

12N 7932 3

**The Growth
and Dynamics
of Women
Entrepreneurs
in Southern
Africa**

GEMINI Technical Report No. 47

GEMINI

**GROWTH and EQUITY through MICROENTERPRISE INVESTMENTS and INSTITUTIONS
7250 Woodmont Avenue, Suite 200, Bethesda, Maryland 20814**

**DEVELOPMENT ALTERNATIVES, INC. • Michigan State University • ACCION International •
Management Systems International, Inc. • Opportunity International • Technoserve • World Education**

The Growth and Dynamics of Women Entrepreneurs in Southern Africa

by

Jeanne Downing and Lisa Daniels

August 1992

The data upon which this paper is based were collected by the Growth and Equity through Microenterprise Investments and Institutions (GEMINI) Project. The gender analysis presented here was funded by the Office of Women In Development, Bureau for Research and Development, U.S. Agency for International Development.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
WOMEN AND GROWTH-ORIENTED STRATEGIES	1
DESCRIPTION OF THE DATA	2
THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN CONTEXT	3
GENDER-DIFFERENTIATED PATTERNS OF ENTERPRISE GROWTH	4
MAJOR FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS	19
DRAWING CONCLUSIONS BASED ON WID LITERATURE	21
IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY AND INTERVENTION DESIGN	22
DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH	22
REFERENCES	25

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
1 Sample Sizes of Southern African Data	2
2 Percentage of Enterprises Owned by Women in Southern Africa	4
3 Age of Enterprise by Gender of Proprietor	5
4 Employment Growth Rates of Enterprises by Gender of Proprietor and by Sector	6
5 Employment Growth Rate by Gender of Proprietor by Subsector	7
6 Average Number of Workers per Firm by Stratum by Gender of the Proprietor and by Sector: Lesotho	9
7 Average Number of Workers per Firm by Stratum by Gender of the Proprietor by Sector: Swaziland and Zimbabwe	10
8 Current Major Problems by Gender of the Proprietor	11
9 Source of Credit by Sector and by Gender	13
10 Training Received	14
11 Location of Enterprises by Gender by Sector	14
12 Change in Number of Like Firms by Gender	15
13 Number of Enterprises by Subsector by Gender	16
14 Subsectors Dominated by Women	17
15 Subsectors Dominated by Men	18

WOMEN AND GROWTH-ORIENTED STRATEGIES

Africa has experienced little in the way of growth during the 1980s. The near-collapse of African economies was affected by events both within and outside the control of political leaders. Outside events such as the fall in commodity prices on the world market, environmental hazards, and structural adjustment policies of the World Bank and the IMF all served to depress growth (Faini et al., 1991). Events inside Africa — such as badly conceived policies and corrupt leadership — further eroded the economic base of many countries (Zaire, Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria, Mali, Togo, Zambia, and others).

In light of the performance of African economies, donor strategies have sought both policy and micro-level prescriptions capable of igniting an engine of recovery and growth. While macropolicies and privatization have been important focuses of identified prescriptions, the informal sector has been viewed as holding potential for broad-based employment generation and for spurring overall economic growth. To achieve this objective, growth-oriented donors have promoted investment strategies that typically exclude women. Given the meager resources of African governments and the inability of many countries to generate growth of any kind during the recent years of recession and structural adjustment, donors have targeted available resources to dynamic subsectors that have the greatest potential for contributing to economic growth. Invariably, subsectors in which women are concentrated do not fall into the category of "dynamic" — that is, they have little potential for contributing to the growth of the macroeconomy.

WID researchers have argued for years that growth-oriented strategies exclude women (Berger, 1989; ICRW, 1980). Donors counter that this exclusion is based not on gender but rather on the commonly held view that women's enterprises are concentrated in undynamic subsectors that have little potential for contributing to the macroeconomy. The questions addressed by this paper are: Do women's enterprises, in fact, grow at a slower rate than men's? Do women's subsectors tend to be less dynamic than those in which men are concentrated? If women's firms — and subsectors dominated by women — do grow more slowly, why?

The Growth and Equity through Microenterprise Investments and Institutions (GEMINI) Project has conducted research in recent years directed toward measuring the growth of small and micro-enterprises (Fisseha, 1990a; Fisseha, 1990b; Fisseha and McPherson, 1991; Liedholm and McPherson, 1991; and McPherson, 1992). Unlike these cited works, this paper focuses exclusively on gender-differentiated firm and subsector growth and is based on comparable data that allow for cross-country comparisons and regional generalizations.

The data set may be the largest ever drawn from the informal sector and female entrepreneurs and, as such, it provides an unprecedented opportunity to compare the growth characteristics of women's and men's enterprises. On the other hand, collecting such large samples inevitably necessitates a sacrifice of depth for breadth. The strength of the data is in documenting rather than explaining patterns of growth. Although the analysis hints at explanations, it easily raises as many questions as it answers. WID literature is used to fill in some of the missing information necessary to explain patterns of growth. These inferences will need to be confirmed by future research.

DESCRIPTION OF THE DATA

The data used to explore female entrepreneurs' growth patterns are based on census surveys conducted by Michigan State University under the Growth and Equity through Microenterprise Investments and Institutions (GEMINI) project.¹ Census surveys were conducted in four countries in the Southern African region: Lesotho, Swaziland, South Africa, and Zimbabwe. The South Africa data represent a complete census of two black, urban townships: Mamelodi and Kwazakhele. Nationally representative samples were selected from the other countries, and the population of enterprises extrapolated from a geographically stratified random sample.

Data were gathered by means of household surveys and street-by-street enumeration of enterprises along roads, in commercial districts, industrial districts, and traditional market areas. One exception was South Africa, where all surveys were conducted at the household. Households were asked whether anyone in the compound or homestead operated an enterprise. "Enterprise" was defined as any economic activity that produces goods, half of which are marketed. The household surveys were meant to measure home-based enterprises and the market surveys were intended to capture market-based firms of 50 employees or fewer.

In South Africa, interviews with women and men were conducted separately. In the other countries, the adult present at the time of the interview was queried; most household interviewees were women. In South Africa, the entire population of the two townships was interviewed; nationally representative samples were interviewed in the other countries. In Lesotho, 7,292 enterprises were enumerated from canvassing 24,240 households. In Swaziland, enumerators collected data from 7,107 households or enterprises. Out of the total sample, 2,759 operating enterprises were identified. In Zimbabwe, the sample of 5,575 was obtained from visits to almost 15,000 households and enterprises.

Lesotho	Swaziland	South Africa	Zimbabwe
7,292	2,759	4,875 ²	5,575

Two instruments were used; the first was a one-page questionnaire designed to gather factual information from the broadest base of the population possible within the allocated time frame, which tended to be about six weeks. This first census instrument collected data on types of enterprises, which were then classified according to SIC codes, employment patterns, location, gender of proprietor and employees, structure of enterprise, seasonality, and so forth. A second, more in-depth questionnaire was administered to a much smaller sample of the census sample. In Lesotho, for example, this smaller sample amounted to 631 enterprises. The second instrument attempted to capture constraints,

¹ The Growth and Equity through Microenterprise Investments and Institutions (GEMINI) project is funded by the Office of Small, Micro, and Informal Enterprise in the U.S. Agency for International Development, Bureau for Private Enterprise.

² This is not a sample but rather a census of two townships.

entrepreneurial characteristics, and dynamic changes. However, the short time frame allowed for these more in-depth interviews was still limited and, as a result, the findings are more indicative than conclusive.

THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN CONTEXT

Most small enterprises in Southern Africa are wedged into market niches not already usurped by large, modern South African firms. Entrepreneurs in Lesotho, Swaziland, and the black townships of South Africa are forced to seek out the few markets where they can compete or avoid competition with the low-priced, mass-produced goods of large South African firms. Even in remote rural areas of Lesotho, for example, South African stores dominate. Basothos claim that farmers are unable to sell their locally grown vegetables because the South African stores sell them — even at the village level — at much lower prices.³

While market economies have developed in other African countries, commerce in the black Southern African Customs Union (SACU) countries has generally been impeded, at least in part, because of domination by South Africa.⁴ In effect, SACU has facilitated the penetration of South African firms into the SACU countries — Lesotho, Swaziland, and the black townships of South Africa have been more vulnerable to penetration by South African firms than has Zimbabwe, which is not a member of SACU. Yet Zimbabwe has its own particular history which has depressed the development of the informal sector. The system of economic controls established before independence gave white Zimbabwean firms monopolies and other privileges that allowed them to control the markets for the most lucrative products. Many of these controls and privileges exist today in a slightly modified form. In both Zimbabwe and South Africa, laws prohibited blacks from operating businesses until relatively recently. As a result, the informal sector in these countries is underdeveloped.

The repression of the small enterprise sector throughout Southern Africa has meant that financial and other input services for small- and micro-enterprises (SMEs) are sorely lacking or are underdeveloped.⁵ Basotho businesspeople complain of the difficulty of obtaining a bank loan; they argue that borrowing is much more difficult for Basothos than expatriates. Although small enterprise credit programs have been initiated in Lesotho and Swaziland and, more recently, in South Africa and Zimbabwe, significant impact has not yet been achieved. According to a World Bank survey of female microentrepreneurs in Zimbabwe (Saito, 1991), only 5 percent of sample respondents in Zimbabwe had obtained formal credit; 75 percent of female respondents received financing from personal savings or family grants.

³ Grant et al., 1990. GEMINI subsector analyses in Lesotho showed the competition that small and microentrepreneurs encounter from South African firms. Interviews revealed that this competition with South African firms also prevailed in Namibia and Swaziland. Fisseha and McPherson (1991) confirm the existence of this competition in Swaziland.

⁴ The SACU member countries are Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa, and Swaziland.

⁵ The repression of the informal sector in the region has accrued from legal prohibitions in Zimbabwe and South Africa; from competition with modern South African firms, which prevails throughout the region; and from socialist policies in Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Tanzania.

Marketing infrastructure and skills are lacking in the countries surrounding and surrounded by South Africa. In black South African townships the manufacturing sector is relatively small. In Zimbabwe, the dominance of white Zimbabwean and European firms favored by government policies has equally affected the development of marketing and financial infrastructure and informal sector manufacturing. One can only surmise that the market domination of South African firms has propagated both a dependency on and a barrier to the development of indigenous marketing and production systems.

The female-to-male ratio of the informal sector labor force is relatively high in Lesotho and Swaziland because of the large number of males employed much of the year in South African mines. Although the rural areas are still dominated by women in these countries, the gender ratio in urban areas is changing as employment in South African mines drops and men return to their homelands in search of enterprise and employment opportunities. In Zimbabwe, men have been out-migrating to employment centers for decades. In the wake of these migrations, concentrations of women have been left behind in rural areas to fend for themselves (Saito, 1991). Meanwhile, divorce and abandonment rates have risen dramatically.

Lesotho	Swaziland	South Africa	Zimbabwe
73	84	62	67

GEMINI data for Southern Africa reveal that 73 percent of SMEs in Lesotho are female-owned. In Swaziland the share is even higher, at 84 percent. In the two South African townships, the share of female to male entrepreneurs was only 62 percent; in Zimbabwe, it was 67 percent. In all countries, there is a significant number of de facto female-headed households in the rural areas, where men have out-migrated or are absent much of the year.

GENDER-DIFFERENTIATED PATTERNS OF ENTERPRISE GROWTH

GEMINI data for Southern Africa provide two primary indicators of growth: employment growth rate and changes in the average number of firm employees across rural-urban strata. The latter variable is a static measure of the average size of firms and reveals changes from major city, to secondary cities, to smaller cities or rural employment centers, and rural areas. It reveals changes in size of firm with increase in size of market center. Employment growth rate measures changes in number of employees between the firm's start-up date and the time of the interview. The resultant number is divided by the number of years in operation to yield an annual rate. The variable does not distinguish between enterprises that failed to add employees because of lack of profits or product demand from those that did not increase the number of employees but grew in terms of productivity per worker, output, and profitability. Furthermore, it measures growth rates of enterprises which survived over the period, thereby ignoring those that did not survive.

This last characteristic is particularly problematic because of the potential for significant inaccuracies. For instance, if most enterprises in a given subsector died during the period and those

remaining grew at a healthy rate, the growth rate, calculated as described above, could be very misleading. If, for instance, men's enterprises die at a higher rate than women's and leave behind firms that grow at faster rates, the employment growth rate would bias assessments of men's as compared to women's enterprises. Unless the "dead enterprises" are accounted for, it is difficult to draw reliable conclusions about the growth potential of an aggregation of enterprises categorized by gender or subsector.

TABLE 3
AGE OF ENTERPRISE BY GENDER OF PROPRIETOR

Age	Lesotho		Swaziland		South Africa		Zimbabwe	
	% F	% M	% F	% M	% F	% M	% F	% M
< 1 year	12	11	25	25	21	17	6	5
1-2 years	20	2	13	7	24	18	27	11
3-5 years	23	36	16	22	26	26	19	17
6-8 years	8	14	13	18	9	12	18	7
9-15 years	22	17	15	9	11	16	19	25
> 15 years	14	18	11	14	9	12	8	33
Total percentage	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total number*	8,145	3,535	3,879	6,449	3,239	1,636	47,272	35,113

* This total is extrapolated from the sample and is an estimate of the total population of SMEs.

To compensate for the exclusion of "dead enterprises" and shed light on "death rates," the age structure of enterprises is presented in Table 3. If death rates are high among a category of enterprises, a very low percentage of older firms and high percentage of younger firms would be expected. The data show, however, that female-owned enterprises are virtually identical in age structure to male-owned ones, except in Zimbabwe — where the pattern deviates only somewhat.⁶ Overall, the data indicate that women's enterprises are as stable and long-lasting as men's. This finding is corroborated by McPherson's 1992 analysis of firm survival using hazard modeling. In analyzing GEMINI data from Zimbabwe and Swaziland, McPherson's analysis concluded that when market-related failures are considered — as opposed to non-business, personal failures — enterprises owned by women are no more likely to fail than men's. This similarity in death rates is surprising, given the often cited "marginality" of women's enterprises.

Table 4 presents employment growth rates for female- and male-owned firms in Lesotho, Swaziland, South Africa, and Zimbabwe. The data indicate that female-owned enterprises grow at rates, on the whole, substantially slower than those of male-owned firms. In the manufacturing sector, the

⁶ In Zimbabwe, there is a higher percentage of male- than female-owned enterprises more than nine years old, but a higher percentage of female- than male-owned firms that 1-2 years old or 6-8 years old.

difference in growth rates is particularly pronounced. In Swaziland, for example, the employment growth rate of men's manufacturing firms is almost three times that of women's. In Swaziland and South Africa, the differential narrows somewhat between women's and men's trade sector enterprises. In the service sector of Swaziland and South Africa, the relationship reverses; female-owned firms have growth rates almost twice those of male-owned firms.

Sector	Lesotho		Swaziland		South Africa		Zimbabwe	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Manufacturing	na	na	0.05	0.14	0.13	0.28	0.05	0.08
Trade	na	na	0.07	0.11	0.22	0.35	0.10	0.15
Services	na	na	0.13	0.05	0.27	0.14	0.11	0.20

Table 5 shows subsector growth rates against number of enterprises; these two variables allow the reader to gauge the significance of a subsector and its growth rate. In the case of South Africa, for example, men's enterprises in the chemical and plastics subsector are growing, on average, at a rate of 160 percent per year. Yet there are only five male-owned enterprises in the subsector. On the other hand, men's enterprises in the retail subsector in South Africa are growing at a rate of 34 percent; there are almost 725 male-owned firms in this subsector. Clearly, the latter statistic is more meaningful.

Data on gender differentiations in growth rate by subsector demonstrate further the low-growth characteristics of women's activities. The greatest numbers of women's firms in Swaziland, South Africa, and Zimbabwe are concentrated in retail, textiles, and wood-based production. In Swaziland, women's firms in these subsectors are growing at annual rates of 7 percent, 3 percent, and 4 percent, respectively. The growth rates of men's firms in the same subsectors consistently outstrip women's, with respective annual changes of 11 percent, 4 percent, and 26 percent. In South Africa, women's retail, textile, and wood-based production firms are growing at rates of 22 percent, 12 percent, and 22 percent, respectively. Respective growth rates for men's firms in these subsectors are 34 percent, 15 percent, and 50 percent — again outstripping the growth rates of women's across the board. In Zimbabwe the pattern persists. Women's retail firms have a growth rate of 11 percent, while the percentage for men's firms is 15. In textiles and wood-based production, the growth rates are 3 percent for women's firms and 5 percent for men's firms.

Similarly, gender-differentiated data ranking the top three fastest-growing subsectors in Zimbabwe show rates for women's firms that range from 11 to 17 percent; comparable figures for men's firms range from 24 to 120 percent. In South Africa, the top three fastest-growing subsectors for women's firms have growth rates between 24 and 27 percent, and for men between 50 and 160 percent. In Swaziland, the range is between 12 and 20 percent for women and 35 and 47 percent for men.

These data demonstrate more than the relative growth rates of male- and female-owned firms. They show that women's firms grow at slower rates than men's even within the same subsector, suggesting qualitative differences between women's and men's enterprise firms. These differences could relate to gaps in profitability, potential for growth, or objectives related to growth.

TABLE 5

EMPLOYMENT GROWTH RATE BY GENDER OF PROPRIETOR BY SUBSECTOR

Subsector	Lesotho			Swaziland			South Africa			Zimbabwe		
	Tot	% F	Gr	Tot	% F	Gr	Tot	% F	Gr	Tot	% F	Gr
	# SSE	% M	Rt	# SSE	% M	Rt	# SSE	% M	Rt	# SSE	% M	Rt
Food, Beverage, Tobacco	33,571	96	na	3,703	87	0.07	135	72	0.14	45,431	75	0.17
	1,227	4	na	389	13	0.05	51	28	0.35	15,329	25	0.12
Textile/ Garment	12,592	79	na	7,796	91	0.03	227	63	0.12	247,319	92	0.03
	3,513	21	na	510	6	0.04	123	34	0.15	21,506	8	0.05
Wood- Based Products	3,375	74	na	16,319	96	0.04	9	13	0.22	104,948	62	0.03
	1,096	24	na	590	3	0.26	53	79	0.50	64,323	38	0.05
Paper Printing & Publishing	0	0	na	0	0	-	1	100	0.27	95	38	0.00
	4	100	na	12	73	0.35	0	0	0.00	128	52	1.20
Chemicals and Plastics	14	100	na	17	52	0.08	1	17	0.00	0	0	0.00
	0	0	na	16	48	0.00	5	83	1.60	272	28	1.10
Non-Metal Mineral Products	271	14	na	423	72	0.19	0	0	0.00	15,816	47	0.00
	1,576	80	na	166	28	0.04	38	91	0.23	15,908	47	0.15
Fabricated Metal Products	8	2	na	12	9	0.20	4	6	0.03	13	0	0.00
	409	95	na	113	88	0.18	58	91	0.41	18,386	100	0.06

TABLE 5 – CONTINUED

EMPLOYMENT GROWTH RATE BY GENDER OF PROPRIETOR BY SUBSECTOR

Subsector	Lesotho			Swaziland			S Africa			Zimbabwe		
	Tot	% F	Gr	Tot	% F	Gr	Tot	% F	Gr	Tot	% F	Gr
	# SSE	% M	Rt	# SSE	% M	Rt	# SSE	% M	Rt	# SSE	% M	Rt
Other Manufacturing	30	4	na	98	18	0.05	7	4	0.06	3,235	15	0.06
	759	92	na	420	78	0.15	144	89	0.21	18,325	84	0.11
Construction	330	8	na	9	2	0.00	0	0	0.00	2,347	7	0.00
	3,889	92	na	441	98	0.03	31	100	0.33	32,147	93	0.08
Wholesale	326	90	na	0	0	0.00	9	69	0.00	79	11	0.02
	20	5	na	12	50	0.01	2	15	0.50	531	71	0.23
Retail	18,816	68	na	12,826	80	0.07	2,166	70	0.22	112,658	62	0.11
	7,913	28	na	3,015	19	0.11	723	23	0.34	61,780	34	0.15
Restaurant/Hotel	1,119	49	na	68	53	0.12	363	62	0.24	2,617	59	0.00
	1,053	46	na	61	47	0.47	145	25	0.42	540	12	0.09
Transportation	8	2	na	9	5	0.00	16	11	0.22	0	0	0.00
	467	97	na	152	92	0.38	122	87	0.22	1,573	100	0.09
Personal Services	3,853	47	na	493	58	0.12	204	69	0.27	7,467	35	0.17
	4,137	50	na	334	40	0.09	82	28	0.14	13,539	63	0.24

Data on average number of employees per firm reinforce the conclusion that women's enterprises do not grow at the same rate as men's. Tables 6 and 7 show average number of workers by sector and by geographic stratum, from major city to rural area. In Swaziland, Lesotho, and — to a lesser extent — Zimbabwe, men's enterprises increase relatively consistently with an increase in market size. Women's enterprises, on the other hand, remain surprisingly consistent in size regardless of location along the urban-rural continuum. Women's enterprises do not appear to respond to the larger markets of urban centers. Although they survive as long as men's do, they appear to be static in growth.

TABLE 6
AVERAGE NUMBER OF WORKERS⁷ PER FIRM BY STRATUM
BY GENDER OF THE PROPRIETOR AND BY SECTOR:
LESOTHO

Stratum	Female	Male
Major Towns		
Manufacturing	1.43	3.56
Trade	1.59	4.14
Services	1.13	1.55
Smaller Towns		
Manufacturing	1.40	2.70
Trade	1.34	3.46
Services	1.28	1.35
Company Towns		
Manufacturing	1.29	2.54
Trade	1.60	3.81
Services	1.15	1.21
Enumeration Areas ⁸		
Manufacturing	1.20	1.82
Trade	1.23	2.14
Services	1.15	1.12

⁷ Average number of workers includes proprietor and employees.

⁸ Enumeration areas are rural areas that include villages and dispersed homesteads.

TABLE 7		
AVERAGE NUMBER OF WORKERS PER FIRM BY STRATUM BY GENDER OF THE PROPRIETOR BY SECTOR: SWAZILAND		
	Female	Male
Major Towns		
Manufacturing	1.73	4.29
Trade	1.56	3.70
Services	2.09	5.20
Smaller Towns		
Manufacturing	1.87	2.88
Trade	1.89	4.17
Services	2.33	3.73
Company Towns		
Manufacturing	1.24	3.00
Trade	1.73	6.13
Services	1.00	1.50
Enumeration Areas		
Manufacturing	1.64	1.56
Trade	1.62	1.93
Services	1.78	1.17
ZIMBABWE		
Urban High Density		
Manufacturing	1.26	1.72
Trade	1.47	2.14
Services	1.49	1.92
Urban Low Density		
Manufacturing	1.51	2.29
Trade	2.17	4.83
Services	1.87	6.60
Growth Centers		
Manufacturing	1.41	2.20
Trade	1.82	3.51
Services	1.80	2.50
District Councils		
Manufacturing	1.42	2.07
Trade	1.31	1.85
Services	1.67	4.14
Rural Councils		
Manufacturing	1.87	1.86
Trade	2.00	1.85
Services	1.00	1.00

The questions raised by these findings are: Why are women's enterprises consistently so small, averaging slightly over one employee regardless of location? Are women's enterprises unable to grow despite increases in market size? Do female entrepreneurs have priorities other than growth? Are they uniformly hampered by some constraint that male entrepreneurs do not face? Can the lack of growth be explained by low demand for women's products; high concentrations of female entrepreneurs in the same business; limited access to inputs and working capital; or the constraints associated with women's combined productive and reproductive responsibilities?

GENDER-DIFFERENTIATED CONSTRAINTS TO GROWTH

GEMINI surveys explored potential constraints to growth by means of a questionnaire administered to a smaller segment of each national sample. Respondents from this smaller sample were asked about their "current problems." Table 8 displays the categories of problems cited and responses disaggregated by gender. Because the samples are considerably reduced, cells with only one or two cases may not be significant.

Problems	Lesotho		Swaziland		South Africa		Zimbabwe	
	% F	% M	% F	% M	% F	% M	% F	% M
FINANCIAL CAUSES	na	na	10	62	28	24	7	16
BAD DEBT	na	na	10	26	1	6	9	1
TOOLS/ TECHNOLOGY	na	na	6	2	1	6	1	24
MARKET	na	na	43	3	29	13	23	17
GOVERNMENT POLICY	na	na	4	1	8	15	1	1
LOCATION/ SPACE	na	na	3	2	5	21	5	3
TRANSPORT	na	na	6	1	9	9	9	11
LABOR	na	na	0	1	1	1	1	4
INPUTS	na	na	12	0	1	3	40	20
MISCELLANY	na	na	7	3	15	3	5	4
TOTAL %	na	na	100	100	100	100	100	100
TOTAL #			4,939	553	86	68	42,400	30,278

The problems most often cited by male and female entrepreneurs were related to finances, markets, and input supplies. Financial problems were typically expressed in terms of insufficient working capital or cash flow problems. They appeared to be significant in all countries. In fact, insufficient working capital stands out as the highest priority problem for male entrepreneurs, except in Zimbabwe — where access to nonfinancial inputs is a more cited constraint. For women, insufficient market demand was the outstanding problem. Inputs — that is, insufficient supplies of inputs — ranked second, except in South Africa, where it was a low-priority problem for all producers. Both male and female producers in RSA have easy access to the outputs of large-scale manufacturers and farmers.

Departing from a vast body of literature indicating that gaining access to credit is far more difficult for women than men, GEMINI data on current problems suggest that insufficient working capital is a more important problem for male than female entrepreneurs. This finding, however, could be influenced by the fact that respondents were allowed to give only one answer and were forced to prioritize problems. Thus, although women may cite insufficient working capital less often than men, this does not mean they have more access to working capital. It may indicate that women's market problems are more paramount. Without a market, they may have little viable use for financing.

The importance of "market" — or what was expressed by female entrepreneurs as "insufficient numbers of customers" — is curious in light of the unresponsiveness of female-owned enterprises to increases in market size. It suggests that, rather than being uninterested in growth, women face obstacles. Data showing the survival rate of women's firms to be comparable to men's (Table 3) indicate that although women may suffer more than men from insufficient demand for their products, they are able to survive as well as men. Is this because women have different survival strategies than men?

Table 9, revealing access to credit, indicates that relatively few small entrepreneurs, male or female, have access to formal credit. The data do not reveal consistent or significant differences between male and female entrepreneurs' access to credit. In Swaziland in February 1992, participants from Southern Africa at the GEMINI Conference on Small Enterprise Development argued that this finding did not correspond to their experience of living in Lesotho, Swaziland, South Africa, and Zimbabwe. One potential explanation for this discrepancy is the inclusion of informal credit sources in assessing access.

Respondents could answer questions about credit access with: "Friends," "Family," or "Other." In Lesotho, credit unions were included under the "Other" category. Because credit unions rely on mobilized savings for lending funds and collateral, women — who tend to have a higher propensity to save than men (Berger, 1989) — have fairly high participation levels in these quasi-formal financial institutions. On the other hand, a World Bank survey in Zimbabwe (Saito, 1991) reveals that 75 percent of female entrepreneurs obtained start-up capital from personal savings or family grants. Women entrepreneurs also receive credit from input suppliers. Research in Lesotho (Grant et al., 1990), for example, revealed that dressmakers establish longstanding relationships with wholesalers in Durban and Johannesburg. On the basis of this relationship and trust between buyer and seller, wholesalers sold inputs to informal dressmakers on a credit basis.

Sector	Lesotho		Swaziland		South Africa		Zimbabwe	
	% F	% M	% F	% M	% F	% M	% F	% M
Manufacturing								
No credit	70	75	94	68	75	68	95	100
Friends/Family	12	2	4	28	na	na	na	na
Bank	12	2	0	1	na	na	na	na
Other	6	21	2	3	na	na	na	na
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Trade								
No credit	13	77	57	94	84	82	97	95
Friends/Family	5	3	23	3	na	na	na	na
Bank	6	13	6	3	na	na	na	na
Other	76	7	14	0	na	na	na	na
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Services								
No credit	99	67	100	97	79	86	93	99
Friends/Family	0	0	0	3	na	na	na	na
Bank	1	33	0	0	na	na	na	na
Other	0	0	0	0	na	na	na	na
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
OVERALL								
No credit	70	80	84	80	84	79	95	99
Friends/Family	10	15	9	15	na	na	na	na
Bank	10	2	2	2	na	na	na	na
Other	10	5	5	3	na	na	na	na
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 10 presents data on the percentage of respondents that had ever received training. It does not measure quality or impact. Nevertheless, the data indicate that in Lesotho small-scale female and male entrepreneurs had relatively good access to training. Relative to other countries, respondents from Lesotho also had better access to credit. Nevertheless, data displayed in Tables 6 and 7, showing change in the average number of employees by geographic strata, do not indicate that these inputs had any effect on growth in number of employees; nor do they show any difference from one country to the next, despite varying degrees of access to these inputs.

Data on access to credit and training indicate that female entrepreneurs have not translated access to credit and training into increases in firm employment to the extent that male entrepreneurs have. This could indicate that the markets to which female entrepreneurs are able to gain access, even within the same subsector, do not have sufficient growth potential to allow for firm growth. This hypothesis is confirmed by Table 5 data, showing higher growth rates for male- as compared to female-owned firms in the same subsector.

Sector	Lesotho		Swaziland		South Africa		Zimbabwe	
	% F	% M	% F	% M	% F	% M	% F	% M
MANUFACTURING	na	na	25	14	45	39	14	15
TRADE	na	na	1	6	3	6	3	7
SERVICES	na	na	35	94	43	50	63	10
OVERALL	74	63	19	22	15	18	14	20

Difference between women's and men's enterprises is further highlighted by data on enterprise location, shown in Table 11. Although, overall, small enterprises in the region are much more likely to be home-based (H) than located at a traditional market (TM) or central business district (CBD), women's enterprises are more often home-based than men's. A larger percentage of men's enterprises are located in commercial business districts.

Most evidence indicates that home-based enterprises have lower growth rates and profits than market-based firms (Strassmann, 1987). Although home locations have the advantage of allowing women to combine their domestic responsibilities with their enterprise activities, they have the disadvantage of relative lack of access to customers compared with a market location.

Sector	Sex	Lesotho %			Swaziland %			South Africa %			Zimbabwe %		
		H	TM	CDB	H	TM	CDB	H	TM	CDB	H	TM	CDB
Manufacturing	F	88	6	2	83	6	3	88	1	3	9	2	1
	M	37	18	13	65	6	16	73	5	12	3	1	10
Wholesale Retail	F	39	9	10	39	26	0	70	2	5	5	10	11
	M	30	22	2	47	12	12	62	3	9	4	6	36
Services	F	57	32	1	93	0	4	93	--	6	9	1	7
	M	30	41	3	60	15	6	54	4	11	1	0	11

H = home-based firm; TM = a traditional market location; CBD = a central business district location

Data shown in Table 12, on changes in like firms, do little to clarify issues regarding the growth of women's enterprises. If, for instance, women more than men concentrate in the same kind of

business, competition could hamper growth. Only in Swaziland do women perceive a significantly larger increase in like firms as compared to men. Caution should be taken, however, in interpreting these data, since they measure perceptions of competition and change.

Amount of Change	Lesotho		Swaziland		South Africa		Zimbabwe	
	% F	% M	% F	% M	% F	% M	% F	% M
Increase	64	64	66	38	77	76	43	57
No change	25	32	20	46	9	13	29	25
Decrease	4	3	1	14	13	8	13	1
Don't know	7	1	14	1	1	2	15	17
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 13 displays the number of female- and male-owned firms in each subsector and confirms past research (Downing, 1990c; Watts, 1984) attesting that women's enterprises are concentrated more than men's in a narrow range of subsectors. Table 13 data show significant crowding by female microentrepreneurs into four subsectors: food, beverage, and tobacco; textiles and garments; wood-based production; and retail. Men's enterprises, on the other hand, are more evenly distributed among the same subsectors that women dominate as well as in fabricated metal production, other manufacturing, construction, transport, and services.

A World Bank survey in Zimbabwe showed that almost two-thirds of the female entrepreneurs surveyed in Harare and one-third of those interviewed in two secondary towns were concentrated in textiles and garment-making (Saito, 1991). Crowding of women into a narrow band of subsectors is often used to explain the low profit margins and depressed growth of women's enterprises compared with men's (Watts, 1984; Downing, 1990c).

Subsector # of firms	Lesotho		Swaziland		South Africa		Zimbabwe	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
MANUFACTURING								
Food, Beverage, Tobacco	33,571	1,227	3,703	389	135	51	45,431	15,329
Textiles and Garments	12,952	3,513	7,796	510	227	123	247,319	21,506
Wood-Based	3,375	1,096	16,319	590	9	55	104,948	64,323
Paper, Printing and Publishing	0	4	0	12	1	0	95	128
Chemicals and Plastics	14	0	17	16	1	5	0	272
Non-Metal Mineral	271	1,576	423	166	0	38	15,816	15,903
Fabricated Metal	8	409	12	113	4	58	13	18,386
Other Manufacturing	30	759	98	420	7	144	3,235	18,325
SERVICES								
Construction	330	3,889	9	441	0	31	2,347	32,147
Wholesale	326	20	0	12	9	2	79	531
Retail	18,816	7,913	12,826	3,015	2,166	723	112,658	61,780
Restaurant and Hotels	1,119	1,053	68	61	363	145	2,617	540
Transportation	8	467	9	152	16	122	0	1,573
Services	3,853	4,137	493	334	204	82	7,467	13,539

A more detailed disaggregation of subsector data into product markets, at the three-digit International Standard Industrial Classification (ISIC) level, is shown in Tables 14 and 15. Each entry represents product markets in which at least 90 percent of the enterprises are female- or male-owned, respectively. These data indicate marked qualitative differences in the kinds of activities that women and men engage in — differences that might explain gender differences in growth patterns. Women's firms appear to be concentrated in far more traditional and less dynamic product markets than men's. Women's manufacturing activities, for example, include beer brewing, dressmaking, knitting, crocheting, and grass and cane work. Men's manufacturing activities, on the other hand, suggest more modern product markets such as construction, welding, auto repair, radio and television repair, and brick or block making.

TABLE 14			
SUBSECTORS DOMINATED BY WOMEN			
Lesotho	Swaziland	South Africa	Zimbabwe
		Bread Making	
Beer Brewing	Beer Brewing		Beer Brewing
Dressmaking	Dressmaking	Dressmaking	Dressmaking
Knitting	Knitting	Knitting	Knitting
Other Textile Mfg	Other Textile Mfg	Other Textile Mfg	Other Textile Mfg
	Weaving		Weaving
			Crocheting
Grass/Cane Work	Grass/Cane Work		Grass/Cane Work
	Pottery		Pottery
Vending Foods			
	Vending Drinks		
	Vending Forest Products		
	Vending Hardware		
			Vending Garments
	Retail Garments		
		Child Care	

Lesotho	Swaziland	South Africa	Zimbabwe
	Butchery		Butchery
	Flour Milling		Flour Milling
	Other Leather		
	Shoe and Repairs		Shoework
			Coal/Wood Prod
			Wood Carving
Carpentry	Carpentry	Carpentry	Carpentry
			Furniture
Brick Making	Brick Making		
Other Masonry			Other Masonry
			Blacksmithing
Tinsmithing			Tinsmithing
	Welding	Welding	Welding
	Auto Repair		Auto Repair
Electrical Repair			Electrical Repair
	Radio/TV Repair	Radio/TV Repair	Radio/TV Repair
			Other Repair
Construction	Construction	Construction	Construction
	Grocery		
			Bottle Store
Bus/Taxi Service			
Goods Transport			
Photo Studio			Photo Studio

There is evidence from several African countries that suggests that traditional product markets face shrinking demand over time due to competition with and substitution by more modern products (Fisseha, 1990a; Haggblade, 1991; Strassman, 1987). Data on growth rates by product market support the contention that women's activities are more traditional and less dynamic than men's. Women's beer brewing, dressmaking, knitting, and grass and cane work in Swaziland are all growing at annual growth rates less than or equal to 5 percent. In Zimbabwe, except for beer brewing, which is growing at a rate of 17 percent, these activities, including crocheting, are growing

at a rate of 3 percent. Men's carpentry in Swaziland has an annual growth rate of 70 percent, welding has a rate of 25 percent, and auto repair is growing at 14 percent annually. In Zimbabwe, men's welding activities have a growth rate of 11 percent, auto and electric repair have rates of 16 and 15 percent respectively, and construction has an annual growth rate of 8 percent.

The traditional nature of women's as compared to men's enterprises is also suggested by the different nature of their output markets. Tables 14 and 15 indicate that women's final products more often than men's are sold directly to consumers, while many of the products produced by men's firms are intermediate goods sold to as inputs to other firms. Brickmaking, blacksmithing, tinsmithing, welding, and sometimes flour milling produce intermediate products that are likely sold over longer distances than women's beer, dresses, crocheting, baskets, and pottery — the production of which is likely less specialized and more ubiquitous than men's.

MAJOR FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

The major findings revealed by GEMINI's Southern Africa data are:

- The survival and death rates of women's enterprises are similar to those of men's enterprises. Women's enterprises are as long-lasting as men's.
- Employment growth rates of women's enterprises are, for the most part, significantly lower than those of men's.
- Even within the same subsector, women's enterprises grow more slowly than men's.
- Women's enterprises remain the same size — one to two employees — regardless of location along the rural-urban continuum and sector. Men's enterprises, on the other hand, exhibit a fairly regular increase in number of employees with increase in market size.
- The most often cited problem of female entrepreneurs is inadequate market demand. For males, financial problems are more paramount.
- Female entrepreneurs have not translated access to credit and training into increases in firm employment to the same extent that men have.
- A larger percentage of women's enterprises are home-based than are men's enterprises. Men's enterprises — more often than women's — are located in central business districts.
- Women's enterprises more than men's are concentrated in a narrow range of subsectors.
- Women's firms appear to be concentrated in far more traditional and less dynamic product markets than men's. Women's firms far more than men's are traditional income-generating activities, operating in markets that are typically shrinking rather than growing.

The GEMINI data from Southern Africa confirm old suppositions and raise new ones about women's enterprises compared with men's enterprises. The data substantiate a breadth of literature indicating that women's enterprises are smaller and less dynamic than men's. This growth differential holds up when data are disaggregated by sector, subsector, and product market (at the one-, two-, and three-digit ISIC levels). Subsector data, however, show that, even within a subsector, women's enterprises grew at rates that were consistently slower than men's. Data showing changes in average number of employees across different-sized markets, from urban to rural, indicate not only a slower rate of growth but an apparent inelasticity to changes in market size.

Explanations were suggested for what at some times appeared to be a slower growth rate and at other times a lack of growth. Women's firms more than men's suffer from insufficient market demand. This is probably explained by the large number of entrepreneurs producing the same products and the resultant competition and depression of profits. In addition, women's products more than men's tended to be traditional, made in and sold from the home directly to consumers. While women's firms were concentrated in a narrow range of subsectors, men's firms were distributed over a larger array of subsectors and located, more than women's, in commercial markets accessible to a larger number of potential buyers.

Insufficient demand for their products probably explains why women were less able than men to translate credit and training into increases in number of employees. It may also explain the apparent inelasticity of their firms to increases in market size. As the size of markets increases from rural to urban areas, the number of firms in female-dominated subsectors is likely to increase accordingly — thereby impeding firm growth.

The types of product markets in which women specialize were traditional, characterized by low growth rates and undynamic markets. Compared to men's product markets, which more often sold intermediate products, used modern technologies, and sold to more dynamic output markets, women's generating activities had less potential for growth regardless of their access to inputs such as credit or training.

Clearly, these findings deepen understanding of the growth dynamics of women's enterprises, but what do they reveal that is new? Despite the relative lack of growth and meager profits of female-owned firms, women's firms were just as long-lasting as men's. GEMINI data also highlight the importance of market access to the growth and dynamics of women's enterprises. Although markets are central to economic analyses of firm growth, research on gender differences in small enterprise in development more often focuses on women's relative lack of access to inputs such as credit. GEMINI data underscore both the relative lack of attention paid to market demand by the WID literature, on the one hand, and the relative importance of market demand to female entrepreneurs, on the other. Another "new" finding is the apparent inelasticity of women's firms to increases in market size and access to credit and training. This inelasticity may indicate that female entrepreneurs have different business objectives or strategies from those of their male counterparts.

DRAWING CONCLUSIONS BASED ON WID LITERATURE

The WID literature provides a number of explanations for the relative lack of growth of women's enterprises that complement and enrich conclusions that can be drawn from the data. Foremost among explanations for the lack of growth of women's enterprises are women's dual domestic and productive responsibilities. Women simply lack the time to invest in the growth of their businesses. They spend as many as 16 hours per day feeding and caring for their children, fetching firewood and water, growing and shopping for food for their families, cooking, and generating income. During peak childbearing years, the weight of domestic responsibilities can be so great as to leave little time or energy for their businesses.

Berger (1989a), Jiggins (1988), and Bolles (1989) argue that the growth of women's firms is further hampered by the siphoning off of profits into household consumption. Women invest a significant portion of their business revenues in human capital — the most important investment being the education of their children (Berger, 1989a; Otero and Downing, 1990). A woman at GEMINI's conference in Swaziland added that African women make health, education, and welfare investments that in other countries are considered the responsibility of the public sector.

Dessing (1990), Cobbe (1985), Tinker (1987), and Downing (1990) suggest that women have different business objectives and strategies than men. Female entrepreneurs, they argue, tend to grow laterally, engaging in multiple income-generating activities. They do this to spread risks, even out their income stream, and manage capital needs (Cobbe, 1985). Tinker (1987) and Grown and Sebstad (1989) argue that women may be more likely than men to diversify their income streams because of their greater tendency toward and need for security. This orientation is attributed to the meager resources to which they have access, women's primary responsibility for feeding and educating their children, and the threat of abandonment and divorce. In combination, these factors drive women to invest profits in the security offered by kin networks and multiple risk-reducing ventures.

This paper argues — based upon GEMINI data from Southern Africa — that relative access to markets also affects the ability of women's enterprises to grow in size and profitability. Female entrepreneurs are, in essence, the last bidders for markets. In Southern Africa, they receive what is left after more powerful constituencies in the region and in the small enterprise sector have claimed their market niches. As a whole, the small enterprise sector is squeezed into the market left by larger, capital-intensive firms. With the backing of government funds and policies, large firms are able to dominate the most lucrative national markets, typically in product markets that allow for economies of scale. Small producers are able to compete only where economies of scale cannot be realized by larger production units and in rural areas with markets too shallow and dispersed to interest large firms.

Within the segment of the market that small entrepreneurs are able to capture, men — with their greater political and economic power — are generally able to control more lucrative and less labor-intensive activities than women. Women, on the other hand, are restricted by their combined productive and reproductive responsibilities and associated labor, time, and mobility constraints. According to Saito (1991), in Zimbabwe, women are constrained from buying from distant input markets and selling in far-away output markets because of the high cost of transportation.

Displacement by men further erodes women's bargaining position in the competition for markets. Displacement in Africa has been documented by a breadth of literature (Bruce and Dwyer, 1988; Botomogno et al., 1991; ICRW, 1980). This evidence indicates that, where investments are made to

increase the profitability and decrease the labor intensity of women's income-generating activities, these activities are — more often than not — taken over by men. Displacement in Africa is pervasive. Together with other constraints, displacement pushes female entrepreneurs into market niches that others have found are the least interesting, and most labor-intensive and generate the lowest return.

Structural adjustment has added to the pressure on women. As the income-generating and employment opportunities of men have been increasingly reduced because of structural adjustment programs and declines in commodity prices on the world market, the displacement of women from traditionally female-controlled activities has intensified (Lewis and Russell, 1989).

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY AND INTERVENTION DESIGN

From a policy viewpoint, the findings — by confirming the relative lack of growth of women's enterprises — shed doubt on how best to invest in microenterprise development. Given that most micro- and small-scale enterprises are owned by women and that women's enterprises seem inelastic for growth, how should programs intervene in the sector and measure the impact of the interventions?

In order to improve ability to measure intervention impacts, research is needed to document gender-differentiated business and investment strategies. Such research should provide the basis for selecting investment strategies and impact indicators. To the extent that women do have different objectives from men, programs and projects may need to use gender-differentiated indicators to measure impact. Women's investment in education is certainly one possible indicator; others may have to be tailored to the traditional gender-differentiated responsibilities for expenditure in a particular region.

The findings also suggest that donor efforts to improve income-generating potential through credit and training may be necessary but insufficient. Additional attention needs to be paid to women's access to lucrative product markets and to the inputs needed to help them enter more lucrative markets. Haggblade reveals that, for the silk subsector in Thailand, women's ability to move from the traditional marketing channel to a more dynamic one is dependent on their access to improved inputs and improved and affordable technologies (Haggblade, 1991). Haggblade's findings have been substantiated by GEMINI's subsector analyses across Africa. Yet most efforts to assist women entrepreneurs focus on credit and training. The findings from this paper imply that minimalist credit programs in Africa may contribute to poverty alleviation but will fail to generate sustainable increases in income for women.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

GEMINI research in Southern Africa has provided invaluable data with which to explore gender-differentiated enterprise growth. However, the data have raised as many questions as they have answered. Questions for future research include:

- Are the growth dynamics of women's and men's enterprises and subsectors similar in other regions?
- Is female entrepreneurs' access to lucrative markets as limited in other regions?

- Where women have access to dynamic markets, do their enterprises grow and is this growth similar to that of men's enterprises — given equal access to inputs?
- What role does one's stage in the life cycle play in female entrepreneurs' motivations and strategies for growth?
- Where and when women have captured lucrative markets, what factors explain this success?
- What strategies have women used to achieve growth and guard against displacement by men?
- How do women invest profits from their businesses? and
- How can the impact of investments in women's businesses best be measured?

From a methodological standpoint, the analysis of the GEMINI data points to the limitations of certain measures or variables and the absence of others. Probably most frustrating are the weaknesses of employment growth, the dependent variable. Employment growth, as measured by GEMINI surveys, is gathered at only one point in time. To obtain the second point needed to measure change, surveys ask respondents for the number of persons employed at the start-up date — thus the variable is based on memory, not necessarily on fact. Data on competition, changes in demand, and problems at start-up are similarly affected by memory and perception. Research regarding the use of recall in surveys warns against using recall periods as long as those used in the census surveys.

Growth, however, is difficult to capture — given the usual unreliability of income measures. It is particularly difficult to measure for very large samples, where simplicity and efficiency are essential. Nevertheless, additional indicators of growth might be used to bolster the GEMINI employment growth variable. Discrete and concrete changes such as a new location, added equipment, a change in work structure, and addition of a new product line or service could strengthen GEMINI measurements of growth. On the other hand, census surveys such as GEMINI's are best used for static rather than dynamic measures. Perhaps measuring growth simply calls for a different kind of instrument: one applied at two points in time. A second instrument could be given to a subset of the sample — perhaps administered by local organizations.

Inaccuracies may also accrue from combining enterprises that have 50 employees with those that have one employee. For example, this aggregation may produce misleading measures of the average number of employees, particularly in Africa. It is impossible to tell whether the larger sizes of men's enterprises — shown in tables displaying average number of employees by geographic strata — are biased because of the inclusion of much larger enterprises — enterprises perhaps owned by expatriates. In Lesotho, for example, there are many firms owned by expatriates with fewer than 50 employees. These firms, however, are relatively highly capitalized and cannot be categorized as informal. Does aggregation of firms of 1 to 50 employees affect comparisons between male- and female-owned firms, since larger firms are more likely to be male-owned? This could mean that the average size of male-owned firms in urban areas is larger because formal sector firms are compared with women's small, informal sector firms.

Variables not incorporated into the survey that might be added without undue burdening of the survey instrument include:

- Age of the respondent;
- Marital status;
- Number of children under age 12;
- List of all enterprises engaged in by respondent (this has been included in the most recent surveys);
- Prioritization of major sources of income (including the business income, remittances, agricultural income, and wage income);
- Prioritization of time devoted to each business (measures of seasonality and importance);
- Source of inputs and location of input and output markets; and
- Value of business assets.

This last variable would probably require some calculation but would allow for greater differentiation between enterprises owned by women and men.

Finally, in-depth surveys would complement the invaluable breadth of the GEMINI surveys, bringing a deeper understanding of the motivations and strategies of entrepreneurs and the constraints on entrepreneurs. Rapid rural appraisal methods could capture data on motivations and constraints and verify perceptive data gathered by census surveys. Surveys are needed to verify the investment behavior of female entrepreneurs and document the characteristics of enterprises and subsectors that are both growing and female-dominated. Such studies and the lessons that can be drawn from them are essential for advocating the relevance of women to growth-oriented strategies and for providing guidance to program and project designers.

REFERENCES

- Berger, Marguerite. 1989a. "Giving Women Credit: The Strengths and Limitations of Credit as a Tool for Alleviating Poverty," *World Development*, Vol. 17, No. 7. July 1989.
- Berger, Marguerite. 1989b. "An Introduction," *Women's Ventures*, ed. by M. Berger and M. Buvinic. Boulder, CO: Kumarian Press.
- Berger, Marguerite and Myra Buvinic. 1989. *Women's Ventures*. Boulder, CO: Kumarian Press.
- Bolles, A. Lynn. 1985. "Economic Crisis and Female Headed Households in Urban Jamaica," *Women and Change in Latin America*, ed. by June Nash and Helen Safa. South Hadley, MA: Bergin and Garvey.
- Botomogno, Jean Jules et al. 1991. "Opportunities for Small-Scale Palm Oil Processing in Cameroon." Prepared for the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and the United Nations Fund for Women (UNIFEM).
- Chen, Marty. 1989. "A Sectoral Approach to Promoting Women's Work: Lessons from India," *World Development*, Vol. 17, No. 7. July 1989.
- Cobbe, Louise Barrett. 1985. "Women's Income Generation and Informal Learning in Lesotho: A Policy-Related Ethnography." Dissertation submitted to Florida State University.
- Collier, Paul. 1990. "Gender Aspects in Labour Allocation during Structural Adjustment." Unit for study of African economies. Oxford: University of Oxford.
- Downing, Jeanne. 1990a. "Opportunities for Exporting Specialty Crops in Liberia: Women's Constraints and Incentives." Prepared for the Office of Market Development and Investment, Africa Bureau, U.S. Agency for International Development.
- Downing, Jeanne. 1990b. "Horticultural Production in The Gambia: Women's Constraints to and Incentives for Increased Production." Prepared for the Office of Market Development and Investment, Africa Bureau, U.S. Agency for International Development.
- Downing, Jeanne. 1990c. "Gender and the Growth and Dynamics of Microenterprises," GEMINI Working Paper No. 5. Prepared by the Growth and Equity through Microenterprise Investments and Institutions (GEMINI) Project, for the Office of Women In Development, Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination, U.S. Agency for International Development.
- Downing, Jeanne. 1991. "Gender and the Growth and Dynamics of Microenterprises," *Small Enterprise Development*, Vol. 2, No. 1, March 1991.
- Downing, Jeanne and Jennifer Santer. 1989. "Women in Rural-Urban Exchange: Implications for Research and Intervention Identification." SARSA research report for the U.S. Agency for International Development. Worcester, MA: Clark University.

Dwyer, Daisy and Judith Bruce. 1988. *A Home Divided: Women and Income in the Third World*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Faini, Riccardo, Jaime de Melo, Abdelhak Senhadji, and Julie Stanton. 1991. "Growth-Oriented Adjustment Programs: A Statistical Analysis," *World Development*, Vol. 19, No. 8, pp. 957-967.

Fisseha, Yacob. 1990a. "Small Scale Enterprises in Niger: Survey Results from Dosso and Maradi Departments." Report prepared for USAID/Niger on a project funded by MSU. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University.

Fisseha, Yacob. 1990b. "Small Scale Enterprises in Lesotho: Country-Wide Survey Results." Prepared by the Growth and Equity through Microenterprise Investments and Institutions (GEMINI) Project, for USAID/Lesotho.

Fisseha, Yacob and Michael McPherson. 1991. "A Country-Wide Study of Small Scale Enterprises in Swaziland." Prepared for USAID/Swaziland and the Growth and Equity through Microenterprise Investments and Institutions (GEMINI) Project.

Freeness, Donald B. and G. B. Norcliffe. 1984. "Relations Between the Rural Nonfarm and Small Town Sectors in Central Province, Kenya," *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, Vol. 75, No. 1, pp. 61-73.

Gorton, Marina. 1990. "Nontraditional Income Generation by Women in Lesotho." Prepared for USAID/Lesotho and the Office of Women in Development, U.S. Agency for International Development, under CID/WID Cooperative Agreement.

Grown, Caren and Jennefer Sebstad. 1989. "Introduction: Toward a Wider Perspective on Women's Employment," *World Development*, Vol. 17, No. 7. July 1989.

Guyer, Jane I. 1988. "Dynamic Approaches to Domestic Budgeting: Cases and Methods in Africa," *A Home Divided: Women and Income in the Third World*, ed. by Daisy Dwyer and Judith Bruce. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Haggblade, Steve. 1991. "Proposed Subsector-Based Monitoring and Evaluation System for CARE/Thailand's Silk Promotion Efforts." GEMINI Working Paper No. 23.

Haggblade, Steve, Peter Hazell, and James Brown. 1987. *Farm-Nonfarm Linkages in Rural Sub-Saharan Africa: Empirical Evidence and Policy Implications*. Agriculture and Rural Development Discussion Paper No. ARU 67. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

Helmsing, A.H.J. 1987. "Rural Industries and the Communal Lands Economy in Zimbabwe." *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, Vol. 78, No. 2, 1987, pp. 139-150.

Horn, Nancy. 1991. "Marketwomen and Microenterprise Development: Themes and Considerations." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association. St. Louis. November 1991.

International Center for Research on Women (ICRW). 1980. *Keeping Women Out: A Structural Analysis of Women's Employment in Developing Countries*. Prepared for the Office of Women in Development, Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination, Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C.

Jiggins, Janice. 1988. *Conceptual Overview: How Poor Women Earn Income in Rural Sub-Saharan Africa and What Prevents Them from Doing So*. Background paper prepared for the symposium on Expanding Income Earning Opportunities for Women in Poverty: A Cross-Regional Dialogue. Sponsored by The Ford Foundation Women's Program Forum, Nairobi, Kenya. May 1-5, 1988.

Lewis, Sydney A. and Karen Russell. 1989. *Mali: Women in Private Enterprise*. Prepared for USAID/Mali and PPC/WID, by Ernst & Young. Sponsored by Private Enterprise Development Support Project II, Bureau for Private Enterprise, U.S. Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C. August.

Liedholm, Carl. 1986. "Data Collection Strategies for Small-Scale Industry Surveys." Mimeograph. Department of Economics, East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University.

Liedholm, Carl. 1990. *The Dynamics of Small Scale Industry in Africa and the Role of Policy*. Prepared for EEPA and GEMINI Projects, Bureau for Science and Technology, U.S. Agency for International Development. Revised draft.

Liedholm, Carl and Peter Kilby. 1986. *The Role of Nonfarm Activities in the Rural Economy*. EEPA Discussion Paper No. 7. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University.

Liedholm, Carl and Michael McPherson. 1991. "Small Scale Enterprises in Mamelodi and Kwazakhele Townships, South Africa: Survey Findings." Prepared by the Growth and Equity through Microenterprise Investments and Institutions (GEMINI) Project, for the Office of Market Development and Investment, Bureau for Africa, U.S. Agency for International Development.

Massiah, Jocelyn. 1988. "Researching Women's Work: 1985 and Beyond," *Gender in Caribbean Development*, ed. by Patricia Mohammed and Catherine Shepherd. The University of West Indies Women and Development Studies Project. Mona, Jamaica; St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago; Cave Hill, Barbados.

McPherson, Michael. 1992. "The Hazards of Firms in Southern Africa." Michigan State University. Draft manuscript.

Murison, Sarah. 1986. "UNIFEM Experience of a Revolving Loan Fund." UNIFEM Occasional Paper No. 4. Prepared for the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). December 1986.

Neill, Catherine. 1985. "Report on Survey Findings: Self-Employed Women — Bangkok's Informal Sector Project Report." International Human Assistance Program, USAID/Thailand.

Otero, Maria and Jeanne Downing. 1990. "Meeting Women's Financial Needs." Presented at the Conference on Informal Finance, sponsored by Ohio State University and S&T/RD/A.I.D., October 1990.

Rubio, Frank F. 1991. "Microenterprise Growth Dynamics in the Dominican Republic: The ADEMI Case." Prepared by the Growth and Equity through Microenterprise Investments and Institutions (GEMINI) Project, for the Office of Small, Micro, and Informal Enterprise, Bureau for Asia and Private Enterprise, U.S. Agency for International Development.

Saito, Katrine. 1991. "Women and Microenterprise Development in Zimbabwe: Constraints to Development." Women in Development, The World Bank. Draft.

Strassmann, W.P. 1987. "Home-Based Enterprises in Cities in Developing Countries," *Economic Development and Culture Change*, Vol. 36, No. 1.

Tinker, Irene. 1987. "The Human Economy of Micro-Entrepreneurs." Paper presented at the International Seminar on Women in Micro- and Small-Scale Enterprise Development, Ottawa, Canada. October 26, 1987.

Tovo, Maurizia. 1991. "Microenterprises Among Village Women in Tanzania." *Small Enterprise Development*, Vol. 2, No. 1, March 1991.

Watts, Susan. 1984. "Rural Women as Food Processors and Traders: Eko Making in the Ilorin Area of Nigeria," *The Journal of Developing Areas*, No. 9. October 1984.