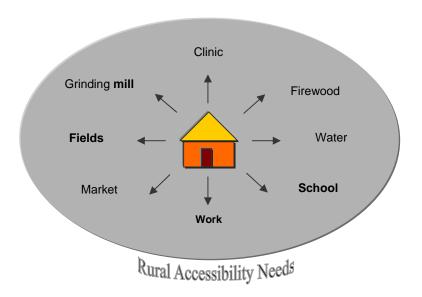
GENDER IN RURAL TRAVEL AND TRANSPORT IN ZIMBABWE



Written for the World Bank (Harare)

Ву

Wilfred N Tichagwa

Harare December 2000

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Wilfred N. Tichagwa

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgement Table of contents	
List of abbreviations Introduction	IV V
Executive Summary	VI
1.0 Gender issues in Rural Travel and Transport in Zimbabwe 1.1 Patterns of rural travel and transport in Zimbabwe 1.2 Gender issues in RTT 1.2.1 Gender imbalances in RTT 1.2.2 Accessibility constraints on women 1.3 Segmentation of the rural communities 1.3.1 Communal Areas 1.3.2 Small Scale Commercial Farms 1.3.3 Large Scale Commercial Farms 1.3.4 Resettlement Areas 2.0 Current Responses to RTT Needs 2.1 Traditional Approaches to RTT Planning 2.2 Labour Based Road Rehabilitation and Maintenance 2.3 Small-Scale Contractors Development Project 2.4 Food-for-Work Infrastructure Projects 2.5 Provision of Basic Services 2.6 Improvement of Transport Services 2.7 Informal Infrastructure - Paths, Tracks and Footbridges 2.8 Access to Intermediate Means of Transport 2.9 Technical Capacity Building for Rural District Councils 3.0 Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations 3.1 Summary	01 01 02 02 05 11 11 11 11 12 13 14 17 20 21 24 25 30 32 32
3.2 Conclusion 3.3 Recommendations 4.0 Plan of Action	34 35 37
References	39
Annex 1: List of people interviewed Annex 2: List of participants at the feedback workshop Annex 3: Terms of Reference of the Study Annex 4: Report on the GRTT workshop held at Mandel Training Centre, Marlborough, Harare: on 7-8 th November 2000	

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CBO Community Based Organisation

Danida Danish International Development Agency

DDF District Development Fund

DFID Department for International Development

ECA Economic Commission for Africa

GoZ Government of Zimbabwe

GRTTI Gender in Rural Travel and Transport Initiative

IFRTD International Forum for Rural Transport and Development

ILO International Labour Organisation
IMT Intermediate Means of Transport

ITDG Intermediate Technology Development Group

MLGPWNH Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing

MoLA Ministry of Lands and Agriculture
MoTE Ministry of Transport and Energy
NGO Non-Governmental Organisation
O&M Operation and Maintenance
PGN Practical Gender Needs
RDC Rural District Council
RLF Revolving Loan Fund

RTT Rural Travel and Transport

RTTP Rural Travel and Transport Programme

SGNs Strategic Gender Needs

Sida Swedish International Development Agency

Unifem United Nations Fund for Women

WB World Bank

Introduction

The WB and other development agencies view RTTP as a tool to advance reform in rural roads and transport policies and to stimulate rural development and reduce poverty.

In November 1999, the World Bank Development Grant Facility (DGF) approved a one-year grant to the Africa Rural Travel & Transport Programme (RTTP). The purpose of the grant was to facilitate a Gender and Rural Travel and Transport Initiative (GRTTI) for building the capacity of national RTTP programs to integrate gender into research and operational activities. Specifically, the objective is to enable the RTTP to develop national rural transport policies and strategies to:

Improve the planning, financing and maintenance of rural roads, tracks, paths and footbridges

Provide motorised and non-motorised rural transport services to move people and goods

Promote the use of least-cost methods, local resources, and small contractors for rural transport infrastructure works.

The DGF has initially approved a grant of US\$190 000 for the GRTI, for the fiscal year July 1999 - June 2000. The grant could be renewed for an additional two years if satisfactory progress is achieved during the first year.

The grant supports the following initiatives:

- (a) Creation of a support unit based in Harare
- (b) Identification and documentation of a small number of promising approaches to mainstreaming gender in RTTP
- (c) Providing support to proposals from 4-5 national RTTP activities designed to strengthen the gender component of their programs. These activities could include studies, pilot projects or training activities. Approximately US\$80 000 is available in total to support these national initiatives during fiscal year 2000 so that the average grant would be around US\$15 000 or less.
- (d) Setting up a gender and transport Web Site
- (e) Developing a gender sensitive M&E system for the RTTP countries.
- (f) Organising a regional gender and transport workshop.

This study is in line with (b) above. The study is not an evaluation. Rather, it seeks to provide a quick overview of the gender issues in RTT in Zimbabwe and the extent to which current RTT interventions address those issues. Annex 3 provides the terms of reference.

Da	ata collection for the report followed the following methods, in that order:
	A review of publications, reports and information brochures on gender in RTT
	and RTT interventions in Zimbabwe
	Interviews with key informants particularly among the donor agencies
	supporting RTT interventions in Zimbabwe

□ Discussion of the initial draft report with the Gender Forum co-ordinated by Unifem (Harare), whose comments were incorporated in the second draft
 □ Soliciting comments on the second draft through a *Workshop on Gender in RTT in Zimbabwe* held at a venue in Harare on 7-8th November 2000.

A constraint to data gathering was the difficulty of securing interviews with Government informants. Following the June 2000 General Elections, some Government ministries were re-structured. For some, this entailed changes in the physical and telephone addresses. Fortunately, most of the relevant Government personnel attended the above-mentioned workshop and made their inputs.

The report structure comprises an overview of the gender issues in RTT in Zimbabwe (Chapter 1) and how current RTT interventions impact on the gender issues (Chapter 2). The conclusions and recommendations are at Chapter 3. The Plan of Action (Chapter 4) recommended by the Workshop on GRTTP in Zimbabwe marks the end of the report. The References are followed by the list of people interviewed (Annex 1), the list of workshop participants (Annex 2) and Terms of Reference of the study (Annex 3).

Executive Summary

The main features of RTT in Zimbabwe are that

- The bulk (86%) of rural travel and transport trips takes place within a radius of 4 km around the village
- Walking and head loading are the predominant mode of travel and transport.
 The bulk of travel and transport activities is around subsistence and family
 welfare needs, e.g. fetching water, firewood and harvests, and going to the
 grinding mill, school, clinic and the market.
- An average household accounts for approximately 60 tonne km per year (by all modes). Of this, 90% is by head loading.

Clearly there is a mismatch between this inward-looking pattern of RTT activities and the provision of formal roads for outward-bound movement of people/goods.

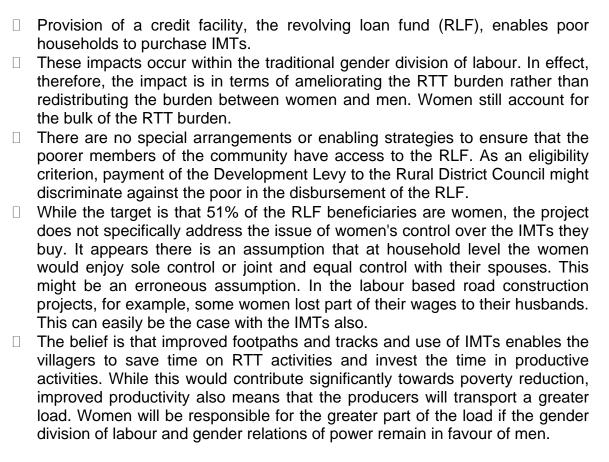
Women shoulder a disproportionately large share of the RTT burden:
In an average rural household of six members women account for 54 (77%) of the 70 hours spent per week on travel and transport.
Women and girls are responsible for 95% of water transportation.
About 85% of the people taking maize to the grinding mill are women.
Women account for over 85% of firewood collected.
Women and men grow different crops on different fields. They differ in the crops they sell and in the markets that they serve. There are transport and marketing services for men's crops, but none for women's crops.
The multiple roles of women curtail their mobility: I.e. women spend a disproportionate amount of time doing chores in and around the home, leaving them with little opportunity to access social services.

Agricultural production and marketing is largely dependent on women's labour inputs. The above trends in women's condition of life and time use erode their productivity and therefore reinforce rural poverty. Gender issues in RTT are therefore both a human right and an economic development issue.

	number of accessibility constraints on women were identified:
Αt	community level, the main constraints are that for socio-cultural reasons
	Certain IMTs especially the bicycle are not accessible to women.
	IMTs such as the wheelbarrow and the ox-cart are used mainly in economic
	activities (e.g. transporting produce) rather than in social activities (e.g.
	transporting water or firewood).
	Unequal gender relations of power mean that men's RTT needs take priority
	over women's RTT needs.

	In addition to gender inequalities, there are also class differences in access to and ownership of IMTs. Poor households, especially the female-headed seem to be the most disadvantaged.
At	the practitioners' level, the main accessibility constraints for women are that: IMTs are designed mainly for men's tasks - they are women friendly mainly by chance.
	Transport service providers do not see women producers and traders as a market for special services. Women have to hitchhike on buses and lorries. Planners and implementers of road and transport services projects do not promote participatory planning. The opportunity is therefore lost to identify and facilitate planning inputs from special user-groups such as women producers, women traders and women travellers.
At	the policy-makers' level, the main constraints are: There is no national rural transport policy. The opportunity to identify and
	address gender issues in RTT therefore hardly arises. There is no national gender policy. Thus, there is no motivation for RTT
	practitioners to identify and address gender issues in RTT. Development planning is not integrated. The opportunity is therefore lost to co-ordinate transport and non-transport solutions to RTT problems/needs.
RT	e study findings on the gender sensitivity of current approaches to addressing T needs were as follows:
	FORMAL ROADS Improved roads promote an increase in the number of transport operators and in the number of trips, especially in the case of bus operators. Procurement of agricultural inputs from urban centres and marketing of produce in urban centres are now easier for those in proximity to the roads.
	The employment of women and men in labour based and small-scale contractor based road construction, rehabilitation and maintenance has injected some cash into the local economy. This is an advantage especially to women in drought-prone areas. The wages are an important resource in their household survival strategy, and an important source of capital for income
	generating activities However, whereas the formal roads facilitate outward-bound movement of goods and people, the bulk of village-level RTT activities are inward-bound, revolving around subsistence needs as water and firewood. This mismatch means that the formal roads do not provide an opportunity to alleviate the RTT burden at village level or to address gender inequalities in the share of the RTT burden.
•	INFORMAL INFRASTRUCTURE - FOOTPATHS, TRACKS AND FOOTBRIDGES The informal infrastructure facilitates smoother and quicker movement of people and transportation of goods. These infrastructure also facilitate use of

intermediate means of transport (IMTs) such as wheelbarrows, carts and bicycles to enable women and men transport bigger loads over a shorter time.



The Workshop on Gender in RTT in Zimbabwe discussed the study findings. The Workshop strongly recommended that funding be sought from the World Bank to facilitate the holding of gender awareness raising workshops for key stakeholders in the RTTP. The Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing (MLGPWNH) was to spearhead the process, supported by the Ministry of Youth Development, Gender and Employment Creation. The MLGPWNH was to formulate and submit a proposal to the WB by the first week of December 00.

MAIN REPORT

1.0 GENDER ISSUES IN RURAL TRAVEL AND TRANSPORT IN ZIMBABWE

1.1 Patterns of rural travel and transport in Zimbabwe

Between 1995 and 1997, a "Rural Transport Study in Three Districts in Zimbabwe" (i.e. Chipinge, Rushinga and Zaka) was commissioned by the Government of Zimbabwe and sponsored by SIDA, with technical support from the ILO. The main findings, as summarised by T.C.Mbara (2000) were as follows:

- The use of public transport by rural households is rather infrequent and confined to the occasional visits to hospitals, sourcing of farm inputs and crop marketing and shopping.
- The bulk (86%) of rural travel and transport trips takes place in and around the villages, on footpaths and tracks, on foot.
- Nearly all of the household's social and economic activities occur within a radius of 4 km from the village.
- In terms of time spent, the bulk of travel and transport activities is around subsistence and family welfare needs, e.g. fetching water, firewood and harvests, and going to the grinding mill, school, clinic and the market.
- Walking and head loading are the predominant mode of travel and transport. Ownership of motorised vehicles is negligible at < 0.5%.
- The weekly travel burden for a household is approximately 70 hours, of which water collection alone accounts for 28 hours (40%).
- An average household accounts for approximately 60 tonne km per year (by all modes). Of this, 54 tonne km (90%) is by head loading.

Clearly, there is a mismatch between the *outward-bound* motorised transport services on the formal roads and the *inward-bound travel* and transport activities of the rural communities. The mismatch arises from a planning approach premised on economic cost-benefit analysis.

The above approach marginalises the important social aspects of rural travel and transport activities and reinforces gender inequalities in access to RTT facilities and services. The bulk of the RTT activities and transport needs are around 'social' needs, which is largely women's responsibility. The bulk of investment in transport infrastructure and services is around economic production and marketing, where men are firmly in control.

1.2 Gender issues in RTT

The IFRTD (1999) observed that gender awareness is non-existent or underdeveloped among transport providers, planners and policy makers. Mbara (2000)¹ also noted that although some organisations are integrating gender in rural development programmes, they rarely address accessibility issues even when the target groups explicitly articulate these.

To date the ILO (1997) study in the three districts of Chipinge, Rushinga and Zaka is the only comprehensive analysis of the subject in Zimbabwe. However, the paucity of sources does not prevent generalisations about gender issues in RTT in Zimbabwe. Experiences elsewhere in Africa and Asia corroborate the findings of the ILO (1997) study:

A number of country studies commissioned by the Economic Commission for
Africa (1998) showed that, across sub-Saharan Africa, rural communities
commonly share a range of gender issues in RTT ² .
Workshops on RTT organised by the International Forum for Rural Transport

and Development (IFRTD)(1999) show a large degree of similarity in the gender issues in RTT that affect African and Asian rural communities.

The greater part of RTT activities are around subsistence activities carried out mainly by women - fetching water and firewood and going to the grinding mill, clinic and the market. The gender division of labour assigns the bulk of these activities to women.

The following two sections summarise the gender issues around RTT. One section identifies the **gender imbalances** in the share of the RTT burden. The other section discusses the **accessibility constraints** on women. For sources the ILO (1997) study and the IFRTD (1999) report are used extensively. Other sources are indicated as applicable.

1.2.1 Gender imbalances in RTT

- An average rural household (6 members) spends around 70 hours per week on travel and transport. Of this, women account for 54 hours (77%). Water collection by women alone accounts for 28 hours (40%).
- Women and girls are responsible for 95% of water transportation. This means four trips on foot daily, carrying a 25-litre container for 2-3 hours. In the dry season when many shallow wells dry up, "waiting time" at the few remaining water points (deep wells and boreholes) increases considerably.

¹ Accessibility refers to availability and quality of services and the ease or difficulty of getting to the service in terms of time, cost and means of travel.

² See "Country Reports" for Burkina Faso, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe, and a synthesised report summarising these.

- About 85% of the people taking maize to the grinding mill are women. A
 female member of household on average spends 4-5 hours per week on this
 activity (including 2-3 hours waiting for one's turn at the mill).
- Women account for 85-90% of firewood collected. Depending on the distance to the wood source, a round trip ranges from 1hr.45min to 2hr.45min (daily or once in two days).
- The competition for women's labour and time between the above and other chores curtails women's mobility: I.e. women spend a disproportionate amount of time doing chores in and around the home. The resultant time constraint reduces women's ability to access social services health, education, agricultural extension meetings. The time and labour constraints on mothers often necessitates involvement of young girls in transporting water and firewood and other chores. In poor and female-headed households, this has led to school drop out rates being higher among girls than among boys (Nejadfard and Edwards (2000).
- On the production front, women and men grow different crops on different fields, although women work on both crops. This implies different travelling distances and transport needs (IFRTD: 1999). Women and men also differ in the crops they sell and in the markets that they serve. This creates gender differences in the distances to the markets, the timing of marketing activities, means of transport and methods of sale. For example:

 Men usually market maize and sunflowers (ILO: 1997; Vol.2) and other cash crops such as cotton and tobacco to well defined formal markets
 - cash crops such as cotton and tobacco to well defined formal markets at specific locations and specific times of the year. By contrast, women market sweet potatoes, groundnuts, monkey nuts, fruits and vegetables, in the informal sector over a prolonged period.
 - ☐ For men, transport operators come right up to the homestead at a preagreed time to transport produce to the marketing depot. By contrast, women take produce to the roadside in order to hitchhike to town.
 - Men's cash crops have a pre-determined price (by grade) and are paid for by means of a cheque that is sent by post. Women sell for cash but often have to agree to credit arrangements. The latter results in a lot of travelling and time spent on following up on elusive debtors.
- As implied above, women are a special market that needs specific transport and marketing services. Transport planners and service providers have not acknowledged this. The consequences of this, as identified by the Gender Forum that is co-ordinated by UNIFEM (Harare), include the following:
 - □ Women have to adjust their travel and marketing activities to the frequency and timetables of public transport services, often waking up and taking produce to the roadside before sunrise. There is no shelter at pick-up points to protect the woman from harsh elements.

		leads to high transport costs it several trips have to be made.
		Bus conductors and drivers - mostly men - are rude and arrogant where
		women passengers are concerned.
		Inadequate marketing infrastructure in urban centres means that produce
		is stored and marketed in open spaces. There are risks of theft and
		damage to produce from exposure to the harsh elements.
		The call of duty in the domestic sphere force women traders to sell to
		middle traders at considerable loss of income, especially where perishable
		products (fruits and vegetables) are concerned.
		In localities where the social services are still a great distance away, the
		long journeys expose lone travelling women and girls to the dangers of
		robbery and sexual abuse. Rape is a life threatening danger if the attacker
		is HIV-infected.
Th	ne n	eed to address the RTT needs of villagers and especially of women cannot
be	OV	er-emphasised. The pattern of RTT activities represents an enormous
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☐ Women transport small quantities of produce at a time since the transport services are not specifically made to suit the informal trader's needs. This

In a community dependent on agricultural production and marketing, and because agriculture is largely dependent on women's labour inputs, these trends in the women's condition of life and time use reinforce rural poverty. Attention to gender issues in RTT is therefore both a human right and an economic development issue.

1 4	2.2. Accessibility constraints on woman
	2.2 Accessibility constraints on women rious sources have defined "accessibility" as comprising two aspects:
	Availability or provision of an item of need, e.g. a grinding mill, clinic or school. Something must exist before we try to gain access to it. The quality of the service is also important - the lack of drugs at a local clinic might necessitate a longer trip to another clinic or hospital.
	Mobility or ease with which one can access a need. People spend time; effort and money to gain access to a need. How much one spends depends on the means of transport. For example going to school by bus is quicker and easier but more expensive than walking to school.
Th	e IFRTD (1999) identified accessibility constraints on women at these levels:
	Community level
	Practitioners' level
	Policy-makers level
	Planners/Implementers' level ³

This categorisation conveniently separates the issues according to the respective levels at which they need to be addressed.

1.2.2.1 Constraints at community level

Women's access to basic services at this level is a function of numerous factors:

- Due to unequal gender relations of power at household and community levels, men's transport needs have priority over women's. For example, men invest in ox-carts for transporting their cash crops but not in water carts for women. Women rarely use the ox-carts for transporting water or firewood, and must obtain the husband's permission first.
- A related issue is the women's low capacity for earning own account income and the resultant limited financial autonomy. The JIMAT (1998) study found that women employed on labour based road rehabilitation and maintenance projects used their income to buy assets. This demonstrates that own account income and financial autonomy may be an important factor of women's ownership of intermediate means of transport (IMTs). Women's own account income and financial autonomy are low due to dependence on men for access to the critical resources for income generating projects. (Men are uncomfortable with the idea of increasing the wife's financial autonomy). In addition, since the men claim ownership of durable assets, women are unable to use these as collateral on loans for purchasing IMTs. Credit facilities that need collateral are thus largely out of the reach of most women.
- For socio-cultural reasons, certain modes of transport are not regarded as appropriate to one gender or the other. For example, carrying loads on the

³ In the IFRTD (1999) report, planners and implementers are included in the "practitioners" group. They are categorised separately here for convenience only.

head or babies on the back are considered to be *natural* when done by women but demeaning to men. The use of a bicycle for these tasks is natural for men but socially inappropriate to women. Thus in many communities women do not use a bicycle even if the household owns one.

- Traditionally, women are regarded as *natural* transporters when it comes to head loading (IFRTD: 1999). This perception leads to the under-estimating of women's need to use intermediate means of transport (**IMTs**) for transporting grain, firewood, water and other items.
- There is also the tendency to confine use of some IMTs on 'economic' rather than on 'social' activities (IFRTD: 1999). Table 1 shows that, overall, women use IMTs for transporting farm produce more than for transporting water and firewood. The ILO (1997) suggested that women's use of IMTs is affected by bad paths and hilly terrain that inhibit use of carts, long distances that curtail use of the wheelbarrow, and poverty which inhibits the purchasing/hiring of IMTs. These constraints should affect men as well, although the poverty factor is likely to affect women more.

Table 1: Use of IMTs by Women in Chipinge District

Type of IMT	No. using	No. using IMT for:				
	IMT	Water	Water Grinding Firewood Farm I			Marketing
		collection	mill	collection	produce	crops
Wheelbarrow	14	7	1	0	10	0
Sledge	2	0	0	0	2	0
Cart	6	0	0	6	3	3
Total	22	7	1	6	15	3

[Source: ILO (1997): Rural transport study in three districts of Zimbabwe: Vol.2]

There are socio-cultural factors at play also, such as the tendency to regard women as natural head loaders where water and firewood are concerned. When men get involved in these activities there is a tendency to introduce IMTs, as **Table 2** suggests. (The average age of the males suggests that mainly boys rather than male adults are involved).

Table 2: Transport characteristics of visits to water sources, by sex and by district

	Chipinge		Rushinga		Zaka	
Transport Characteristics	М	F	М	F	М	F
Total number of users	40	110	7	94	6	87
Wheelbarrow	11	5	2	3	2	3
Headloading	29	105	4	91	3	83
Cart	-	-	1	0	1	1
Average age of user	13	24	14	24	21	28

[Source: ILO (1997): Rural transport study in three districts of Zimbabwe; Vol.2]

 Ownership of IMTs is marked by gender and class differences. Table 3 shows that the number of women using IMTs is higher than the number of women who actually own the IMTs that they use. This implies an IMT ownership pattern skewed in favour of men, or a high incidence of borrowing or hiring of IMTs among the women. The ILO (1997) found that female-headed households were the most disadvantaged in terms of agricultural productivity, income earning capacity and ability to purchase or hire IMTs.

Table 3: Women's ownership and use of IMTs, by District

	Chipinge	District	Rushing	a District	Zaka District		
Type of IMT	No. owning IMTs	No. using IMTs	No. owning IMTs	No. using IMTs	No. owning IMTs	No. using IMTs	
Wheelbarrow	6	14	3	15	4	12	
Sledge	0	2	0	7	1	8	
Cart	1	6	1	7	5	20	
Total	7	22	4	29	10	40	

[Source: ILO (1997): Rural transport study in three districts of Zimbabwe: Vol.2]

- Population pressure on land and forest resources has led to progressive deforestation. Local availability of forest resources has diminished, exposing women to long distances to firewood sources. Shallow wells may also dry up, necessitating a shift to a more distant but reliable source. These trends increase the time spent on walking to sources of water and firewood. In extreme situations it has become imperative that men share the burden of fetching water and/or firewood. The involvement of men has enhanced the likelihood of the household investing in IMTs, as explained below.
- Men's investment in IMTs for subsistence activities is often prompted by
 perceived benefits that might accrue to them (men), as well as by the need to
 alleviate the load on themselves. For example, in some communities where
 the sources of firewood are now very far away, some men buy ox-carts or
 donkey-carts to transport firewood on hire or for sale, as well as for domestic
 needs. This opportunity for income generation is often not open to women.

From the above discussion, two strategic gender needs can be identified:

Gender equality in access to and control over IMTs

Gender equality in the division of labour and the share of the RTT burden.

Success in these respects would promote a real and sustainable improvement to the conditions of life and well being of women.

1.2.2.2 Constraints at Transport Practitioners' level 4

 Most designers and disseminators of technology are men, and usually target male end-users. Thus, it is only incidental that IMTs are women-friendly. Even where IMTs may be "appropriate" to women, they are expensive relative to women's incomes. The definition of "appropriate technology" is often not

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⁴ Transport practitioners include transport operators, transport technology designers and producers, road planners and construction and maintenance agents.

comprehensive enough to include the issue of affordability as well as cultural compatibility, user-friendliness and user-based repair and maintenance.

- In an increasing number of households, the toll of the AIDS scourge means that widows and elderly women and men now shoulder an increasing RTT burden in various subsistence and economic activities. There is yet no attention to the suitability of existing IMTs to the emerging user-group.
- Transport operators do not explicitly identify women traders as a specific market for their services. Transport service in this respect is non-existent,

	erratic, or inappropriate (mostly on passenger vehicles). Women trading in goods of a short shelf life often become desperate for transport services and/or for safe storage facilities.
	 The Gender Forum co-ordinated by UNIFEM (Harare) also raised the following concerns: Bus operators refuse liability for in-transit losses or damage to goods. The safety standards on buses leave a lot to be desired - buses take off before passengers are seated and travel at unsafe speeds with an excess number of passengers Rural bus services often operate at unsafe hours, leaving for urban destinations hours before sunrise and returning well after dark. Poorly designed bus termini in urban centres cause crowding and exposes passengers to pickpockets, knifepoint robbers and ill-mannered loaders and touts jostling for passengers' luggage. This problem can be acute for women because of the multi-purpose nature of their trips - they take many pieces of luggage with them on a single trip. Lack of roadside shelter exposes passengers at bus stops to dusty winds, rain, cold etc.
•	The roads in small-scale commercial farming areas (SSCFAs), communal areas (CAs) and resettlement areas (RAs) are not maintained well. The rough ride on these roads damages fragile goods. Most of the goods belong to women passengers.
-h	ne above issues need attention at three levels:
]	Transport service providers need to acquaint themselves with the RTT needs of both women and men and provide appropriate transport services.
]	Government needs to assist transport service providers, especially those
	in rural transport services, to develop management skills so that they
	provide their services effectively and efficiently.
]	Civil society organisations need to promote the communities' awareness of their right to transport services, and to promote their organisational capacities for claiming that right.

1.2.2.3 Issues at Policy-Makers' level

- Policy decisions on transport infrastructure and services are based on the
 outcomes of economic cost-benefit analyses. The focus is therefore on
 provision of roads and motorised transport services for mainstream economic
 activities Needs relating to social or reproductive activities, in which women
 predominate, are not considered.
- Due to adverse economic conditions and the negative initial impacts of the
 economic structural adjustment programme, more women are engaging in
 informal sector production and marketing activities. Because marketing
 opportunities in rural areas are limited, there is a need to access urban
 markets. This access is difficult for those who do not live in proximity to the
 formal road networks.
- The above problems arise partly from the fact that Zimbabwe has no rural transport policy and no informal sector policy. There is therefore little or no attention to the village-level and informal sector RTT needs.
- The policy gap in RTT has been maintained in the decentralisation policy that has devolved on local authorities the responsibility for planning and implementation of essential social and economic infrastructure. Local authorities are likely to put low priority on RTT projects.
- Actions to promote organisational development and capacity building for the
 local communities did not accompany the decentralisation policy. In respect
 of RTT activities, the rural communities are too weak to mobilise, organise
 and claim their rights to improved transport infrastructure and services and to
 demand accountability from their local authorities. This issue is important
 because of the local authorities' potential as sources of financial and technical
 resources, which the communities need to exploit.
- There is no national gender policy. There is thus nothing to compel policymakers to pay attention to gender issues in RTT. In turn, there is no motivation or drive to acquire skills in gender analysis.

The important issue here is that without the appropriate national policies on gender, rural transport and the informal sector, there will be no consistency in addressing the gender issues in RTT and in the informal sector. Gender sensitivity in RTT projects would depend on the inclinations of the individual planners. More importantly, the gender aspect would remain a donor-driven component. This would not be conducive to sustainable interventions since in principle donor support is supposedly ad hoc.

1.2.2.4 Constraints at Planners and Implementers' level

- Mostly, transport planners and implementers are men who see transport
 needs from the men's viewpoint. In addition, participatory planning is not a
 widely practised methodology. There is therefore little opportunity for
 differentiating user groups and enabling them to identify, prioritise and input
 their specific transport needs in the planning process. Thus, RTT projects
 mostly do not account for women as a user-group with special needs.
- Where participatory approaches are used, there are no enabling strategies to enhance the participation of the more vulnerable groups, especially women and men from poorer households. For example, participants are self-selecting through payment of "joining fees" or contribution of labour and materials. This method of "buying in" is potentially against poor households because of the financial and labour constraints they face. It also promotes the widening of the gap between the rich and poor.
- The above gaps in the planning procedures arise partly from insufficient attention to the issue of **sustainability**. Plans do not incorporate people's perceptions of transport needs, priorities and solutions, and do not address capacity building needs of vulnerable groups for effective operation and maintenance activities.
- The gaps in the planning procedures also arise from a poorly developed sense of accountability to stakeholders but especially to women, a phenomenon that is typical of male-dominated planning structures.
- Development planning is not as integrated as it should be. The opportunity is therefore lost to synchronise transport and non-transport interventions in RTT. It should be interesting to draw lessons from the UNDP-supported policy research series taking place in South Africa (ASIST Bulletin No.10 2000). The research series seeks to promote greater consistency of approach and synergy in dealing with such issues as gender equality, O&M, and the balance between social and economic imperatives.

Im	portant points to stress are that:
	Planners should segment target groups according to gender and socio-
	economic differences.
	Planners should adopt participatory development planning, ensuring that
	the primary target groups - women and the poor - identify their needs for
	incorporation in development plans.
	Synergy between transport and non-transport solutions to RTT needs
	should be enhanced through co-ordinated multi-sectoral planning by
	Government, donor agencies and non-governmental organisations.

1.3 Segmentation of the rural communities

Zimbabwe's rural communities are found in four land tenure systems as identified below. The types of RTT problems and needs might be the same across the tenure systems but the intensity might vary. (An in-depth study is needed to verify the RTT situation and its gender ramifications).

1.3.1 Communal Areas

These are home to the bulk of the rural population. The relative neglect of these areas in the colonial era left much of these areas characterised by

inadequate provision of roads

Poor standards in road design and construction. Some of the roads are not passable during the rainy season

A road network designed to facilitate **rural - urban** movement of people (labour) and produce, to the neglect of **rural - rural** connectivity Poor transport services

Poor social infrastructure and services, leaving most of the villagers at great distances from basic services - education, healthcare, water points, agricultural extension services etc

Post-1980 efforts have gone a long way towards opening new roads in the communal areas, particularly feeder roads, and in the provision of transport and social services. However, much of the Communal Areas can still be described as "remote". A commentator at the Gender Forum Meeting facilitated by UNIFEM (UNDP offices; 5/10/00) observed that some rural women still have to travel 30 km or so to catch a bus. In the 1980s, some women only took a fraction of the grain they were entitled to as drought relief handout. They could not manage head loading a large quantity for long distances across mountainous terrain.

1.3.2 Small Scale Commercial Farms (SSCFs)

The indigenous farmers own these. Homesteads are sparsely located compared to the CAs. The SSCFs are similar to CAs in terms of difficulty of access to social services, but enjoy these advantages:

SSCFs have better forest cover than the CAs.

There are boreholes or wells on many of the SSCFs

The majority of SSCF households have one or more IMTs (bicycles,

wheelbarrows and carts). Some also have tractors, lorries or vans.

Thus, women on SSCFs probably have better access to firewood, water and IMTs than their CA counterparts.

1.3.3 Large Scale Commercial Farms (LSCFs)

The farm workers are temporary residents on privately owned land. They live in especially difficult circumstances because:

They are poorly provided with social services, especially in respect of clinics and schools. Most healthcare seekers and school children travel long distances for these services.

Mostly, there are no public transport services specifically for the LSCFs. The farm worker community relies on the through-traffic to/from Communal Areas. At the peak of demand for transport services, for example at Christmas and other public holidays, transport operators prefer the longer-distance travellers to the Communal Areas to the short-distance LSCF-bound travellers.

Workers are vulnerable to seasonal unemployment. They cannot afford the food basket, let alone the cost of transport or IMTs (e.g. bicycles).

Some farmers have provided for primary schools and for the training and employment of primary healthcare workers. The Government could consider suitable policy measures to encourage such initiatives. For example, tax incentives might be a suitable strategy.

1.3.4 Resettlement Areas (RAs)

Resettlement Areas emerged from the post-Independence land reform programme. Villagers from congested Communal Areas are resettled on large-scale commercial farms acquired by government for the purpose. An important point to note is that: the schemes are located in areas that had few water points, schools and healthcare facilities. Resettlement, especially on the so-called "fast track" schemes, often occurs before these infrastructures are in place.

Arguably, women in the "fast track" resettlement schemes could be the most vulnerable given their burden of RTT activities related to subsistence needs and to the setting up of a new home. The prevailing harsh economic conditions create the risk of male labour migration. This would increase the burden of both productive and reproductive work and associated transport activities on women.

The gender issues in RTT that have been identified above are by no means an exhaustive list. Notwithstanding this, the picture strongly suggests a need to speed up the processes of formulating national policies on RTT and on gender.

The following chapter looks at how programmes in RTT have responded to the gender issues discussed above.

2.0 CURRENT RESPONSES TO RTT NEEDS

2.1 Traditional approaches to RTT planning

There were strong efforts in the 1980s to promote the social and economic development of rural areas, which included upgrading existing roads and opening up of new ones, especially feeder roads. Progress has slowed down since the late 1980s due to a stagnating economy, and to the fact that expansion of the road network incurs an escalation of the maintenance burden. Many rural areas thus remain relatively *isolated* due to one or more of these conditions:

- Roads that are not usable all-year round.
- Feeder roads in a *poor state of maintenance*, shunned by transport operators
- Lack of and/or poorly maintained tracks and footpaths that connect villagers to social services and to roads and transport services to urban areas.

The first two conditions threaten to increase the number of "remote" communities, while the third condition points to the need to provide both *formal* and *informal* infrastructure in a complementary manner. Complementarity would be facilitated by an explicit policy on *rural travel*. Such a policy does not exist in Zimbabwe. The development of footpaths and tracks, and promotion of IMTs has therefore not featured strongly in district development plans.

However, the above situation might be changing if the following initiatives in rural travel and transport are strengthened:

Labour based road rehabilitation and maintenance programme ⁵
Small-scale contractor development programme
Food-for-work infrastructure projects
Provision and strategic location of facilities/services
Informal infrastructure such as footpaths, tracks and footbridges
Access to IMTs (intermediate means of transport)
Technical capacity building for RDCs

These interventions are discussed below (not necessarily in that order). To the extent that data permits, the overview consists of:

- A brief description of the intervention
- Identification of the Impacts of the intervention on rural women and men
- Identification of gender gaps in the intervention.

⁵ Labour based road construction and maintenance are of the traditional / conventional approach where roads are provided with only motorised transport in mind. However, they have potential to contribute to development of local expertise and technical skills that could be used in the construction of tracks and footpaths.

2.2 Labour-based road rehabilitation and maintenance

2.2.1 Description

Supported by Danida, this programme started in 1991 with pilot projects in four provinces. The main objective was

"To demonstrate the viability of this methodology for the rehabilitation and maintenance of rural feeder roads in Zimbabwe...as an alternative to conventional road construction" (Ministry of Transport and Energy).

Following a positive review in 1999, SIDA decided to support a similar programme.

A labour-based unit employs about 250 labourers recruited within 10 km of the road under rehabilitation. The selection of workers is through a ballot system. There are separate ballots for women and men, to ensure that women also have a chance of employment. A labour unit produces about 2 - 3 km per month of gravel roads of good standard, using three or four tractor-trailer combinations and two lightweight rollers. The pilot phase created 1.6 million worker-days of employment to rehabilitate 560 km of gravel roads.

The forepersons of the labour units also come from the community. They are trained as the road maintenance technicians. Due to low education, it is difficult to find suitably qualified women.

2.2.2 Impacts/Benefits

The social and economic benefits from the programme include the following:

- Workers on the labour units are acquiring useful practical skills and experience in road construction and maintenance. This is an important contribution to the development of local human capital, and to local technical capacity for road maintenance activities.
- Acquisition of technical skills and experience by women workers is an innovation in the communities affected. The experience could lead to positive changes in societal attitudes towards the training and employment of women in technical fields.
- Households living near the roads have benefited from the employment on the labour units. This can be of critical importance to the survival strategies of poor and food-insecure households, especially in drought-prone regions.
- Women have been able to buy assets or start income generating projects using their wages (JIMAT: 1998). The assets and additional livelihoods enhance women's capacity to formulate survival strategies.
- More important perhaps is the economic empowerment and relative financial autonomy that employment opportunities can bring to rural women.

Traditionally, women have secondary access to family income since such income is created through use of assets controlled by husbands. Dependence contributes to erosion of self-respect and respect by others. The ability to use wages to accumulate assets has earned the women greater respect from their husbands and other members of the community (JIMAT: 1998). If sustained, this could lead to improved social status for women and greater participation in decision-making at household and community levels.

•	The JIMAT (1998) study noted these positive impacts of improved roads on social service provision: Attraction of quality staff to the rural health and education facilities Increased frequency of visits to rural health centres by doctors Better ambulance services These benefits are important to women as the main caregivers in the home.
•	Improved roads facilitate greater access to suppliers of agricultural inputs and to markets in urban areas. This benefited men in terms of mainstream agricultural production and marketing. Women producing for the informal sector also gained better access to urban informal markets through: Over 200% increase in the number of passenger transport operators. Increases in the number of goods transport operators (40% to 225%, depending on the particular road in question) JIMAT (1998) report also noted reductions in transport costs and travel time.
2.	2.3 Gender-gaps
•	 The programme's entry point in the district is the office of the District Administrator (DA). The DA refers the issue to the Ward Councillors who then inform the community about the programme and assist in mobilising potential employees on the programme. The information on recruitment dates was in some cases sent through school children. This approach has not worked well: Households that have no children attending school will not get the information, or will get it late. Children think that the message is targeted at their fathers, because of the perception that formal employment, especially on roads, is for men. Children may not grasp full details e.g. on the criteria for selecting workers. Men are better placed than women to search for more information because they have fewer mobility constraints than women do.
•	Although the programme target is to recruit equal numbers of women and men, women constitute between 18% and 30% of the labour units (JIMAT: 1998). The somewhat small proportion of women workers and the preponderance among them of female heads of household is attributed to two factors (Mr.Kidanu: SweRoad): Not enough women come forward for employment on the labour units. There is a tendency among some husbands to refuse their wives permission to join the labour units.

Some husbands do change their minds later when they see the benefits accruing to other households. Possible other social factors are that

- Rural women are seen mainly as homemakers and not in any other role.
- Roadwork is traditionally seen as a men's sphere.
- Time constraints from domestic responsibilities curtail women's ability to join the road gangs.

The last point affects women on the road gangs. To make time for their domestic responsibilities, women work harder and finish their piecework earlier than their male counterparts, in order to go back to their domestic responsibilities (Mr.Kidanu: SweRoad).

- The gender component, on the whole, is not strong. It is confined to the promotion of the principle of equal opportunities for employment between women and men. Thereafter, there is no effort to raise community awareness on gender issues in development as a whole, for instance on the gender relations of power. On payday, for example, some husbands queue together with the wives to take the wives' wages. Gender awareness and human rights education among both the women and men could be useful here. This gap in the design of the programme design prompted the observation that "gender awareness training has not left Head Office" (Mr.Kidanu: SweRoad)⁶.
- The programme focuses on promoting a sustainable approach to road construction and/or rehabilitation and not, strictly speaking, on the accessibility needs of the community. No doubt, households living along the roads now benefit from their proximity to the transport services on these roads. But, as established earlier, most transport activities and needs take place off these roads and do not involve motorised transport. There are no complementary infrastructure projects to ensure that villagers can access the improved roads and the transport services on these roads.

2.2.4 Prospects

Some possible developments within the programme might address the accessibility issues below feeder road level in the near future:

• In the 1999 - 2000 period, in the districts of Buhera and Mberengwa, the programme has incorporated construction of access roads (10 -15 km) specifically to improve villagers' access to Growth Points for social and economic services. Sida and Danida funded this component. At present, the demand for access roads exceeds the financial resources available to meet that demand. Resource constraints are likely to worsen since Sida has for the time being pulled out of this component.

⁶ At Head Office, road engineers underwent a 3-day training workshop on "Gender and the Road Engineer" to conscientise the engineers on gender issues in the labour based road rehabilitation and maintenance activities.

- There is a suggestion to incorporate a credit scheme in the programme to support income-generating activities that bring essential services such as grinding mills and shops nearer the people (Mr. Kidanu; SweRoad). While the idea has yet to be concretely proposed, such a programme could encompass these components:

 A matching grant scheme to support essential infrastructure projects such as paths, tracks and footbridges for improved access to services. The projects would benefit from the wealth of expertise / experience that is developing among the labourers on the road rehabilitation and
 - A revolving loan fund to promote access to IMTs for income generating projects, with emphasis on women's participation. The experience in the districts of Chipinge, Rushinga and Zaka could inform the design of the administration of such a fund.

It is envisaged that funding for such projects would be partly from the community and partly from the donor agencies. There is an opportunity here to promote organisational and institutional aspects of the projects with a view to facilitating the community's take over of the management, operation and maintenance of village-level infrastructure as well as the revolving loan fund.

2.3 Small Scale Contractors Development Project

maintenance projects.

2.3.1 Description

Jointly funded by Danida, SIDA and the Government of Zimbabwe, this programme started in 1997. It is implemented by the Department of Roads (DoR), assisted by SweRoad (a consulting company). The DoR engages local entrepreneurs in the provision of public infrastructure, especially feeder roads. This is consistent with the Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and Social Transformation (ZIMPREST) which seeks to limit Government's involvement in the provision of services that could be more effectively and efficiently provided by the private sector (Department of Roads: 2000).

The programme comprises labour-based road rehabilitation and maintenance projects managed by private contractors. Selection of prospective contractors follows these steps:

• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
Advertising in the press
Preliminary screening of applications by a Board set up by the DoR
Approval of the Board's selections by the Secretary for Transport & Energy
Financial vetting by a selected bank (Barclays) for credit worthiness
Final approval by the Central Tender Board

The Department of Roads and the Zimbabwe Institute of Engineers then train selected contractors. Barclays Bank, Species College and the Department of Taxes also train the contractors in business administration and financial management skills.

The contractors completing the training course are then equipped with a set of light construction equipment purchased with a loan of Z\$2 million. The loan, which is underwritten by Danida, is repayable by the contractor within five years. The loan incurs an annual interest of 10% in the first year, and an additional 5% thereafter until it matches the prevailing commercial rate.

In the 1997 - 1999 period, programme implementation targets were as follows:

Coverage 8 Provinces

Trained contractors 70 one-man contractors

Roads constructed per contractor 20 km Roads under maintenance 1400 km

Increase construction capacity from 160 km/year to 320 km/year

Roads to be rehabilitated 640 km/year

Selected contractors started road *rehabilitation* work in January 1998 to cover a total of 160 km of roads. Productivity rates averaged 2.5 km of good standard gravel road per month for each of the four construction units in place then. In addition, 20 one-person maintenance contractors were trained and engaged in January 1998 to carry out routine road *maintenance* work over a 20-km stretch of road per contractor, each employing about 10 length-persons (Kidanu: ASIST NO.7; July 1998).

2.3.2 Impacts/Benefits

The impacts are likely to be similar to those described for the Labour Based Road Construction and Rehabilitation Programme. In terms of benefits, the following can be expected:

- Employment opportunities for the villagers.
- Acquisition of practical skills and experience in road construction and maintenance by the villagers.
- Economic empowerment of the rural women and men on the labour units.
- Produce surplus to domestic needs can be transported to urban markets
- Inputs, goods and services can enter into the areas served by the roads
- Trade can be conducted in the areas bordering the improved roads
- Personal mobility for social and economic activities will be improved for those villagers living in proximity to the improved roads
- Improved transport services can be expected.

However, as argued below, the role of women as participants and beneficiaries is likely to be very limited.

2.3.3 Gender-gaps

 The Labour-Based Contractor Development Programme focuses on road construction, rehabilitation and maintenance, and not specifically on the accessibility needs of the community and especially women. However, there is scope for expanding the responsibility of the contractors to include the construction and maintenance of village level infrastructure - tracks, footpaths and footbridges. It will be up to the local authorities (RDCs) to make maximum use of this intervention.

Th	e participation of women in the labour-based contractor project is likely to
rer	main lower than that of men, for a number of constraints:
	Road construction and/or rehabilitation are traditionally perceived as
	men's work. Those responsible for mobilising the community may by-pass
	women when selecting prospective contractors and/or workers.
	Compared to men, few women have the qualifications that a prospective
	contractor should have. This problem can be traced back to the gender
	biases in subject choice in formal education and vocational training.
	Societal norms and expectations about the roles, responsibilities and
	appropriate careers for women and men shape this choice.
	The sex composition of the selection Board, the DoR and the Tender
	Board may affect the selection of contractors. Chances are that some of
	the male and female members of these bodies would prefer male
	contractors in line with the traditional norms.
	Lending institutions have traditionally regarded women as not creditworthy
	This may negatively affect the assessment of aspiring female contractors
	as prospective clients for loans to purchase equipment.
	Further, women are under-represented among property owners. A few
	women in their own right own rateable property that could be offered as
	collateral in loan applications. Many cannot get their spouses to
	underwrite their loan applications.

Affirmative actions by the Selection Board, DoR, the Bank and the Tender Board are strongly advisable if the programme is to have significant proportions of women contractors and women workers on the labour units.

2.4 Food-for-work infrastructure projects

2.4.1 Description

This intervention was frequently used to alleviate food deficits during the droughts of the 1980s and early 1990s. In the late 1990s, this method was replaced by the Grain Loan Scheme where recipients of food aid were to repay back to Government the food/grain in amounts equivalent to the grain received. A few villagers did donate grain back to Government but overall the repayment aspect was a flop for logistical reasons, especially lack of transport,

Food-for-work projects were labour intensive and involved the creation or rehabilitation of roads, tracks, dams, weirs and construction of public facilities such as school buildings and teachers' houses. In a few cases participants - especially men - received wages rather than food. Women pre-dominated the labour-based food-for-work projects, while men preferred to work for wages.

2.4.2 Impacts/Benefits

- In the short-term, food-for-work schemes provided immediate relief to foodinsufficient households and prevented famine-related deaths (UNICEF: 1994).
 This was a remarkable achievement particularly in the 1992 drought, which was reputed to be the worst in Zimbabwe's living memory.
- The projects had positive impacts on the conditions of life in the targeted communities, with women as the main beneficiaries:

 Tracks for example facilitated use of ox-drawn carts for trips to clinics and to grinding mills.
 Dams improved surface water storage and created opportunities for gardening activities especially by women. Gardening for domestic needs and for marketing purposes are expected to have positive impacts on the nutritional status of the households, and on their income earning capacity.
 Catchment area protection projects reduced the rate of erosion and siltation of reservoirs, stretching the life span of the infrastructure.
 Projects incorporating re-forestation improved the supply of firewood.

2.4.3 Gender-gaps

- Food-for-work projects are conceived within the context of an emergency.
 Thus, the infrastructure created is itself usually of secondary importance (van Esch: 1998). The consequences of this set-up include the following:
 - The place and relative importance of food-for-work projects within the wider context of community development needs and priorities are not clearly defined. There is therefore little opportunity to identify, prioritise and respond to both general and gender specific development needs. Thus, the need for complementary projects to improve women's mobility on the new or rehabilitated tracks, for example by introducing and widening ownership of IMTs, is overlooked.

- ☐ The quality of the infrastructure, and the long-term operation and maintenance issues, are not adequately addressed. Because the food-forwork schemes target the poor, the community feels that maintenance activities should also be supported under more food-for-work schemes that target women as the main beneficiaries.
- Targeting women as the major participants and beneficiaries in food-for-work projects obscures the fact that the infrastructure provided benefits the community as a whole. The projects are seen mainly as a means of enabling women to access an essential resource (food grain) for their role as food providers.
- The tendency to reward men working on similar projects with wages rather than with food seems to present the projects as forms of formal employment, albeit temporary. The payment of wages alienates the community from the project; they see those who pay the wages as the owners of the project.

2.4.4 Prospects

It is not clear if drought-related interventions will revert from the grain loan experiment to the food-for-work schemes. If the latter were to be preferred, then the following suggestions by van Esch (1998) are pertinent:

· , , ,
Food-for-work schemes, which are temporary, should not be used to create
infrastructure that incurs recurrent maintenance activities. Otherwise
operation and maintenance issues - actors, roles and responsibilities - should
be settled before the projects are allowed to start.
The community's needs, priorities and responsibility for the proposed projects
should be established before they are adopted for implementation.

Capacity building needs of the community for post-implementation maintenance activities should also be incorporated in the design of the foodfor-work projects.

2.5 Provision of basic services

2.5.1 Description

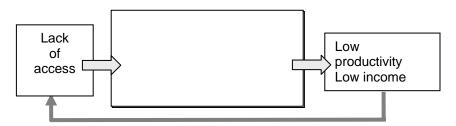
This approach promotes *non-transport* solutions to RTT problems. The approach locates and sites social infrastructure such as water supply facilities, clinics/hospitals, schools, shops and marketing depots nearer people's homesteads. It also includes the choosing of venues near the homesteads for important activities such as national registration, child immunisation, agricultural extension meetings and technology demonstrations. The approach helps to reduce the distance and therefore the time and effort spent to access social services or to attend important events. Sector-by-sector examples are summarised below.

· Health sector

Primary health care program: This involved the training and deployment of community-based healthcare workers (traditional midwives, Health Technicians,

		Community Based Distributors and Village Community Workers) to locate services among the end-users Expanded program of immunisation (EPI) at local clinics and health centres, and through mobile teams
		Provision of rural clinics, health centres and district hospitals and provincial hospitals with specialist services
		Village level water supply and sanitation projects - for example through the Integrated Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Programme (IRWSSP) of the 1980s.
•	Ag	ricultural sector
		Siting venues for agricultural extension meetings in or near the villages - this led to a huge increase in the number of women farmers attending the meetings Locating crop technology trials among the farmers and involving the farmers in
	Ц	the trials (MoLA's ASSP Gender Study)
•	_	restry sub-sector
		Siting/establishing nurseries and woodlots and orchards at local schools and near homesteads - this facilitates establishment of renewable sources of firewood [Country Report - Zimbabwe] and sources of income (through sale of firewood, general-purpose timber and fruits).
		Promoting re-forestation projects based on indigenous species - to enhance environmental awareness.
	and bot	wever, gender issues are not explicitly addressed in the choice of tree species d in the ownership and control of the woodlots on communally owned land. While the women and men welcome species that are good for carpentry and building ber, women need species that are also good for firewood.
•	Ed	ucation sector
		Provision of primary and secondary schools to increase access to education - through increased capacity and reducing walking distances to the schools in the 1980s, this was combined with the policy of universal free primary education. One outcome of these measures was the near parity between girls and boys' enrolment rates in primary schools (UNICEF, 1994).
		Community-based adult literacy tutors. In 1985, 85% of the learners were rural women [Country Report - Zimbabwe; UNICEF: 1994]
•	Lo	cal government sector
		Siting/development of Growth Points and Rural Service Centres. This reduced the distance to and costs of accessing commercial services, and provided one-stop shopping centres for goods and services for the convenience of the surrounding communities [Country Report - Zimbabwe]
2.	5.2	Impacts/Benefits
•		ccess to social services has greatly improved, especially in the health and
	ec	ducation sectors. For example: By 1997 about 85% of Zimbabweans lived within 8 km of a health facility.
	Ш	Unfortunately there are no baseline data with which to compare these statistics. However, there is no doubt that health-seeking trips increased

- as a result of the shorter distances to the health facilities. This led to significant reductions in the IMR and MMR (MoH, 1997)
- By 1997, 64% of rural people had access to safe drinking water (MoH, 1997; Country Report Zimbabwe). Again there are no baseline data. However, protected wells and boreholes are much more numerous and visible in the countryside than ever before.
- Primary and secondary school enrolment increased phenomenally within a few years post-1980. The 1980s policy of universal free primary education virtually eliminated gender disparities in enrolment at that level.
- The time saved as a result of greater proximity and access to basic services is invested in productive activities, thereby increasing the productivity and income earning capacity of the community and especially women's. Thus, improved access is important to breaking the poverty circle in which rural communities and especially women are trapped due to lack of access to basic services (see diagram).



Source: based on an article by Fatemah Ali-Nejadfard & Geoff Edmonds (2000): ASIST Bulletin No.10 2000.

2.5.3 Gender-gaps

- For the most part, these interventions were not gender explicit. Where the
 majority of the beneficiaries are women, as in the case of health and water
 supply facilities, this is mainly a demographic effect rather than a result of
 deliberate targeting i.e. women form the majority of the target population.
- Social services provision does not address village level accessibility problems. For example in the rainy season flooded streams often cut children off from school and mothers from healthcare facilities and other services, for lack of bridges and footbridges. Inadequate access to IMTs and poor conditions of local footpaths and tracks make it very difficult for health seekers to access social services. Women, as the healthcare givers, are particularly affected.
- Due to the stagnation of the national economy since the late 1980s, it is increasingly difficult to maintain social and economic services at reasonable standards. The quality of services has deteriorated sharply as indicated by:
 - ☐ Under-staffing of / under-budgeting for healthcare and education facilities.
 - ☐ Grinding mills and water pumps that frequently break down from over-use

Long queues of women at water points, grinding mills and maternity wards and clinics.

Hopefully, these problems should disappear once the long-awaited economic recovery begins. Meanwhile, another hope is that under the Poverty Alleviation Action Plan, the rural communities will be able to weather the above problems.

2.6 Improvement of transport services

2.6.1 Description

While local authorities and central government invest in the construction and maintenance of road networks, the provision of rural transport services (**RTS**) is largely a responsibility of private investors and to some extent of parastatals. Ellis and Hine (1998) argue that this set-up is unsatisfactory because the market for RTS does not operate effectively due to the following factors:

- A low density of demand for RTS. The relatively low population densities in rural areas and the low input and low output character of agricultural production mean a low demand for RTS for marketing purposes. However, the situation seems to be different for passenger services, which seem to increase when a road is improved (JIMAT: 1998).
- Problems of matching demand and supply: For example around 80% of rural travel and transport activities take place in and around the homestead on paths and tracks and over short distances and involving small loads.
 Motorised transport services are confined to the formal road networks. Types and capacities of vehicles available may be inappropriate to the types and volumes of the goods to be transported. This is basically a planning and management problem which transport operators avoid by shunning the small-scale rural producers.
- Poor communication between transport operators and users on the types, capacity and scheduling of the RTS needed. Transport operators rarely research into transport demands of rural producers for planning and service provision purposes. For example, the transport needs of informal traders, most of whom are women, are largely unknown and not efficiently catered for.
- Unfair practices. Route licensing can cause some operators to monopolise certain routes, exposing transport seekers to unreliable transport services. Transport operators organise themselves into cartels for purposes of promoting their interests, often to the disadvantage of the users. For example, long-distance passenger transport and commuter transport operators have formed cartels that collude on fares to the disadvantage of travellers.
- Insufficient government support/promotion of the private sector. The government is strong on applying licensing and other regulatory instruments

and weak on providing training services to promote efficient provision, maintenance and management of vehicles and transport services.

2.6.2 Impacts/Benefits

Motorised transport is used by rural communities mostly for external travel to markets and occasionally for social visits and special events, and trips to health facilities (Ellis and Hine: 1998). In this case, the expansion of the road network in Zimbabwe in the 1980s and 1990s, and the increase in the number of transport operators probably led to an increase in the frequency of external trips by villagers. The JIMAT (1998) report, for example, cites instances where improved road conditions led to an increase in the number of transport operators and in the number of round trips per day for some bus operators.

2.6.3 Gender-gaps

- There is no support (from Government, Local Authorities and NGOs) for organisational development and capacity building for the rural producers. Consequently, rural producers cannot effectively represent their interests and demands regarding transport and marketing services. Women are particularly affected because most of their marketing is in the informal sector where provision of transport, warehousing and marketing facilities is negligible.
- The rural community is treated as a homogeneous market, whereas women and men produce for different markets and differ in their transport needs. For example, men's cash crops are sold in bulk in formal markets. Women sell a wider variety of goods - vegetables, sweet potatoes, handicrafts and other products - in the informal sector and often in both rural and urban areas.

2.7 Informal infrastructure - paths, tracks and footbridges

2.7.1 Description

Until recently there has been very little attention to these types of infrastructure by government, local authorities or non-governmental organisations (NGOs). For example, many NGOs promote projects in water supply, health, education, energy and agriculture, but the attendant access needs are not addressed even though target communities have identified these needs as one of their priorities (Mbara, T.C.: 2000). The access aspect does not fall within their mandate.

Currently, the most notable initiative is in the districts of Chipinge, Rushinga and Zaka, which is Sida-funded and receives technical support from the ILO. The initiative encompasses the following components:

- 1. Construction and/or rehabilitation of tracks, footpaths and footbridges
- 2. Promotion of access to IMTs through a revolving loan fund.
- 3. Provision of boreholes as a non-transport solution to a transport problem. So far only Zaka District has benefited from this component.

The project followed a 1995-1996 rural transport survey in the above-mentioned districts, which identified a need to address village level accessibility constraints.

The responsibilities of the community in the infrastructure projects are:

- Setting up a project committee for community mobilisation
- Identifying and hiring a local builder
- Labour contribution in the construction activities
- Gathering sand and stones at the construction site
- Setting up rules pertaining to use and maintenance of the infrastructure
- Contributing money towards maintenance of the infrastructure. SIDA, via the RDCs provides money for materials that have to be purchased, and for the drilling of boreholes by DDF, and for the revolving loan fund.

Access to the revolving loan fund for the purchase of IMTs is through individual applications for a loan. One of the criteria for eligibility is that the loan applicant should be up-to-date with his/her Development Levy payments to the RDC. In addition, a financial assessment of the prospective borrower establishes his/her credit worthiness.

2.7.2 Impacts/benefits

The ILO felt that it is too early to begin to assess the impacts of the project at this stage. Such an assessment would need to be based on another survey to collect data for comparison with the baseline data obtained in the 1995-1996 survey. Notwithstanding this, the following are some of the expected benefits:

- The involvement of the households in data collection and identification of RTT needs and priorities, and in formulating and implementing community action plans (CAPs), enhances the community's sense of ownership of the RTT projects (Mbara, T.C.: 2000). This predisposes the community to accept responsibility for operation and maintenance activities in respect of the boreholes, footpaths, tracks and footbridges. Indeed, the communities contribute money towards operation and maintenance activities and costs.
- In Zaka District, the majority of the households in the communities where boreholes were drilled now spend on average half the time they used to spend walking to and from previous water points (interview with T.Mbara).
- The revolving loan fund facilitated acquisition of IMTs wheelbarrows and scotch carts by households who would otherwise be unable to purchase the IMTs. The target is that 51% of the beneficiaries of the RLF should be women. There is good progress towards meeting this target. Beneficiaries can now transport greater loads in a shorter time than before. It is expected that the time saved as a result of the two interventions above boreholes and IMTs will be invested in productive activities and thereby boost productivity and income earning capacity of the beneficiaries

• Some villagers who have IMTs, especially scotch carts, hire them out to others for a fee ranging from Z\$40 to Z\$100 per trip (ITDG: 2000). Thus, apart from facilitating mobility of people and goods, IMTs can be an important source of income.

2.7.3 Gender-gaps

- It is not clear which sub-groups of women are the main beneficiaries. There
 appears to be an assumption that the women of the targeted communities
 are a homogeneous category. The opportunity was not taken to identify and
 target the more vulnerable sub-groups e.g. women from poor households with enabling measures to enhance their access to the revolving loan fund.
- The targeting method for the revolving loan fund leaves a lot to be desired.
 For example, the first past the gate are those who are up-to-date with their
 Development Levy payments. The assumption is that those who lag behind
 can but do not want to pay the levy. The poor are therefore discriminated
 against, and the majority of these are women
- The targeting method ignores the fact that the structure of decision-making within the household is skewed to the advantage of men. Thus, many women will be denied access to the revolving loan fund because their spouses decided not to pay the Development Levy.
- There is no room for the communities, through their local structures, to define methods of entitlement to resources in a manner that levels the field for both the "poor" and the "rich" to benefit from, for example, the RLF. This exclusion from decision-making limits not only the degree of ownership of the project by the villagers but also the opportunity for them to work and develop as one cohesive community. For example, why should those denied access to the RLF for purchasing IMTs pay for the maintenance of the tracks and footpaths on which the IMTs will be used?
- It is also questionable, ethically speaking, whether the RDC should use the RLF, meant to promote community development, as a tool for enforcing compliance with its by-laws or other statutory requirements. Since the revolving loan fund came as part of the RTT package, it should not be used in such a manner that it becomes a potential cause of internal divisions within the community. Rather, its administration should be such that it promotes within the community a sense of equality and a sense of collective responsibility for the O&M of the rural infrastructure developed by the project. For example:

_	
	The RDC could hold the RLF in trust, as a service to the community.
	The community could be allowed to define through local structures its own
	criteria for access to the RLF. For example, one of the pre-conditions
	could be participation in RTT projects (implementation, operation and
	maintenance)

The community should come up with enabling strategies that enhance
access to the RLF by the poorer sections of the community.
The RDC could be arbitrator where the community fails to resolve internal
disputes that threaten the viability of the local RTT programme.

2.8 Access to intermediate means of transport (IMTs)

2.8.1 Description

This intervention follows three modes of operation:

- Development and dissemination of IMTs
- Training of local artisans in the manufacture and repair of low-cost IMTs
- Credit facility for purchasing IMTs

The Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG) is the most visible institution in the **development and dissemination** of appropriate technologies for production and transportation purposes. In the 1992-1995 period, ITDG implemented an UNIDO-funded RTT project to address these problems:

in	rplemented an UNIDO-funded RTT project to address these problems:
	Shortage of transport devices to meet transport needs
	The high cost of the transport devices that exist
	Poor quality wheels and axles on the most popular device -the cart. (The ILO
	(1997) study also found that 90% of IMTs were idle for want of spare parts).

The ITDG, together with the Institute of Agricultural Engineering (IAE), developed a number of low-cost transport devices that can be made by small workshops in both rural and urban areas, for carrying water and transporting harvests from the fields. The ITDG also trained 54 artisans from small workshops around Zimbabwe in the use of wheel-making technology to make good quality wheels that are puncture proof and suited to the rough terrain of rural roads. The training of artisans is important to building local capacity for the manufacture and repair of low-cost transport technologies.

Central to ITDG's strategy is the involvement of communities in the design and testing of prototypes, with special focus on women. The advantages of this participatory approach are that:

pa	articipatory approach are that:
	As far as technically possible the technology will be adapted to end-users'
	needs and their physical and financial capabilities
	The community will be familiar with the final product and its advantages. This
	is essential to effective dissemination of the technologies
	Innovators will be quickly identified: "They never let opportunities pass"
	(M.Dziruni: ITDG Harare). The innovators are used in farmer-to-farmer
	training - through both word of mouth and practical demonstrations.

The **credit facility** for purchasing IMTs is a component of the RTT project in the three districts of Chipinge, Rushinga and Zaka. The component was introduced in recognition of the fact that the majority of the rural households cannot afford to buy IMTs out of the meagre family savings. Operating as a revolving loan fund,

the facility has enabled villagers to buy devices such as wheelbarrows and scotch-carts. It is stipulated that at least 51% of the beneficiaries of the credit facility should be women. The loan fund seems to be operating well, especially in Chipinge District (Mr.T.Mbara, Department of Urban and Regional Studies, University of Zimbabwe).

2.8.2 Impacts/benefits

The supply of improved scotch-carts has increased, and the manufacture and dissemination of this and other transport technologies is expanding as more manufacturers join the industry (ITDG: 2000). Some of the outcomes of this development were as follows:

Reduction in time spent on collecting firewood, water and harvests. For example, a woman in Chiota Communal Area who used to spend 24 hours per month to fetch firewood on foot and by head loading now needed only two hours per month using her cart
 Income generation: some cart owners hire out their carts at a rate ranging from Z\$40 to Z\$100.
 Availability of IMTs has enabled men to carry out tasks normally regarded as women's, such as transporting water and firewood
 In some households the time saved has been allocated to income generating and other productive activities.

These benefits can also be expected to accrue to the beneficiaries of the revolving loan fund for IMTs in the districts of Chipinge, Rushinga and Zaka.

2.8.3 Gender-gaps

In the case of the ITDG, the biggest problem remains that of affordability of the IMTs. Unless there is a credit scheme for the poor (mostly women) only the well-to-do households (usually male-headed) will access the IMTs. The ILO (1997) study showed that female-headed households, which tended to be poorer than others, had the least access to IMTs. The ITDG cannot directly address this problem as its focus is on Research and Development (R&D). They can only try to come up with cheaper models, but even these may be above the means of the rural poor. There is a need for the ITDG to work closely with organisations that promote income generating activities among the rural communities, especially those that run credit schemes, to promote gender and class equality in access to and ownership of IMTs.

In the case of the Chipinge-Rushinga-Zaka project, the problem is the method of targeting beneficiaries of the RLF. Among other pre-conditions, up-to-date payment of the Development Levy to the RDC is required for eligibility for a loan. This tends to discriminate against the poorer members of the community, as argued elsewhere in this report (Sub-Section 2.7.3).

2.9 Technical capacity building for Rural District Councils

2.9.1 Description

RDCs have the responsibility for providing rural infrastructure. There is a mismatch between this responsibility of the RDCs and their technical capacity to produce sound plans (Mbara, T.C.: 2000). There is also a deficiency of expertise in designing and implementing civil engineering projects such as footbridges and tracks.

The latter aspect was addressed under a Sida-funded technical capacity building project. A team of consultants trained and supervised twelve engineers in specific engineering skills pertaining to rural infrastructure projects. Two of the 12 engineers are women. The engineers were then each deployed to a Rural District Council (RDC). The RDCs use the engineers to design and construct waterworks, bridges, footbridges and other civil engineering projects. The University of Zimbabwe and the National University of Science and Technology co-operated in the training programme.

The pilot phase of the project was scheduled to expire in September 2000. SIDA has since pulled out of the project. DANIDA has undertaken to support the project and the target is that by the year 2002, each RDC should have an engineer.

Salaries for the engineers are paid by the RDC. To ease pressure on the RDC's coffers, Sida reimburses the RDCs in the first three years at 75% of the salaries in the first year, 50% in the second year and 25% in the third year. Thereafter the RDC shoulders the full salary burden.

2.9.2 Impacts/benefits

- A cadre with essential technical expertise is developing in the rural areas (Mr.Paget, SIDA). An advantage is that RDCs have readily available experts to assist communities in the construction of tracks, footpaths and footbridges to required standards. This will reduce costs of infrastructure provision when compared to the alternative of hiring external experts on ad hoc basis. The assumption is that there will be sufficient funding for civil engineering projects to keep the civil engineers busy.
- It is not certain how the presence of female engineers will affect rural communities that are used to seeing only male engineers. One possible impact is that communities will no longer see a career in engineering as a male preserve but a matter of the education and training opportunities that are made available to girls and boys. This would promote positive changes in societal attitudes towards girls' education and career choices. In this regard, the few existing female engineers are role models that will encourage schoolgirls to aspire for a career in the engineering field. Overall, the

categorisation of certain careers as "female" or "male" should weaken as more women cross more career boundaries.

2.9.3 General constraints

- Mr. Kidanu (SweRoad) felt that overall the technical capacity building programme is not matched by sufficient financial capacity on the part of the RDCs to maintain the technical services. This is now creating some problems for some of the RDCs. For example:

 RDCs cannot use the engineers fully they do not have a sufficient number and variety of projects going on in the district to keep the engineers occupied and exposed to various engineering experiences. If this is indeed the case, then an expanded RTT programme would keep the engineers busy and enable the RDCs to get their money's worth.
 RDCs cannot pay the engineers a competitive rate of remuneration. (However, Mr. Inggs of the Association of RDCs felt that currently there are a large number of unemployed engineers, therefore the risk of a high turn over is minimised).
- Mr.Kidanu also felt that there are unduly high expectations about the capacity
 of the civil engineers "The engineers can't do it all". For example they need
 quantity surveyors and other experts to help with various financial and
 technical analyses. (However, whether or not this is a disadvantage depends
 on the priority areas in which RDCs need technical experts compared to the
 skills that the engineers have).

2.9.4 Gender-gaps

- It is somewhat disappointing that women form a small proportion of the civil engineers that have been recruited so far. Hopefully, the proportion will increase as more engineers are engaged. The advantage of having female engineers is that they would be able to identify and sympathise with rural women's travel and transport needs and priorities. In this respect it would also be an advantage if the training of both female and male engineers included a module on gender awareness, so that they are gender sensitive in their work.
- A structural constraint to recruiting female engineers is that there are
 relatively few women in the relevant technical disciplines, including the civil
 engineering field. However, this situation can also be exploited by male
 decision-makers who may be against employing women in a "man's job".
 Some claims that "there are no suitably qualified females" are not true. It is
 not certain to what extent the RDCs have embraced "affirmative action". If this
 strategy is not applied then the under-representation of female engineers is
 likely to be a long-term problem:

There may be no genuine effort to recruit female engineers, rather than
that there are no suitable candidates.
There may be a tendency to under-remunerate female engineers, rather
than that RDCs have no money.

3.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

3.1 Summary

From the discussion of current RTT programmes (Chapter 2), the general conclusion here is that the gender issues and accessibility constraints on women, as identified in Chapter 1, are largely not addressed. In particular, none of the projects addresses the strategic gender needs of women. This implies that the projects have a limited transformatory potential as far as gender inequalities in the division of labour and the related RTT activities are concerned. The summaries below elaborate the point.

3.1.1 Formal rural infrastructure projects

In the main, the **traditional approach** of trunk and feeder roads is designed for outward bound transport services which are used only occasionally for visits to urban hospitals, the sourcing of agricultural inputs and the marketing of produce. The approach is mismatched with the travel and transport needs in and around the homestead, which account for 80% of the total transport burden. I.e. it does not address the RTT burden below feeder road level and the gender imbalances thereof.

The **Labour-Based** approach is an innovative and cost-effective method of the construction, rehabilitation and maintenance of feeder roads provided under the traditional approach described above. It therefore does not address gender issues arising at below feeder road level. The intervention only addresses the issue of gender balance among the locally recruited labour labourers. However, the cash earned by the workers is an important input to the local economies and an important component of household survival strategies. Women use their wages to meet their practical gender needs of providing for the household.

The **Small-Scale Contractor** intervention is a variant of the labour based road construction and maintenance intervention, where the private sector (as represented by the small-scale contractor) takes over maintenance activities. Again, the issue directly addressed in this intervention is that of gender balance among the contractors and among their labourers. The intervention is therefore not likely to have a significant impact on gender inequalities / imbalances in the transport burden at village level. The wages earned empower the women and men to meet their practical gender needs.

According to the Gender Forum (co-ordinated by UNIFEM), other gender issues not addressed by all the above interventions are:

The need to provide convenient and safe transport services for informal sector traders (mostly women)

The need to provide roadside shelter and adequate marketing infrastructure in urban centres for the protection and safe storage of the traders and their produce, respectively

However, the establishment of formal road networks did a lot to open for motorised transport services areas that would otherwise be "remote". For some communities, this has led to introduction of transport services or improvement of existing services, establishment of shops along the roads and easier access to urban markets and inputs suppliers. For women in particular, and especially those in proximity to the roads, the advantages of these developments are:

- Easier access to essential groceries salt, sugar, cooking oil, candles, paraffin, dried fish (kapenta), detergents etc
- Easier access to urban hospitals
- Easier access to the urban informal markets.

3.1.2 Informal rural infrastructure projects

The paths, tracks and footbridges address accessibility constraints, e.g.

Footbridges allow access to schools, clinics and grinding mills where before a minor flood would have prevented such access.
 Strategically located new paths and tracks could provide shorter routes to the social facilities.
 Improved paths and tracks allow use of intermediate means of transport (IMTs) such as bicycles, wheelbarrows, ox-carts and push-cuts where previously the rough terrain prevented the use of these IMTs.

However, women remain responsible for the bulk of the subsistence activities and the related travel and transport burden.

Food-for-work interventions have provided improved tracks to some localities, with the same result as above. At some localities and from a women's viewpoint, the greatest advantages of this intervention are:

Construction	and/or	rehabilitation	of	dams	and	weirs.	This	provides
reliable water	sources	s for laundry ar	nd fo	or nutrit	ion ga	ardening	g activ	⁄ities.
Modest incor	ne can a	also be earned	fro	m the g	arder	ning acti	vities	

☐ Reforestation projects improve availability of firewood.

A disadvantage is that the food-for-work intervention is a mechanism for targeting food aid in drought situations, with women as the main beneficiaries. Because it often is an emergency measure, it overlooks post-implementation operation and maintenance issues. The intervention has no impact on the gender balance of the transport burden, except that gardening and vegetable marketing can in fact significantly increase women's RTT burden.

3.1.3 Capacity building interventions

In the training and deployment of civil engineers, a gender issue of interest is the proportion of women engineers. The project has potential to solve technical problems around the construction of paths, tracks and footbridges. Other than this important but untapped potential, the intervention is not likely to have an immediate impact on gender issues in RTT.

3.1.4 Intermediate means of transport - IMTs

By lightening the transport burden, IMTs allow greater loads to be transported over a shorter time when compared to head loading. Another advantage is the ease of maintenance and repair by users or local artisans.

IMTs have enabled men to do chores traditionally regarded as women's, such as transporting water and firewood. Otherwise head loading is seen as culturally inappropriate and demeaning to men. However, the gender redistribution of the transport burden is not extensive and usually involves boys rather than male adults. Also, women often continue head loading water and firewood and confine use of IMTs to transporting agricultural produce. There is thus a need for caution when assessing the impact of IMTs on the gender distribution of the RTT burden.

Affordability is an issue that continues to prevent widespread adoption/ownership of IMTs. Particularly affected by this problem are female-headed households, although there is also a gender bias in IMT ownership in favour of men.

3.1.5 Non-transport solutions to the RTT burden

The provision of social infrastructure and services saw a phenomenal increase in the 1980s, particularly in the health and education sectors. In terms of distance and walking time, this improved accessibility of schools, clinics and water supply and sanitation facilities. This has benefited women as the providers of social services at household level. However, there is need for further improvement. In some localities, minor floods still cut off children from school and women from clinics and grinding mills. Added to this is the progressive deterioration of the quality of social services due to a general economic malaise since the 1980s.

3.2 Conclusion

The only interventions directly addressing RTT needs below feeder road level are the informal infrastructure projects and the Revolving Loan Fund for the purchasing of IMTs. However, the projects only address accessibility issues and gender equality in access to the RLF, respectively. Within the communities, the socio-cultural basis of gender inequalities in the RTT burden remains intact. In effect, the project is addressing only the *practical gender needs* of women and men and not the *strategic gender needs* as well. The former focuses on enabling women and men to perform their roles more effectively / efficiently but implies no change to the existing gender division of labour and the associated gender imbalances in the RTT burden. The latter would also address the need

for gender equality in access to and control over family assets, including family labour and physical resources, and promote gender equality in the sharing of the RTT burden.

3.3. Recommendations

To address strategic gender needs, the design of future interventions needs to provide for a forum for the community to dialogue on gender issues with a view to increasing women's participation in decision-making and control over resources. The communities should identify those strategic issues they can deal with initially, such as gender equality in access to project resources and communal resources. As gender awareness increases they can then move to other issues that are perhaps more controversial. These include gender equality in access to and control over household resources including IMTs, and the need for women to access men's labour in RTT activities.

The policy environment needs to be improved through:

- A comprehensive National Gender Policy. This is needed as a source of motivation to identify and account for gender issues in RTT and other development areas.
- A comprehensive National Rural Transport Policy that addresses the RTT issues and their gender ramifications.

Without these policies attention to RTT issues and gender aspects of RTT will not be consistent and would probably rely mainly on donor-driven initiatives.

At planning and implementation level, there is need for a comprehensive and holistic approach to RTT that pays attention to or encompasses the following:

- Informal infrastructure networks of footpaths and tracks to reduce local accessibility constraints
- Development and dissemination of intermediate means of transport (IMTs) to enhance the mobility of rural communities and their capacity to transport loads of various types / sizes
- Women's participation in the designing and testing of prototype IMTs with a view to enhancing compatibility with women's physical capabilities and preferences, and with local cultural and traditional norms
- Non-transport interventions, such as bringing social services nearer to the rural communities to reduce the effort, cost and travel time to these services
- Provision of social services through mobile teams where the necessary social infrastructure has not yet been developed - e.g. mobile immunisation teams to cater for the "remote" communities
- Improving the capacity and quality of social service facilities to reduce waiting time at these facilities

- Environmental conservation / rehabilitation projects e.g. reforestation, protection of catchment areas of dams, boreholes and wells - to enhance reliability of the sources of firewood and water for domestic needs
- Environment-friendly, energy-saving and efficient technologies such as wood-saving stoves and solar heating and biogas installations that reduce both the demand for firewood and the associated transport burden.

Conventional interventions (roads and motorised transport) remain important for external travel needs. However, their effectiveness needs to be improved by:

- Ensuring that roads are maintained to reasonable standards and passable all-year-round, and ensuring that transport services on these roads are reliable and affordable
- Enabling communities to participate in the definition of travel and transport needs and priorities and in the planning, implementation, operation and maintenance of rural infrastructure, paying active attention to gender-based constraints to participation.
- Ensuring that villagers have adequate access to the roads and the motorised transport services on the roads when they need to access these.

4.0 PLAN OF ACTION

4.1 Recommendations from the RTT Workshop

As part of the information gathering process, a workshop was convened to discuss the initial findings of the study. The workshop was held at the Mandel Training Centre, Marlborough, Harare, on 7-8th November 2000. The comments from the workshop have been incorporated in the foregoing pages of this report.

Another objective of the workshop was to identify a list of priority areas for action, together with time frames and indications of appropriate institutional frameworks for implementation of the recommended actions. The responses are summarised in the table below:

PLAN OF ACTION					
ACTIVITY	TIME FRAME				
A national baseline survey of RTT-related issues including gender	MLGPWNH (lead agent)	(the need for this was not widely supported in the plenary session)			
Mainstreaming gender in RTT into Gender Policy & Framework	Ministry of Gender (lead)Gender Focal PointsNGO Gender Forum	mid-November 2000			
Gender & RTT awareness raising among Decision-makers - MPs, Heads of Ministries Traditional leaders Provincial Development Committees RDCs Communities	 MLGPWNH (lead) Gender organisations Steering Committee Min. of Gender 	Immediate. Proposal to be submitted by/on 1/12/00			
Engendering the Transport Policy process	Steering Committee (lead) NGOs Min. of Gender	When Programme Co- ordinator is in place			
Capacity building: Gender planning skills in RDCs	LGPWNH (lead) RDCs, NGOs	January 2001			
Expansion of the loan fund for IMTs in 3 districts	LGPWNH (lead) RDCs, NGOs e.g. ZFU	June - December 2001			
Review of RDCs Strategic Plans and Gender Syllabus	Min. of Gender (lead) Other ministries RDCs NGOs	March 2000			

The highlighted section of the table indicates the action on which there was a consensus that immediate action was needed.

The MLGPWNH was chosen as the lead agency on the ground that the Ministry was about to undertake a rural transport study preparatory to formulation of the draft national policy on rural transport. Workshop participants felt that

- The envisaged rural transport policy should incorporate gender concerns in RTT.
- Awareness training on <u>RTT</u> and on <u>gender in RTT</u> should be concurrent with the policy formulation process, preparatory to implementation of a gender sensitive rural transport policy.

A constraint was that personnel in both the MLGPWNH and the Ministry Gender were not familiar with the RTTP and need some assistance to expedite formulation of the gender awareness-training programme. A short-term consultancy in this respect would be appropriate and is hereby recommended.

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Annex 1: List of people interviewed

Asfaw Kidanu Programme Advisor; SweRoad Team Leader;

Department of Roads

Mugova ITDG Southern Africa

Taodzera ITDG Southern Africa

Charles. Inggs Roads Advisor; Association of Rural District Councils

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Niels G.Olesen Road Sector Advisor; Danida Road Sector

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Annex 2: List of Participants at the GRTTP Workshop at Mandel Training Centre: Marlborough: Harare: 7-8th November 2000

Name	Organisation	Designation	Contact
R.M.Ziracha	DPP	Chief Plan. Officer	Box Causeway 968
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Annex 3: Terms of Reference for the Gender and Rural Travel and Transport Initiative (GRTI) Project in Zimbabwe

Introduction

In November 1999, the World Bank Development Grant Facility (DGF) approved a one-year grant to the Africa Rural Travel & Transport Programme (RTTP). The aim was to facilitate a Gender and Rural Travel and Transport Initiative (GRTTI) for building the capacity of national RTTP programs to integrate gender into research and operational activities.

The WB and other development agencies view RTTP as a tool to promote reform in rural roads and transport policies, and to stimulate rural development and reduce poverty.

The DGF has approved a grant of US\$190 000 for the GRTI, for the fiscal year July 1999 - June 2000. The DGF could renew the grant for an additional two years if there is satisfactory progress during the first year. In particular, the pilot national initiatives funded under this phase must be able to show significant achievement in the first year.

The grant provides support to the following initiatives:

- (g) Creation of a support unit based in Harare
- (h) Identification and documentation of a small number of promising approaches to mainstreaming gender in RTTP
- (i) Providing support to proposals from 4-5 national RTTP activities designed to strengthen the gender component of their programs. These activities could include studies, pilot projects or training activities. Approximately US\$80 000 is available in total to support these national initiatives during fiscal year 2000 so that the average grant would be around US\$15 000 or less.
- (j) Setting up a gender and transport Web Site
- (k) Developing a gender sensitive M&E system, which could be used in all RTTP countries. Organising a regional gender and transport workshop.

The consultant is tasked to do a situation analysis in these terms of reference:

Terms of Reference

- Identify the key gender issues in rural travel and transport in Zimbabwe and the strategies being used to address them - in addition to those identified by MNAECC.
- Analyse the constraints rural women face in accessing transport and transport services.
- Analyse the impact and shortcomings of the policy and project strategies being used to address gender in rural travel and transport by key actors e.g.

Ministry of Transport, Ministry of Transport and Energy, ILO, SIDA, DANIDA, DFID, etc

- Produce First Draft Report with recommendations on the appropriate strategies/projects to address the gender gaps in this sub-sector
- Work with MNAECC and UNIFEM to identify the key stakeholders in gender and rural travel and transport in Zimbabwe and organise a half-day small round table discussion to present findings and initial recommendations
- Based on the findings and above discussions, produce Second Draft Report and Strategy Framework for addressing the gender issues in rural travel and transport activities in Zimbabwe
- Organise a 2-day workshop of all stakeholders in the government, non-government and private sectors to do the following:

 Discuss and finalise the Situation Analysis Report
 Come up with an Action Plan that clearly outlines the proposed projects, actors and their responsibilities and possible sources of funding
 Recommend appropriate institutional framework for the Action Plan
- Produce Workshop Report in a format recommended by the GRTI.

Annex 4:

REPORT ON THE GRTT WORKSHOP HELD AT MANDEL TRAINING CENTRE, MARLBOROUGH, HARARE: ON 7-8TH NOVEMBER 2000

Introduction

The MLGPWNH⁷ (responsible for promoting RTT⁸ projects), and MYDGEC⁹ (housing the national machinery for the advancement of women), jointly hosted the workshop. The workshop served three purposes, namely:

- To feed back to and solicit comments on the second Draft Report from

 Respondents (mostly representatives of donor agencies) who had earlier been interviewed for information for the first Draft Report
 Members of the Gender Forum (mostly NGOs co-ordinated by UNIFEM, Harare) whose comments on the first Draft Report were incorporated in the second Draft Report.
- ◆ To provide an opportunity for relevant Government departments and NGOs to comment on the second Draft Report as the final input to the study. (It had been difficult to secure interviews with the relevant Government departments to collect data for the first draft report).
- ♦ To identify priority issues in GRTTP¹⁰ and come up with a Plan of Action and an institutional framework for the implementation of the Plan of Action. The issues were identified from
 - ☐ The analysis of gender issues in RTT in Zimbabwe
 - ☐ The analysis of gender gaps in current RTT interventions in Zimbabwe.

Below is a summary of the proceedings of the workshop.

Preliminaries

After self-introductions, Mrs E Madziva of the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing delivered the welcoming address.

Participants' Expectations

Participants stated their expectations about the workshop as summarised in point form below.

- Come up with contribution to national policy on RTT currently there is too much fragmentation
- Way forward on (implementable) gender issues
- Share experience on how to improve rural transport especially for women
- Implementable action plan for gender and RTT
- Better understanding of gender and RTT programme
- Ability to relate RTT to gender
- Sharing findings from the study and how they will relate to other countries and a way forward for Zimbabwe

⁹ Ministry of Youth Development, Gender & Employment Creation

¹⁰ Gender in Rural Travel & Transport

⁷ Ministry of Local Government, Public Works & National Housing

⁸ Rural Travel & Transport

- Identifying economic empowerment strategies for women
- Insight into incorporating gender in the transport sector and Local Authority RTT programmes
- Progress since formulation of RTTP programme and introduction of gender into RTT
- Update on RTTP and gender dimension
- Linkages between Zimbabwe Trust poverty study and current study
- Learn from experienced participants
- ▶ Relationship between RTT and gender
- Pick up best practices for replication in work
- Clearer understanding of issues in RTT and how they differ from conventional transport programmes
- How findings compare with findings elsewhere
- How study can be used for transport and RTT programme planning
- Recommendations to guide Steering Committee on RTT
- Link between Gender, GRTI and RTT
- Using gender strategies to reduce poverty
- Using recommendations for planning "Way Forward"

Workshop objectives

Ms P.Maramba explained the purpose/objectives of the workshop and suggested that the aims of the workshop would address only some rather than all of the above expectations. She explained that the workshop focused on gaps in the report "Gender issues in RTT in Zimbabwe". The study provides an overview of the gender issues in RTT in Zimbabwe and the extent to which RTT interventions addressed accessibility constraints on women. As such, the study was not an indepth "evaluation". Another aim was to identify gender issues in RTT that needed immediate attention and a plan of action to address the issues.

World Bank; DGF; GRTTI; RTTP and RTT

To unravel these acronyms, Ms Maramba elaborated the background to the study on "Gender in Rural Travel and Transport (RTT) in Zimbabwe". She explained how the World Bank, through the Development Grant Facility (DGF), facilitated the Gender and Rural Travel and Transport Initiative (GRTTI) to strengthen the gender perspective in Rural Travel and Transport Programmes (RTTP) in six African countries including Zimbabwe. The above-named study is one of the activities undertaken in Zimbabwe and other African countries.

What is Gender?

P.Maramba facilitated the discussion on the following concepts:

- Sex Vs.Gender
- Social identity
- Division of labour
- Access to and control
- Misconceptions about gender i.e. seen as synonymous with women
- WID and GAD

It became apparent that the majority of the participants needed gender awareness training in order to acquire a working knowledge of the subject.

Study findings on Gender issues in RTT in Zimbabwe

By means of transparencies, Mr. Tichagwa presented a summary of the study findings on gender in RTT in Zimbabwe. The study relied on secondary sources such as GoZ/Sida/ILO (1997), IFRTD (1999) and others. Key findings were:

PATTERNS OF RTT IN ZIMBABWE

- Over 90% of RTT activities take place in and around the homestead, within a radius of 4 km.
- Over 80% of RTT activities are around subsistence activities such as trips to the grinding mill and clinic, fetching water and firewood and transporting crops from the field to the homestead.
- The bulk of transportation is by head loading.
- Women and children are responsible for over 80% of the RTT activities.

GENDER ISSUES IN RTT IN ZIMBABWE

- (a) Community / household level
- Women are responsible for the bulk of RTT burden. This is because the bulk of RTT activities relate to the reproductive roles of women - fetching water and firewood, taking children to the clinic, producing food etc.
- Ownership and use of intermediate means of transport (IMTs) by women is very limited. Most households do not have IMTs, and most of the existing IMTs belong to men and women and men use the IMTs mainly to transport produce from fields to the homestead and/or to the market.
- Gender inequalities in the division of labour, access to and control over resources and in gender relations of power combine and perpetuate the above gender inequalities in the share of the RTT burden.
- (b) Practitioners' level (practitioners include transport operators, technology designers, planners and implementers):
- Transport operators do not view women as a special market with special transport needs. For this reason, women producers selling in the informal market have to use buses or hitchhike in the back of a lorry to take produce to the market in urban areas.
- Most labour saving tools and implements are designed by men, mainly for men's tasks. Hence, most technologies are bought by men, for use by men. For example, although carts are suited to transporting water and firewood, women rely mainly on head loading.
- Planners and implementers use economic cost-benefit analyses to make investment decisions. In RTT, this approach marginalises women's reproductive activities since these are "social" and not "economic".
- (c) Policy-makers' level
- Zimbabwe has no policy on rural transport. For this reason, macro-level economic planning does not cater for RTT needs and priorities in a consistent and sustained manner.
- Zimbabwe has no national gender policy. For this reason, the provision of roads and transport services does not address gender issues in RTT.

 National policies and development plans are not as integrated as they should be for a co-ordinated and holistic approach to providing services to the communities. For this reason, the provision and location of social infrastructure and services, e.g. in education and healthcare, does not account for local mobility and accessibility needs.

After the presentation, each participant received a copy of the summarised report.

Group Work: "Missing Gender Issues in RTT"

The participants went into three groups to identify "missing gender issues" that should also be included in the final report on "Gender in RTT in Zimbabwe". The following issues emerged from the groups (combined):

MISSING GENDER ISSUES

- The need to establish woodlots and water points near homesteads since the firewood and water account for bulk of RTT activities.
- Provision of alternative sources (of finance)
- Lack of organisation at local level (voluntary programmes)
- Lack of gender awareness among transport operators
- Facilities that are not user-friendly e.g. suspension footbridges
- Direct education for men they must share RTT burden with women
- Involvement of male and female children and youth in RTT as part of their social education.
- The need to include traditional leaders (the custodians of the culture that creates gender inequalities in RTT activities) in gender awareness raising
- The need to include male-dominated centres of power in gender awareness raising. The process at present is biased towards females
- Awareness raising on gender issues in RTT
- Participation of both women and men in research and implementation (feedback) and in labour based works important gender lessons can be learned by the community.
- The need to address problems with public transport services inadequacy, timetabling and poor inter-district linkages
- Need to amend Local Authority regulations that prohibit siting of facilities (grinding mills, business centres) in the villages.
- Importance of feeder roads for produce marketing and inputs procurement
- Importance of Rural Depots

GENDER IN CURRENT RTT INTERVENTIONS

Mr.Tichagwa presented a summary overview of current RTT interventions and an analysis of their gender impacts as follows:

FORMAL INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS

Interventions in this category included the following:

- ◆ Traditional road construction and maintenance approach. In this approach, Central Government is directly responsible for the provision and maintenance of trunk and feeder roads.
- ♦ Labour based road construction, rehabilitation and maintenance. These were piloted to demonstrate an alternative and cost-effective mechanism

- for road maintenance. A target in the project is to achieve a 50% female representation among the forepersons and manual labourers.
- ♦ Small-Scale Contractor Project. These are piloted to demonstrate the cost-effectiveness of providing essential rural infrastructure through the private sector. This is in line with the reform policy of disengaging Government from work that could be more efficiently done by the private sector. The project also has a target of 50% female representation among contractors and among workers on the road gangs.

The study judged these as having little relevance to the RTT needs of villagers. They are designed to facilitate outward-bound transport services. This addresses only a small proportion of the villagers' RTT needs - procurement of inputs and marketing of produce. From a gender perspective:

- Improved roads attract transport service providers, especially bus operators, and thus improves access to urban destinations
- Improved roads also facilitate establishment of shops along the improved roads. Women have easier access to essential groceries such as sugar, salt, paraffin, maize-meal etc
- Women employed on road gangs earn income with which they start income-generating activities. This strengthens their survival strategies. Some women have also bought durable assets with their wages.
- In terms of the RTT burden and its gender distribution, the roads have little or no impact.

INFORMAL INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS

Interventions in this category include the construction, operation and maintenance of footpaths, tracks and footbridges. These are implemented in the three districts of Chipinge, Rushinga and Zaka. The study findings were that:

- The projects went a long way towards meeting local mobility needs. That is, movement in space was now easier and smoother.
- The improved paths and tracks facilitated use of IMTs especially wheelbarrows and carts where bad terrain prevented their use before. From this perspective, the RTT burden has been lightened.
- The improved paths and tracks enabled the target groups women and men to carry out their RTT activities more smoothly.
- However, the gender distribution of the RTT burden remains unchanged. Women and men still perform their traditional gender roles and associated RTT activities. I.e. women remain accountable for the bulk of the RTT activities / burden.

RLF FOR PURCHASING INTERMEDIATE MEANS OF TRANSPORT (IMTs)

IMTs are low-cost means of transport e.g. wheelbarrows, pushcarts, ox-carts etc. The IMTs lighten the RTT burden, thus allowing bigger loads to be transported over a shorter time than before. In the project in Chipinge, Rushinga and Zaka, access to the IMTs is via the revolving loan fund (RLF).

Credit is available to those who are up-to-date with their Development Levy payments to the RDC. The study findings were as follows:

- The target is that 51% of the beneficiaries of the RLF should be women.
 The project is on course towards meeting this target. However, there are
 no special provisions or "enabling strategies" to ensure that the most
 vulnerable groups e.g. the poor and female heads of household have
 access to the RLF.
- The RLF addresses the women's strategic gender need (SGN) to own IMTs. (However, some issues could not be established in the study, namely:
 - ☐ What particular types of IMTs are the women buying?
 - ☐ On what RTT activities are the IMTs used?
 - ☐ Do women have complete control over the IMTs at household level?)
- Overall however, the intervention focuses on meeting practical gender needs (PGNs), i.e. lightening the RTT burden within the context of traditional gender roles.
 There is no attention to the need to re-distribute those roles and associated RTT activities between women and men. That is, the SGNs are neglected.

Overall, the above interventions do not address the gender relations of power that give rise to gender inequalities in the division of labour and in the share of the RTT burden. They address only practical gender needs that lighten the burden of gender roles and neglect the strategic gender need of redistributing the roles and RTT burden equally between women and men. Thus, women remain accountable for the bulk of the RTT burden.

Reducing the RTT burden enables women and men to save time on RTT and spend it in productive activities to increase productivity and income and to reduce poverty. However, within the traditional gender division of labour, greater productivity also means there are more goods for women to transport. Hence, it is important not only to lighten but also to redistribute the RTT burden equitably between women and men.

Group Work: "Gaps in current RTT interventions"

Participants went into groups to:

- 1. Identify the gaps in the gender analysis of the RTT interventions
- 2. Come up with suggestions/project proposals to address the gaps

The table below summarises the results of the group work (combined). The use of a small font size helps to present the table on one page.

Ga	n	Intervention/Project
1.	Credit facility usually controlled by men	Empower women through: Awareness campaign Access to decision-making positions in the management of the credit facility
2. I	RLF excludes own consumption needs - leads to misuse of credit	2. At least 15% of loan value to be included for own consumption needs
3.	DDF has no money and no capacity	3. Secure more donor funds
4. 5.	Control/ownership of assets (by men) Decision-making (by men)	4-5. Create awareness through workshops, seminars and meetings, targeting villagers, youth, traditional leaders and policy-makers
6. 7.	Inadequacies in the Transport Act absence of a Gender Policy	6-7. Put policies in place and incorporate gender issues. Address bureacratic tendencies
8.	Absence of gender issues in primary school curricula	Develop appropriate curricula after consultation with all stakeholders
9.	Lack of participation	Partcipatory approaches in poklicy formulation, project design and evaluation
10.	Lack of appropriate by-laws	10. RDCs to formulate gender sensitive policies and by-laws and criteria for selecting transport operators
11.	Ownership of the gender programme is ill-defined	11. Clarify ownership of the programme for assured sustainability. Allocate adequate funds to address issues of poverty
12	No gender policy	12. Develop gender policy
13	No gender conscious transport policy	13. Develop a gendered transport policy
14	Inadequate coverage and depth of gender awareness campaigns	Coverage to include policy-makers, RDCs, community, community leaders. Adequate training of facilitators
15	Poor settlement and infrastructure planning	15. Gender sensitive settlement plans
16	Inadequate consultations with communities	16. PRAs
17	Environmental awareness - indiscriminate tree cutting	17. Awareness campaigns; development of IMTs

Priority Issues

In a plenary session, Ms.Maramba asked the participants to identify, from the "gaps" listed above, the priority issues that needed urgent attention. The table below presents the resultant list after a lengthy discussion.

Priority Issues

- 1. A Gender Policy
- 2. A Transport Policy
- 3. Gender & RTT awareness raising
- 4. Research on RTT-related issues
- 5. Review of RDC Strategic Plans and RDC Gender Syllabus
- 6. Capacity building:
 - Microfinance
 - technical services/backstopping
 - planning
 - infrastructure provision and maintenance

Plan of Action

The facilitator asked the participants to rank the issues in their relative order of importance, and to present them in the form of a Plan of Action. The facilitator explained that the recommended actions should be those that can be implemented either immediately or within the next 12 months. It was not easy to reach consensus on the relative rank orders of the issues, except on Gender Awareness Training as the most urgent issue. The table below presents the agreed Plan of Action.

Activity	Actors	Time Frame
A national baseline survey of RTT-related issues including gender	Min. of MLGPWNH (lead agent)	(The need for this was not widely supported in the plenary)
Mainstreaming gender issues in RTT into the Gender Policy Framework	Ministry of YDG&EC (lead)Gender Focal PointsNGO Gender Forum	Mid-November 2000
Gender & RTT awareness raising / training targeting: Decision-makers - MPs, Heads of Ministries Traditional leaders Provincial Development Committees RDCs Communities	 Min. of MLGPWNH (lead) Gender organisations Steering Committee Min. of YDG&EC 	Immediate. Proposal to be submitted by/on 1/12/00
Engendering the Transport	Steering Committee (lead)	When Programme Co-
Policy process	NGOsMin. of YDG&EC	ordinator is in place
Capacity building for RDCs in gender planning skills	LGPWNH (lead) RDCs, NGOs	January 2001
Review of RDCs Strategic	Min. of YDG&EC (lead)	March 2001
Plans and Gender Syllabus	Other ministries RDCs; NGOs	
Expansion of the loan fund for IMTs in 3 districts	Min. of LGPWNH (lead) RDCs, NGOs e.g. ZFU	June - December 2001

Institutional Mechanism

In the above table, the "Actors" column indicates the lead agent and supporting institutions for each specified action. The specified lead agents were to develop project proposals for implementing the various activities identified.

Participants also recommended that the membership of the Steering Committee should be more inclusive and encompass the following:

- Gender organisations. The workshop recommended that the Steering Committee should contact the Gender Forum to send representatives.
- The Gender Department. The workshop recommended that the Ministry of Youth Development, Gender and Employment Creation should provide a representative in the Steering Committee.

End of Workshop

After formulating the Plan of Action, the workshop closed with and exchange of vote of thanks between Ms Maramba (for the facilitators) and Ms M.T.Dendere of the MYDG&EC (for the participants). Below is the list of participants attending the workshop.

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

NAME	ORGANISATION	DESIGNATION	CONTACT ¹¹
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R.D.Kwenda	MYDGEC	Prov.Head	Box 798 M'dera
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¹¹ Abbreviations:

Bdg - Building
Belv - Belvedere
Byo - Bulawayo
C'way - Causeway
Hre - Harare
M'dera - Marondera