposition of time; free to stay home in case of children's illnesses; more initiative and motivation; more control over profit (Adagala 1986:25).

The women I interviewed exhibited a "pride of professionalism" in operating their businesses. That this pride is generated not only because they have carved out an economic niche for themselves in a relatively hostile environment, but also because they have achieved an elite-like status in being able to solve the critical problems of daily food provisioning and cash needs. Moreover, they help to provide food access to others in the community by occupying the main provisioning link between producers/wholesalers and consumers. Without the very bold actions of female vendors to participate in this enterprise, purchasing daily fresh produce requirements would necessitate a bus ride to the nearest formal sector distribution point. As an alternative, retail shops would have to take on these additional commodities and charge accordingly. Thus, expenditures

for stall rent and daily transport absorbed by female vendors purchases for them the status of produce provider not only to their own families but to the wider community.

This pride of professionalism extended, almost to their detriment, to an extreme in delineating norms of behavior in the marketplace. For instance, when I asked women if they ever pooled their money to make bulk wholesale purchases, 100% indicated they did not. When I asked why not, some 48 different answer were given. Among the main reasons were: "we don't go to purchase at the same time" (16.9%); "we never could arrange to do that" (11.1%); "we don't have enough money to buy in bulk" (9.8%); and "no one ever thought of that" (9.2%). Interesting were the 10.8% who focussed upon the jealousies and distrust between vendors and how this translates into lack of cooperative activity. The remaining vendors (42.2%) spoke critically about the inability to cooperate when finances are concerned, especially when expenditure must be incurred for transport and for commodities that are not price-fixed.

Another aspect of vendor unwillingness to share with other vendors in purchasing is the individual perception that only the vendors themselves know their customers' needs. I believe what vendors were trying to relate to me is that they know what commodities will sell. If others are sent to pick out commodities in bulk, individual vendors might be left with the quality of product their customers will not buy. It is not just a matter of buying a box of tomatoes; rather, the size, color, ripeness (measured in hardness or softness), as well as cost, all contribute to whether or

not a vendor can sell her commodities. Their pride of professionalism is measured in terms of how much they can sell each day and this depends on their own business acumen in judging their clientele.

5. Other Incomes and Professional Bonds. An additional opportunity to generate lump-sum incomes not readily available to women who earn incomes in other ways is the daily revolving credit/savings societies. Savings societies are vendor operated and entail the collection and distribution of cash on a daily basis. Their informal nature is not intimidating, as are the rigors involved in the establishment of formal cooperatives under the Ministry of Cooperatives.

> The reciprocity entailed in the pooling of savings enhances the quality of friendship and neighbourliness in the group, which also provides ways for small, increasingly nucleated or matrifocal families to knit themselves into wider communities which carry social obligations, trust, reciprocity and mutual aid in a way that kinship groups are able to do in rural areas (Yawitch 1980:18).

Depending on the number of people who participate, a woman could receive a sizeable lump sum amount at stated intervals. Those amounts could be saved to meet the financial requirements entailed in school fees, funerals, hearthhold maintenance, etc., or could be used to purchase a larger quantity of commodities for resale. This strategy might be adviseable at the end of the month when salaries are paid, or at Christmas bonus time when urban dwellers purchase more commodities to serve as gifts for their rural kin.

The professional bonding generated in sharing space over time has promoted an inter-vender reliabilty such that when one must be

absent another can sell for her. Some 36.9% (n=120) indicated that in their absence another vendor sells for them. Bonding has its limitations, however. The remaining vendors indicated that a relative or their children would come to sell for them, the reason being that in matters involving finances co-workers can be trusted just so far. In fact, this was also cited as one of the reasons why vendors do not cooperate in bulk buying--they do not trust each other. Sharing a purchase with one other vendor is acceptable, as one can pick which vendor to share with. Buying in bulk is not acceptable as it leaves too much room for doubt in the handling of finances.

6. Women's Needs and Childcare. If education limits female income generating choices, then the presence of small children limits it further. No formal sector workplace provides day care, and the economics of urban life mitigate the probability of having a remunerated care giver continuously present in the home. While many vendors indicated the presence of other adults in their homes, the large numbers of small children observed in each marketplace attested to the absence of another caregiver. Thus, women whose families, friends, and neighbors have not been able to provide a social support network must identify an income-generating activity that is compatible with childcare.

Summary and Conclusions

Women in Harare have had to find the means to generate an income because of many economic, cultural, and urban contextual reasons. The historical context in which work roles were defined was

biased not only against Africans in general, but against African women in particular who were perceived as those who remained in the rural areas while their husbands migrated to earn an income. This bias is currently reflected in the pattern of urban unemployment. While many males are unemployed in Harare, a higher percentage of females fall into this category.

As a result of these biases, women have had to carve out an economic niche for themselves in self-generated, small scale enterprises. Similar patterns of employment have been noted in Latin America (Harrison, Henley, Riley and Shaffer 1974; Davies, Winter and Whiteford 1985; and Schmink, Bruce and Kohn 1986), throughout Africa (Robertson 1984; Adagala 1986; Brand 1982), in the East (McGee 1973; Jumani and Joshi 1984), in the Caribbean (Katzin 1971), and elsewhere (Harper and Kavura 1982).

With the cultural and sociological problems inherent in marriage, divorce, and widowhood, and the lack of concern on the part of many male spouses to financially contribute to household maintenance, it is necessary that women secure a steady source of income so that they can at least satisfy their basic needs. The children women have serve as a further incentive to generate an income. Vendors reported the money they earn not only meets household provisiong needs, but also pays for school fees.

The particular choice women in Zimbabwe make to trade in fresh produce may have its ultimate rationale in their rurally-based link to garden production and thus to the ancestors who are seen as their protectors. Alternatively, the choice might be based more heavily in

the economic theories of maximization since daily intake makes possible daily contributions to savings societies and the receipt of larger sums on a periodic basis. Or, the choice might depend on the age-old notion that women's work must be compatible with childcare, the marketplace being an acceptable location for young children to be.

It is important, in concluding this chapter, to reassert that women's income is separate from men's and that women's incomes are used, in large part, to sustain their families and their children. A similar finding was presented by Kumar for Kerala, albeit for women in the rural areas who both cultivate and trade what they grow:

> Of all the variables tested, the trading activity of the mother is the one most significantly associated ($p<0.001$) with the nutritional status of the child. In no case does a woman's trading generate profits that are equivalent to those of male long-distance traders, but the relatively small amount of money that a female trader earns is translated more directly to the nutrition of her children. The woman has complete control over her earnings, and although her trading does not provide her with a lot of money, it does furnish a small steady income which she can use to buy food to augment that provided by the farming activities of herself and her husband (Kumar 1978:19-20).

Why a woman in Harare chooses to sell fresh produce as an income generating activity rests, ultimately, on her tacit goals of provisioning her family and caring for the well-being of her children. That a woman in Harare is limited in her choice of how to generate an income means that she must call upon what expertise she has to fulfill her goals. A woman's expertise is composed of what she has learned in the city and what she has acquired as having been socialized into a cultural, indigenous knowledge system. The blend

of culture, economics, and urban context all act as guides directing women to generate incomes by selling fruits and vegetables. What would happen to women and their families if this option were not available? The answer to this question, as well as an exploration of the implication of women's activities in the urban context, is explored in Chapter Seven.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Consequences of Women's Marketing Activities

Introduction

This last chapter begins with a summary of the cultural, urban contextual and economic arguments posited in this study to answer the question: Why do vendors do what they do? The consequences of vendor activities to their families and to the community that constitutes their customers provides the final part of the answer to this question. Concluding remarks consider the future of women as fresh produce vendors in Harare in light of two development programs currently being implemented and in light of certain policy considerations.

Summary of Cultural, Urban Contextual and Economic Arguments

Vendors do what they do because of "a multi-causal, goal-driven decision procedure" (Plattner 1985:xi). The goal vendors seek to meet entails family food provisioning and child welfare, each of which is made possible through daily access to food and income. This economic activity, however, cannot be analyzed solely on the basis of returns to labor; indeed, what this study has illustrated is the multiplex nature of decision-making that includes variables based on culture, urban context and economics.

In Chapter Two the historical background to the ways in which women created the urban economic niche of fresh produce vendor were discussed. Reasons why women needed to generate an income were based in the context of the labor reserve economy imposed during the

colonial era.

In Chapter Three, an analysis of the divided marketing system in which women operate was presented. Constraints to vendor operations and limitations preventing increases in returns to labor were discussed as part of the bifurcated marketing system. Many of the points analyzed concern access, not only for the vendor, but also for the producer. Access problems include: how seasonal availability and quality of a commodity are determined by farmer access to necessary inputs; how commodities are distributed throughout the city according to supply relationships established between producer and wholesaler; how the location of wholesale markets impinges upon vendor ability to generate larger returns to labor; how commodity pricing varies between formal and informal sector wholesalers; how vendors must deal with middlemen in making their purchases; and what vendors must surmount in their own marketplaces. Each of these access problems--whether of the producer or of the vendor--affect vendor ability to generate returns to labor.

Chapter Four presented a broad overview of vendors themselves to explain the parameters of vendor decision-making. The narrative began with vendor rural origins and the many factors that brought them to Harare. Discussions of the female work ethic, urban family life and family relations to rural kin identified many variables that made women decide they must generate an income. The specifics of why vendors chose to establish fresh produce vending as an income generating activity were analyzed in terms of certain limitations to employment the urban environment presented to relatively uneducated,

unskilled women who had small children to care for.

Chapter Five and Chapter Six both considered the multi-causal factors determining women's participation in the fresh produce marketing enterprise. Chapter Five discussed the economics of the fresh produce vending enterprise to determine whether vendor returns to labor meet cash needs. Gross margins and net returns to labor for the week of intensive interviewing at each market were analyzed for the vendor population as well as for six case studies. Analysis of variability in gross margins and returns to labor included: wholesale pricing and seasonal supply; wholesale pricing and place of purchase; number, type and quantity of commodities sold; physical properties of and vendors position within the marketplace; physical position of the marketplace itself; the duration of the enterprise; customers and credit; vendor absence; competition; wholesaler cheating; and labor.

Weekly household expenditures reported by vendors were then considered in comparison to income in terms of the percentage of vendor returns to labor that meet household expenditures. Conclusions indicated that for some vendors, their businesses generated enough cash to meet household needs; but for others, they did not. This finding led to the discussion of cultural and urban contextual variables in the subsequent chapter.

Proceeding with the multi-causal analysis of women's economic behavior, Chapter Six first considered women's work ethic as the underlying variable behind women's economic activities. Subsequent analysis explained why urban life makes it necessary for women to

generate an income. Points included: how population distribution, marriage and marital status, female fertility, male employment levels, particular cash needs, the myth of the household economy, and the disintegration of the family unit all make it necessary for women to earn their own incomes. The second section of this chapter considered the particular reasons why women interviewed have become fresh produce vendors. Factors analyzed included: female employment opportunity structures; women's provisioning roles and the division of labor; the cultural value of the substance exchanged; exercising "psychic" control over an urban economic activity; other incomes and professional bonds; and women's needs and childcare.

Why Vendors Do What They Do

When I asked vendors whether it was better to sell vegetables or earn an income in any other way, 72.9% (n=237) responded that fresh produce vending was the best. When I asked why or why not this was their best choice, they responded with a variety of answers: "I have no education;" "I can't get any other job;" "I can't just stay home and do nothing;" "it's too long to wait for money until the end of the month;" and "if I were to look for work, who would look after the children?"

Most significant were the respondents who reported they preferred selling vegetables to other income generating activities because: they "can get money [quickly] to feed and support the family" (14.7%, n=47); they "never run short of money," or they "get money daily for food" (12.5%, n=40); if they don't sell much, they could "just pick vegetables from the stall and take them home to

cook" or they "never go hungry" or they sustain "no loss" because they cook what they cannot sell (4.3%, n=14).

Many others reported the importance of the money they earn in educating their children. Child welfare considerations were a primary focus of women's activities. These were evidenced in two ways: the number of small children visible in each marketplace; and the number of children vendors proudly reported they educated with the money they earned selling fresh produce. Concerning the former, other income generating alternatives would not allow vendors to interact with their pre-school age children in the same way as they do in the marketplace. In regard to the latter, vendors reported their incomes integral to the future well-being of their children: the instrumental value of income was defined in terms of how many of their children could be educated.

Women, through their marketing activites, are able to meet their goals: provisioning their families and generating certain returns to labor that contribute to meeting household expenditures, especially those dealing with the well-being and education of their children. These are not the only outcomes of their activities, however. Through vending, women accomplish many things: they establish their own reference groups and sources for information exchange; they create satisfaction in that they are able to more reliably secure a means to provision their families; they create for themselves a reputation for hard work and fair play; and they engender a certain status in the community for facilitating the availability of commodities otherwise not available without

additional expense.

In summary, women have many reasons why they become fresh produce vendors. Primarily, women meet their tacit goals of taking care of the provisioning and educational needs of their families. Secondarily, they come to terms with life in the city by creating a niche for themselves congruent with cultural beliefs about women's work, their qualifications, and their domestic demands. Without the option to establish these small scale enterprises, a significant number of children would not go to school and, most likely, family nutritional levels would be reduced (see Blumberg (1987) for a detailed analysis of this outcome). What are further implications for this income generating option not being available?

Implications of Women's Activities

1. The Family and Nutrition. Women's choice to sell fruits and vegetables as an income generating activity also means that women can provision their families with fresh produce on a daily basis. In Chapter Five, I asserted that a very large percentage of family income is utilized to purchase food. Lipton (1982) noted that the poorest people in many countries use as much as 80% of their family income to purchase 80% of their daily food requirements--the "double 80 rule." This rule may not be applicable in the case of people who have access to a variety of foodstuffs by virtue of their profession.

Vendors reported taking food home daily to cook for their families. One of the as yet unanswered questions this research poses is just how much of a given commodity vendors actually take home for family provisioning. Because of lacunae in my own data, I cannot

forcefully argue that many vendors are nutritionally any worse or better off than other urban inhabitants who are not vendors. Limited information on nutrition is presented in a study undertaken by Sanders who found that in families where there was no wage earning male contributor, or one in which the father is living away from the children, incidence of malnutrition increased (Sanders 1986:7). Would the same finding be true for vendor families?

An empirical question, to be answered by future research, is whether or not daily provisions furnished by vendors to their families constitute a differentiating factor between vendors and non-vendors in terms of family nutritional status. Because of the lacunae of comparative nutritional and income data on vendors and other urban inhabitants, I can only suggest that because vendors have constant access to food, their families may not be as nutritionally endangered as others in similar income categories.

2. Urban Provisioning. A second major implication of women's activities is the provisioning of the city itself with fresh produce. I have discussed in Chapter Three the structural relations between producers and wholesalers, and between wholesalers and vendors, involved in the marketing of these commodities. What I have not discussed are the consumers.

The delicate balance vendors must maintain between the wholesale prices they pay for their commodities and the retail prices they can charge often puts vendors in a precarious income generating position. Seasonal fluctuation in wholesale prices have to be buffered by vendors if they wish to maintain their customers.

While distribution of commodities during periods of scarcity favors the white, upper-class neighborhoods, availability of these commodities during such times to the urban poor is partially a function of how much of a loss vendors can absorb. The urban poor cannot afford to pay more for their daily foodbasket. Since wages for unskilled and semi-skilled workers have historically been and are currently for many Harare Africans inadequate to meet household expenditure (Mosley 1987:217), their basic food needs cannot be met in times of commodity scarcity without the ability of retail vendors to buffer urban prices.

3. Urban Food Security. That vendor activities afford the urban poor a form of food security is also a point that needs to be made given the research currently being conducted on food security in Zimbabwe and the other SADCC countries of Southern Africa. Food security has been defined as:

> . . . the ability of a country or region to assure, on a long-term basis, that its food system provides the total population access to a timely, reliable, and nutritionally adequate supply of food (Eicher and Staatz 1985:1).

The focus of this research in Zimbabwe has been on grain crop production and marketing, with primary emphasis on production since marketing of these commodities is controlled by the Grain Marketing Board. Unfortunately, grains are the only commodities considered.

The goal of food security research is to provide information to national leaders to enable them to modify food production and distribution policies so that an ever-increasing number of people can have access to food on a continual basis either through production or marketing. How can these policies be generated without knowing

anything about the other commodities in the family foodbasket?

Fruits and vegetables are produced either by white commercial farmers or, largely, by African women in their garden plots. These commodities are marketed either by women themselves or through a racially-based bifurcated marketing system. As illustrated in this study, data cannot easily be collected on either production or marketing. Yet, government policy, uninformed by food security or other research, seeks to change the nature of many of the marketing enterprises that meet urban food provisioning needs:

> Government will encourage self-employment by formalising the informal sector . . . (Zimbabwe. First Five-Year National Development Plan 1986-1990 1986:18)

Considering the large population vendors provision, it is most important that the women who constitute the final link in the production/marketing chain in the urban areas be incorporated in food security research. Where individuals have delineated an economic niche for themselves, the incomes from which many hundreds of people in Harare survive, intervention with the absence of detailed information could mean further urban impoverishment and reduction of urban food security.

Women's Marketing Activities and Development

Intervention in women's activities has already begun to take place, albeit on supply sources rather than on their locus of operation.

1. EEC (European Economic Community)-Funded Project: Mashonaland East Smallholder Fruit and Vegetable Programme. This project has been designed to help the communal farmers in Mutoko,

Uzumba, Chinamora and Seke increase vegetable and fruit production by:

> . . . strengthening of the extension services in the horticultural field, and by alleviating transport and marketing constraints experienced between the producer and the wholesaler. The project aims to influence a total of 4 000 vegetable growers and a further 1 200 mango producers, over a four year period (ARDA 1985:12).

It is intended that increased production ensuing from the implementation of this project be sold at Mbare Musika (ARDA 1985:14). It is just assumed that all African communal farmers sell their produce either themselves or to wholesalers at Mbare--no other channels for distribution have been explored (with the exception of the export market for the stringless mangoes communal farmers are supposed to produce).

Because Mbare will receive increased commodity flows, the Musika will be improved. "Improvements" include the reduction of the number of stalls for wholesalers from 110 to 89 with a concomitant "small increase in the charge per stand" (ARDA 1985:115). The plan does not include any concern for the area in which the several hundred farmers sell their produce on a daily rental basis.

The deleterious implications of this project for the marketing system and the retail vendors include: an overall commodity price increase due to increased wholesaler costs; increased commodity gluts due to lack of comprehensive consideration of production input requirements among African farmers; and perpetuation of the bifurcated marketing system owing to the lack of recognition on the part of policy makers that Africans do, indeed, market some of their commodities through formal channels. That women vendors must balance

these changes with their customers' needs will present a number of problems: what to do about prices and what to do about supply.

2. Zimbabwe Women's Bureau Musika Cooperative. In the earliest years of independence, the Zimbabwe Women's Bureau helped women growing fruits and vegetables in the communal areas of Chinamora and Mutoko to form a cooperative. They also helped urban women form a marketing cooperative. While a link between these two would have been logical, certain practical concerns mitigated cooperation: if rural production cooperatives were to serve high density suburb consumers exclusively, then crop focus would be on those commodities traditionally in demand; these crops, however, may not be as profitable as others sold through other marketing channels; vendors may not have been adequately supplied with the quantity of produce needed from the rural production cooperatives.

Although composed of some 725 retail vendors from 22 different market locations, and with $27,500 in capital available to buy trucks and improve certain retail markets (Zimconsult 1983:3.2-3.3), the Musika cooperative failed. Reasons for its demise included: emphasis of management over member benefit; lack of communication; indeterminate loss of funds; improper and unauthorized use of Musika vehicles; and lack of sound management and accountability practices (Zimconsult 1983: 3.8-3.9).

The Zimbabwe Women's Bureau is currently trying to help women in the establishment of a new cooperative that is designed to prevent the recurrence of these mistakes. A core problem that needs to be overcome, however, is the basic trust entailed in cooperative

participation.

More than the majority of vendors indicated in one way or another that they did not regard their fellow vendors with a high degree of trust. This is partially due to the common perception that "where money is concerned, somebody cheats." To prevent future failure, and to keep in line with the Government mandate to promote "the development of co-operatives in all sectors of the economy" (Zimbabwe, First Five-Year Development Plan 1986-1990, 1986:18), it would behoove future cooperative organizers to familiarize themselves totally with the problems and constraints, as well as the economic and social conditions, of fresh produce marketing.

How should these development projects and government policies be viewed? What is the future for informal sector produce vendors if their markets are to be "formalized?"

Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

Factors leading to the establishment of small scale fresh produce vending enterprises have been considered in cultural, urban contextual and economic terms. How can these factors determining participation be taken into account in designing policy to further development?

> . . . the food trade is one aspect in the construction of a . . . society whose contours are poorly perceived through the lenses of our current models. The social and material process is not entirely dominated by the ethnic factor assumed in the past by anthropologists, the state domination assumed by political scientists, the evolution of a recognisable market system by neo-classical economists, nor the class formation assumed by Marxists. Concentration on particular local arenas where all these processes meet is one step towards understanding the organisation of this society (Guyer 1987:47).

Guyer's assertion is relevant to policy considerations affecting the future of women's marketing activities in Harare.

In the long term, it appears government's goal is to formalize informal enterprises. If operationalized, this would mean that all businesses and transactions would be recorded, regulated and taxed. How would this be possible given the very large number of uneducated individuals working in this sector? It would also mean urban consumers would no doubt pay more for their foodbasket because both wholesale and retail prices would increase since informal marketeers would have to absorb the costs of being "formalized."

Alternative long-term policy suggestions that would help vendors overcome supply problems, enhance their ability to increase their returns to labor, and reduce the overall cost of the urban foodbasket might be more appropriate than the goal of formalizing these small scale enterprises. The most critical of these problems concerns supply.

Supply problems emanate from the inability of producers to grow, harvest and deliver crops on a more consistent basis throughout the year. They continue in the marketing options producers realistically have both in Harare and country-wide. Problems in supply also appear in prices. Concerning the ability of vendors to generate greater returns to labor, policies on transport, marketsite placement, marketsite facilities, as well as access to credit and opportunities for training, all contribute to what vendors can earn. What can be done to ease the smooth production and flow of crops? Given that horticultural crops are produced both by large commercial

farmers and by women on postage-stamp plots, what policies would equitably address these differences?

Making production inputs more affordable and accessible--seed, fertilizer, implements--might help, but many communal area farmers save seed from previous harvests, use only manure for fertilizer (if any), and use only the most rudimentary implements because garden plots are so small.

An alternative might be a switch in production from grain to horticultural crops. For large scale commercial farmers, this might be possible; but for communal area farmers whose fields are rainfed, large capital outlays for irrigation would be necessary. And what would be the water source for such an input? There are areas in Zimbabwe where water is continuously available and land is suitable to continual cropping, such as Mutoko and Murewa. The farmers in these areas are the target of change in the EEC Project. They already produce multiple crops and market them at Mbare or at the weekend market in Mabvuku. In this instance, horticultural crop farming has become cash crop farming, with men appropriating control and income from their wives' labor and expertise. Would a similar pattern of appropriation occur elsewhere if horticultural crops played more prominently in income generation?

What about pricing? Should a basement price for all crops be established so producers can maintain income levels? The guarantee of a base price might do more to stimulate production and create super-gluts, as it did for maize production.

Supply of certain crops is not just a question of produce and

sell. Producer commoditiy associations among large scale commercial farmers have built cold storage facilities so that commodities such as potatoes and apples can be held back from the market to increase prices. Nonmember producers might benefit from such action, but the power of such organizations over food supply can create problems of urban food security. If pricing subsidies were to be provided by government, who would pay the bill? Which producers would actually benefit? Would the consumer--either in Harare or elsewhere--benefit or lose from the imposition of such policy?

The delivery and distribution system are certainly worthy of innovative effort. Roads and transport out of communal areas are in great need of attention. The location of large scale commercial farmers along roads and lines of rail makes crop delivery easier for such farmers. Communal area producers, located off dirt roads not accessible in all seasons, might lose half their tomato crop while waiting for a bus or leased transport. Does the policy answer lie in improving roads, establishing transport cooperatives, or both? If transport cooperatives were established, what would be the means to regulate them to ensure that farmers would not be paying more than they already are to market their crops?

Does the answer perhaps lie in the decentralization of fresh produce marketing as a whole? Vendors selling in Gutu town, some 300 killometers from Harare, were asked where they purchase their commodities. Vendors replied that once a week they travelled by bus to Harare to make their purchases. Vendors reported taking more than $100 with them to make their purchases and that the cost of transport

for the vendor and her commodities exceeded $10. Such a system is inefficient and requires vendors to bear distribution costs. Current efforts to create Growth Points and market fairs (see Reynolds 1981) will help to reorient the flow of commodities so that they don't come to Harare only to be returned to the rural areas from which they emanated (see Cheater 1984 for an explanation of how this happens). Policy to assist in establishing rural wholesaling enterprises might help the rural township vendor and might create Growth Point cachement areas. Such a policy might also give more Africans a chance to create other wholesaling opportunities for producers.

The distribution system in Harare requires reexamination. In conducting research among formal sector wholesalers, I found one had submitted a proposal to the Ministry of Transport to establish a truck transport cooperative to move crops from communal areas to their wholesale market. While the market owners would clearly benefit from such an operation, so would the communal farmers. If formal sector wholesalers are interested in supplying the full range of horticultural commodities in demand in Harare, then means to transport these commodities must be devised. The country bus system in existence during the period of research departed from and arrived at the bus depot adjacent to Mbare Musika; no country bus comes to the neighborhoods of the formal sector wholesalers. Thus, if further integration of marketing channels is desired, transport depots need to be established and buses need to be rerouted to meet the changing marketing needs of the communal farmer.

Concerning policy to effect immediate changes that would

directly benefit vendors and their ability to increase their incomes, vendors themselves made several suggestions. To begin with, public transportation routes throughout the city still reflect the earlier colonial bias of moving African labor from their residences to the worksite. In effect, buses move from the high density suburbs to the industrial area; they do not interconnect the high density suburbs except on Sundays when buses are rerouted to reflect visitation. Many vendors reported having to take two buses to make their purchases at Mbare Musika, making it necessary to pay four bus fares and two fees to carry their commodities to the marketsite. It would behoove the Municipality to study the transport needs of a variety of urban income generators and not just formal sector wage earners so as to reduce the cost of transportation for informal sector enterpreneurs.

Marketsite location also requires reexamination. Urban planners have not fully considered the traffic patterns of individuals within a given suburb. Where marketsites are located immediately adjacent to bus depots and shopping centers, vendors are able to generate higher incomes. Alternatively, if they are located in close proximity to municipal or social services, a larger number of customers is possible. As suburbs grow, vendors themselves become aware of appropriate locations and independently establish vending sites. Rather than relocate these sites, it might behoove Municipal authorities to build where vendors themselves have responded to neighborhood demand and established a market.

Marketsite facilities also contribute to whether a vendor can

generate a liveable income. Marketplaces that have electricity, running water, overnight storage facilities and security provide vendors greater income generating ability for several reasons. Electricity allows vendors to sell into the evening hours when people purchase what they need for the evening meal; lack of electricity creates problems in selling and in security. Running water allows vendors to wash their commodities when they bring them from the wholesaler and to freshen green vegetables wilting from the sun. Overnight storage lockers can reduce transport costs. In instances where vendors must carry their commodities home each evening, they purchase less so as not to create a burden for themselves at the end of the day. Were appropriate storage facilities at the marketplace, vendors might purchase greater quantities of commodities that have a longer shelf life and not travel daily to the wholesaler.

Similar to findings reported in research conducted on informal sector enterprises throughout the developing world, institutional credit is not generally available. Micro-enterprises do not require great capital outlays, yet official lending institutions are not able to supply small loans. Instead, when vendor cash flow is attenuated for any reason, their only recourse is to close shop until a new stake is forthcoming. Were small amounts made available to help a vendor maintain her business, she could continuously and consistently supply what her "regulars" and other customers need. A break in this pattern of provisioning can result in a vendor losing her customers.

A final policy consideration to help vendors generate greater incomes is something repeatedly requested at each interview site—

training. The Zimbabwe Women's Bureau, the Ministry of Cooperatives and the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs are most interested in providing women with training to help them generate incomes. What is it vendors need to know to accomplish this goal? The Zimbabwe Women's Bureau, at the time of my departure in December 1986, was attempting to reformulate and reestablish a producer/marketing cooperative for female growers and vendors. This time, however, they are incorporating a skills training scheme in order that vendors become more familiar with managerial aspects of running a cooperative. The Bureau was also interested in designing a low-cost scale that vendors might use in selling whatever they have according to weight instead of "by hand" or "by eye."

I believe the presence of scales might help vendors in pricing, but it also might hinder them. Would their per-kilogram price be the same as that in the supermarkets and greengrocers in the low density suburbs and city center? If so, consumers who travel in this world on a daily basis might opt to buy what they need from the shops. If not, how much would prices differ?

Marketing and budgeting skills might also help vendors. A means for nonliterate vendors to record their incomes and expenditures might assist them in planning their wholesale purchases more carefully to reduce wastage. While vendors who have been in the trade for several years have developed this acumen, new vendors do not necessarily have these managerial and budgeting skills.

It is clear from this brief exploration of policy considerations that several things can be done to help vendors do

better what they already do. It is clearly in the interest of Municipal and national government authorities to find ways in which these entrepreneurs can be assisted in their endeavors. "Formalizing" these operations may not be the answer. The low capital requirements needed to establish a fresh produce vending enterprise, the flexibility vendors have in operating their businesses, and the ways in which vendors create a core of reliable customers are all attributes of the current system. If the system were to be "formalized," a number of questions would arise: What does this mean both for government and for individual entrepreneurs? As a consequence, what would be the fate of vendors?

It is conceivable that women as vendors would disappear under such a "formalization" process. Why? Perhaps because of the cultural ethos of the marketplace itself. Retailing fresh produce in the high density suburbs rests upon the many variables I have discussed. Women need to generate an income. Given their skills, domestic demands and limited capital, they have very limited options to meet their cash needs. If vendors would be required to obtain licenses, pay increased stall rental fees, produce written income and expenditure records, and pay taxes, fewer women would have fresh produce vending as an income generating option: it would be too expensive for them.

It is equally conceivable for women to maintain their position in the urban informal economy. This could be attributable to several factors. Although vendors cannot make their wholesale purchases on credit, they allow their retail customers to buy on credit during

periods of economic stress. More formalized marketing operations do not generally allow the extension of credit to individual consumers (see Trager 1979).

Vendors provide the micro-level distribution link in a marketing system that includes several bottlenecks. Vendor operations meet the very specific needs of a large number of customers whose incomes necessitate the low-cost availability of food. Larger scale operations cannot meet these needs in the same way. Indeed, where a commodity is not in high demand, it is simply not offered for sale.

Although in West African countries, women who have been able to accumulate capital can become wholesalers. This may not be the case in Zimbabwe where specialized relationships need to be established between white commercial farmers and wholesalers. These same relationships are not required to sell retail.

To increase their income generating ability, however, requires an appropriate assessment of what they need given what they are there to do. Their goals are to provision their families and to earn an income to take care of child-welfare needs, including education. While arguments may be posited that such small enterprises are uneconomic and costly, the outcome of the operation of such enterprises is a relatively well fed urban population, and an increasing population of children attending school.

While this study has incorporated the economics of such enterprises, it has stressed the need to more broadly define such research to take account of why women do what they do. I have

presented the vendors as they presented themselves to me--as positive actors discerning the best way they can to meet their food provisioning and income generating goals within the context of limiting cultural, urban contextual and economic constraints. I believe the problem orientation utilized in this research has provided an understanding of economic behavior not easily achieved through the lenses of a single discipline. A commitment to understanding the intricate nature of human behavior, how it changes over time, and how government policies and institutional actions affect it, however, are all matters of deep concern to anthropologists working in cooperation with others to help find ways to meet the needs of the urban poor.

APPENDIX A

Interview Schedule

APPENDIX A

INTENSIVE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE--RESEARCH PHASE II

Date_____Interviewer_____

Part I--Personal Information/Household Income

		Coding
1.	Site Code_____	1 ____
2.	Type of Vending Site: 1) Tables_____ 2) Mobile Hawking_____ 3) Stall_____ 4) Wholesaler_____	2 ____
3.	Gender of Interviewee: 1) Female_____ 2) Male_____	3 ____
4.	How many vendors are you here?____women____men	4 ____
5.	Where do you live? _____	5 ____
6.	How long have you been living there?_____	6 ____
7.	How old are you?_____	7 ____
8.	What is your marital status? 1) married _____ 2) divorced_____ 3) widowed _____ 4) single_____ How many other wives?_____	8 ____

IF NOT MARRIED, GO TO QUESTION 13

9.	How long have you been/were you married?_____	9 ____

IF DIVORCED OR WIDOWED, GO TO QUESTION 13

10.	Is your husband/wife living with you now? 1) yes_____ 2) no____	10 ____
11.	How old is your husband/wife?_____	11 ____
12.	How many years of schooling did your husband/ wife complete? 0) none_____ 1) Grd. 1-3_____ 2) Grd. 4-5_____ 3) Grd. 6-7_____ 4) Fm. 1-2_____ 5) Fm. 3-4_____ 6) More than Fm. 4_____	12 ____
13.	How many years of schooling did you complete? 0) none_____1) Grd. 1-3____ 2) Grd. 4-5_____ 3) Grd. 6-7____ 4) Fm.1-2____5) Fm.3-4____ 6) more than Fm.4_____	13 ____
14.	Is your mother/father living? 1)yes___ 2)no___	14 ____
15.	(If yes) Where do they live?_____	15 ____

IF NOT MARRIED, GO TO QUESTION 18

16.	Is your husband's/wife's mother/father living? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____	16 ____
17.	(If yes) Where do they live?_____	17 ____
18.	Can you read Shona/Ndebele? 1) yes___2)no____	18 ____
19.	Can you read English? 1) yes____ 2) no____	19 ____
20.	Can you make change for more than $10,00? 1) yes___2) no___	20 ____
21.	Can you multiply and divide? 1) yes____ 2) no___	21 ____
22.	Did you ever do any kind of training course? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____	22 ____

IF NO TO 22, GO TO 25

23. What kind of course?_____ 23 ____
24. How long was the course?
    1) 1-2 wks_____ 2) 3-4 wks_____
    3) 1-2 mos_____ 4) 3-4 mos_____
    5) 5-6 mos_____ 6) 6 mos-1 yr_____
    7) more than a year_____ 24 ____
25. Family: How many children do you have?_____ 25 ____
    Tell me in the order they were born what they are, when they were born, and what grade in school they attend:

	GENDER	YEAR BORN/AGE	GRADE IN SCHOOL
1)			
2)			
3)			
4)			
5)			
6)			
7)			
8)			

26. When you were married, how much lobola/roora was paid?_____ 26 ____
27. Was payment ever completed? 1) yes____ 2) no____ 27 ____
28. How many children do you have who live away from you?_____ 28 ____
29. How many children do you have who live with you?_____ 29 ____
30. In addition to children and husband, do you have any other people living with you? 1)yes___2)no___ 30 ____
31. (If yes) How many?_____ 31 ____
32. Who? (state exact relationship)_____
    _____ 32 ____
33. How many people do you have who live with you and who are working?_____ 33 ____

IF DIVORCED, WIDOWED, OR NOT MARRIED, GO TO QUESTION 38

34. Does your husband/wife work? 1) yes____ 2) no____ 34 ____
35. What does he/she do?_____ 35 ____
36. Does he/she earn a salary? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 36 ____
37. How much does he/she earn per month?_____ 37 ____
38. How much, would you say, you pay for the following expenses?
    school fees per term ($ amount)_____ 38 ____
39. school uniforms per year ($ amount)_____ 39 ____
40 other clothing per year ($ amount)_____ 40 ____
41. rent per month ($ amount)_____ 41 ____
42. electricity and water per month ($ amount)_____ 42 ____
43. medical expenses per month ($ amount)_____ 43 ____
44. to send to your relatives at home per month ($ amount)_____ 44 ____

45. food for the household per week ($ amount)_____ 45 ____
46. fuel and paraffin for cooking per week ($ amount)_____ 46 ____
47. transport for family per week ($ amount)_____ 47 ____
48 any other expenses ($ amount)_____ 48 ____
49. Does anybody give you money to help with the household expenses? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 49 ____
50. (If yes) Who?_____ 50 ____
51. How often? 1) 1 x wk_____ 2) 2 x mon_____ 3) 1 x mon____4) 1 x yr_____ 5) once in awhile___ 51 ____
52. How much? ($ amount)_____ 52 ____
53. Does anybody else help you with food? 1)yes__2)no__ 53 ____
54. (If yes) Who? _____ 54 ____
55. How often? 1) 1 x wk _____ 2) 2 x mon _____ 3) 1 x mon____ 4) 1 x yr____5) once in a while __ 55 ____
56. How much (specify items)_____ _____ 56 ____
57. Where were you born?_____ 57 ____
58. (If married, divorced or widowed) Where was your husband/wife born?_____ 58 ____
59. What is your language?_____ 59 ____
60. Do you ever go visit your parents/relatives at home? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 60 ____

IF NO, GO TO QUESTION 65

61. How often do you go to visit?
1) 1 x yr_____ 2) 2 x yr_____ 3) 3 x yr_____
4) 4 x yr_____ 5) once a month _____ 6) more than 4 x per year_____ 61 ____
62. During which month(s) are you most likely to go?
1) January ___ 2) February ___ 3) March_____
4) April_____ 5) May_____ 6) June_____
7) July_____ 8) August_____ 9) Sept_____
10) Oct_____11) Nov_____ 12) December___ 62 ____
13) I go every month_____
63. How much do you pay for transport to go home each time you go?_____ 63 ____
64. How many members of your family do you normally take with you?_____ 64 ____
65. During which month are your expenses the highest?_____ 65 ____

IF INTERVIEWEE IS NOT WIDOWED OR DIVORCED GO ON TO QUESTION 79

66. (If widowed) When did your husband/wife die?____ 66 ____
67. How did he/she die?
1) in war of independence_____ 2) got sick and died_____ 3) had an accident and died_____
4) Died in childbirth_____ 5) Was bewitched___
6) Other (specify)_____ 67 ____
68. Who conducted the funeral? _____ 68 ____
69. What did your husband's/wife's family do after he/she died?
1) gave you some money to help you_____

2) took the children away from you _____
3) invited you to come and live with them_____
4) took all the furniture in the house_____
5) told you to go home to your people_____
6) other (specify)_____ 69 ____

70. What happened to the lobola/roora? 1) nothing ____ 2) gave it/asked for it back _____ 3) gave/received a partial return ____ 4) husband's brothers took over payment____ 5) sons took over payment_____ 6) husband's family took a joint collection to pay it off_____7) other (specify)_____ 70 ____

71. (If divorced) When did you divorce?_____ 71 ____

72. Why did you divorce?
1) another woman/man___ 2) husband beat wife____ 3) husband beat children___ 4) husband/wife drinks too much___ 5) husband does not support wife___ 6) always fighting___ 7) wife could not have children____ 8) other (specify)_____
_____ 72 ____

73. What happened to your children after the divorce?
1) stayed with you____ 2) spouse's family took them___ 3) went to live with your relative_____
4) other (specify)_____ 73 ____

74. What did your family do about the lobola/roora at the event of the divorce? 1) nothing_____
2) gave it/asked for it back_____ 3) gave/received a partial return____ 4) other (specify)_____
_____ 74 ____

75. After you divorced/were widowed, did you try to go back home (to your parents)? 1) yes___ 2) no___ 75 ____

76. Tell me why you did/did not want to go back to the rural areas?_____
_____
_____
_____ 76 ____

77. After you were widowed, did you try to go back to your husband's home? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 77 ____

78. Why/why not?_____ 78 ____

79 Do you belong to a savings society? 1)yes__2)no___ 79 ____

IF NO, GO ON TO QUESTION 83

80. How much money do you put in per day?_____ 80 ____

81. Who runs the savings society?_____ 81 ____

82. How many members in the society?_____ 81 ____

83. Do you have your own bank account? 1) yes__2) no__ 83 ____

84. Does your wife/husband have a bank account?
1) yes___ 2) no___ 84 ____

85. (If yes) Are you allowed to withdraw money from that account? 1) yes___ 2) no___ 85 ____

86. Religion: Do you go to church? 1) yes___2) no____ 86 ____

87. (If yes) What kind of church do you go to?

1) methodist____ 2) anglican ___3) lutheran_____
4) catholic_____ 5) apostolic_____ 6) other
(specify)_____ 87 ____

88. Do you 1) own___ 2)rent___ 3)lodge___ or 4) rent-to buy___ your accommodation? 88 ____

89. (If own) How much mortgage do you pay per month? ($ amount)_____ 89 ____

90. (If rent) How much rent do you pay per month?_____ 90 ____

91. How many rooms does your house have? 1) one____ 2) two___ 3) three___ 4) four____ 5) more than four (specify)_____ 91 ____

92. Do you have anyone to help you with the housework or to care for your children when you are working? 1) yes____ 2) no___ 92 ____

93. How much do you pay them per month?_____ 93 ____

94. Do you ever send money to your parents/relatives at home? 1) yes____ 2) no____ 94 ____

95. (If yes) About how much per year do you send?___ 95 ____

96. For how many years have you been sending them money?_____ 96 ____

97. Are you able to save any money from the vending business? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 97 ____

98. About how much per month would you say you are able to save?_____ 98 ____

Part II--Work/Migration History

99. During what year did you leave the place you were born?_____ 99 ____

100. Why did you leave this place?
1) to go to my husband's home when we married____
2) to come to Harare with my husband/wife for work_____ 3) to go to (city name)_____
for work____ 4) to go to (farm site)_____
for farm work_____ 5) to escape from family problems___ 6) attend school_____ 7) other
(specify)_____ 100 ____

101. How many times have you moved? 1) once ___
2) 2-3 x___3) 4-5 x___4) more than five times____ 101 ____

102. In what year did you come to Harare?_____ 102 ____

103. With whom did you come to Harare?
1) husband/wife___ 2) mother/father___ 3) sister/brother___ 4) other (specify)_____ 103 ____

104. Why did you come to Harare? 1) look for work_____
2) join spouse already here____ 3) join a relative already here____ 4) to go to primary school_____
5) to go to secondary school_____ 6) to go for a training course____ 7) other (specify)_____ 104 ____

105. With whom did your husband/wife stay when they first came to Harare?_____ 105 ____

106. With whom did you stay when you first came to Harare? _____ 106 ____

107. What did you do when you first came?
1) looked for a job in the formal sector (company) _____ 2) looked for a job in somebody's house

(domestic)___ 3) looked for a job selling things (informal market)___ 4) looked for a job sewing/ making shoes/other commodities in a tuck shop_____ 5) stayed home to take care of children_____ 6) went to school_____7) Other (specify) _____ 107 ____

108. Did anybody help you find a job? 1)yes____ 2)no___ 108 ____
109. (If yes) Who?_____ 109 ____
110. Did anybody help your wife/husband find a job? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 110 ____
111. (If yes) Who?_____ 111 ____
112. How long was your husband/wife here before you came to Harare?_____112 ____
113. Tell me all the jobs you had where you were paid a salary since you came to Harare, and during which years you worked at these jobs.
Work_____Years_____
Work_____Years_____
Work_____Years_____
Work_____Years_____
Work_____Years_____
TOTAL NUMBER OF SALARIED JOBS_____ 113____
114. During which year did you begin selling vegetables? _____ 114 ____
115. How long have you been selling vegetables?_____ 115 ____
116. How long have you been selling vegetables at this location?_____ 116 ____
117. Did you ever sell in any other locations? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 117 ____
118. (If yes) Tell me where and in what years.
Location_____Years_____
Location_____Years_____
Location_____Years_____
Location_____Years_____
Location_____Years_____
TOTAL NUMBER OF LOCATIONS_____ 118 ____
119. Is selling vegetables your main work? 1)yes__2)no__ 119 ____
120. (If no) What is your main work?_____ 120 ____
121. Did someone advise you to sell vegetables as a way of earning money? 1)yes____ 2)no____ 121 ____
122. (If yes) Who told you? 1) relative___2) friend___ 3) neighbor___ 4) spouse___ 5) other (specify)_____122 ____
123. Did someone help you with money to get started? 1) yes_____ 2) no____ 123 ____
124. (If yes) Who helped you? 1)spouse____2)parent____ 3) sister/brother____4) relative_____ 5) other (specify)_____ 124 ____
125. (If no) Did you have your own money? 1)yes___2)no___125 ____
126. Did you ever sell vegetables and do something else at the same time to earn money? 1) yes___ 2) no___ 126 ____
127. (If yes) what else did you do?_____ 127 ____
128. Did you ever brew beer? 1)yes___2)no___ 128 ____
129. Do you earn money in any other way now? 1) yes____ 2) no____ 129 ____
130. (If yes) What do you do?_____ 130 ____

131. Do you brew beer? 1)yes____2) no____ 131 ____
132. (If yes) About how much would you say you earn per month by brewing and selling beer?_____ 132 ____
133. Do you think that selling vegetables is better than other work? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 133 ____
134. Why/why not?_____
_____ 134 ____
135. Have you, yourself, been given land to build a home and cultivate in the rural areas? 1)yes____2)no____ 135 ____
136. Has your husband been given land to build a home and cultivate in the rural areas? 1)yes___2)no___ 136 ____

IF NO TO EITHER 135 OR 136, GO TO PART III

137. Where is that land?_____ 137 ____
138. Is it good land? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 138 ____
139. Why/why not?_____
_____ 139 ____
140. Do you know which natural land region it is located in? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 140 ____
141. (If yes) Which one? 1) I____ 2) II____ 3) III____ 4) IV____ 5) V_____ 141 ____
142. What crops do you grow on that land?
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
TOTAL NUMBER OF CROPS_____ 142 ____
143. What vegetables and/or fruits do you grow on that land?_____
_____
_____
_____
_____ 143 ____
144. Do you sell any of the crops you grow? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 144 ____
145. (If yes) Which ones?_____
_____ 145 ____
146. (If yes) To whom do you sell which crops?_____
_____
_____
_____ 146 ____
147. About how much money do you receive per year from the sale of these crops?_____ 147 ____
148. Do you sell any of the fruits/vegetables you grow? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 148 ____
149. (If yes) Which ones?_____
_____ 149 ____
150. (If yes) To whom do you sell which fruits/ vegetables?_____
_____
_____
_____ 150 ____

151. Do you ever bring into Harare vegetables that are grown at home? 1)yes_____ 2) no_____ 151 ____
152. (If yes) About how much do you bring in per year? _____ 152 ____
153. Do you ever sell anything you grow that you bring into Harare? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 153 ____
154. (If yes) About how much do you bring in and sell per year?_____ 154 ____
155. About how much do you earn from selling the things that you grow per year?_____ 155 ____
156. How much land do you have?_____ 156 ____
157. Who decides which crops and vegetables to plant and how much of each? 1) myself_____ 2) husband and wife_____ 3) husband only _____ 4) parents___ 4) other (specify)_____ 157 ____
158. Do you own it or was it given to you by the sabhuku? 1) own_____ 2) given by chief_____ 158 ____
159. Since when have you had this land?_____ 159 ____
160. Who is there working it for you? 1) parents____ 2) your children____3) relative (specify)_____ _____ 4) hired farm manager_____ 5) other (specify)_____ 160 ____
161. Do you have any animals on the farm? 1)yes__ 2)no__ 161 ____
162. How many draught oxen?_____ 162 ____
163. How many cattle (excluding draught)?_____ 163 ____
164. How many goats?_____ 164 ____
165. How many sheep?_____ 165 ____
166. How many chickens?_____ 166 ____
167. How many donkeys? _____ 167 ____
168. Do you rent out your draught animals? 1)yes__2)no__ 168 ____
169. How much do you charge per acre?_____ 169 ____

Part III--Purchasing

170. Where do you buy the fruits and vegetables you sell? 1) Mbare only___ 2) Independent Market only_____ 3) Mbare and Independent Market___ 4) Mbare and local plotowners/farmers____ 5) Mbare, Independent Market, and local plotowners/farmers____ 6) Other (specify)_____ 170 ____
171. At the Mbare musika, do you buy regularly from anybody? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 171 ____
172. (If yes) Does he/she give you a reduced price because you are a regular customer? 1)yes__2)no__ 172 ____
173. Do you bargain with the wholesaler over the price? 1) yes____ 2) no____ 173 ____
174. Do you grow anything in your garden in Harare that you sell? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 174 ____

IF NO, GO TO NUMBER 178

175. (If yes) What vegetables?_____ 175 ____
176. About how much per month would you say you sold? _____ 176 ____
177. During which months of the year?_____ 177 ____

178. During which months are the fruits and vegetables too expensive? 1) January_____2) February_____ 3) March_____4) April_____5) May_____6)June_____ 7) July_____8) August_____ 9) September_____ 10) October_____11) November_____ 12) December_____ 178 ____

179. Do you have any relatives or friends you buy from at the wholesalers/Mbare? 1) yes___ 2) no___ 179 ____

180. (If yes) Do they give you reduced prices? 1) yes___ 2)no____ 180 ____

181. Do you think you pay about the same price for each of your crops that other people pay? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 181 ____

182. (If no) What do you think explains the difference? _____ 182 ____

183. What helps you decide to buy a particular bunch/ bundle of a given crop? Does freshness count? 1) yes____ 2) no____ 183 ____

184. Does color count? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 184 ____

185. Does hardness/softness count 1) yes__ 2)no__ 185 ____

186. Does size count? 1) yes____ 2) no____ 186 ____

187. What else do you consider when buying a particular crop?_____ 187 ____

188. When do you share in buying a bundle/box of a crop? 1) when I don't have enough money to buy the whole measure myself____ 2) I always share with others_____ 3) I never share_____ 4) when I don't want a lot of one thing_____ 5) other (specify)_____ 188 ____

189. When you share, do you always share with the same person? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 189 ____

190. With whom do you share? 1) a relative_____ 2) a friend____ 3) a neighbor salesperson_____ 4) other (specify)_____ 190 ____

191. Tell me how you go about sharing the vegetables you have purchased:_____ _____ _____ 191 ____

192. Do all of you selling in this place ever buy all you need on a particular day in bulk? 1)yes_____ 2)no_____ 192 ____

193. Why/why not?_____ _____ _____ 193 ____

194. Would you say you trust all the other vendors here enough to buy in bulk? 1) yes___ 2)no___ 194 ____

195. Why/why not?_____ _____ 195 ____

196. Have you ever bought in bulk with a group before? 1) yes_____ 2) no____ 196 ____

197. (If yes) Did you stop? 1)yes_____2)no_____ 197 ____

198. (If yes) Why did you stop?_____ _____ _____ 198 ____

199. Do you keep a written record of all the vegetables and the quantities you buy at the

wholesaler? 1) yes____ 2) no_____ 199 ____

200. Do you count the number of items in a measure that you buy from the wholesaler, e.g., the number of tomatoes in a box? 1)yes____ 2) no____ 200 ____

201. Do you count the number of leaves in a bundle of muriwo? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 201 ____

202. Why/why not?_____
_____
_____ 201 ____

203. Tell me the specific problems you have in buying from the wholesalers:
wholesalers overcharge 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 203 ____

204. wholesalers beat me 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 204 ____

205. wholesalers stuff grass in boxes 1)yes___ 2)no___ 205 ____

206. wholesalers put rotten vegetables on bottom of box 1) yes_____ 2) no____ 206 ____

207. wholesalers take my money, and then don't give me what I paid for, and then demand more money 1) yes____ 2) no____ 207 ____

208. What else do wholesalers do to you (specify)
_____
_____ 208 ____

209. Did you ever complain to the police about what the wholesalers do? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 209 ____

210. (If yes) What happened?_____
_____ 210 ____

211. Do you want to buy what you sell from the farmers direct? 1) yes____ 2) no_____ 211 ____

212. How do you think you could do that?_____
_____
_____ 212 ____

213. Do you buy from any farmers/plotowners directly now? 1) yes___ 2)no___ 213 ____

214. (If yes) What do you buy from them?_____
_____ 214 ____

215. During which months?_____
_____ 215 ____

216. Does the grower come here to sell?
1)yes___ 2)no___ 216 ____

217. (If yes) How often does she/he come?
1) once a week___ 2) twice a week___ 3) three times a week____ 4) daily____ 217 ____

218. Are the prices the farmers/plotowners charge lower or higher than the prices you pay at the wholesaler? 1) lower___ 2) higher___ 3) about the same____ 218 ____

219. Does anybody deliver the crops you buy from the wholesaler free of charge, i.e., you don't have to pay for delivery? 1) yes___ 2) no___ 219 ____

220 (If yes) Who is that person? 1) spouse___
2) children___ 3) relative (specify)_____
4) friend___ 5) other (specify)_____ 220 ____

221. How much do you pay per parcel to bring it from the wholesaler to the vending site? 1) 10 cents___
2) 15 cents___ 3) 20 cents___ 4) pay all at once

with my own fare as I take an emergency taxi--40 cents for me and 60 cents for parcels_____
5) other (specify)_____
_____ 221 ____

222. How much do you pay for your transport to and from the wholesaler each trip?_____ 222 ____

223. Do you go daily to the wholesaler? 1)yes__ 2)no__ 223 ____

224. When you go to the wholesaler, what is the highest number of crops you purchase? 1) one crop only___ 2) 2-3 crops___ 3) 3-4 crops____4) more than 4___ 3) depends on the amount of money I have_____ 224 ____

225. Do you go with anybody to the wholesaler? 1) yes___ _2)no___ 115 ____

226. With whom do you go? 1)someone I sell with here _____ 2) someone who sells at another place_____ 3) my child, who helps me____ 4) my husband, who helps me____ 5) other (specify)_____ 226 ____

Part IV--Selling

227. With what means do you arrive here? 1) on foot____ 2) bus____ 3) emergency taxi_____ 4) lift from a friend____ 5) other (specify)_____
_____ 227 _____

228. With what means do you go to purchase from the wholesaler? 1) on foot____ 2) bus____ 3) emergency taxi____ 4) lift from a friend_____ 5) other (specify)_____ 228 ____

229. How long does it take you to get from home to here? 1) 0-10 minutes_____ 2) 10-20 mins_____ 3) 20-30 mins_____ 4) more than one-half hour_____ 5) more than an hour____ 229 ____

230. What time of day do you begin selling? 1) 6:00-7:00____2) 7:00-8:00____3) 8:00-9:00___ 4) 9:00-10:00____5) other (specify)_____ 230 ____

231. What time of day do you end selling? 1) 5:00-6:00____2) 6:00-7:00____3)7:00-8:00___ 4) other (specify)_____ 231 ____

232. Are you satisfied with the transport between the wholesale site and here? 1)yes___ 2)no___ 232 ____

233. (If no) What are the problems? 1) bus schedule--busses do not run often enough_____2) busses do not leave early enough____3) not enough emergency taxis____4) other(specify)_____
_____ 233 _____

234. What days of the week do you sell? 1) daily___ 2) daily except Sunday_____ 3) Tuesday through Saturday____4) other (specify)_____ 234 ____

235. Who sells for you if you cannot come for part of the day? 0) nobody sells for me 1) another salesperson____2) child____3) spouse____ 4) other (specify)_____ 235 ____

236. How do you know how much to charge for your vegetables and fruits?_____
_____

_____
_____ 236 ____

237. Do you have a set amount of profit you expect to earn on each bundle/box of vegetables and fruits you buy from the wholesaler? 1) yes____ 2) no___ 237 _____

238. Does this amount vary throughout the year/by month/by day? 1) yes_____ 2) no____ 238 ____

239. Do you ever increase your prices so you can earn more profit? 1) yes____ 2) no_____ 239 ____

240. Do you ever reduce prices when customers are not buying at the price you want, or do you just add more items for the same price? 1) reduce prices ____ 2) add more ____ 3) both____ 4) no_____ 240 ____

241. How do you know how many leaves should go in a bundle or how many items should go in a heap? 1) size____ 2) cost paid at wholesaler___ 3) I know how much profit I want to make from the measure, so I divide accordingly_____4) other (specify)_____
_____ 241 ____

242. How much money did you take in yesterday?_____ 242 ____

243. How much money would you say you took in last week?_____ 243 ____

244. Would you say the amount you took in was 1) more ____ or 2) less than ____ or 3) about the same____ as other vendors here? 4) don't know_____ 244 ____

245. What do you think explains the difference?_____
_____
_____ 245 ____

246. How much money would you say you take in on a really good day?_____ 246 ____

247. How much money would you say you take in in a really good week?_____ 247 ____

248. Do you keep a written record of the amounts of money you take in? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 248 ____

249. How much rent do you pay per week to sell here? 1) I don't pay____ 2) $1.05____ 3) $1.45_____ 4) $2.45_____ 5) $3.50____ 6) Other (specify)__
_____ 249 ____

250. Is there any other cost you have to sell here? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 250 ____

251. (If yes) What is it for?_____ 251 ____

252. (If yes to 250) How much per week?_____ 252 ____

253. Is there a market manager/chairman here? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 253 ____

IF NO, GO ON TO QUESTION 257

254. What are his/her duties?_____
_____
_____ 254 ____

255. Do you pay him/her for these duties? 1) yes___ 2) no_____ 255 ____

256. How is this person chosen? 1) we vote_____
2) she/he is appointed by the Council_____

3) other (specify)_____ 256 ____

257. Does anybody set the price of the things sold or are prices all set individually? 1) one person____ 2) we all set our own prices ____
3) we all agree on the price_____ 257 ____

258. Do your prices change throughout the year?
1) yes___ 2)no____ 258 ____

IF NO, GO TO QUESTION 261

259. During which months do you charge more?
1) January_____2) February_____3) March_____
4) April_____5) May_____6) June_____ 7)July_____
8) August_____9) September_____10) October_____
11) November_____ 12) December_____ 259 ____

260. During which months do you charge less?
1) January_____2) February_____3) March_____
4) April_____5) May_____6) June_____7) July_____
8) August_____ 9) September_____10) October_____
11) November_____ 12) December_____ 260 ____

261. If you do not change your prices, how do you adjust for when the wholesalers charge you more?
_____
_____ 261 ____

262. Do you have any "regular" customers?
1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 262 ____

263. If yes, about how many do you have?_____ 263 ____

264. Do you think you have about the same number of regulars as other people who sell here?
1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 264 ____

265. Why/why not?_____
_____ 265 ____

266. Why are these customers regular? They are
1) neighbors ____ 2) relatives_____3) people from the same "home" area_____ 4) friends_____ 5) just people who like the quality of my goods_____
6) other (specify)_____ 266 ____

267. Do you give your regulars credit? 1)yes___2)no___ 267 ____

268. How much do you allow them before you require that they pay you? 1) less than a dollar_____
2) between $1.00-$2.00___ 3) between $2.00-$3.00__
4) between $3.00-$4.00____5) between $4.00-$5.00__
6) more than $5.00_____ 268 ____

269. How long do you allow them to owe this amount before you require that they pay you? 1) one day____ 2)two days____ 3) three days_____
4) 4-7 days_____ 5) a week or more_____
6) a month_____ 269 ____

270. What do you do with muriwo when it goes off?
1) throw away _____ 2) take home and dry_____
3) sell it to people with rabbits_____
4) reduce price ____ 5) other (specify)_____
_____ 270 ____

271. What do you do with other fruits and vegetables when they start going off? 1) throw away_____

2) take home and cook____ 3) reduce price_____
4) other (specify)_____
_____ 271 ____

272. Do the people who sell here all belong to any kind of savings club? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 272 ____
273. (If yes) How much do you contribute daily?_____ 273 ____
274. How do you share the money?_____
_____ 274 ____
275. Do all/most of you belong to the same church? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 275 ____
276. Do all/most of you belong to the same women's club? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 276 ____
277. Do all of you belong to a cooperative? 1)yes___ 2) no___ 277 ____

IF NO, GO TO QUESTION 280

278. What is the name of the cooperative?_____
_____ 278 ____
279. How many members do you have?_____ 279 ____
280. What would be the reasons you would not like to belong to a cooperative?_____
_____
_____ 280 ____
281. Did anybody tell you to come and sell here? 1) yes____ 2)no____ 281 ____
282. (If yes) Who told you?_____ 282 ____
283. About how many customers would you say you have in a day (generally)?_____ 283 ____
284. Would you say you have 1) more____, 2) less than _____ or 3) about the same_____ number of customers as others who sell here? 4) don't know__ 284 ____
285. What do you think explains the difference?_____
_____
_____ 285 ____
286. On what day of the week do you have the most customers? 1) Monday___ 2) Tuesday___
3) Wednesday___ 4) Thursday___ 5) Friday___
6) Saturday___ 7) Sunday___ 286 ____
287. On what day of the week do you have the least number of customers? 1) Monday___ 2) Tuesday___
3) Wednesday___ 4) Thursday___ 5) Friday ___
6) Saturday___ 7) Sunday___ 287 ____
288. Is there too much competition from all the vendors who sell here? 1) yes___ 2) no___ 288 ____
289. Is there too much competition from street vendors? 1) yes___ 2) no___ 289 ____
290. Did you ever belong to Mr. Muziti's cooperative? 1) yes____ 2) no____ 290 ____
291. Did you ever belong to the Zimbabwe Women's Bureau Cooperative? 1) yes_____2) no_____ 291 ____
292. Are there any skills you would like to learn in order to help you sell better? 1)yes___2) no___ 292 ____
293. What?_____
_____ 293 ____

294. What kind of help do you want from the City Council? 1) toilet_____ 2)lights_____ 3)lockers _____ 4)proper market_____ 5)shed to protect us from rain and sun_____ 6) fence around market _____ 7)other (specify)_____ 294 ____

295. Do any relatives come from the rural areas to visit you? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 295 ____

IF NO, GO TO QUESTION 300

296. Who comes? (state exact relationship)_____
_____
_____ 296 ____

297. How often do they come? 1) 1xmon____2) 2xyr____ 3) 1xyr_____4)Other (specify)_____ 297 ____

298. Do they bring you food from the farm when they come? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 298 ____

299. How much and what do they bring?_____
_____
_____ 299 ____

300. What is profit?_____
_____
_____
_____ 300 ____

301. On which crops do you make the most profit per bundle or heap?_____ 301 ____

302. On which crops do you make the most profit overall?_____ 302 ____

303. Do you have any relatives who sell vegetables? 1) yes_____ 2) no_____ 303 ____

304. (If yes) Who? (state exact relationship)_____
_____ 304 ____

305. Do you have anything else you want to tell me about the vegetable vending business? What?
_____
_____
_____ 305 ____

APPENDIX B

Pricing Schedule

APPENDIX B

Pricing Schedule

VEGETABLES AND FRUITS BOUGHT AND SOLD

Site Code_____ Name_____Date_____

FRUIT/ VEGETABLE	SOLD ALL YEAR	SOLD WHICH MONTHS	TIMES BUY PER WEEK	HOW MUCH BUY WT POCK/BNDL	PRICE NOW
apples					
avocadopea					
babymarrow					
bananas					
beans					
brinjals					
broccoli					
butternut					
cabbage					
carrots					
cauliflower					
chamollier					
chibage					
cucumber					
derere					
gemsquash					
grapes					
kovo					
leeks					
lemons					
mangoes					
mazhanje					
mborah					
mufushwa					
mushrooms					
naartjies					
onions					
oranges					
pawpaw					
peaches					
pears					
peas					
peppers					
pineapples					
piripiri					
potatoes					
pumpkins					
rape					
rugare					
spinach					
sugarcane					
strawberries					
sweetpots					
tomatoes					
tsunga					
watermelon					

FRUIT/ VEGETABLE	HIGH $	$ MONTH MONTHS	LOW $	$ MONTH MONTHS	RETAIL PRICES SIZE, PRICE, AND WEIGHT SM/$/WT	MED/$/WT	LGE/$/WT
apples							
avocadopear							
babymarrow							
bananas							
beans							
brinjals							
broccoli							
butternut							
cabbage							
carrots							
cauliflower							
chamollier							
chibage							
cucumber							
derere							
gemsquash							
grapes							
kovo							
leeks							
lemons							
mangoes							
mazhanje							
mborah							
mufushwa							
mushrooms							
naartjies							
onions							
oranges							
pawpaw							
peaches							
pears							
peas							
peppers							
pineapples							
piripiri							
potatoes							
pumpkins							
rape							
rugare							
spinach							
strawberries							
sugarcane							
sweetpots							
tomatoes							
tsunga							
watermelon							

FRUIT/ VEGETABLE	RETAIL PRICES POCKET # / $ / WT	BUNDLE LVS / $ / WT	THROW AWAY DAILY	AVERAGE DAILY SOLD
apples				
avocadopear				
babymarrow				
bananas				
beans				
brinjals				
broccoli				
butternut				
cabbage				
carrots				
cauliflower				
chamollier				
chibage				
cucumber				
derere				
gemsquash				
grapes				
kovo				
leeks				
lemons				
mangoes				
mazhanje				
mborah				
mufushwa				
mushrooms				
naartjies				
onions				
oranges				
pawpaw				
peaches				
pears				
peas				
peppers				
pineapples				
piripiri				
potatoes				
pumpkins				
rape				
rugare				
spinach				
strawberries				
sugarcane				
sweetpots				
tomatoes				
tsunga				
watermelon				

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adagala, Kavetsa. 1986. Self Employment Women in the Peri-Urban Setting--Petty Traders in Nairobi. Conditions, Constraints and Strategies for Survival. Paper Prepared for the National Workshop on Policy and Planning in Kenya's Informal Sector Nairobi, June 5-6.

African Training & Research Centre for Women. 1984. Marketing in Ghana: An Analysis of Operational and Environmental Conditions. Addis Ababa: United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (E/ECA/ATRCW/81/07).

Agricultural and Rural Development Authority. 1985. Mashonaland East Smallholder Fruit and Vegetable Programme. Harare: ARDA.

Agricultural Marketing Council. 1953. "Fruit and Vegetable Production and Marketing." Rhodesian Agricultural Journal, Vol. 50.

Arrighi, G. 1970. "Labour Supplies in Historical Perspective. The Proletarianization of the African Peasantry in Rhodesia." Journal of Development Studies, Vol. 6.

Ashe, Jeffrey. 1985. The Pisces II Experience: Local Efforts in Micro-Enterprise Development. Washington, D. C.: Agency for International Development.

Barber, William J. 1967. "Urbanisation and Economic Growth: The Cases of Two White Settler Territories," in Miner, Horace (ed.). The City in Modern Africa. London: Pall Mall Press.

Barnes, Terri. 1987. African Female Labour and the Urban Economy of Colonial Zimbabwe, with Special Reference to Harare, 1920-39. M.A. Thesis, History, University of Zimbabwe.

Bates, Robert H. 1981. Markets and States in Tropical Africa. The Political Basis of Agricultural Policies. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Beach, David N. 1977. "The Shona Economy," in Palmer, Robin and Neil Parsons (eds.). The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa. London: Heineman.

Beach, David N. 1980. The Shona and Zimbabwe 900-1850. New York: Africana Pub. Co.

Beavon, K. S. O. and C. M. Rogerson. 1986. "The Changing Role of Women in the Urban Informal Sector of Johannesburg," in Drakakis-Smith, David (ed.). Urbanisation in the Developing World. London: Croom Helm.

Bell, Morag. 1986. Contemporary Africa. London: Longman.

Bhila, H. H. K. 1982. Trade and Politics in a Shona Kingdom. London: Longman.

Blumberg, Rae Lesser. 1987. Income Under Female vs. Male Control: Differential Spending Patterns and the Consequences When Women Lose Control of Returns to Labor. Washington, D. C.: World Bank (draft).

Bohannan, Paul. 1959. "The Impact of Money on an African Subsistence Economy." The Journal of Economic History. Vol. XIX, No. 4.

Bohannan, Paul and George Dalton (eds.). 1965. Markets in Africa. New York: Anchor Books.

Boserup, Ester. 1970. Women's Role in Economic Development. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Bourdillon, M. F. C. 1976. Shona Peoples: An Ethnography of the Contemporary Shona with Special Reference to Their Religion. Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press.

Brand, Veronica. 1982. One Dollar Workplaces: A Study of Informal Sector Activities in Magaba, Harare. Harare: University of Zimbabwe, School of Social Work.

Brand, Veronica. 1986. "One Dollar Workplaces: A Study of Informal Sector Activities in Magaba, Harare." Journal of Social Development in Africa, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 53-74

Brown, Ken. 1959. Land in Southern Rhodesia. London: The Africa Bureau.

Bush, Ray and Lionel Cliffe. 1982. Labour Migration and Agrarian Strategy in the Transition to Socialism in Southern Africa: Zimbabwe as a Case. Paper Presented at a Conference on the Transition to Socialism in Africa, University of Leeds, May 7-8.

Chavanduka, Gordon L. 1976. "Changing Life Goals and Life Styles of African Urban Workers with Special Reference to Pension Schemes." The Rhodesian Journal of Economics, Vol. 10, No. 4.

Chavanduka, Gordon L. 1982. Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Agricultural Industry. Harare: Government Printer.

Cheater, Angela P. 1979. "The Production and Marketing of Fresh Produce Among Blacks in Zimbabwe." Zambezia, Supplement.

Christopher, A. J. 1977. "Early Settlement and the Cadastral Framework," in Kay, George and M. Smout (eds.). Salisbury. A Geographical Survey of the Capital of Rhodesia. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Clark, Duncan G. 1978. The Unemployment Crisis. From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe 3. Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press.

Clark, Gracia. 1986. The Position of Asante Women Traders in Kumasi Central Market, Ghana. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Cambridge.

Cloud, Kathleen. 1984. "Women's Productivity in Agricultural Systems: Considerations for Project Design," in Overholt, Caltherine, Mary B. Anderson, Kathleen Cloud and James E. Austen (eds.). Gender Roles in Development Projects: A Case Book. Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press.

Collett, W. E. 1981. Horticulture. No. 15781. Harare: Commercial Farmer Union.

Collett, W. E. 1986. "Horticulture," in Van Hoffen, M. (ed.). Commercial Agriculture in Zimbabwe 1985/6. Harare: Modern Farming Pubs. Trust.

Cormack, I. R. N. 1983. Towards Self Reliance. Urban Social Development in Zimbabwe. Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press.

Dalton, George. 1961. "Economic Theory and Primitive Society." American Anthropologist. Vol. 62.

Dalton, George (ed.). 1967. Tribal and Peasant Economies. New York: The Natural History Press.

Davenport, T. R. H. 1972. "Rhodesia and South African Policies for Urban Africans: Some Historical Similarities and Contrasts." Rhodesian History, Vol. 3.

Davies, R. 1974. "The Informal Sector in Rhodesia: How Important?" The Rhodesia Science News. Vol. 8, No. 7, July.

Davies, R. 1978. The Informal Sector: A Solution to Unemployment? From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe 5. Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press.

Davies, R. 1979. "Informal Sector or Subordinate Mode of Production: A Model," in Bromley, Ray and Chris Gerry (eds.). Casual Work and Poverty in Third World Cities. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

deSwardt, Louis. 1985. Fertilizer and Food Security in Zimbabwe. Paper Presented at the Food Security Conference, Harare, Zimbabwe, November.

Devittie, Thomas D. 1974. Africans in Urban Areas: Government and Municipal Policies, 1929-1939. M.A. Thesis, History, University of Rhodesia.

Dinan, Carmel. 1982. "Work, Marriage and Autonomy," in Allen, Chris and Gavin Williams (eds.). Sub Saharan Africa. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Drakakis-Smith, David. 1986. "Urbanisation in the Socialist Third World: The Case of Zimbabwe," in Drakakis-Smith, David (ed.). Urbanisation in the Developing World. London: Croom Helm.

Drakakis-Smith, David and Philip Kivell. 1988. Urban Food Distribution Systems in Zimbabwe. Keele, U.K.: Department of Geography, University of Keele.

Dulansey, Maryanne and James Austin. 1984. "Small-Scale Enterprise and Women," in Overholt, Catherine, Mary B. Anderson, Kathleen Cloud and James E. Austen (eds.). Gender Roles in Development Projects: A Case Book. Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press.

Durant-Gonzalez, Victoria. 1976. Role and Status of Rural Jamaican Women. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California at Berkeley.

du Toit, Friedrich. 1981. Musha. The Shona Concept of Home. Zimbabwe: Ministry of Agriculture, Department of Agricultural Technical and Extension Services.

Eicher, Carl K. and John M. Staatz. 1985. Food Security Policy in Sub-Saharan Africa. Paper Prepared for the XIXth Conference of the International Association of Agricultural Economists, Malaga, Spain, August 25-September 3.

England, Kersten. 1982. A Political Economy of Black Female Labour in Zimbabwe 1900-1980. B.A. (Hons.) Thesis, History, University of Manchester.

Epstein, T. Scarlett. 1982. Urban Food Marketing and Third World Rural Development. The Structure of Producer-Seller Markets. London: Croom Helm.

"Explosion in the Cities," MOTO, September 1982.

Ferguson, Anne and Nancy E. Horn. 1984. Women in Agriculture in Cameroon. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University, Bean/Cowpea CRSP.

Firth, Raymond. 1929. Primitive Economies of the New Zealand Maori. New York: Dalton.

Firth, Raymond. 1967. "Themes in Economic Anthropology: A General Comment," in Firth, Raymond (ed.). Themes in Economic Anthropology. A.S.A. Monographs 6. London: Tavistock Publications.

Forman, Shepard and Joyce Riegelhaupt. 1970. "Market Place and Marketing System: Toward a Theory of Peasant Economic Integration." Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 12, No. 2.

Fortmann, Louise. 1980. Women's Involvement in High Risk Arable Agriculture: The Botswana Case. Washington, D. C.: Agency for International Development.

Fortmann, Louise. 1981. Women's Agriculture in a Cattle Economy. Gaborone, Botswana: Ministry of Agriculture.

Frolich, Willy. 1940/1982. The African Market System. Vancouver: Tantalus Research Ltd. (originally published in Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie 1940).

Gargett, Eric. 1977. The Administration of Transition. African Urban Settlement in Rhodesia. Occasional Papers, Socio-Economic Series No. 5. Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press.

Gelfand, Michael. 1970. "The Ceremony of Mishashe (Green Vegetables) Held in Mashonaland." Zambezia, Vol. 1, No. 2.

Gill, Margaret and Joycelin Messink (eds.). 1984. Women, Work and Development. Women in the Caribbean. Project, Vol. 6. Cave Hill, Barbados: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies.

Gilmurray, John, Roger Riddell and David Sanders. 1979. The Struggle for Health. From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe 7. Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press.

Gladwin, Hugh. 1980. "Indigenous Knowledge of Fish Processing and Marketing Utilized by Women Traders of Cape Coast, Ghana," in Brokensha, David, D. M. Warren and Oswald Werner (eds.). Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Development. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Gore, Charles G. 1978. Food Marketing and Rural Underdevelopment: A Study of an Urban Supply System in Ghana. Ph.D. Dissertation, Pennsylvania State University.

Guyer, Jane I. 1977. The Women's Farming System, The Lekie of Southern Cameroon. Yaounde, Cameroon: E.N.S.A.

Guyer, Jane I. 1978. Women's Work in the Food Economy of the Cocoa Belt. Working Paper No. 7. Boston: Boston University, African Studies Center.

Guyer, Jane I. 1987. "Introduction," in Guyer, Jane (ed.). Feeding African Cities. Studies in Regional Social History. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Harper, Malcolm and Richard Kavura. 1982. The Private Marketing Entrepreneur and Rural Development. FAO Agricultural Services Bulletin No. 13. Rome: FAO.

Harrison, Kelly, Donald Henley, Harold Riley and James Shaffer. 1974. Improving Food Marketing Systems in Developing Countries: Experiences from Latin America. Research Report No. 6. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University, Latin American Studies Center.

Henn, Jeanne K. 1978. Peasants, Workers and Capital: The Political Economy of Labor and Incomes in Cameroon. Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University.

Herald (Zimbabwe), various issues.

Herskovits, Melville J. 1940, 1952. Economic Anthropology. The Economic Life of Primitive Peoples. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc.

Hill, Polly. 1963. "Markets in Africa." Journal of Modern African Studies. Vol. 1.

Hill, Polly. 1970. "A Plea for Indigenous Economies: The West African Example," in Hill, Polly (ed.). Studies in Rural Capitalism in West Africa. London: Cambridge University Press.

Hodder, B. W. and U. I. Ukwu. 1969. Markets in West Africa. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.

Holleman, J. F. 1951. "Some 'Shona' Tribes of Southern Rhodesia," in Colson, Elizabeth and Max Gluckman (eds.). Seven Tribes of Central Africa. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Holleman, J. F. 1952. Shona Customary Law. London: Oxford University Press.

Holleman, J. F. 1969. Chief, Council and Commissioner. Assen, The Netherlands: Afrika-Studiecentrum.

Horn, Nancy E. and Brenda Nkambule-Kanyima. 1984. Women in Agriculture in Botswana. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University, Bean/Cowpea CRSP.

"Housing: Keeping Pace with a Rising Demand," MOTO, No. 45, 1986.

Howard, Willam Stephen. 1987. Social Strategies in Petty Production: Three Small Scale Industries in Urban Sudan. Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University.

Howland, R. C. 1963. "The Market Hall--Salisbury's Oldest Building." Rhodesiana, No. 9.

Howman, E. G. 1944. Report of Committee to Investigate the Economic, Social and Health Conditions of Africans Employed in the Urban Areas. Rhodesia, Session Paper. Harare: Government Printer.

Hume, Ian M. 1976. Urbanisation and Regional Planning in Rhodesia. Harare: Whitsun Foundation.

International Labour Organisation. 1972. Employment, Incomes and Equality: A Strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya. Geneva: ILO.

Jambwa, M. L. and Colin Simmons. 1980. Mining Labour in the Economy of Southern Rhodesia 1880-1965. Some Aspects of Recruitment and Organization. Conference Papers on Zimbabwe. University of Leeds, Department of Politics.

Johnson, Eleanor J. 1973. Marketwomen and Capitalist Adaptation: A Case Study of Rural Benin, Nigeria. Ph.D. Dissertatation, Michigan State University.

Johnson, Robin W. M. 1968. The Economics of African Agriculture in Southern Rhodesia. A Study in Resource Use. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Rhodesia.

Jules-Rosette, Bennetta. 1981. Symbols of Change. Urban Transition in a Zambian Community. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Pub. Corp.

Jules-Rosette, Bennetta. 1982. Women's Work in the Informal Sector: A Zambian Case Study. W.I.D. Working Paper No. 3. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University, Office of Women in Development.

Jumani, Usha and Bharati Joshi. 1984. Legal Status of Hawkers in India. Ahmedabad, India: Self Employed Women's Association.

Kaba, Brahima D. 1982. Profile of Liberian Women in Marketing. Monrovia, Liberia: University of Liberia.

Katzin, Margaret F. 1971. "The Business of Higglering in Jamaica," in Horowitz, Michael M. (ed.). Peoples and Cultures of the Caribbean. Garden City, NY: The Natural History Press.

Kay, George. 1970. Rhodesia: A Human Geography. New York: Africana Pub. Corp.

Kay, George and M. Cole. 1977. "The Townsfolk," in Kay, George and M. Smout (eds.). Salisbury: A Geographical Survey of the Capital of Rhodesia. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Kay, George and M. Smout. 1977. Salisbury: A Geographical Survey of the Capital of Rhodesia. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Kosmin, Barry A. 1974. Ethnic and Commercial Relations in Southern Rhodesia: A Socio-Historical Study of the Asians, Hellenes and Jewish Population, 1898-1943. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Rhodesia.

Lan, David. 1985. Guns and Rain. Guerrillas and Spirit Mediums in Zimbabwe. Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House.

Lewis, Barbara C. (ed.). 1981. Invisible Farmers: Women and the Crisis in Agriculture. Washington, D. C: Agency for International Devleopment, Office of Women in Development.

Liedholm, Carl and Donald Mead. 1987. Small Scale Industries in Developing Countries: Empirical Evidence and Policy Implications. MSU International Development Paper No. 9. East Lansing: Department of Agricultural Economics, Michigan State University.

Lipton, Michael. 1982. Poverty, Undernutrition and Hunger. World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 597. Washington, D. C.: World Bank.

Logan, W. J. C. 1984. "Horticultural Crops," in Van Hoffen, M. (ed.). Commercial Agriculture in Zimbabwe 1984/85. Harare: Modern Farming Pubs. Trust.

Luqmani, Mushtaf. 1978. Improving the Effectiveness of Food Distribution in Developing Countries: An Analysis of Karachi, Pakistan. Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University.

Malinowski, B. 1922. Argonauts of the Western Pacific. London: Routledge.

"Marriage Under Fire," MOTO, No. 41, 1985.

Marshall, Gloria/Niara Sudarkasa. 1973. Where Women Work: A Study of Yoruba Women in the Marketplace and in the Home. Ann Arbor: Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan.

Masundire, R. T. 1984. Country Paper on Fertilizer Marketing Policies in Zimbabwe. Paper Presented at the FAO/FIAC Seminar on Fertilizer Marketing Policies for English Speaking East and Southern African Countries, Harare, Zimbabwe, May.

May, Joan. 1979. African Women in Urban Employment. Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press.

May, Joan. 1983. Zimbabwean Women in Colonial and Customary Law. Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press.

McGee, T. G. 1973. "Peasants in the Cities: A Paradox, A Paradox, A Most Ingenious Paradox." Human Organization. Vol 32, No. 2.

Milimo, John T. and Yacob Fisseha. 1986. Rural Small Scale Enterprises in Zambia: Results of a 1985 Country-Wide Survey. Working Paper No. 28. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University, Department of Agricultural Economics.

Mitchell, J. Clyde. 1969. "Structural Plurality, Urbanization and Labour Circulation in Southern Rhodesia," in Jackson, J. A. (ed.). Migration. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Moller, Valerie. 1978. Urban Commitment and Involvement Among Black Rhodesians. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Natal, South Africa.

Moser, Caroline O. N. 1978. "Informal Sector or Petty Commodity Production: Dualism or Dependence in Urban Development?" World Development. Vol. 6, Nos. 9/10.

Moyo, N. P., R. J. Davies, G. C. Z Mhone and L. Pakkiri. 1984. The Informal Sector in Zimbabwe. Its Potential for Employment Creation. Harare, Zimbabwe: University of Zimbabwe, Department of Economics (draft).

Mpofu, Stanley. 1979. A Design Criteria Proposal for Shopping Centres: Salisbury's Low Income Areas. M.Sc. Thesis, University of Rhodesia.

Mshoperi, R. D. 1985. ARDA NIJO Estate. Produce Market Study. Harare: Agriculture and Rural Development Authority (draft).

Muchena, Olivia. 1980. Women in Town. A Socio-economic Survey of African Women in Highfield Township, Salisbury. Harare: University of Zimbabwe, Centre for Applied Social Sciences.

Muchena, Olivia. 1982. A Socio-Economic Overview: Zimbabwe Women. Addis Ababa: United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. ST/ECA/ATRCW/81/10.

Murray, Colin. 1979. "The Work of Men, Women and the Ancestors: Social Reproduction in the Periphery of Southern Africa," in Wallman, Sandra (ed.). Social Anthropology of Work. ASA Monograph 19. London: Academic Press.

Native Commissioner. Rhodesia. Umtali. Report. April 1, 1898. Harare: National Archives of Zimbabwe, File W 9 (1) 1, NA H.

"New Strategies Neded to Fight Sex Discrimination," MOTO, No. 44, 1986.

Obbo, Christine. 1980. African Women. Their Struggle for Economic Independence. London: Zed Press.

Ongla, Jean. 1978. Structure, Conduct and Performance of the Food Crop Marketing System in Cameroon: A Cast Study of Yaounde and Adjacent Areas. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Florida.

Orlove, Benjamin S. 1986. "Barter and Cash Sale on Lake Titicaca: A Test of Competing Approaches." Current Anthropology, Vol 27, No. 2.

Pacey, Arnold and Philip Payne (eds.). 1985. Agricultural Development and Nutrition. London: Hutchinson.

Palmer, Robin 1977a. "Agricultural History of Rhodesia," in Palmer, Robin and Neil Parsons (eds.). The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa. London: Heineman.

Palmer, Robin 1977b. Land and Racial Domination in Rhodesia. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Parsons, Neil. 1977. "The Economic History of Khama's Country in Botswana, 1844-1930," in Palmer, Robin and Neil Parsons (eds.). The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa. London: Heineman.

Patel, Diana H. and R. J. Adams. 1981. Chirambahuyo: A Case Study in Low Inicome Housing. Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press.

Peattie, Lisa R. 1980. "Anthropological Perspectives on the Concept of Dualism, the Informal Sector, and Marginality in Developing Economies." International Regional Science Review. Vol. I, No. 5.

Pendered, A. and W. von Memerty. 1955. "The Native Land Husbandry Act of Southern Rhodesia." Journal of African Administration, Vol. 7, No. 3.

Phimister, Ian. 1977. "Peasant Production and Underdevelopment," in Palmer, Robin and Neil Parsons (eds.). The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa. London: Heineman.

Plattner, Stuart. 1985 Markets and Marketing. Monographs in Economic Anthropology, No. 4. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Portes, Alejandro. 1983. "The Informal Sector: Definition, Controversey, and Relation to National Development." Review, Vol. VII, No. 1, Summer.

Preston, David. A. 1978. Farmers and Towns: Rural-Urban Relations in Highland Bolivia. Norwich, England: Geo Abstracts Ltd., University of East Anglia.

Pritchard, Norris D. 1969. "A Framework for Analysis of Agricultural Marketing Systems in Developing Countries." Agricultural Economics Research, Vol. 21, No. 3.

PTA Consulting Services. 1982. Study for the Agricultural/Rural Development of the CommunalAreas of Mashonaland East Province. Harare: PTA Consulting Services.

Ranger, Terrence. 1985. Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe. Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House.

Reid, M. G. 1980. "Tribal Agriculture in Relation to Rural Development--An Historical Note." Zimbabwe Science News, Vol. 4, No. 1.

Reynolds, Norman. 1981. The Utility of a Combined Periodic Service and Regulated Market System in the Development of Peasant Farming Areas in Zimbabwe. Working Paper 2/81. Harare: Department of Land Management, University of Zimbabwe.

Rhodesia. Ministry of Finance. 1979. Urban Development in the Main Centres. Harare: Government Printer.

Riddell, Roger C. 1974. "Poverty and the Wage Structure in Rhodesia." The Rhodesia Science News, Vol. 8, No. 7.

Riddell, Roger C. 1978a. Alternatives to Poverty. From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe 1. Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press.

Riddell, Roger C. 1978b. The Land Problem in Rhodesia: Alternatives for the Future. Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press.

Riddell, Roger C. 1984. "Zimbabwe: The Economy Four Years After Independence." African Affairs, Vol. 83, No. 333.

Rifkind, Malcolm. 1968. The Politics of Land in Rhodesia. A Study of Land and Politics in Southern Rhodesia with Special Reference to the Period 1930-1968. M.Sc. Thesis, University of Edinburgh.

Sahlins, Marshall. 1972. Stone Age Economics. New York: Aldine Publishing Company.

Sahlins, Marshall. 1976. Culture and Practical Reason. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Salisbury. Municipal Council. 1932. Salisbury: The Administrative Capital of Southern Rhodesia. A History and Description of the City. Harare: Government Printer.

Sanders, David. 1986. Unititled Draft of Report. Harare: University of Zimbabwe, Faculty of Medicine.

Santos, M. 1972. Economic Development and Urbanization in Underdeveloped Countries: The Two Flow Systems of the Urban Economy and Their Spatial Implications. Unpublished Manuscript.

Savitt, Ronald and John L. Beckley. Forthcoming. "The State-of-the-Art in Marketing and Economic Development." Marketing and Development.

Schapera, I. 1928. "Economic Changes in South African Native Life." Africa. Vol. 1.

Schildkrout, Enid. 1979. "Women's Work and Children's Work: Variations Among Moslems in Kano," in Wallman, Sandra (ed.). Social Anthropology of Work. ASA Monograph No. 19. London: Academic Press.

Schmidt, Elizabeth. 1987. Women are the Backbone of Agriculture: A Historical Assessment of Women's Role in Peasant Production in Zimbabwe, 1890-1939. Paper Presented to the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, November.

Schmink, Marianne. 1986. "Women in the Urban Economy of Latin America," in Schmink, Marianne, Judith Bruce and Marilyn Kohn (eds.). Learning About Women and Urban Services in Latin America and the Caribbean. Washington, D. C.: The Population Council.

Schmink, Marianne, Judith Bruce and Marily Kohn (eds.). 1986. Learning About Women and Urban Services in Latin America and the Caribbean. Washington, D. C.: The Population Council, Inc.

Scott, Gregroy J. 1985. Markets, Myths and Middlemen. A Study of Potato Marketing in Central Peru. Lima: International Potato Center.

Sethuraman, S. V. 1976. "The Urban Informal Sector: Concepts, Measurement and Policy." International Labour Review, Vol. 114.

Sethuraman, S. V. 1977. "The Urban Informal Sector in Africa." International Labour Review.

Sethuraman, S. V. 1981. "The Role of the Urban Informal Sector," in Sethuraman, S. V. (ed.). The Urban Informal Sector in Developing Countries. Geneva: International Labour Organisation.

Shaffer, James D., Michael Weber, Harold Riley and John Staatz. 1983. Influencing the Design of Marketing Systems to Promote Development in Third World Countries. Paper presented at the International Workshop on Agricultural Markets in the Semi-Arid Tropics by the International Crop Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics, Hyderabad, India.

Shava, F. M. M. 1986. "The Worker in Zimbabwe." Zimbabwe News, January.

Shumba, Enos M. 1985. "On-Farm Research Priorities Resulting from a Diagnosis of the Farming Systems in Mangwende, a High Potential Area in Zimbabwe." Zimbabwe Agricultural Journal, Research Report No. 5.

Smith, R. Cherer. n.d. Avondale to Zimbabwe. Harare: Mardon Printers (Pvt.) Ltd.

Southern Rhodesia. 1958. Report of the Urban African Affairs Commission 1958 (Plewman Report). Harare: Government Printer.

Southern Rhodesia. 1945. Report of Native Production and Trade 1944. Harare: Government Printer.

Southern Rhodesia. Legislative Assembly. 1935. Debates. Vol. 15, Cols. 583-584.

Southern Rhodesia. Legislative Assembly. 1959. Select Committee on Resettlement of Natives. Harare: Government Printer.

Southern Rhodesia. Legislative Assembly. 1960. Select Committee on Resettlement of Natives. Second Report. Harare: Government Printer.

Stopforth, G. 1972. Two Aspects of Social Change. Highfield African Township Salisbury. Harare: Institute for Social Research, University of Rhodesia.

Sudarkasa, Niara/Gloria Marshall. 1973. Where Women Work: A Study of Yoruba Women in the Marketplaces and in the Home. Ann Arbor: Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan.

Sunday Mail. December 14, 1973.

Tanser, Tony. 1965. A Scantling of Time. The Story of Salisbury, Rhodesia (1890-1900). Harare: Stuart Manning.

Tickner, Vincent. 1979. The Food Problem. From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe 8. Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press.

"'Till Death Do Us Part' No Longer Means Forever," Parade, February 1986.

Tinker, Irene. 1981. "New Technologies for Food-Related Activities: An Equity Strategy," in Dauber, Roslynn and Melinda L. Cain (eds.). Women and Technological Change in Developing Countries. AAAS Selected Symposium 53. Boulder: Westview Press.

Trager, Lillian. 1976. Yoruba Markets and Trade: Analysis of Spatial Structure and Social Organization in the Ijesaland Marketing System. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington.

Truscott, Kate. 1986. "Socio-economic Factors in Food Production and Consumption." Food and Nutrition, Vol. 12, No. 1.

Weinrich, A. K. H. 1975. African Farmers in Rhodesia. London: Oxford University Press.

van Onselen, C. 1976. Chibaro: African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia 1900-1933. London.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1984. "Household Structures and Labor-Force Formation in the Capitalist World Economy," in Smith, Joan, Immanual Wallerstein and Hans-Dieter Evers (eds.). Households and the World-Economy. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Weinrich, A. K. H. 1979. Women and Racial Discrimination in Rhodesia. Paris: UNESCO.

Wells, Julia. 1982. "Passes and Bypasses: Freedom of Movement for African Women Under the Urban Areas Act of South Africa," in Hay, Margaret Jean and Marcia Wright (eds.). African Women and the Law: Historical Perspectives. Papers on Africa, VII. Boston: Boston University.

Werlin, Herbert H. 1981. "The Hawkers of Nairobi: The Politics of the Informal Sector," in Obudho, R. A. (ed.). Urbanization and Development Planning in Kenya. Nairobi, Kenya: Kenya Literature Bureau.

Wood, L. J. 1974. Market Origins and Development in East Africa. Occasional Paper No. 57. Kampala, Uganda: Makerere University, Department of Geography.

Yawitch, J. 1980. "Towards a Conceptualization of Women and the 'Informal' Sector," in Matsetela, T., M. Matshaba, D. Webster, P. Wilkinson, J. Yawitch and H. Zarenda. Unemployment and `Informal' Income-Earning Activity in Soweto. Seminar Paper Presented at the African Studies Institute, University of Witwatersrand, July 28 and August 11.

Yudelman, M. 1964. Africans on the Land. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zimbabwe. 1982. Crop Production of Commercial Farms (Zimbabwe and Provincial Totals) 1982. Harare: Central Statistics Office.

Zimbabwe. 1982. Transitional National Development Plan 1982/83-1984/85. Vol. 1. Harare: Government Printer.

Zimbabwe. 1983. Agricultural Production in Communal Land Irrigation Schemes and ARDA Estates 1983. Harare: Central Statistics Office.

Zimbabwe. 1985. Statistical Yearbook 1985. Harare: Central Statistical Office.

Zimbabwe. 1986. First Five Year National Development Plan 1986-1990, Vol. I. Harare: Government Printer.

Zimbabwe. Central Statistics Office. 1984. 1982 Population Census. A Preliminary Assessment. Harare: Government Printer.

Zimbabwe. Central Statistics Office. 1985. Main Demographic Features of the Population of Zimbabwe: An Advance Report Based on a Ten Percent Sample. Harare: Government Printer.

Zimbabwe. Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs. 1982. Report on the Situation of Women in Zimbabwe. Harare: Government Printer.

Zimbabwe. Ministry of Economic Planning and Development. 1981. Annual Economic Review of Zimbabwe. Harare: Government Printer.

Zimbabwe. Ministry of Finance, Economic Planning and Development. 1986. Budget Statement 1986. Harare: Government Printer.

Zimbabwe. Ministry of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare. 1984. Annual Review of Manpower 1983. Vol. I. Harare: Government Printer.

Zimbabwe. Ministry of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare. 1985. Annual Review of Manpower 1984. Harare: Government Printer.

Zimconsult. 1983. Final Report. Study of Musika Co-Operative Society Ltd. Mbare, Zimbabwe. Harare: Zimconsult (provided to me by the Zimbabwe Women's Bureau in Harare).