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A STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE IN A SELECTED GROUP OF
AFRICAN COUNTRIES: GHANA, SIERRA LEONE, KENYA AND TANZANIA

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Dedicated to
my husband Theodore for
his patience, help, sacrifices
and encouragement, and our two children,
Awadagin and Menah
who were deprived of much of my attention
during the completion of the Thesis

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I. Introduction

This is an exploratory study designed to analyze and describe social welfare in a selected group of African countries.¹

Developing countries are constantly assessing social welfare in terms of the extent to which it does and can contribute to national development. Some of the governing elite of these countries perceived social welfare as a liability in the early stage of nationhood. It was considered to be a unit in government which, unlike the economic unit, did not contribute to the development of the country and therefore could only be given minimum attention until the economic sector was sufficiently secure to carry this "expendable" unit - social welfare. This notion is rather explicit in Carney's observation that social welfare is dependent upon economic development but not vice versa.² There are several factors which can help to explain this dichotomous thinking. The research will discuss the forces thought to be most influential in the development of the point of view; namely politics, international forces, economics, and colonial history.

A different point of view with respect to the place of social welfare in national developments is increasingly gaining acceptance. The idea is well developed in a recent working paper prepared for a U. N. Conference on social welfare in Africa.³ The point of view is essentially the belief that social welfare is a unit of government in developing countries which

¹ See Appendix D for descriptive data on Ghana, Sierra Leone, Kenya and Tanzania

² Carney, David, "The Integration of Social Development plans with Over-all Development Planning: Example Sierra Leone", International Social Science Journal, Vol. XVI, No. 3, 1964. p. 362

³ United Nations Conference of Ministers Responsible for Social Welfare, Statement Submitted by the Secretariat of the Economic Commission for Africa (New York: United Nations, September 3-12, 1968)

can and does contribute to the development of the country when it is conceptualized as having primarily preventive and developmental as opposed to primarily remedial functions. Social welfare, so conceptualized, includes social and economic factors, all converging to help a developing country move from a subsistancy economy, illiteracy, rural, "unplanned" and unpredictable existence to a modern, industrial welfare State.

The advocates of this most recent point of view with respect to the place of social welfare in national development would argue that if social welfare as a unit of government cannot contribute to the development of the country, then it has no right to claim a share of the country's scarce resources.

The objectives of this research are:

- 1. To describe and analyze social welfare as a developing institution in the four countries in terms of (a) functions, administrative structure, ideology and selected institution-building variables and (b) some societal factors which have influenced the type of social welfare institutions existing in the four countries.
- 2. To recommend areas for further research in the field of social welfare in developing countries.
- 3. To examine the following two hypotheses:

Social welfare was primarily remedial in concept and in fact during the colonial era, and primarily developmental in conceptualization and in fact during the independence era.

The societal forces which influenced social welfare in the independence era and in the colonial era had functional and dysfunctional consequences for social welfare.

4. To answer the following questions:
- a. What basic limitations faced the institutions of social welfare in the independence era and how were they obviated?
 - b. What potential resources exist in the independence era to enhance the development of social welfare with a minimum use of scarce finances?
 - c. What were the functional and dysfunctional aspects of social welfare in the colonial and independence eras?
 - d. What tribal or traditional practices, beliefs, and structures have the greatest potential for contributing to social welfare in independence era?
 - e. What structures or combination of structures appear to provide the greatest potential for the development of social welfare as a contributor to national development?
 - f. To what extent are social welfare services provided through other institutions than the institution of social welfare?

The basic concepts utilized in this study are: Merton's conceptualization of motives as latent and manifest, functional and dysfunctional.¹ Esman-Bruhn's Institutional building variable² and social welfare.

Social welfare is a concept for which there is no universally agreed upon definition, even in the field of social welfare or among the African

¹ See Appendix A for explication of the concepts

² See Appendix B for explication of the variables

countries under study. For example, some countries subsume community organisation and some national service programs under social welfare while others do not. It is significant that while the United Nations has developed its own definition of social welfare¹, it does not require that the African United Nations members use it in responding to the United Nations biennial questionnaire. Indeed, the United Nations asks each country to define its concept of social welfare.

For the purpose of this study, two types of definitions are necessary. One definition is generic and designed to cover those networks of practices, beliefs and structures which perform social welfare functions, but which are not organized social welfare services. In this instance social welfare refers to those practices and structures which have the consequence of contributing to the well being of individuals, groups, and communities. Included in such a definition would be semi-tribal associations, kinship structures, various secular and religious organizations and land tenure systems. Social welfare in a more specific sense is used to refer to an institution with an organized network of administrative units which perform remedial, preventive and developmental functions relevant to social well being. This definition excludes all of those functions performed by institutions or units of government considered to be exclusively functions of these units as opposed to the unit of social welfare.

Specific programs and services included in the definition are

¹United Nations, 1963 Report of the World Social Situation. Social Welfare is defined as a term which is "generally applied to a broad range of socially sponsored activities and programmes directed toward community and individual well-being."

marital and counselling services, services for disabled persons, juvenile delinquents, children without parents to care for them, services for the aged, recreation, social and economic security, youth development, women's development, children's development and community development. Social welfare would include some aspects of housing, transportation, health, education, agriculture and industry.

The concepts developmental, preventive and remedial are used to define the level of social welfare institutions during the independence and colonial era. The United Nations formulation of stages of social welfare development is employed in the study to indicate how social welfare developed from a state of unorganized social welfare, organized social welfare to a stage of entitlement.¹

The study is limited by several factors, among which are the following:

1. Difficulty in securing relevant and comparable data on social welfare.
2. The inability of the researcher to secure funds for on site study.
3. The fact that the countries, particularly since independence, have published or prepared little material useful for analytical research. The available material on social welfare is for the most part in the form of official reports written for particular kinds of audiences and therefore of limited usefulness for objective analysis.

¹ See Appendix C for the U. N. formulation of stages of Social Welfare Development.

The researcher has utilized several libraries (including United Nations), United Nations advisers' reports, official documents, United Nations personnel, and material obtained from officials in several of the countries as data sources.

The four countries were selected because they contained similarities and differences relevant to the study. Each of the countries received independence from Britain in the past two decades, are struggling developing nations, are experiencing political unrest, and subscribe to welfare state ideology. Major dissimilarities are: (a) The countries were at different stages of development upon becoming independent, (b) two are in East Africa and two are in West Africa and (c) the Europeans intended to settle in Kenya as opposed to the other countries where the climate was not sufficiently desirable for European settlement.

Chapter II is a discussion of a selected group of variables considered relevant to the institutions of social welfare in the independence era. The variables selected are African Socialism, Bilateral Aid, Tribal structures and practices, Tribal structures in modern Africa, political factors relevant to social welfare, structures and practices, and economics and welfare. These variables are examined in terms of their consequences for social welfare.

Chapter III is a description of selected aspects of the institutions of social welfare in the four countries. Social welfare ideology, programmes, structures and resources are examined in terms of the extent to which they are functional for the countries in general and the total institutions of social welfare in particular. An assessment is also made of the social welfare level which these countries represent.

Chapter IV selectively discusses aspects of social welfare in the colonial era in terms of their consequences for Africans during the colonial

and independence eras. Emphasis is given to the impact of colonial and imperial beliefs and practices.

Chapter V is a description and analysis of the beginning development of organized social welfare in the countries. Latent and manifest motives of the British for establishing social welfare and the kinds of structures and programmes developed are examined. An assessment of the major function of social welfare in the colonial era as primarily remedial is analyzed.

Chapter VI is a summary of the research in terms of the hypotheses, and questions formulated, and generalizations and recommendations for further research.

The basic rationale for beginning with the independence era is twofold: (a) To highlight the significance of the independence era and (b) to factor out the impact of British colonization on the nature of the institutions of social welfare which currently exist in the four countries. Of particular interest is remedial function of social welfare -- a residual from the colonial era. The content on the institutions of social welfare begins with the British features and their modification since independence and proceeds in Chapter IV to trace them to institutional sources in the colonial era. For example, the focus on the remedial function of social welfare is related to the goals of British colonization, efficient administration, British concepts of charity and perception of the African Peoples.

II. SOME SOCIETAL ELEMENTS RELEVANT TO SOCIAL WELFARE IN THE INDEPENDENCE ERA

At the time the four African countries became independent between 1957 and 1963, each of them had a rudimentary system of social welfare services which had been established by the British colonial power. While these programmes were useful to these new governments in many ways, at independence, the countries faced different sets of problems, different ordering of priorities and a somewhat different set of notions about how the needs of the people should be met. An understanding of some of these forces and factors is relevant to understanding the characteristics of social welfare in the independence era. Some of these societal factors have had relatively desirable consequences and some less desirable consequences for the institutions of social welfare. Those forces thought to have the most significant impact on social welfare are (1) African Socialism, (2) Bilateral Aid, (3) selected tribal structures and practices, (4) tribal structures in modern Africa, (5) semi-tribal voluntary associations, (6) political factors relevant to social welfare, (7) Economics and social welfare in the independence era.

A. African Socialism

African Socialism can be defined as a social, economic and political philosophy which perceives society as a social organism where the units in the society share mutual responsibility for the production, distribution and consumption of the country's resources.

The concept African Socialism developed along with the independence struggle, and indeed was the ideology which sustained the masses in the struggle because they perceived that they would reap psychological as well

as social and economic benefits. It can be said that the concept also grew out of a deep desire on the part of the leaders in the independence struggle to maintain the integrity of Africa for Africans, and to protect Africa from neo-colonial forces from East and West. They were opposed to capitalism as a political and economic ideology because of its relationship to colonialism. They were equally opposed to Marxists and neo-Marxists Communism, because they perceived it inappropriate to African tradition as well as a possible impingement on Africa's hard won independence. The leaders were broadly educated and quite familiar with capitalism, socialism and communism. Thus the concept "African Socialism" can be said to be eclectic in that it includes something of African tradition, capitalism, socialism and communism.¹

The concept was to serve as the basic ideology for providing the political, social and economic benefits promised by Kenyatta, Nyerere, Nkrumah, and to a lesser extent Samuel Margai.

While there are common meanings assigned to the concept African Socialism by Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania ruling elite, there are unique explanations of the concept as applied in planning for each of the countries. Therefore, the historical derivation of the concept and the common meanings will be presented and the unique meanings for individual governments presented separately.

Historically, steps toward socialism began before the attainment of independence by many of the independence leaders.² It took place within the

¹Apter, David E., The Politics of Modernization, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967) p. 328

²Brockway, Fenner, African Socialism, (Chester Springs, Penna. Durfour Editions, 1963) p. 62

nationalist movement.

African Socialism was somewhat crystalized as a doctrine at the March, 1961 All African Peoples Conference.¹ The concept derives its basic meaning from the African tribal meaning of family. Implicit in it are notions such as commune, genuine community, brotherhood, and solidarity of kinship group. African Socialism would extend the notion of family to the whole of Africa, or at least to all of the African people in a given African country.² While theoretically, or on an ideological level the extension of the concept in such a manner is logical, it has been difficult to make pragmatic. The extended family and the implicit mutual aid notions were developed in status type societies and their application in modern, industrialized contract type societies had its inherent difficulties.

Friedland identified the generally agreed upon meanings of African Socialism as:

1. The idea of obligation to work. Nyerere described this idea when he said "Mgeni siku mbili: siku ya tatu nipe jembe; - treat your guest as a guest for two days, on the third day give him a hoe". Nkrumah insisted to his followers in a speech that since the State has given you comfort and satisfaction, you should return with loyalty and hard work. The idea of self help which is a belief the social welfare workers in community development try to inculcate can be said to derive from this aspect of African Socialism.

¹ Morgenthau, Ruth Schacter, "African Socialism": Declaration of Ideological Independence, African Report, Vol. 8, No. 5, May, 1963 pp 3-6

² It is necessary to indicate that as early as 1950 Nasser had established Socialism as a doctrine for the development of Egypt.

2. The conversion of labour unions from consumptionists into productionist associations. The call is for labour to perceive its role in the new nation building process as contributor to the production of capital as opposed to being primarily that of consumers of production. Such a transformation of the role of the labour structure is difficult to achieve, because of the historically basic function of the labour unions.
3. An orientation toward a classless society. Nyerere epitomized this principle in his suggestion that in traditional society everyone was a worker—no one possessed personal wealth—the elders were guardians of the community's wealth. Again perhaps a laudable principle, but one which has been achieved in no society, and probably unachievable as a pure principle in rapidly modernizing societies such as the ones in question, where the emphasis is on achieving as much as one can for one's self.
4. A view of society as monist rather than pluralist. These new political leaders at independence were faced with territories containing peoples whose loyalties were not to a nation, but to a tribe, and who, during the colonial era, were organized for administrative expediency for the achievement of colonial aims. The new leaders were aware of this fact and sought to develop sentiments of nationhood by emphasizing unity as opposed to pluralism. The forms which this effort assumed varied from one party states to symbolic representation of tribes in the legislative branch of government.¹

¹ Friedland, William H. "Four Sociological Trends in African Socialism", Africa Report, Vol. 8, No. 5, May, 1963. pp. 7-10

African Socialism in Ghana was conceptualized and applied to Ghana by Nkrumah, who was stimulated in this direction by several forces, not the least of which was Padmore and Marxists orientation to socialism. Ghana's type of socialism was influenced by right and left factions of communists and because it was very much influenced by Russian Communists, as it was conceptualized from time to time, it emphasized factors which the other countries did not emphasize at all, or if so to a much lesser extent. For example, Nkrumah developed repressive measures to retain a one party state with himself as the head. He also developed notions of "united socialist Africa". This principle was explicit in his many clandestine efforts to influence other countries in Africa. These two emphases of African socialism as conceptualized and practiced in Ghana under Nkrumah were to be among the major factors for his downfall. In his 1957 broadcast Nkrumah delivered an address which can be considered to be a sound policy of economic and social development and one consistent with the best conceptualizations of a welfare state. He said "my first objective is to abolish from Ghana poverty, ignorance and disease. We shall measure our progress by the improvement in the health of our people; by the number of children in school and by the quality of our education; by the availability of water and electricity in our towns and villages; and by the happiness which our people take in being able to manage their own affairs. The welfare of our people is our chief pride... socialism provides the fullest possible use of the nation's resources for human development, education, health, housing and security in old age and against the unhappy interruption of normal life--sickness, injuries and unemployment".

¹ Brockway, op. cit. pp 64-78

The way to achieve these goals were outlined as organizing the means of production into four parts, (a) State ownership sector, (b) joint State and private ownership, (c) cooperative sector and (d) private enterprise.²

Nyerere developed a concept of pragmatic socialism for Tanzania which he defined as a concept "opposed to capitalism, which seeks to build a happy society not on the basis of the exploitation of man by man; and it is equally opposed to doctrinal socialism which seeks to build its happy society on a philosophy of inevitable conflict between man and man", but as a concept rooted in the democratic family system of African past and extend it to the nation.² African socialism, then as Nyerere applied it to Tanzania contained the following elements: extended family system, communal living, community living familyhood, "my eni siku mbili; siku ya-tatua mpe jembe", everyman a worker and common life with the other.³

In a more recent conceptualization of African socialism in terms of Tanzania, Nyerere indicates that money is not necessarily the most basic element for development. He proposed the notion that people, land, good policies and good leadership are the major prerequisites to development. He places stress on hard work and intelligence as basic forces.⁴

Upon achieving independence in 1964, Kenya set about to produce a development plan for 1964-70 based on the social, economic and political ideology of "African Socialism." The governing elite of Kenya defined

1. Ibid. p. 65.

2. Ibid. p. 29

3. Ibid. p. 33

4. The Arusha Declaration of TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance, (Dar es Salaam: Publicity section of TANU, 1967) pp. 3-18.

African Socialism as a "term describing an African political and economic system that is positively African, not being imported from any country, or being a blue print of any foreign ideology, but capable of incorporating useful and compatible techniques from whatever source."¹ Its main features were: political democracy, mutual social responsibility, various forms of ownership, controls to assure that property is used in the interests of society and its members, diffusion of ownership to avoid concentration of power, and progressive taxes to assure an equitable distribution of wealth and income.²

In relating these concepts of African Socialism, it is unlikely that one will find much or anything which is incompatible with the highest idealized standards of what social welfare ought to be. In terms of social welfare the conceptualizations are compatible with what has been considered to be the third stage of social welfare development, namely social entitlement.³

When one relates these ideal type principles to social facts in these countries, one finds an extremely wide disparity, as indeed one would find true with the so called most developed countries. For example, the preamble to the United States Constitution explicitly asserts that the purpose of the United States of America is to "promote the general welfare". Unlike the developing countries in this study, the United States has

¹ Republic of Kenya. African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya. (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1965) pp. 4-8

² Ibid. p. 16

³ See Appendix C for the United Nations Conceptualization of the stages in the development of social welfare.

sufficient resources to make good the promise. Despite this fact, however, a recent ~~World~~ Foundation Study and subsequent Congressional testimony pointed out there are numerous children in the northern and southern areas of this country who are grossly undernourished, poorly housed and in poor health, indeed perhaps not too unlike conditions which one might find in either of the countries included in this study.¹

Tanzania, Kenya and Sierra Leone have made some steps toward a more equitable distribution of wealth, however. Kenya has established a tax principle which when and if applied could have desirable consequences in terms of the equalization of wealth goal. Tanzania has taken steps to cut the salaries of various employees of government including that of the President. Sierra Leone's recently elected Prime Minister, Siaka Stevens has announced plans to cut the salaries of government employees including that of the prime minister.

In general, however, notions of self-sacrifices for development have hardly taken hold in the countries, where unions continue to make strenuous demands and civil servants insist on the kinds of fringe benefits to which they are accustomed. Africans suffered and sacrificed for political independence, but appear less able and willing to sacrifice for social and economic independence. No set of values seem to exist to guide the development of such virtues as endurance, sobriety, discipline, tenacity, dynamics and diligence.²

¹ "Notes and Comments: Hungry Children", The Social Service Review, Vol 41, No. 4, December 1967. pp 430-433

² Commentary: "The Present Malaise in Africa" (editorial) East Africa Journal, Vol. VI, No. 5, August, 1967, pp 37-39

Despite the paucity of gains toward the promises of African Socialism, it is correct to say that it is an ideology which in its "purest" sense is functional for the development of social welfare. It offers an ideology with the potential for conversion into pragmatic social welfare programmes and actions which would only minimally utilize scarce financial resources, but would result in tremendous gains for the country.

The concept obligation to work could be translated into a program in which the aged persons who are now being cared for by their relatives, and who have time on their hands could be organized into a child caring cadre and trained for the service. This could result in several desirable consequences: (1) relieve able bodied young women to enter the production unit in agriculture, industry, petty markets, housing construction, (2) relieve current child care personnel to become teachers in the elementary schools or in adult education programmes, (3) develop a system for meeting the economic needs of aged persons who have no extended family system to care for them and (4) assure good basic care for a large number of children who are not now cared for because their mothers work and have no adequate system of caring for them.

To change the role of labour to that of producers presents a well nigh impossible problem because of the traditional function of unions being that of attaining and maintaining benefits for the members. While a "developed country" might be able to tolerate such a system without undue harm to the economic structure of the country, this is not true with a developing country. Unions in the United States have been known to volunteer services for various worthy projects. It is not therefore unreasonable to expect that such might be done in the countries under

consideration. Labour unions could be encouraged to train families in housing construction in order that they could construct their own homes, utilizing the materials found in the environment. Such a project could result in more and better housing at a much lower cost. This suggestion is consistent with Nyerere's observation that a 45 hour week is not functional for a developing country like Tanzania.¹

The concept "classless society" is rather similar to "Democracy", a dynamic motivating goal which is perhaps not necessarily achievable, but nonetheless one worthy of consideration. It serves a political function of mobilizing people to believe in and work for and with the government for development. One can meaningfully speak of a society in which a country's resources are equitably distributed on some universally agreed-upon standard of the basic needs of individuals, groups and communities for social well being. Nyerere speaks of tribal society as classless. While it is agreed that the tribal land tenure system in most of the tribes greatly maximized the potential for all tribal members' needs (and some categories of strangers) to be met, there were in most instances some members whose needs were better met than others. The achievement of a classless society requires more radical changes in the life patterns of the peoples of Ghana, Sierra Leone, Kenya, and Tanzania than they can in the near future be persuaded to make, or indeed the governing elite have to this date proposed. A few such changes which if proposed and

¹ The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-reliance. (Dar es Salaam, Publicity Section of TANU, 1967) pp. 3-18

effected might result in desirable social welfare consequences are (1) developing a system whereby no person below a specified income level need pay taxes, (2) discontinuing all fringe benefits for civil servants, (3) requiring all persons with college degrees to donate a prescribed number of hours to teaching in elementary and secondary schools, (4) requiring all college and university level students to donate a prescribed number of hours to a job for which they are best suited, (5) adjusting the salary scales of all positions in government to levels more consistent with the present capabilities of the budgets as opposed to those which are consistent with what the British colonial office could afford to pay. These suggestions are made with full cognizance of the crucial political implications which they suggest, but that some of them might be implemented with minimal political upheaval.

The goal of a monistic society is one which would appear to be functional for social welfare. The United States is an example of certain undesirable consequences deriving from the concept of "States Rights". The federal public welfare laws make it possible for persons equally needful, but residing in different States to receive different amounts of public assistance grants. It can be said that the more a country is viewed as one nation the less likely are the contributors to the welfare budgets to demand that the money be spent for a designated group of people as opposed to another as equally needful.

The basic elements contained in the conceptualizations of African Socialism would appear to be compatible with what the Independent African nations have embodied in their several development plans. For example:

1. Improvement of per capita income - The goal is to be achieved through increased aggregate production of agricultural and

industrial goods and services.

2. Reduction of inequalities - in income structures and achievement of more equitable distribution of national wealth among rural and urban populations. Among the measures which African governments are currently applying in order to achieve this objective are: increased employment, taxation of high incomes and nationalization of some of the means of production.
3. Improvement of levels of living - This goal is to be achieved through orientation of the national educational structure to meet development needs; through the improvement and extension of medical and health services to the rural areas; through social welfare planning within overall developmental needs; and through appropriate formulation and implementation of housing policies for low-income groups.¹

It would seem then, that within the context of the countries under study that African Socialism with its emphasis upon equitable distribution of resources, development of human resources, responsibility of the State to assure that the needs of all the citizens are met is indeed functional for social welfare.

B. Bilateral Aid

Faced with the arduous task of nation building amidst a series of wealthy highly developed industrial, nuclear and welfare state countries,

¹ United Nations Conference of Ministers Responsible for Social Welfare, A Statement Submitted by the Secretariat of the Economic Commission for Africa. (New York: United Nations, September 3, 12, 1968)

the poor independent nations of Africa found themselves with almost insurmountable problems. Without exception the governing elite of the four countries under study had poor infra-structure, extremely limited educated and technical manpower, a population aware of the good life in modern societies flocking to the urban center for the social and economic benefits of independence.

While valuing their newly won political freedom, these countries required assistance from external sources to provide the short and long term benefits which they needed. The countries requested and were offered a variety of types of aid from numerous sources. Bilateral aid was the type of aid which was available in the quantities necessary and therefore the countries utilized it. Bilateral aid may be defined as a system in which a government, industry or non-profit organization of another country enters into a contract relationship in which each country (donor) and (donee) agree to certain responsibilities. Usually the donor contributes technical advice, long term loans, money, equipment, training programs, scholarships, research, etc. in exchange for manifest and latent elements from the donee country.

The African leaders know that they must rely on external technical assistance and investment for a long time. They are willing to accept aid from a variety of sources if it does not seriously affect their independence. While accepting the fact that all aid implies some commitment on their part, the leaders try to negotiate in such a manner as not to jeopardize their "non-alignment" status with respect to non-African powers.¹

¹ Cowan, Gray L. The Dilemmas of African Independence. (New York: Walker and Co., 1964) p. 38

Cowan indicates that:

"American aid is at least in part, designed to fortify the developing nations against the inroads to Communism, while Soviet aid is yet another weapon in the constant effort to spread Russian influence in Africa. The United States is concerned in its aid programs with the eventual creation of liberal free enterprise economies, capable of satisfying through private industry the basic demands for consumer goods. The Soviets on the other hand tend to extend aid for the building up of heavy industry under State control which will begin to provide the base for the growth of an industrial proletariat now lacking in Africa."²

Ghana has utilized several external sources for her national development. The Volta Power Project is perhaps the most spectacular and significant long term project in Ghana since independence. Russia, the United States government, and the Henry J. Kaiser Company, the Export-Import Bank and Britain contributed to the project. What is significant about this project is that the United States delayed granting the aid for quite a long time, thus inducing Nkrumah to go to tour the Soviet bloc nations. President Kennedy, not wishing for Ghana to become aligned with the Soviets, sent Nkrumah a personal note agreeing to grant a loan. It can be said that this project is an example of a successful gain for Ghana as a result of playing politics with the United States and the Soviet bloc. While this project has numerous long term social welfare benefits such as increasing employment, a short term social welfare benefit was intensifying agricultural production and increasing opportunities for fishing. Re-settlement was necessary. Persons living in the project area were poorly housed. The government provided "core houses" for each family, consisting

² Cowan, op. cit pp. 40,41

of concrete foundation and aluminum roofing for a four room house with walls of one room completed. Each village was provided communal facilities and services. Eighty thousand people were resettled at a cost of \$22.4 million, of which 44 per cent was paid by the project and the balance by Ghana.¹

Tanzania has had a variety of experiences with bilateral aid. Israel was invited by Nyerere to assist Tanzania develop a National Youth Service program. Israel is known for her outstanding expertise in the development of such programmes. In cooperation with selected Tanzania officials a pioneer youth training center was developed and presented to the Tanzania government.² While it is not known if the precise proposal was executed as presented, it is known that by 1967 Tanzania had in fact developed a National Youth Service program.

A recent report indicates that Britain cancelled 7½ million pounds of aid-loans to Tanzania in retaliation for the refusal of the Tanzania government to continue paying pensions to former colonial civil servants who were in Tanzania and worked before independence. These pensions were imposed on newly independent governments which were in no position to reject them, and the terms are extremely disadvantageous to the new African states. The pensions cost about 20 million shillings annually. What is paid for these pensions is not available to be spent on essential services

¹ Hance, William A. African Economic Development (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, publishers, 1967) pp 87-114

² State of Israel, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, A Pioneer Youth Training Centre for Tanzania (Jerusalem: May, 1962) pp. 1-2

such as schools, hospitals, roads, the sick and the disabled.¹

Nyerere has always been acutely aware of the fact that in most instances countries give aid because of a twofold purpose; namely for the benefit of the donee as well as itself. He has therefore been cautious in his acceptance of aid, even to the point of jeopardizing some projects for its national development because of the fear that some aid would result in loss of freedom and independence for his country. In a 1966 document² he devotes full attention to the matter. He described loss of West German aid, aid from Britain, decrease in U. S. aid as a result of actions taken by Tanzania which these countries considered not in their best interest.

Kenya's National Youth Service program is an example of a project in which several countries were involved on a bilateral as well as multi-lateral level. The United States contributed grants in aid and technical experts, Britain contributed technical experts and so did Israel. On a multilateral level through the International Secretariat for Volunteer Service several countries contributed volunteer workers.³ In assessing the project Coe indicated that among the many limitations of the project was that of inability to receive money, equipment and workers on schedule.⁴ This is a serious handicap to many bilateral aid projects. The countries are not able to engage in adequate long range planning and to set in

¹ Davidson, Basil, "Tanzania Notebook" West Africa, No. 2673, August 24, 1968: p 985

² Nyerere, Mwalimu Julius K., Principles and Development (Dar es Salaam, Government Printer, June, 1968) pp 1-13

³ Coe, Richard L. Kenya National Youth Service (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh) 1966

⁴ Ibid

motion the necessary administrative machinery to assure successful projects. It can be said definite advantages and disadvantages for the African countries have resulted from the bilateral aid. Specific advantages have been: (1) Capital is made available for industrial and agricultural development; a scarce commodity in the developing countries and one vital to development, (2) much needed educational resources are made available both in and outside the countries, (3) much trial and error as well as waste or misuse of scarce resources is averted through expert advice and technical assistance, (4) Institutions are established which can potentially serve as stabilizing factors in the development process, (5) new ideas are introduced by "experts" which provide the kind of authenticity sometimes necessary and essential to innovation.

All bilateral aid programs generally have latent and manifest motives. The disadvantage of bilateral aid can be considered to derive from the latent motives. The latent motives are generally political.

1. Generally aid has "strings attached" which are doctrinal in nature - i.e. related to a belief on the part of the donor country that certain types of programs are likely to create favorable impressions on the donee country for the donor country and thus likely to win the donee country to the donor's camp.
2. Bilateral aid many times, commits the donee country to certain types of trade arrangements which may or may not be in the best interest of the donee country.
3. Many of the bilateral assistance arrangements are in fact long term loans which generally require that the donee purchase equipment from the donor country.

4. Inability of the donee countries to do sufficient long range planning for development since they cannot accurately predict funding for projects.

The African countries have taken several courses of action with respect to some of the disadvantageous effects of bilateral aid; (1) refused to accept or cash some of the aid checks¹, (2) substituted resources in the country for bilateral aid², (3) increased requests for United Nations and other international organizations for aid^{3,4} and (4) continued to negotiate for the best deal.

C. Tribal Structures and Practices

It is necessary to indicate that at independence, the impact of tribal structures and practices had diminished considerably in the urban centers and to a more limited extent in the rural centers. Several factors account for this fact; (1) British policy of indirect rule, (2) power struggle between western educated elite and traditional rulers, and (3) the modernization and industrialization processes.

This section describes some of the above factors, the tribal and semi-tribal structures and practices which still exist in the independence era, and their social consequences for the social welfare institutions in

¹ Sierra Leone government official (specific source confidential) July, 1968

² Arusha Declaration, op cit, pp 3-18

³ Gindy, Aida, Interview, July 11, 1968

⁴ U. N. E/CN.5/417/Add 2 - Commission for Social Development 1967 Report on the World Social Situation, December 12, 1967. p. 98

the four countries. One perplexing problem in this connection is the observation that organized social welfare in the independence era makes little or no conscious use of the remaining tribal and semi-tribal structures. This problem will be dealt with by suggesting ways in which these structures might well be used, as well as some of the reasons why they are not presently used.

It must be recognized that there are numerous tribal structures and practices to be found in each of the four countries. These tribal groups share some characteristics in common and have other characteristics which are rather idiosyncratic in nature. For example, it is said that the British colonial administrators did not set up Lugard's indirect rule policy in Kenya because the tribes were in general not very closely knit groups, as opposed to the Ashanti in Ghana for example who had a well organized and structured system. The tribes which are used for illustrative purposes in this study do share some of the same relevant characteristics. The tribes selected for the purpose of this study are the Mende in Sierra Leone, the Ashanti in Ghana and the Gikuyu in Kenya.¹ The structures and practices to be presented and analyzed in terms of social welfare are land tenure, kinship and mutual aid.

1. Land Tenure is a basic means of assuring economic and social security in the African tribal societies where the economy is still based on subsistence farming. In general the basic

¹ No tribe in Tanzania is used as an example because insufficient data were available on the land tenure system, and the other variables of interest in this study.

elements of land tenure are:

- a. Communal tenure - the right to land based on membership in the family, clan or tribe.
- b. Right of usufruct - accorded to the person who actually undertakes development. In such a case the person may possess the land so long as he cultivates it.
- c. Seigniorship - the unbroken chain of responsibility of the headman for his people, the head of the family for his members, and every individual of a tribe responsible to the chief. No individual has the right to sell land.
- d. Land-fragmentation is a situation in which individuals including strangers could secure rights to cultivate land as tenants. They are obliged to contribute an unspecified amount of their produce to the person giving him the cultivation rights.¹

With respect to land tenure amongst specific tribes, it must be recognized that while there were variations of the land tenure systems within various clans and headmen of the tribe, in general land tenure within given tribes follow the same pattern.

Amongst the Ashanti, every foot of land has an owner, whether or not it is occupied. A land can only be said to have no owner if a family group becomes extinct.² Land is held by family groups with inheritance rights being traceable from the maternal ancestors. Succession to land does not imply that the successor as head of the family for the time, has the right of ownership to the exclusion of the other members of the family. He is co-owner with the rest of the family.³

1 ¹ Iiversagen Nv, Land Tenure in the Colonies (Cambridge: University Press, 1945) pp. 2-16

2 Ibid p. 5

3 ³ Apter, David, The Gold Coast in Transition (Princeton: University Press, 1955) pp 53-53

Access to land and rights to its occupation in the Mende tribe for the purpose of farming derive from membership in certain family or descent groups who claim to have made the first settlement in the country. The two types of land tenure are the descendants of the hunter, warrior chiefs and warriors who first settled Mende country. The land owners are the present ruling chiefs, heads of the crowned houses, subchiefs and their respective families. The land owner inherits land and the right to transfer it to his heirs. This is called primary settlement. The second type, called landholders instead of landowners, includes the subsequent settlers and strangers usually from non-Mende country or former domestic slaves. Amongst the Mende land rights pass from the male line - from his brothers in the first instance, and afterwards his sons and then the daughters. The rights in land may not be alienated because group as well as personal status is closely bound up with ownership of land. A descent group which has entirely lost its land would automatically lose, as a group, most of its prestige in the eyes of the community.¹

The importance of land tenure as a basic economic security system received its most outstanding publicity amongst the Gikuyu tribe in Kenya who engaged in the bloody mau mau rebellions in the cause of maintaining their desirable Highlands. In discussing land tenure with respect to the Gikuyu, Kenyatta emphasized that "there was not in any part of Gikuyu, as far as a member goes, any land that belonged to everybody.... The term communal, or tribal ownership of land has been misused in describing the land, as though the whole of it was owned collectively by every member

¹ Little, K. L., The Mende of Sierra Leone (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1951) pp. 82-86

of the community.... Every inch of Gikuyu territory had its owner, with the boundary properly-fixed. It was a man's pride to own property and his enjoyment to allow collective use of it".¹ The Gikuyu had five land holder positions, (a) Mmene ng undo, refers to the individual owner of land purchased or inherited, (b) Moramati is the trustee of land for the family, (c) Mohai is the person who acquires cultivation rights on the lands of another family unit, (d) Mocair wa-a is another man who is adopted into the family of a clan by an other than his own and (e) Githaka kia ngwatamio is a situation in which land is used by individual families as joint property.²

The land tenure systems still functions in many rural areas with some modifications. This, in part, accounts for the fact that in rural areas which have been little affected by modernization, it can be said that people's basic needs get met. The current governments perceive some aspects of the land tenure system as being somewhat dysfunctional to the economic development. The governments operate on the assumption that surplus farming and not subsistence farming is necessary for economic development. Thus some countries notably Kenya have proposed land tenure changes. For example, Kenya proposes to emphasize "development of agriculture in former African areas through land consolidation, registration of titles, development of leins, cooperative extension services.... Land management legislation, including punitive measures against those who mismanage farms, and loans... and refuse to join major cooperative

¹ Kenyatta, Jomo, Facing Mount Kenya: The Tribal Life of the Gikuyu. (London: Martin Secker and Warburg Ltd., 1959) pp. 28-36

² Ibid

farming schemes where these are necessary, or oppose land consolidation, will be introduced and strictly reinforced."¹

It can be seen then that the modernization and westernization processes have been and are basically responsible for the trends toward major changes in the land tenure systems. It also seems that land tenure systems as described above are dysfunctional for social welfare as conceptualized by newly independent nations who emphasize equalization of resources for Africans irrespective of what their social and traditional statuses might be. This would mean that in these governments chiefs, headmen, subchiefs, etc. have no right to live in plenty while domestics and children of domestics and "strangers" live in poverty and at the mercy of the tribal leaders.

Perhaps the land tenure system was functional for social welfare when it operated in a different era, but it cannot be considered functional in terms of current policy positions taken by the governing elite with respect to national goals and approaches to attaining the goals.

2. Kinship Systems

Kinship systems refer to the hierarchical positions of tribe, clan, family and the corresponding leaders such as chief, sub-chiefs, headmen, elders, queen mothers, etc. It also refers to the roles and relationships maintaining among the members of the groups.

While kinship structures and relationships differ among the various tribes, each performing certain idiosyncratic functions, one common function

¹ Republic of Kenya, African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya, 1965. p. 53

performed by all kinship groups is that of mutual aid.

The kinship structure amongst the Mende consists of the Mawe, which is the basic unit that includes sub-units stemming from the simple biological family. The extended family might include up to forty houses with populations of as many as 120 persons. The Mawe owner houses his wives and slaves in huts of their own. Each woman's house was responsible for its own farm, in which the male slaves of the house were responsible for performing the heavy duties. The owner of the Mawe lives alone in a hut and is responsible for the welfare of all persons in the Mawe. The children live in huts with their mothers. Food is prepared for the group under the direction of the "big wife" who supervises its distribution. The first bowl of food is served to the big wife's husband, and his age mates, and the next bowl is for the younger men, and then the women. It is customary for the younger children either to sit and eat with the head of the Mawe or wait for the remnants. The women take turns cooking.

Agricultural work is performed by members of the household for the family head, who in turn provides the members with clothing during the year. The men in the family are allocated small plots on which to grow rice and cassada.

The other level of kinship structure amongst the Mende is Kuwai - which is a series of adjacent compounds in a town with members being closely committed by blood, marriage and similiar ways.¹

The Gikuyu tribe in Kenya has an elaborate kinship structure which performs multiple functions, one of which is mutual aid. The kinship

¹ Little, K. L., The Mende of Sierra Leone (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1951) pp. 98-101

system consists of the family group (mbari or nyamba) which brings together all of those related by blood. The clan (maherga) joins into one group several mabri units who have the same clan name and are believed to have been descended from one family group in the remote past. One mabri may consist of a hundred or more members.

Another aspect of kinship structure among the Gikuyu is the age-grade (riika) and is based on initiation or circumcision ceremony.

The father is the head of the family and is supreme ruler and custodian of family property. The mother (maito) is highly respected as is the baba, the father. In order for the mother to continue to deserve respect, she must be hospitable to visitors and render assistance to her neighbors when they are in need. The various clans engage in mutual aid types of activities. For example, cultivation rights may be given to a relative by marriage if he needs it.¹ Each member has specific roles - i.e., care of small children by the older children in the family. House-building is an activity which engages women and men with each performing the traditional types of tasks in the joint project. Relatives help and consult each other in matters of common concern. Anyone in need will go to his nearest prosperous kinsman as a matter of course and can expect to be given what he needs.²

Elavø, in an article comparing social welfare in the United States and Ghana indicates that Ghana tends to rely heavily on the kinship structure for solving problems of delinquency, care of children, handicapped

¹ Kenyatta, op. cit. pp. 8-18

² Ibid. pp 53, 312

persons and the aged. In areas where the family or lineage groups are absent, tribal associations or groups are used by social workers to help one of their members who has a problem. This system works well, because in the traditional Ghanaian society one was truly his brother's keeper. Westernization and industrialization of Ghanaian society is causing change in kinship systems making it less effective as a social welfare need meeting system.¹

In the Ashanti tribe, there is a saying that the sick, orphans, aged and widowed go home to their families. The aged store up their social security for old age by the contribution which they have made to the family system in service throughout their lives. They also have a claim on being taken care of by virtue of their old age and the particular status ascribed to that position in the family system.² An Ashanti woman whose husband dies has tribal sanction to either marry her husband's brother or her husband's son by one of his other wives.³ It is thought that every woman must belong to some man. A child of a poor man may be turned over to his rich brother to be cared for.⁴

Busia⁵ stresses the importance of the group when he writes,

"There is always the overriding importance of one's membership in the kinship group. There can be no satisfactory or meaningful life for a man except as a member of a group. Cooperation and mutual helpfulness are virtues enjoined as essential, without

¹ Blavo, E. Q., International Reciprocation in Social Work - Education and Practice. (1967) Xeroxed, p. 3

² Iyehad, Robert, The Ashanti: A Proud People (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1958) p. 44

³ Rattray, R. W., Religion and Art in Ashanti (London: Oxford University Press, 1959) p. 10

⁴ Ibid. pp 10-18

⁵ Busia, K. A., The Challenge of Africa (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publisher, 1962) p. 34

them, the kin group cannot long endure. Its survival depends on its solidarity. Such a concept of group life makes for warm personal relationship in which every individual has a maximum involvement in the life of the group.... A member fulfills his obligation not by what he accumulates for himself, but by what he gives to other members."

The group was bound up in birth and death as implicit in the kinds of elaborate rites and ceremonial practices engaged in at birth and death. Elaborate tribal legends have been constructed to explain and sanction the values and practices of the various kinship systems in the tribal societies. A particularly interesting legend exists regarding the origin of the Gikuyu kinship system.¹ Kenyatta, speaking of the Gikuyu, said the individualist has no place in the community --there is no individual affair--everything has a social reference.²

A significant social consequence of the kinship system relevant to social welfare is that it provides security from isolation, alienation, as well as basic social and economic security. It must be noted that the kinship system began breaking down with the advent of the British in Africa and subsequent modernization. The feeling of responsibility for kin is diminishing. The most vulnerable societal members who have suffered as a result of the breakdown of the system are children, women, aged, and the disabled. The kinship system is increasingly viewed as incompatible with modernization and industrialization and thus organized social welfare and semi-tribal associations are perceived as alternate systems for performing functions formerly performed by kinship systems.

¹ See Kenyatta, Jomo, Facing Mount Kenya: The Tribal Life of the Gikuyu, pp. 3-19 for his detailed presentation of the origin of the Gikuyu in Kenya.

² Ibid. p. 119

D. Tribal Structures in Modern Africa

While the governing elite in the African countries under study consciously and purposely selected some items from traditional structures and applied them to the process of developing their countries in independence, it is known that they just as consciously and deliberately sought to repress certain other tribal items.

The institution of social welfare in these countries have given little conscious thought in the independence era to the utilization of tribal and semi-tribal structures.¹ References are made to the fact that the family and kinship systems performed social welfare functions, but no specific references to deliberate attempts to plan the use of these structures.²

Concern about this aspect of social welfare derives from an assumption that selective utilization of some of the tribal structures and practices would be functional to the development of social welfare. Specifically the assumption is that (1) costs of the administration of social welfare could be lowered, (2) services would be made more readily available and perhaps on a more universal basis, (3) costs of the services would be lowered, (4) human resources could be maximally mobilized.

During the independence struggles the charismatic leaders and their followers did extract the concepts mutual aid and responsibility for one's

¹ United Nations, 1965 Report of the World Social Situation (New York: United Nations, 1965) p. 26.

² Younis, El-Farouk, Differential Citizen Participation in Rural Development. A Comparative Study (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1964) p. 28.

kin to utilize in their conceptualization of African socialism—the ideology which was to guide the development of the country at independence. They have each tried, with varying degrees of success to help their constituents to extend the concepts of mutual aid and social responsibility from the boundaries of the kinship group to include the entire country. The extension of the concept is revealed in the various community development self help projects, in the several Presidents' actions to cut their salaries and those of other governmental officials in an effort to share the resources of the country.¹

Several factors might explain the observation that little or no planful efforts have been made to utilize tribal structures and practices in the institutions of social welfare. Among them are; (1) the power struggle between the radical governing elite and the chiefs and elders who functioned for the British under the indirect rule policy, and hence their desire to destroy the system, (2) the overwhelming desire on the part of the new heads of state to become modernized and westernized and the perception that the encouragement of tribal practices would slow down the process, (3) the government leaders' belief that their efforts to unify would be adversely affected by the encouragement of tribal practices, and (4) the theory that when foreign elements are introduced into a culture rapidly, that that culture will tend to rapidly renounce its traditional culture, and (5) the fact that in some cases (notably Ghana) the British indirect-rule policy had so distorted and corrupted the tribal practices that the new governments felt it politically unsound to use them.

¹ See Appendix I for some elaboration of the concept tribalism as it is related to the process of National development in the four African countries.

E. Semi-Tribal Voluntary Associations

In Sierra Leone, Ghana, Tanzania and Kenya, so-called voluntary associations exist and perform a variety of functions for the societies. Two of the most important functions as far as social welfare is concerned are (1) helping persons move from traditional to modern societies with a minimum of individual and group disintegration and (2) mutual aid functions.

Voluntary associations in Sierra Leone have been selected for descriptive and analytical purposes, because more data are available on them and they have become somewhat more institutionalized in Sierra Leone than in some of the other countries.

The Young Men's Companies among the Temne began in the early 1920's in Freetown. It seems they were developed to replace the tribal institutions which existed among the Temne in the rural areas which performed socialization and mutual aid functions. While most of the Companies only admitted members of the Temne tribe, there were others which admitted non Temne members. By 1953 there were 30 companies which performed such functions as entertainment and bereavement contributions. Each member pays 3d per week for the administrative expenses of the company. When a member is bereaved a collection is taken for him. For this purpose members pay 2s, 1s or 6d, all of which goes to the bereaved person. Members may give from four to two pounds for other kind of help for members. The companies are very elaborately structured with positions and roles whose names are derived from British and tribal traditions. For example:

Chief executive -- Sultan
 His counterpart -- Mammy queen
 Pa Kumrabai -- Director
 Second Sultan -- Supervises collection of contributions
 Second Mammy Queen -- Supervises women's singing and dancing

Judges -- Hears disputes among members
 Doctor -- Examines prospective members before they are admitted and attends them if sick, certifies death and attends the corpse
 Manager - Administrator of arrangements
 Second manager -- Supervises dancing
 Commissioner -- Disciplinarian
 Cashier -- Keeps the money
 Clerk -- Keeps accounts and writes letters¹

In 1941 there were some 211 different voluntary associations registered under the Savings Bank Ordinance. Briefly these are described by Banton¹ as follows:

1. Adult Societies are called Orjeh. They have their own ritual, and dances but may never appear on the streets. The functions include bereavement benefits contributions and giving presents and entertainment to members when they marry.
2. Imative Medicine Societies consists of immigrant adults who perform dances in the streets, provide bereavement benefits and various forms of entertainment for the members. These groups developed in the post war era were composed primarily of truant juveniles. The groups had bad reputations, ran counter to parental authority and many times the boys were instructed to steal from their own homes.
3. The Friendly Societies are of a financial nature, and are more popular among the Creoles. Some represent members of common ancestry. There are male and female type societies. One such society is called "Hand to Mott" which suggest that they were formed to deal with a precarious economic situation. They provided entertainment, loans and burial contributions.
4. The Ensu is a mutual aid group whose members pay a fixed sum at regular intervals and the total is given to members on a rotational basis. These groups are common among the market women, but also patronized by typists, clerks and other kinds of people. The total sometimes comes to as much as

¹ Banton, Michael, West African City: A Study of Tribal Life in Freetown (London: Oxford University Press, 1960) pp. 164-184

² Ibid., pp. 187-188

5. The Kru Friendly Societies, age womens' groups. The members are assigned statuses, and contribute and benefit according to the status. The women wield powerful sanctions on the behavior of the members. Some of the societies make payments to members on the birth of a child and some assist members find employment, give aid in distress situations and loan money.

Banton¹ conceptualized the manifest and intended functions of the various voluntary associations as:

1. Financial assistance for burial of relatives
2. Integrative functions for Creoles, Mende and Temne moving from rural to urban society
- 3e Health assistance was provided to members in the form of finance, getting the medicine man, care of the sick person
4. Loans to members in need
5. Entertainment for members' marriages
6. Pay debts for members
7. Payments to wives and female members upon birth of a child
8. Assistance to members in finding jobs
9. Assistance in settling marital and family disputes

The latent functions of these associations were defined as:

1. Reintegration of the Temne culture in the urban center to counter the growing non-Temne social grouping
2. Representative of the modernist elements among the Temne youth
3. Raise the Temne's prestige
4. Teaching of hygiene, child care and citizenship
5. Adjunct to social welfare officers
6. Leadership training
7. The provision of recreational activities helped to reduce crime
8. Marriage bureau

It is not difficult to recognize the potential use of the associations by organized social welfare for social welfare functions. The literature reveals no conscious and planful attempts to utilize these structures for social welfare in the independence era. It would seem that these are perfect structures to use for a variety of community organization or self-help schemes, to help persons become modernized or urbanized, as systems

¹ Banton, op. cit. pp 168-178

for performing necessary socialization functions, systems for helping to prevent juvenile delinquency, and organizing youth to contribute voluntary service to their country. These groups could serve as models for the organization of economic systems like the Credit Unions in the United States.

F. Political Factors Relevant to Social Welfare

At independence the African nations faced a problem not faced by the non-African British dependencies. The British government had always debated the potential competence of the Africans to govern themselves.^{1,2} This was explicit in Lugard's formulation of the indirect rule policy.³ There was little or no question but that the non-African dependencies would eventually be given independence, not so with the African territories. With this belief system in the background, and one which the African perceived to be subscribed to by the bulk of Europeans, the new ruling elite - most of whom were highly educated individuals - had somehow a conscious or unconscious need to prove the ability of Africans to govern themselves. The eyes of the world, particularly the West were on these new African nations. The leaders, in varying degrees, responded by proposing ambitious plans for social and economic development. These plans almost without exception focused on industrial development and the

¹ Hinden, Rita (ed) Fabian Colonial Essays (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1945) p. 16-17

² Bartlett, John Familiar Quotations (Boston: Little, Brown & Co 1955) p. 871. Sir Winston Churchill's famous utterance at London Mayor's Day Luncheon November 10, 1942: "I have not become the King's first Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire."

³ Lugard, Sir F. D. The Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1922)

generation of capital for quick economic development. In other words these nations felt pressure from the developed nations to become Westernized, industrialized and urbanized over night. The consequences of such focus were numerous in terms of the basic development of the country and people. For example, much, or a disproportionate amount of the countries' scarce resources were devoted to "showy" types of projects, large delegations to various international affairs, projects which would bring bilateral aid to the country, disproportionate amount of import in comparison to export, and a minimum amount of attention given to the development of human resources.

Recent actions provide evidence that this phase is slowly coming to an end. For example (1) Tanzania's ruling party headed by Nyerere has placed priority on the development of human resources in a recent document;¹ (2) Proposals by Sierra Leone, Kenya and Tanzania heads of State to cut their salaries; (3) cuts in the elaborate delegations; (4) decrease in requests for foreign aid, or at least more scrutiny in terms of the long range benefits for the African nations concerned; (5) increased focus on getting rid of corruption and deification of leaders.

Other factors faced these new nations. For example, while it cannot be said that when the British government turned over the reins of government to the African leaders, a vacuum in the truest sense of the word was created, the fact is that when the British left, the various power factions which had more or less been kept in control, were now free

¹ TANU, The Arusha Declaration of TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-reliance (Dar es Salaam: Publicity Section of TANU, 1967)

to raise their heads and "envisage the possibility of finding themselves dominated by another ethnic group instead of the colonial system". There are those who may argue that the British made a significant contribution to the African countries by putting an end to fighting and open conflict amongst the tribal groups. What in fact occurred is that the British colonial officials controlled the behavior of these tribes by the use of a strong military and police force. Hence no systematic effort was made by the British rulers to effect major and sustained change in the attitudes of the tribes toward each other. As opposed to bringing about lasting harmony and unity between the tribes, the British indeed can be said to have thrived on the lack of unity between the different factions. The adage in reference to British colonial power "divide and rule" was more truth than fiction. In addition to other crucial problems which faced the new rulers, there was the problem of disunity between tribal groups.

The arrival of independence then, raised such issues as the future of indigenous rulers, the future of the indirect rule structures set up by the British, the relationship of the traditional chiefs and the new political leaders, the problem of tribalism, the kind of governmental system to develop,¹ and how the Africans in Tanzania, Kenya and the other East African countries (where the Europeans had settled) were to benefit from independence. Each country is in search of an effective model.

Tanzania, Kenya, Sierra Leone and Ghana attempted to deal with the Chiefs by developing a structure in the legislative system whereby

¹ Herskovits, Melville J. The Human Factor in Changing Africa (N. Y.: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962) p. 341

Chiefs were given representation. In most instances the District Council system (indirect rule structures created by the British) remained in the countries and were used to perform lower level policy making and administrative functions in the rural areas. These structures are utilized by the institutions of social welfare in the countries where they exist. It is known that they are used extensively in Sierra Leone and Ghana. The question of tribalism continues to baffle the ruling elite of each of these countries. One of Samuel Margai's (First Prime Minister of Sierra Leone) major tasks was that of creating unity in the nation. Indeed his administration is known more for this contribution than any other. The various conceptualizations of African socialism were designed to de-emphasize tribalism as a divisive factor, and to expand some of the values explicit in the tribes (mutual aid, mutual social responsibility) to include the entire nation. Wittingly and unwittingly the focus on urbanization has helped to de-emphasize tribal divisiveness.

Each of the countries at one time developed a model of the one party system and African socialism which were to serve as the kind of governmental structure and ideology to aid the country in its development. Kenya, Tanzania and Ghana were successful in actually developing one party states as well as the ideology of African socialism. Sierra Leone made an abortive attempt at one party system, but has since decided against the policy. It, unlike the other three countries has never conceptualized its ideology for social and economic development. Ghana deposed its head of state and leader of the one party state, Nkrumah, in 1966. The complex nature of the society does not allow one to predict if Ghana will or will not revert to a one party State.

All four countries, (Kenya and Tanzania to a much greater extent) were faced with the problem of having most of the senior positions in government filled by Europeans. The concept Africanization was developed to describe both an ideology and a policy. In essence it meant that the governing elite of each of these countries had adopted a policy to replace these senior as well as junior government posts with African "with all deliberate speed".

The nature of conflict between various power factions in Ghana is aptly defined in St. Clair's succinct assessment.

"Ghana politics can only be understood in terms of the conflict between one western trained elite (Nkrumah and his Convention Peoples Party) which represents the interests of the urban masses and the poorer farmers, a section of the ambitious rising business class, the women and youth and another group of western trained elite who represent the interests of the traditional rulers -- the chiefs, the more well-to-do farmers, the more solid American business and professional men, and certain European business interests which fear the possibility of nationalization of their enterprises if Convention Peoples Party stays in power."¹

The young people demanded education and good jobs. Considering these demands functional for the development of the country as well as a possible means of pacifying a dissonant group, Nkrumah developed a universal system of free elementary education. This action had the unintended consequence of bringing a large number of Form 11 boys to the urban centers expecting jobs as clerks, only to be disappointed and swell the unemployed and juvenile crime statistics, as well as threaten Nkrumah's regime.²

¹ Shepherd, George W., The Politics of African Nationalism New York: Frederick Praeger Publishers, 1962) pp. 90-91

² McQueen, Albert J., "Education and Marginality of African Youth" Journal of Social Issues, Vol XXIV, No. 2, 1968. pp 179-197

Nkrumah developed a scheme for dealing with this problem, which was designed to offset any possible rising against his regime as well as to provide "meaningful" activities for the youth. He organized and consolidated all youth and youth organizations into one monolithic group called the Young Pioneers. This group was to replace the Boy Scouts as the National Youth Movement. The Workers' Brigade was also developed to cope with the growing youth problem in Ghana.

Operating on the assumption that women were a powerful group and a potential threat to his regime as well as a potential resource for his regime and national development, Nkrumah developed a monolithic type group for all women of Ghana and womens' groups. The Council of Ghana Women was formed through the dissolution of all other women's groups as a means of controlling the activities of women.

It is significant that during the independence struggle, the leaders were able to mobilize individuals and groups with different and conflicting beliefs, values and tribal alliances into a coalition to effectively work for a major goal, such an effective coalition could not be mobilized for the achievement of economic and social independence. With the achievement of independence, these various groups began to act more independently to achieve their more individualized goals.

The market women were always a powerful group and had contributed heavily to Nkrumah's rise to power. Nkrumah knew the power of these women, and that if they chose, they could paralyze major towns. They controlled the consumer goods distribution system. While his latent motive was to utilize this human resource to educate women to be more effective trainers of the young to participate in and contribute to the development of the country. The women's groups were also used to improve

the development of agriculture and industry, and as general leverages to change traditional attitudes of women to modern attitudes.

The National Association of Socialist Students Organization was formed latently to control possible anti-Nkrumah behavior, and manifestedly to maximally involve the college and university students in the socialist goals of the government.

Civil servants had internalized the British ideology characteristic of British civil servants which was that civil servants served their government faithfully irrespective of political differences. Therefore Nkrumah did not perceive the need to organize this group to promote his personal and public goals.

The Trade Union Council and the United Ghana Farmers groups were organized to cover two additional populations considered to pose potential threats to the Nkrumah regime.

While there are some desirable social welfare consequences resulting from the kind of power politics which took place under the Nkrumah regime, there were also undesirable and indeed dysfunctional aspects for social welfare. For example, the Young Pioneers did train young men in skills and discipline and prevented some juvenile crime. These groups also threatened family disorganization as a result of the boys being required to report any activities of their parents which they considered to be anti-Nkrumah.¹

The Women's participation in politics enabled them to pressure Nkrumah to provide child care services for their children while they worked. Here-to-fore children had gone without care or with poor care. Now they

¹ Confidential statement by a Ghanaian, 1967

received good care, thus enabling the mothers to improve their education, increase family income as well as contribute to the development of the country in other ways.¹

In summary it must be said that the kind of power politics engaged in by Nkrumah resulted in some social welfare good and some undesirable aspects. It can be argued that the potential of these various programs were not maximized because of the overshadowing goal of Nkrumah to promote an image of himself as "God", and as a result engaging in numerous repressive actions against those who in any way disagreed with him.

The eventual youth services program in Kenya can be attributed primarily to power politics. The youth wing of the KANU had worked hard in the independence struggle. They had been promised jobs and some control and policy making positions in the new government. The government, faced with a large number of other pressing problems related to maintaining itself, did not begin to focus on the problems and demands of these youth as soon as the youth wished it to. As a result, the young people began to forceably apply pressure on the government and the KANU by way of risings. In a gesture to pacify the youth as well as to provide a much needed service, the Kenya National Youth Service was set up.²

¹ Gindy, Aida, Deputy Director Social Welfare Division of United Nations, Interview, July 10, 1968

² Coe, Richard Kenya National Youth Service (Pittsburgh: Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh) pp 7-9

G. Economics and Social Welfare in the Independence Era

In the process of nationbuilding there are two forces which are closely related and mutually reinforcing, but which at times appear to compete for priority. These forces are social welfare and economics. A review of the early national development plans of Ghana, Tanzania, Sierra Leone and Kenya reveal a great deal of emphasis on development of production facilities such as industry in Ghana and agriculture in Kenya. The emphasis gave the appearance of assuming that increasing the production facilities of the country would necessarily result in improved levels of living for all of the people.¹

Each of these four countries were faced with such a multitude of complicated problems and such limited resources that it was difficult for the governing elite to develop priorities and strategies. While each of the leaders subscribed to a belief that government had a responsibility to assure that the basic needs of all of the citizens were met, the approaches which they took from time to time were different. The circumstances, opportunities and demands varied from time to time and from country to country requiring the governments to appear to be poorly planned. Ghana, for example, tended to place priority on the development of industry and long term types of expensive projects, whose payoff had the potential of producing massive social welfare results. The Volta River Project, for example. While the country had gone almost completely bankrupt before

¹ United Nations, 1963 Report on the World Social Situation
(New York: United Nations) pp 189-190

Nkrumah was ousted, Ghana did have a fairly well developed infrastructure. By 1966-the price of coffee had sharply declined, an increase in extended debts from \$64 million in 1959 to \$946 million in 1966, no growth in the value of exports from 1960 to 1965, a deficit of \$224 million in balance of payments in 1965, a reduction in foreign exchange reserves from \$546 million in 1957 to a negative position in 1966, a serious budgetary deficit and creeping inflation!

Tanzania, like the other two countries, initially perceived capital as the basic element necessary for the development of the country.¹ It also placed economic development high on the order of priorities for development. It was relatively recently, however, that the Arusha Declaration reversed this position. It succinctly states:

"TANU is involved in a war against poverty and oppression in our country---

"...But it is obvious that in the past we have chosen the wrong weapons for our struggle, because we chose money as our weapon. We are trying to overcome our economic weakness by using the weapons of the economically strong---weapons which we do not possess. By our thoughts, words and actions it appears as if we have come to the conclusion that without money we cannot bring about the revolution we are aiming at. It is as if we have said 'money is the basis of development. Without money there can be no development'. This is what we believe at present.

TANU leaders, and government leaders and officials, all put great emphasis and dependence on money.... It is as if we had all agreed with one voice saying: 'if we get money, we shall develop, without money we cannot develop'.

Our Five Year Development Plan aims at more food, more education, better health; but the weapons we have put emphasis upon is money. It is as if we said: 'in the next five years we want to have more

¹ Hance, William A., African Economic Development (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1967) pp. 249-284

food, more education and better health and in order to achieve these things we shall have to spend 250,000,000 pounds.¹

It is stupid to rely on money as the major instrument of development when we know only too well that our country is poor. It is equally stupid, indeed it is even more stupid for us to imagine that we shall rid ourselves of our poverty through foreign assistance rather than our own financial resources.

The development of a country is brought about by people, not by money. Money, and the wealth it represents is the result and not the basis of development. The four prerequisites of development are different: They are (i) people; (ii) land; (iii) good policies; (iv) good leadership.¹

The new Arusha-Declaration indicates that the conditions of development are hard work and intelligence.² It is clear, that Nyerere and his TANU group has come to grips with the reality of what is in fact required for poor developing nations to develop. Indeed it can be said that while there are numerous obstacles to social and economic development in the four countries, the basic ones are those related to a reality based or pragmatic philosophy about development. Among the other obstacles are (1) geographical factors, such as non-productive land, tropical climate, etc; (2) inadequate infrastructure, subsistence farming, dependence on foreign trade; (3) numerous languages and traditionalism; (4) political unrest, a small educated elite and international power politics; (5) poorly planned urbanization.³

While each of the countries is more or less faced by the above

¹ Arusha Declaration, op. cit

² Ibid

³ Hance, William A. African Economic Development (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1967) pp 1-30

factors, they also have some assets, such as Sierra Leone which has good soil for agriculture in general, but particularly rice. Sierra Leone is also rich in natural resources such as diamond, bauxite, iron ore, the largest reserve of titanium oxide in the world, rutile deposits. It is necessary to indicate that despite Sierra Leone's great food producing capacity, the amount of food which she imported in 1964 and 1965 exceeded the value of all of her agricultural exports.

Ghana similarly has a wealth of natural resources, including cocoa, gold, diamond, manganese, bauxite, iron ore and beryllium. Ghana's other economic assets are the Volta River Project, a good educational program and a sizable corps of educated people at the time of independence.¹

Kenya's greatest asset for development can be considered her excellent agricultural lands, tea production capacity, pyrethrum, irrigation, potential tourism. Because Kenya was an area with a climate suitable to Europeans, they chose to settle there in large numbers. At the time of independence, Kenya had a fairly well developed physical infrastructure, in terms of roads, buildings, agricultural system and tourism.² There was also a significant liability resulting from the European settlement in Kenya related to the development of Kenya for Kenyans, for the Europeans who own most of the valuable agricultural lands insist on maintaining them.

8 Nyerere has, it seems, developed a reality based, viable frame work for the social and economic development of Tanzania, which the other

¹ Hance, op. cit. pp 249-284

² Republic of Kenya, Development Plan 1960-1970 (Nairobi: Government Printing Dept.)

countries might well find useful. The proposal certainly presents a useful guide for understanding or indeed proposing a plan for the role of social welfare as an institution in the social and economic development of the developing African nations.

If one assumes the basic elements necessary for social and economic development to be: (1) people, prepared to work hard, dedicated to development, and intelligent; (2) land; (3) good policies; (4) good leadership;¹ (5) internally generated capital, then organized social welfare can be considered to maximally contribute to social and economic development in the following ways. The perceptions of the role of social welfare are formulated as propositions for maximum effect and explication.

1. If good health is a basic prerequisite to the economic development, and it is in a vulnerable position, then social welfare can contribute to the improvement of health by (a) acting to create an attitude on the part of the masses which will result in them utilizing the available health services, and helping to create them in areas where they do not now exist, (b) studying the various tribal and ethnic populations to determine health measures currently in use which have potentially good therapeutic or curative qualities, and (c) studying various tribal and ethnic populations to determine indigenous structures which can be used as effective systems for dispensing health services.
2. If a people dedicated to development is a necessary element in

¹ Arusha Declaration, op. cit.

social and economic development, then social welfare can contribute through creating clubs and associations and/or using those which already exist to train people in citizenship, improve tribal relationships and creating or using existing structures to consciously and deliberately involve people in meaningful service to the country. This involves planning situations in which every person volunteers a certain amount of his time every day to the development of the country, using his particular skill and interest.

3. If internally generated capital is considered desirable and necessary for national development, then social welfare might contribute by (a) developing schemes designed to encourage people to save, (b) developing schemes for helping to produce basic luxuries within the country, (c) develop ways of controlling consumer tastes and patterns so that the people will utilize the items produced in the country as opposed to those which require importation.
4. If less of the country's gross national product can be spent on social welfare at a given time, and more on other projects, then social welfare can reduce its budget and not substantially cut services by developing ways of cutting the bureaucratic system, perhaps by using various tribal and semi-tribal structures for dispensing social welfare services.
5. If trained intelligent manpower is essential for development, then social welfare can increase the output by (a) providing the necessary services to decrease school dropouts, and (b) stimulating the adult population to maximize their use of the

available adult education services.

The above propositions are predicated on the assumption that the function of social welfare in the developing African nations must be in line with the developmental conceptualization if it is indeed to be an asset as opposed to a liability to the development of the country.

Nyerere's conceptualization of social and economic development is functional for social welfare because it de-emphasized money as a pre condition to development and emphasizes human development as a pre-condition to development.

Summary

While Ghana, Tanzania and Kenya have conceptualized African Socialism somewhat differently, the significant commonality is the goal of bringing basic social benefits to all the people. The most significant dissimilarities are related to the methods.

The social and economic ideology African socialism as conceptualized in the 1967 Arusha Declaration appears to hold out a great deal of hope as a reality based framework for the development of African nations in general. The ideology gives due recognition to the economic facts which the countries face, as well as the human resources available to be mobilized. The emphasis is placed on assessing the total resources of the country and perceiving these as the only resources that the country can count on to facilitate its development. The emphasis upon hard work, sacrifice, equilization of wealth offers concrete suggestions for the role of social welfare in the development of the countries.

Bilateral aid has had functional and dysfunctional consequences for the countries under study. Because of the countries' serious economic

needs, they will doubtless continue to accept bilateral aid, but will increasingly seek to control the disadvantageous effects of receiving such aid. It can also be anticipated that greater demands will be made on the scarce United Nations resources. It seems that the major undesirable consequences for the recipient countries and the institution of social welfare are: (1) the goals and values of the recipient countries have been modified, (2) the countries' priorities become distorted, (3) the aid becomes financially costly, as in the case of the situation with Tanzania and Britain, (4) practices inimical to the country are developed, as in the case with Ghana's Young Pioneers with the repressive reporting system. Among the advantages or functional aspects of bilateral aid are: (1) the introduction of programs, values, knowledge and skill which can greatly facilitate the country's development, such as Israel's assistance with National Youth Service programs, and (2) much needed ready cash is made available in some instances.

Numerous tribal and semi-tribal structures and practices were in existence in all four countries at the time of independence. Some had changed character as a result of British control, however. When one remembers that for the most part, tribes tended to be rather complex, in well integrated systems, with ritual, structures and practices tied together in such a way that a change in one of these units seriously affected the entire system, it is not difficult to understand how much the indirect rule system must have modified the system. This is in fact what occurred, so that at independence there were few, if any, rigid tribal structures.

The land tenure system at independence had undergone much change as a result of many factors, and therefore at independence was not functional for the development goals laid down by the new leaders. In many instances large areas of land was under the control of a few individuals, and where individuals owned small plots of land it adversely affected the country's proposals to increase the agricultural production through land consolidation measures. In a sense, then, the land tenure system is in general dysfunctional in a country whose basic goal is modernization.

The conceptualization of kinship for the purposes of national development to include the whole nation, can be considered functional to development and to social welfare. If various mutual aid and self help schemes are to be effective in urban centers and in areas where the tribes are not closely knit, it is necessary to have a national perception of kinship. The concept of kinship which implies the responsibility of each family member to the other would appear to be functional in societies where no universal social and economic security systems exist.

The semi-tribal structures appear to offer much potential for utilization by organized social welfare. There is little or no indication that they are consciously and planfully being so utilized.

Power politics in the countries have had debilitating effects on the countries—costly, in terms of fostering disunity, and money to keep leaders in power in terms of military activities and payoffs to various factions and in terms of the coups which have occurred in Ghana and Sierra Leone. Power politics has also been costly in terms of the expense of imprisoning opponents to government leaders, costs in terms of loss of well trained manpower, and the cost of changing governments. Various factions have from time to time benefited from participation in

the process—as for example the women, children and young men in Ghana. In Kenya, the unemployed young men benefitted by eventually getting a National Youth Service Program.

With respect to economics and social welfare, several suggestions were offered regarding the relationship of economic facts and social welfare with the focus on how social welfare can contribute to the economic development of developing African countries.

III. ORGANIZED SOCIAL WELFARE IN THE INDEPENDENCE ERA

At independence, in each of the four countries there were organized social welfare services which had been developed by the British colonial officials. These services were primarily remedial and palliative in nature, for reasons which will be made clear in Chapter IV where their latent and manifest motives for establishing social welfare are discussed.

The institutions of social welfare which these new leaders inherited reflected (1) the motives of the British for being in the countries, (2) their motives for establishing social welfare, (3) the beliefs, structures and processes of British social welfare. For example, the British wished to control risings by young Africans and therefore set up juvenile delinquency programs which were remedial, institutional and repatriation in nature and for the most part patterned after British programs. The British were not primarily concerned with the development of Africans and therefore did not give priority in their social welfare programs to this aspect. The British were in part motivated to establish social welfare programs for humanitarian reasons and therefore one found the wives of the colonial officers establishing various voluntary "noblesse oblige" types of programs for the Africans. The British, for various historical reasons,¹ stressed local responsibility, indoor relief, less eligibility, voluntarism.

It was not until after the 1909 poor law commission minority report that the British government began to move to a "welfare state" concept of social welfare. ^{1,2}

¹ Mencher, Samuel, Poor Law to Poverty Program (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1967) This book presents a well documented analysis of British social welfare ideology.

² Judd, Helen O. The Development of Social Administration (London: Oxford University Press, 1954) pp. 69-182

Vestiges of all of these concepts can be found in the institution of social welfare in each of the countries. At independence, the new leaders examined all units of government in the formulation of national developmental plans. Social Welfare was in general perceived as a unit of government which could potentially contribute to national development but was also considered to be expensive. The countries were each in need of ready capital. Social welfare was least likely to be selected as the unit to generate such needed ready cash. The leaders also recognized the need to make good their promise of a better life once independence was won. Kenya and Tanzania, under the leadership of Kenyatta and Nyerere, very early in independence considered social welfare as a unit which could contribute to the development of the country and therefore needed to be so conceptualized. Both countries perceived that if social welfare were to maximally contribute to social welfare it must be primarily preventive and developmental in function as opposed to remedial.^{1,2} Kenya, as early as 1964 even conceptualized services to the handicapped as having primarily developmental functions.³ The 1967 United Nations⁴ report states that "Social Welfare programs in Africa tend to emphasize preventive, constructive

¹ Kenya, Ministry of Labour and Social Services, Social Welfare Policy, February, 1964

² Mwangasi, T. E. J., Government Policies in Regard to Provisions of Social Services and Manpower Needs, Now and Then, Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, Probation and Welfare Division, United Republic of Tanzania

³ Mwandwa, Hon E. N., Republic of Kenya, Report of the Committee for the Care and Rehabilitation of the Disabled in Kenya

⁴ United Nations, 1967 Report on the World Social Situation (New York: United Nations, 1968) p. 124

and productive tasks aimed at raising the standard of well being of the total population rather than remedial work for special groups such as juvenile offenders or the handicapped." The programs are therefore more closely related to developmental or educational activities such as those associated with community development, youth and adults.¹

While much progress has been made toward the newly defined functions of social welfare, it is necessary to point out that this progress has not been uniform in the four countries, that the countries still tend to list numerous remedial types of services when responding to the United Nation's biennial questionnaire.^{2,3}

The question must be asked, why on paper and to a lesser degree, in fact, more emphasis is placed on social welfare and the functions are perceived as preventive and developmental. The answer to this question can be found in an examination of: (1) the "demonstration effect"; (2) colonialism vs. a nationalistic conception of a new nation; (3) the goals of those in power; (4) a new concept of planning which includes the entire social system and (5) internal pressures.

At independence Africans in these four countries knew that life was better for people in other nations because communication media gave them the information. Other nations such as Britain and Russia did not have to deal with the "demonstration effect" as they were becoming industrialized.⁴

¹ Ibid

² United Nations, Biennial Questionnaire prepared by the Permanent Representative of Sierra Leone to the United Nations, September, 1966

³ United Nations, Social Welfare Services in Africa, Patterns of Social Welfare Organization and Administration in Africa (New York: United Nations, No. 2, December, 1964)

⁴ Judd, Helen O. Op Cit p. 153

They could proceed with industrialization at a rapid rate and not be too hindered by the undesirable social consequences of industrialization for a long time before sufficient external pressure was generated to demand social welfare. The new African nations are experiencing a different situation and cannot be afforded the luxury of rapid industrialization while people suffer. The people demanded the good life at the point of independence. As important as the Volta River Project in Ghana was to long-term economic development, Ghana was not simply to take the land without building decent housing in which to relocate the families which were uprooted. Numerous sectors of the society demanded jobs, education, child care services and basic public facilities and health services. The governing elite were forced to address themselves to such problems and demands. When the British were in the countries they were there primarily for the benefit of Britain. They were therefore necessarily concerned primarily with those aspects of the country which had value for Britain. This is not to suggest that profit motives were not mixed with humanitarian motives, for they were in many instances. The main benefactors were to be the British government and British entrepreneurs. This was not the case at independence. The new leaders were concerned with building nations, and not simply operating an efficient bureaucracy for another country. These new leaders were forced to consider every sector of the country in terms of developing a nation of, by, and for the Africans. They could not afford the luxury of providing "piece meal" types of social services for bureaucratic expediency or charitable reasons. They had now to plan and execute ways of developing human and natural resources. Nyerere's government, for example, clearly recognized that voluntary

agencies and organizations could not be expected to meet the basic social welfare needs of the people, for it was the responsibility of government to assure the well being of its citizens.¹

Selected aspects of the social welfare institutions are described and analyzed in terms of (a) where these institutions are with respect to the United Nations Model for stages of social welfare development, (b) whether social welfare is predominately remedial, preventive or developmental, and (c) those aspects of the institutions of social welfare which appear to be functional and dysfunctional for the country and for the institution itself.

The social welfare variables selected for facilitating the description of organized social welfare in the four countries are:

1. Social welfare ideology.
2. Programmes and Services.
3. Social welfare structures.
4. Resources.

It is necessary to indicate that there are other equally significant aspects of social welfare in the countries which would be fruitful to examine. This selection of variables is based on the nature of the data available and what are considered to be the most relevant aspects for the purposes of this study.

¹ Mwangosi, T. E. J. Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, Probation and Welfare Division, United Republic of Tanzania Government Policies in Regard to Provision of Social Services and Manpower Needs Now and Then

A. Social Welfare Ideology

Ideology can be defined as a belief which guides individual and group actions. In the early years of independence neither of the countries had a well developed notion about social welfare. With respect to nation building Carney indicates that Sierra Leone continued for quite a while to operate social welfare on a rather ad hoc basis with respect to nation building. The government continued the remedial or treatment approach of the colonial era.¹ No data was available for this research to indicate any change from the status quo.

Ghana, while subscribing to the ideology of "African Socialism" which in Ghana included public and private ownership of the means of production and the redistribution of wealth, never really developed a concept of the relationship of social welfare to "African Socialism". Implicitly it can be said that the governing elite of Ghana subscribed to the belief that the social welfare of Ghanians was tied to the economic development of the country, and that the people would automatically benefit from improving the means of production and the development of physical infrastructure. Theoretically there is a relationship between economic development and social welfare. Economic development can result in improvement in social welfare. It does not necessarily occur, however. In the early stages of industrialization numerous hardships may result for people. The industrialization of Britain and the United States is an example of the fact that in the early stages of industrialization the masses may suffer numerous injustices and hardships. The point being made is that the welfare of people must either be built into the programs of industrialization and rapid economic development in order to assure well being of the masses. It does not happen as the laissez-faire ideology suggests. It is fair to say that while Ghana did emphasize greater national economic development, it

¹ Carney, *op. cit.* p. 359

also gave attention to the development of social welfare as will be indicated in the description of social welfare programs .

Kenya's social welfare ideology can be said to be the belief that social welfare and economic development are correlated and if developed simultaneously is likely to result in maximum benefit to the country. Kenya perceived social welfare as being primarily developmental in function and secondarily remedial..

The following statements from several Kenya sources confirm the above ideology of social welfare:

"My government has continually affirmed its determination to build a nation based on greater welfare for all its citizens. We believe that rapid economic development is essential to our goal"¹

"We regard social welfare services as selective, preventive and remedial services directed toward individuals, groups and communities that are not achieving a desirable standard of social and economic well-being."²

"Priority in community development and social welfare should be directed to programmes that support and accelerate economic development, promote the general welfare of the community rather than focus on the adjustment of the individual to his environment, prevent rather than remedy social ills...."³

Tanzania specifically applied the doctrine of "African Socialism" to social welfare in its 1964-65 five year development plan as follows:

¹ Kenyatta, Jomo, Government of Kenya "Introduction" in Development Plan, 1964-70

² Ngala, Hon. R. G. Ministry of Cooperatives and Social Services, Speeches on Community Development and Social Welfare in Kenya presented at the Conference of African Ministers of Social Affairs, Cairo, 10th to 13th April, 1967 (Nairobi: Acme Press Ltd) p.6

³ Ibid p. 7

1. The assumption was made that voluntary and local authorities are not sufficient to take care of the most vulnerable, especially the destitutes, physically handicapped and deserted children. "It is considered necessary that provisions have to be made for the welfare of these people under the nation's declared concept of African socialism. It is no longer possible or desirable to look upon social welfare services whether provided by government or voluntary agencies as mere philanthropic charities."
2. The policy statement was formulated (a) to advocate the extension of welfare services to all main urban areas of Tanzania, (b) to encourage voluntary welfare agencies to take a more active role in the organization of welfare services by giving them subventions.¹

The Arusha Declaration reformulated the responsibility and function of the Probation and Welfare Divisions in terms of African socialism as (a) encouraging and helping family groups in their traditional concern and responsibility for children who are orphaned or without mothers, and finding foster homes for children who have been under institutional care and have no families to which to return; (b) cooperating with community development workers and ministries of housing and education in a preventive program in child welfare, to teach and encourage all-around care for children in their own homes—not only the children's physical needs but also their emotional and psychological needs; (c) the provision of rehabilitation services for the physically handicapped, the crippled

¹ Mwangosi, T. E. J. op cit

and aged; (d) the extension of the National Council of Social Welfare Services to the various regional headquarters, with division officers acting as secretaries of the regional committees.¹

In summary, three of the countries seem to subscribe to a "welfare state" concept of social welfare, but there is a wide disparity between the belief and actual programmes.

The description and analysis of the programmes and services provided by the institutions of social welfare in these countries will permit an assessment of the extent to which the social welfare goal in the developing African nations is in fact implemented.

B. Social Welfare Programs in Sierra Leone, Ghana, Tanzania and Kenya which are Primarily Remedial

During the first few years after independence few changes were made in the kinds of programs and program priorities in the social welfare institutions. The programs continued to be heavily remedial in function despite what was written. This fact can be understood in terms of the numerous governmental priorities and the fact that moving any program from paper to actuality requires a great deal of time. The programs for a long time have been primarily directed toward those considered to be the most vulnerable in the society, persons experiencing marital problems, disabled persons, children without adequate parental care, the aged and youth.

It is necessary to point out that no very clear line of distinction

¹ Ibid

can be drawn between remedial, preventive and developmental functions in social welfare. The fact that such a clear distinction cannot be made empirically, is the reason for qualifying the program as primarily remedial and primarily developmental.

It must be noted that the quality and quantity of the programs and services cannot be assessed because of limited data and lack of "on site" research. It is also not possible to determine the percentage of those requiring services actually receiving them.

1. Marital and counselling services are provided by social welfare officers attached to the ministries of social welfare.
2. Disabled Persons such as the blind, deaf, mute, lepers, cripples and similar categories of persons are cared for by Homes for the Blind, Rehabilitation Centers, Schools for the Blind, voluntary societies for cripples, lepers and deaf and blind. Most of the services provided for persons in this category are financed and administered by voluntary agencies. Some receive small grants from the government as well as some supervision and counselling.
3. Juvenile Delinquents were the first group of persons, in addition to ex-servicemen to receive the attention of the institutions of social welfare. It was considered by the British colonial officials to be the most troublesome and threatening group to the smooth running of their administration. The services provided this population in the independence era have continued to be remedial and indeed somewhat punitive in nature. The actual programs are probation service, approved schools, prisons, vocational schools, youth counselling,

juvenile courts and community centers.

4. Children without parents to care for them receive care from Childrens' Homes, adoptive service, orphanages and foster homes. These services are performed primarily by voluntary agencies. Ghana, which is the only one of the countries known to have a legal adoption service has the program in the Ministry of Social Welfare.
5. The Aged, according to numerous references, are generally cared for through the extended family system. It is well known, however, that this system is gradually becoming less reliable as a resource for the aged, as the traditional structures are increasingly disintegrating under the impact of urbanization and modernization. This process is effecting the rural as well as urban family systems.¹ The systems which the institutions of social welfare have developed to meet the needs of the needy aged are old peoples' welfare, homes for the aged, and City Council weekly cash benefits for needy aged.² Ghana indicated in its 1966 report to the United Nations that it had no social welfare programs for the aged.³ That same report, however, refers to a government established Central Infirmary in which the needy aged may live for the rest of their lives.⁴

¹ See Appendix F for case studies of what happens to needy aged in distress situations in several East African countries.

² Carney, op. cit International Journal of Social Science

³ United Nations Biennial Questionnaire, prepared by the Permanent Representative to the United Nations of the Government of Ghana (Sept. 1, 1965)

p. 5

⁴ Ibid

5. Each of the countries had networks of Community Centers, most of which were established by the British colonial officials when the institutions of social welfare were first developed. Voluntary organizations and religious groups also established community centers. The numerous clubs and organizations utilized these centers for meeting places, entertainment and recreation. There are large numbers of voluntary youth organizations in each of these countries.¹

It is significant to observe that when each of the countries were asked to indicate their concept of social welfare in their biennial reports to the United Nations, the categorizations are primarily descriptive of remedial programs for the vulnerable in the society and basic recreation. Kenya is a notable exception.

C. Social Welfare Programs in the Four Countries Which are Primarily Developmental

This separate attention is given to these kinds of programs because they represent the newest conceptualization of what the African governing elite consider to be the role of the institution of social welfare in national development. These leaders defined the objectives of their countries as improvement of percapitaincome, reduction of inequalities, and improvement in levels of living.²

¹ See Appendix G for lists of Voluntary Organizations in the countries.

² Conference of Ministers Responsible for Social Welfare, Social Welfare in Africa: Statement submitted by the Secretariat of the Economic Commission for Africa. (New York: United Nations, Sept. 3-12, 1968) p. 5

They explicitly stated that:

"Social welfare, alone as a service can make very little contribution to a national development unless it is seen in its wider context of the social services of health and nutrition, welfare, education, housing and community development. Properly conceived, planned and its operation coordinated with other services, social welfare can contribute to an improvement of levels of living through development of human resources. It can also promote or assist with basic socio-economic reforms.¹

It can be seen that this conceptualization is consistent with the 1967 Arusha Declaration referred to in an earlier chapter.²

The programs considered to be consistent with this conceptualization of the role and function of social welfare institutions in the independence era are: (1) social and economic security programs, (2) Youth development type programs, (3) programs for and by womens' organizations, (4) community development programs and (5) child care programs.

1. Programs for Social and Economic Security

The concept social and economic security is used to refer to those organized and legal systems which are designed to assure that all members of a society get the basic requirements to assure their well-being.

Included are organized social insurance and social security schemes.

"Social insurance means insurance participated in by the organized community against the various contingencies that cut off the worker's earning power and threaten him with economic disaster: i.e., sickness (including maternity) accident, unemployment, invalidity, superannuation and premature death."³

¹ Ibid p. 5

² Op. Cit Arusha Declaration of 1967

³ Armstrong, Barbara, Insuring the Essentials (New York: McMillan Co., 1932) p. 31

The concept social and economic security is a broader one, and includes all those organized systems, governmentally sponsored which assure protection against want, poverty, disease and ignorance. The concepts organized and governmentally sponsored are essential in any discussion of social and economic security measures in a modern or modernizing section of the world. It is recognized that in the African countries under study, where the traditional system is intact, the family and kinship status and obligation systems constitute social security systems.¹ However, since the countries have a major goal for development, that of urbanization and modernization, it is more relevant in this presentation to discuss organized and governmentally sponsored social and economic security schemes.

One can speak of several types of social and economic security:

- A. Total governmental aid to support persons unable to care for themselves.
- B. Partial governmental assistance for those persons unable to care for themselves.
- C. Government-employer-employee contributions to a social insurance system for death, sickness and disability to persons gainfully employed.
- D. Government subsidies for children, aged, newly married persons in form of allowances irrespective of income.
- E. Total government and employer financed insurance for sickness, death and disability.
- F. Employer-employee financed insurance for sickness, death and disability.
- G. Employment
- F. An income tax system which reduces the amount of taxes to be paid by low income groups.

¹ United Nations, 1963 Report of the World Social Situation
New York: United Nations) p. 189

I. Governmentally and privately sponsored benefits in kind, such as housing and education.

It is necessary to indicate that the types of social and economic security schemes are not mutually exclusive, but simply a way of organizing thinking about social and economic security schemes.

It can be said that the kind of social and economic security systems which a country has, is the result of three major factors: (a) beliefs about the responsibility of government and individuals in insuring social and economic security, (b) the financial status of the country and (c) the level of modernization of the country. Relevant literature on each of the countries under study indicates that they each subscribe to a welfare state philosophy---that is they believe government has a major responsibility for assuring that the basic needs of all citizens are met, and indeed that there should be a system for more equitably distributing the wealth. The descriptions of the social and economic security schemes existing in the four countries will indicate they are each a long way from achieving their goals with respect to social and economic security. Two factors can be said to account for this condition. In the first place, the countries have extremely limited resources, and are currently giving top priority in the use of these resources to economic development. Secondly, since the governments have necessarily ascribed top priority to economic development, and the residual kinship practices do in fact help family members, the governing elite can justify not using scarce resources for universal types of social security schemes at the government's expense.

The social and economic security schemes found in Ghana, Sierra Leone, Tanzania and Kenya can be conceptualized as employment, special tax system, employer-employee contribution insurance schemes against death, disability and sickness, special public employee pension plans, and special

cash benefits to the aged, benefits in kind from private employers, and various indoor relief systems.

Tanzania is one of the four countries which has a special reduced income tax system which makes special allowances for children.¹ In addition to this scheme, Tanzania has had a government sponsored (but not financed) and administered social insurance scheme since 1948. It provided employers of firms with ten or more employees with sickness, death, work injury, old age, invalidity and maternity protection.²

Ghana's social security programs are primarily designed for those persons and their dependents who are either public employees or permanent non-alien employed in firms with five to ten workers. The programs dating from 1940 include insurance protection against old age, invalidity, death, sickness, maternity and work injury. While the programs are administered by the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, State Insurance Corporation and private insurance companies, the programs are financed by employers and employees.³ Ghana, as all of the other countries has a special pension plan for public employees.

Kenya's social security programs dating from 1946 include insurance protection against old age, invalidity, death, and work injury. All

¹ United Nations, Family, Child and Youth Welfare Services in Africa (New York: United Nations, 1966) p. 16

² United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social Security Programs Throughout the World (United States Documents' Office of Research and Statistics, 1967) pp. 204-205

³ Ibid pp. 84-85

permanently employed workers are covered except non-manual employees earning over 1,400 shillings a month by the work injury program. The Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Social Services and the National Social Security Fund and Private Insurance Companies administer the social security programs which are employer-employee financed.² Kenya has proposed a special income tax system designed to benefit the low income person, but it is not known if the program is implemented.

The Ministry or Department of social welfare in Kenya provides "direct" financial assistance to dependent children whose fathers are no longer with the family unit, to the aged or infirm, to individuals, adults, and families in need of short-term assistance to relieve extreme distress, to certain categories of the disabled for a limited period of time, to the unemployed who have large families to support, widows and children of unmarried parents. Financial assistance is also provided to wives and families of prisoners and families in need due to severe or prolonged illness of the breadwinner.²

Carney indicates that social security in Sierra Leone is covered by the traditional family and tribal system of insurance against old age, sickness and death; the voluntary system of friendly societies and associations--an extension of the family system--a registrar is kept of the income and disbursement at the Supreme Court; the partial state system covering subsidized medical and health facilities, workmen's compensation for industrial accidents, pensions and retirement schemes for government workers and teachers, subsidized housing for senior civil servants,

¹ Ibid pp 124-125

² Ankrah, Maxine, Senior Social Welfare Officer in Kenya Correspondence, November, 1968

children's allowances and passages for expatriate civil servants; and the housing, pension and retirement allowances of the larger private businesses. The Freetown city council has a scheme for giving weekly allowances to the needy aged.¹ Sierra Leone's social security system is administered by the Ministry of Labour, National Provident Fund and private insurance companies. The program which dates from 1939 only protects against work injury for all employed persons, except non-manual employees earning over 1,000 leones a year, agricultural employees on plantations with fewer than 25 workers, domestics, and casual workers. The entire cost of the program is paid by the employer.²

In addition to these specifically defined social security programs, each country attempts to maximize employment opportunities, and have private and voluntary organizations which gives cash in needy situations but not on a regular basis. The governments also provide various benefits in kind in the form of total indoor care for certain distressed persons in the population. It is assumed, but not known, that like Sierra Leone, the private firms provide protection services for the workers and benefits in kind such as housing, health care and education. Each of the countries have special protective benefits for public employees.

One can generalize that the social security schemes are primarily designed to benefit those persons who are already employed, or have been fortunate enough to acquire sufficient education that they are employable.

¹ Carney, David, Ten Year Economic and Social Development Plan for Sierra Leone, 1962/63-1971/72 (Freetown, Government Printing Dept. pp. 3-59

² Op. Cit Social Security Programs Throughout the World, pp 186-187

Despite the limited nature of these programs, however, they do symbolize a desire and commitment on the part of the governments to provide economic security for the people.

2. Youth Development Programs

Each of the countries have programs for youth which are similar to those found in the United States and Britain. Programs such as Girl Guides, Boy Scouts, Community Centers, youth clubs, youth camps, Boys' Societies, sports, etc.

In addition to these conventional type youth development programs, three of the countries have developed special types of programs for youth which are designed to train and prepare them specifically to contribute to the development of their country. Ghana, Kenya, and Tanzania have National Youth Service types of programmes. These programs have their roots in several sources. Among the sources are Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, and Boys Brigades in Britain, the Civilian Conservation Corps in the United States, the Gadna Programmes of Israel and the Young Pioneer types of programmes in some of the "Communist bloc" countries.

Whatever the source and original motivation for the programmes, they constitute the kinds of programmes with a great potential for contributing to national development with a minimum use of capital. In his discussion of such programmes Eaton points out that "nation-building requires more than capital. Leadership and manpower are needed to build new facilities, roads, schools and institutions."¹

¹ Eaton, Joseph W. "National Service and Forced Labor" The Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol XII, No. 1, March, 1968

Dedication and hard work must be added as necessary elements to the nation building process. All four elements are required for an effective National Youth Service programme.

National Youth Service programmes are characterized by the attributes of voluntarism, self-selection, idealism, high concern for the welfare of others, ideological commitment to be of service, few restrictions on freedom of expression, personal recognition for service, low pay, work assigned by government, no right to strike, hard and dangerous work.¹

Israel², the country which has developed the most expertise as well as the most successful types of national youth service programmes and the country with a function similar to that of the developing African countries, namely nation building, has conceptualized an ideology of the programmes, most suitable to Africa. Briefly stated, the ideology is that "the education of youth for citizenship and actual participation in national life is especially important in new countries where rapid social change and the demands of economic development place great strains on traditional patterns of society."³

The concept of National Youth Service is one particularly suited to the countries under study for the following reason:

1. Each of the four countries are new nations with limited capital, limited trained manpower, poor physical infrastructure, and political, clan and ethnic divisiveness. The National

¹ Ibid p. 131

² Eaton, Joseph W, Influencing the Youth Culture: A Study of Youth Organization in Israel (U. S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, Bureau of Research, 1969) This book is a comprehensive presentation of Youth Programs in Israel.

³ State of Israel, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Dept. of International Cooperation, A Pioneer Youth Training Center for Tanganyika (Jerusalem, May, 1962) p. 1

Youth Service (particularly as developed in Israel) is based on the notions of socialization of youth to adult and national culture, high commitment to public service, voluntarism, idealism and the need for a minimum of capital.¹

2. Hard work is essential to the social and economic development of the four African countries. For reasons related to colonization and other social factors, most youth in these countries tend to prefer not to work with their hands or engage in "dirty work". The National Youth Service type of program provides the opportunities to induce youth to engage in "dirty work" by incentives such as leadership, participation in various nationalistic parades, provision of titles, ranks and perhaps a formal program for the induction into adult society. The latter would perhaps be highly valued as it would integrate a significant tribal practice found amongst many African tribes.
3. The military, as Eaton² points out, is a governmental unit which is expensive to operate, likely to be relatively idle during non-war periods, highly disciplined and commands a great deal of status in most countries.³ National Youth Service types of programs could be effectively attached to the military, thus maximally utilizing this already institutionalized structure.

¹ Eaton, Joseph W., Influencing the Youth Culture: A Study of Youth Organizations in Israel (U. S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, Bureau of Research, February 1, 1969) pp. 1-7

² Eaton, Joseph W. op. cit.

³ Ibid

4. Education is highly valued in the countries under study.

Only a few highly selected individuals can attend colleges and Universities. The education is expensive. Many of the students have little orientation or experience with the "hard-core" social problems existing in the rural populations or indeed in some of the urban centers. A large number of these students will eventually take policy making and administrative posts in their governments. It can be postulated that if such persons during their college years participated in a National Youth Service type of program they would gain the kind of first hand experience which would greatly enhance the possibility that their future service in the country would be more effective.

Ghana has developed a variety of these types of programs. While there were manifest motives of the programs which were functional for social welfare there were manifest and latent motives which were not.

The Ghana Young Pioneer movement was established in 1960 for Ghanians between the ages of 8-25. The organization, initially was directly responsible to the President (Nkrumah) and later to the Ministry of Education. It was designed "as an extensive school of citizenship, pioneering, and national social activity to instill in youth a high sense of patriotism, respect for manual work and lore of Ghana as their fatherland while providing them with opportunities for healthy association, further education, discipline and training."¹ One can see that the expressed purpose is not too different from that embodied in the Boy Scout pledge. It is known, however, that a latent motive was political—namely to bring the restless, demanding youth into the Convention Peoples Party in order

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¹ Carlson, Victor, Social Welfare in Ghana: A report Submitted to the Government of Ghana, 1962

that they would no longer pose a threat to the President. A manifest motive was explicitly stated as "to inculcate into the youth "Nkrumahism"—ideals of African personality, and economic reconstruction of Ghana and Africa in particular, and the world in general".¹ The pledge of the organization reads "In the cause of Ghana and Africa, we are ever ready... to be the first ranks of men fighting for total liberation and unity of Africa...."² The program's latent and manifest political motives became so dominant in fact that the potential social welfare benefits were not maximally realized.

The Worker's Brigade was established in Ghana in 1957 shortly after independence to deal with the mass migration of young people to urban centers who were unable to find jobs. It was initially designed to provide jobs and training for those unable to find jobs. A total of 10,250 persons were in the Brigade by the end of 1959 and 28 camps. The administration of the Brigade moved from the Ministry of Labour, Cooperatives and Social Welfare to the Ministry of Transport and Communications to the office of the Prime Minister, and again to the Ministry of Transport and Communications. The work includes the operation of large modern farms—the produce of which is marketed by a government agency.

The Brigade's effectiveness was affected by inadequate financing, shortage of personnel, pressure for showy type results, political influence and inefficient management.³ A recent White Paper, and commentary on the White Paper had the following to say about the Brigade:

1 Apter, David, op. cit.

2 Ibid

3 Newton, Ghana: The Worker's Brigade

"There is no question of the worthiness of the original intention and purpose for which the Brigade was established.... The Act said that the Brigade would organize people chiefly for agriculture undertakings, rural development and other projects.

By 1966 the Brigade had agricultural, constructional and industrial wings, many camps... and about 28,000 members which the White Paper says lessened the unemployment problem.... The Brigade was originally meant especially for the unemployed, but says the Commission, "politicians and their friends recruited all and sundry into it".

After hearing many views of the Brigade's future, the Commission decided not to recommend disbanding it—despite all the abuses, which it attributes to papamilitarism, dual control by Flagstaff House and the Ministry of Defense, political interference, and appointment of unstable officials".¹

Tanzania has a National Youth Service program which the state of Israel helped to plan. It is known that the program operates under the direction of the Vice President of the country, but data on the program was not available to the researcher.²

Kenya's National Youth Service program was developed as an attempt to deal with mounting youth unemployment problems. The youth had participated in the independence struggle and now wished to share the fruits of independence. The government realistically perceived these youth as a threat because they held several risings against the government.³ The government also perceived that these young people, most of whom were members of the youth wing of KANU could contribute to the development of the country if properly organized. Following several demands from the youth, the government created

¹ Mchet's Diary, "Reprieve for Workers' Brigade", West Africa No. 2678, Sept. 28, 1968, p. 1129. Report based on the Commission of Enquiry's Report and printed by the Ministry of Information, Accra: White Paper Report.

² Kottaj Joseph, United Nations Social Welfare officer, Interview (New York, July 8, 1968)

³ Coe, Richard L. Kenya National Youth Service, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1966) pp. 1-5

a Youth Brigade for the purpose of enabling youth to help in the task of building and defending the nation. The governing elite's motives for encouraging the program were (a) to satisfy unemployed youth who had fought for Kenya's independence, (b) to prevent social disruption and (c) to maximize the use of scarce resources to benefit the total country, (d) to inculcate good citizenship, (e) promote national unity and (f) help conserve, rehabilitate and develop Kenya's natural resources.¹

At the time the government was considering the establishment of a National Youth Service in 1964, 205,100 men and 18,000 women registered as being unemployed. It was on January 30, 1964, following a great deal of background consideration of the request, that the Ministry of Labour and Social Service announced that the government of Kenya would establish a National Youth Service. The plan was to recruit unemployed men between the ages of 15-30 from all racial and tribal groups for the purpose of working on projects of national and regional importance.

The objectives of the Kenya National Youth Service were defined as follows:

1. To put unemployed young people into an environment that will inculcate good citizenship and provide an opportunity to contribute to social and economic development of the country;
2. To promote national unity by bringing together young persons from all areas of Kenya for training and work in projects of national importance;
3. To help alleviate unemployment and hardship among young persons by providing employment, education and training to prepare them for future productive employment after completion of their service; and
4. To contribute to the economy of the country by helping to conserve,

¹ Ibid pp. 28-30

rehabilitate and develop Kenya's natural resources.¹

The current Kenya National Youth Service was the product of several bilateral and multilateral assistance. The United States eventually contributed \$3 million, after assessing if such a contribution would be in her best interest in terms of competition with the "Communist bloc". Indeed it was only after perceiving the real possibility that aid would be sought and forthcoming from the "Communist bloc" that the United States agreed to assist the project. The United States also contributed technical experts with experience in the Civilian Conservation Corps. Britain was asked, and did supply technical experts. She was asked to provide administrative personnel because as British administrators they would already be familiar with the Kenya British patterned government.² It might be pointed out that one can question the competence of British and United States experts to provide useful and appropriate assistance in a project such as National Youth Service which is so vital to nation building. The kind of dedication, ideological commitment required for an effective National Youth Service nation building program is unlikely to be found in persons who are so far removed from the nation building process. It must be observed that the elements necessary for an effective National Youth Service which contributes to nation building are not only capital, modern machinery and administrative efficiency but other less visible factors, which are well documented in Eaton's research on Youth programs in Israel.³ The State of Israel contributed one adviser to the Kenya National Youth

¹ Coe, Richard. op. cit

² Coe, Richard. op. cit

³ Eaton, Joseph W, Influencing the Youth Culture. op. cit

Service program who terminated his tour of duty after two years and was not replaced. The adviser criticized the program because it lacked an ideology and was too pragmatic and ad hoc in nature.

The program of Kenya National Youth Service consisted of work projects, vocational training and national unity programs. Between 3,000 and 3,500 participated in the program at any one time.

While in 1966 the program was still in operation and the Kenya governing elite were fully committed to it, there were several limitations to its effectiveness. Among the limitations were inadequately trained personnel, lack of sufficient lead time, inadequate management, difficulty in getting work projects, an inadequate supply of African personnel, inability to secure equipment on schedule, dependence on highly technical equipment from the United States, poor implementation of the Kenya National Youth Service ideology and lack of predictable financial support for the future.¹

In summary, it can be said that National Youth Service types of social welfare programs have the potential for being effective innovations in the nation building process. They can be functionally related to other institutions, they can appeal to the imagination of youth and command their interest and hard work, they can be relatively inexpensive to the government, they harness the energy of a potentially destructive youth to serve the country and they can directly prepare a cadre of trained and committed Kenyans to continue the nation building process.

¹ Coe, Richard. op. cit

3. Women's Development Programs

Most of the development plans which consider the role of social welfare in national development give significant attention to women's work.

It is necessary to indicate that in many of the African tribes women have always occupied significant positions and played important roles in their societies. It was not just at independence that women became involved in the affairs of their societies. In many of the societies, women were primarily responsible for rearing the young, farming, and marketing their produce. Indeed in the West African countries in particular, the "market women" were a powerful group and operated relatively independent of the men. The Mende women, although married, always had their own huts and plots of land which they farmed. They were free to sell the produce and keep the money for themselves. In not a few instances there were women chiefs. Amongst the Ashanti the Queen Mother appointed the chief, after consultation with the elders, of course. She counselled the king and the women in the tribe. She also had the power to recommend that the king be relieved from his stool. The "market women" in Ghana controlled great wealth and power sufficient to cause the Nkrumah regime great anxiety.

The women in Sierra Leone have had a long history of organized activity relative to social welfare. It was in the colonial era that the women protested to the social welfare department about the lack of service or treatment of juveniles in trouble. The department at that time had a practice of providing merely custodial repatriation types of activity in connection with juvenile delinquents. It is reported¹ that the women were

¹ Interview with a United Nations Social Welfare officer, July 9, 1968

successful in their demands and did indeed get at least a minimum of services for these young people. Currently, there are four outstanding women's organizations in Sierra Leone: The Sierra Leone Federation of Women's Organizations, The Sierra Leone Children's Home Association, The Sierra Leone Women's Movement and the Young Women's Christian Association. The Sierra Leone Children's Home Association recently built a home for motherless babies, orphans, or babies whose mothers are in the mental home. The YWCA build a Vocational School for girls who could not pass entrance examination to a grammar school, but could qualify for a vocational school education. There was already a government sponsored vocational school for boys. The Sierra Leone Women's Movement provides volunteers to work among the market women teaching nutrition, child care, and sanitation.¹ During the shortlived military regime in Sierra Leone in 1967, it was the women who dared to protest the repressions of the regime.

Ghana's Advance for October, 1965 devoted the entire issue to a presentation on Women's work in Ghana. Women's work is perceived as an important aspect of community development because women are the persons basically responsible for the socialization of the young. If they are to be effective in the performance of such a necessary function in the independence era, it was considered necessary to more effectively prepare them to fulfill the function. The women are taught how to improve the home, maintain the health of the children, improve diets, the value of the family unit and how to maintain it, ways of helping the child with school problems, first aid, handicrafts. Women are also organized to perform

¹ Volunteers in Action: In West Africa, sponsored by the Government of Sierra Leone and the United States AID (September 1-10, 1965) p. 52

various voluntary social welfare functions such as how to work in hospitals, administer free meals to school children, organize day nurseries, serve on boards and on children's committees of voluntary organizations. In some instances groups are formed for such teaching purposes and sometimes "natural" groups are used, such as Market Women's associations, wives of policemen and prison warders. In 1965 the Ministry of Social Service and Community Development set up eight rural training centers for rural women. The two year courses were designed to create an awareness among girls and women of their needs and to stimulate their interests in meeting the needs and to provide basic homemaking skills.¹

It can readily be seen that where such programs are well planned and skillfully and consistently administered, they make a significant contribution to the total development of the country, and at a potentially low cost in personnel administration and materials. These services are definitely preventive in nature as well as developmental. If parents can help their children with their school problems, for example, it is likely that she will have prevented a school dropout statistic, the need for a trained paid social welfare worker, and added a skilled worker to the manpower pool of the country. While the initial costs might be somewhat high, it is conceivable that the program will eventually become minimal. It is obvious where already formed groups are used for teaching purposes and as volunteers, less time has to be spent by the paid social welfare officer to recruit, and that such groups are likely to have a great deal of skill already and be prepared for volunteer service and require a

¹ "Women's Work", *Advance*, No. 48, October 1, 1965, Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Development in Ghana

minimal of training.

In summary, it can be said that investment in women's work is functional to the social and economic development of the country. It develops human resources. The payoff value is likely to be higher than the initial investment of the country.

4. Children's Development Programs

While each of the governments realized the need for child care programs very early in the independence era, and indeed have nursery schools, Ghana is singled out for attention, because it appears to have given very high priority to this area of need, and more material is available on the program than on those programs in the other three countries.

Many women in Ghana work outside the home to supplement family income, pursue trades and professions. This is not a new situation, for women in Ghana have always engaged in some activities outside the home, particularly the market women. Prior to independence, however, they either carried their children on their backs, along their sides with them in their activities outside the home, or left them at home with the older children. At independence two things occurred to make these provisions for child care untenable. In the first place soon after independence was granted, Nkrumah established a compulsory school attendance law, making it possible and mandatory that all primary school age children attend school. Secondly, the older children in the family were not engaged in activities with the government, employed, or roaming the streets looking for employment. Thirdly, the government and the society in general now placed a high value on the healthy growth and development of children and thus considered it not in the best interest of the child to be carried around on the mother's back all day, poorly cared for. A need existed--

women were aware of it—and so was Nkrumah. Nkrumah had numerous other pressures, and the women were impatient with the delay in the establishment of suitable care for their children. The women were successful in their protests and demands, primarily because Nkrumah knew their potential power to threaten his regime as well as their potential to contribute to the development of the country. Nkrumah was also concerned about the youth of the country and wished to have them well cared for. When Nkrumah did act on this need, he did so with vigor. He appointed a special secretary-organizer to be specifically responsible for the day care of children and to stimulate the child care movement. The program was perceived as beneficial to the children by giving them balanced nutrition, systematic training in cleanliness, creative play, periodic rest, teaching them civic and group responsibility and helping them with their mental, social and physical development.

From twelve nurseries in 1950, the movement had 28 nurseries by 1962. These nurseries were caring for some 19,250 children under five.^{1,2}

5. Community Development

Community development first appeared in the literature as a substitute term for mass education at the British Conference on African Administration. It was defined as:

¹ Carlson, Victor D., Social Welfare in Ghana: A Report Submitted to the Government of Ghana, June, 1962. pp. 23-25

² Carlson, Victor D., Report to the United Nations on Ghana, September, 1961

"A movement designed to promote better living for the whole community, with the active participation and if possible, on the initiative of the community, but if the initiative is not forthcoming spontaneously, by the techniques for arousing and stimulating it in order to secure its active and enthusiastic response to the movement."¹

It was in the 1940's that the British Colonial Office began to stress the importance of self-help, and participation of the people and mass adult literacy.² Actual programs in community development began at different times in the four countries.

It was in 1951 that the plan for mass literacy, mass education and community development was approved by the Legislative Assembly. The levels of structures created and used for the administration of community development activities consists of official agents and informal voluntary committees at the Village, district regional levels, with a Department of Social Welfare and Community Development at the center.³

A variety of programmes and services are provided by the Community Development Department, many of which are offered in collaboration and in cooperation with other public and private bodies. The programs and services include adult literacy; women's work; project work; extension campaigns, health education campaigns, anti-malaria pilot project, mines health campaigns, roof loan schemes, young farmers clubs, village bands

¹ Great Britain Colonial Office, Social Development in the British Colonial Territories, Report of the Ashridge Conference on Social Development, August 3-12, 1954 (London: H.M.S.O. 1955) ; p. 14

² Du Sautoy, Peter, Community Development in Ghana (London: Oxford University Press, 1958) pp. 22-26

road safety, tree planting, community stores and resettlement schemes.²

As in most developing countries, community development receives a high priority in Kenya.¹ "These programs are designed to promote the level of living and general welfare of the whole community, rather than focus on individuals or groups with particular needs." Indeed the national policy of community development defined as its primary goal "to involve people in planning for their own development by preparing them for change, helping them to extend their role as citizens, assisting them to acquire the knowledge and skills they require to carry out these responsibilities and to meet their needs through voluntary self-help activities".²

In one year after the 1964 National Development Policy was introduced the government reported having saved 500,000 pounds in capital expenditure. The estimate was that the people's contribution in terms of cash, materials and labour had risen to about K. C. 1,148,550 during fiscal year 1967/68. This is considered to be significant when it is realized that the Central Government contributed only K.C. 60,000 for assistance during that year. Progress was not only calculated in terms of the amount of money saved, but in terms of the benefits which accrued to the people. More schools were built; more health centers and clinics, cooperative stores, cattle dips, access roads, pipe water and fishing ponds. Perhaps even more significant, was the tremendous increase in trained manpower and improvement

¹ See pages 134, 95, 16 for more details on Community Development programs

² Ankra, Maxine, Senior Social Welfare Officer in Kenya. Correspondence, November, 1968.

in the quality of involved citizenry in community planning and general leadership in the affairs of the country.

It is significant that each of the six provinces which offer community development programs provide their staff, and in one province the staff numbers 519.

In the July, 1967 Province Community Development reports to the Ministry of Cooperatives and Social Services, the limitations of the community development programs were listed as insufficient numbers of staff, need for better trained staff, politics, poor transportation and inadequate funds. It is necessary to indicate that inadequate funds was not considered to be a major problem.¹

Community development programs began in Sierra Leone in the 1950's. There are now structures for planning, provision of services in each of the Provinces and a central authority in Freetown in the Ministry of Social Welfare. The self help projects include road building, health center construction, adult education, dispensaries, improved village sanitation, village school construction, women's work, child care, home management, budgeting, gardening, and environmental sanitation.²

Tanzania's community development program operates out of the Ministry of Cooperatives and Community Development--a different Ministry from that out of which the "social welfare" programs are administered. This act occurred in 1967 following the Arusha Declaration in which it was indicated

¹ Ankrab, Maxine, Senior Social Welfare Officer in Kenya. Correspondence November, 1968

² Carney, David, Ten Year Plan for Social and Economic Development in Sierra Leons.

that those programs which more directly contribute to economic development were to be given priority. The aim of community development was defined

as:

"To win confidence of the people and to use the processes by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those central and local government and voluntary agencies to improve the economic, social and cultural life of communities and to integrate these communities into the life of the nation and so enable them to contribute fully to national progress".¹

The programs included mass education, literacy, training for village level workers, basic homemaking skills, environmental hygiene, various self-help schemes and women's activities².

¹ Tanganyika, 1962 A Report by the Government of Tanganyika to the United Nations Based on the United Nations Questionnaire Dealing with Social Services and Social Polity with Special Regard to the Family, Youth and Child Welfare

² Ibid

KENYA COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT: SELF-HELPPROJECTS COMPLETED 1965¹

MAJOR SELF-HELP PROJECTS	COAST PROVINCE	EASTERN PROVINCE	CENTRAL PROVINCE	RIFT VALLEY PROVINCE	NYANZA PROVINCE	WESTERN PROVINCE	N/EASTERN PROVINCE	NAIROBI	TOTAL
<u>EDUCATION:</u>									
1. Primary School Bldg	50	200	70	38	-	-	9	-	367
2. Secondary Schl. Bldg	1	13	56	1	6	-	-	-	77
3. Extension of classrms	13	-	-	-	-	75	-	-	88
4. Day Nurseries	25	140	143	38	150	103	-	12	581
<u>HEALTH</u>									
1. Health Centres	4	17	1	-	-	-	-	-	22
2. Dispensaries	1	15	23	-	15	-	-	2	56
3. Clinics	-	27	1	15	8	-	-	-	41
4. Maternity Wards	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<u>CULTURAL AFFAIRS</u>									
1. Social Halls (Town)	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
2. Village Halls	2	30	24	13	-	13	3	-	85
3. Women Centres	-	-	-	8	-	279	4	2	293

1. Mrs. Ankrah, Senior Social Welfare Officer, Ministry of Cooperatives and Social Services
Report prepared April 30, 1968

MAJOR SELF-HELP PROJECTS	COAST PROVINCE	EASTERN PROVINCE	CENTRAL PROVINCE	RIFT VALLEY PROVINCE	NYANZA PROVINCE	WESTERN PROVINCE	N/EASTERN PROVINCE	NAIROBI	TOTAL
<u>COMMUNICATION & TRANSPORT</u>									
1. Roads of access	36	200	-	160	194	20	-	-	610
2. Bridges	10	32	60	38	47	120	-	-	307
<u>WATER SUPPLY</u>									
1. Water dams	6	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	9
2. Protect. of Springs	30	59	203	29	33	300	-	-	654
3. Water furrows	-	15,000 yds	-	-	-	-	-	-	15,000
4. Pipe line	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
5. Wells	2	-	-	-	100	-	-	-	102
<u>VETERINARY SERVICES</u>									
1. Dips for animals	55	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	70
<u>SANITATION</u>									
1. Houses improved	27	500	650	250	50	260	-	-	1737
2. Latrines built	50	400	-	220	300	200	-	-	1170
<u>RECREATION</u>									
1. Sports grounds	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2

MAJOR SELF-HELP
PROJECTSCOAST
PROVINCEEASTERN
PROVINCECENTRAL
PROVINCERIFT VALLEY
PROVINCENYANZA
PROVINCEWESTERN
PROVINCEN/EASTERN
PROVINCE

NAIROBI

TOTAL

CO-OPERATIVE

1. Cooperative stores

1) Grants given by
central Government

	COAST PROVINCE	EASTERN PROVINCE	CENTRAL PROVINCE	RIFT VALLEY PROVINCE	NYANZA PROVINCE	WESTERN PROVINCE	N/EASTERN PROVINCE	NAIROBI	TOTAL
1. Cooperative stores	-	-	-	-	17	-	-	-	17
In support of these project(1)below indicates Government financial contributions									
1) Grants given by central Government	9400 pounds	9400 pounds	9400 pounds	9400 pounds	9400 pounds	9400 pounds	1800 pounds	1750 pounds	59,950 pounds
An extremely conservative figure of 1/2 million pounds is estimates as the people's contribution to self-help projects during the year.									

D. Structure of Social Welfare¹

The newly independent nations of Africa have been in states of dynamic change and political instability since they became independent, and will perhaps be in this position for some time to come. The reasons for this state of affairs is dealt with in Chapter II. The major factors, however, can be summarized as "demonstration effect", economics, and national and internal politics. It is just this state of affairs, which makes it difficult, if not impossible, to describe the structure of social welfare in the independence era.

Even when one assumes a "frozen state" and attempts to describe the structure on this basis, one quickly finds that the description is a gross distortion because significant changes have already taken place. These nations feel overwhelmingly pressed to enter the 21st century immediately as well as to build a nation by and for Africans that they seem to constantly change units of government. For example, the social welfare units of government have been changed numerous times from one ministry to another, sometimes a separate ministry and at other times a department or division of a ministry.² It is significant to observe that some of the more significant social welfare programs relevant to the developmental function are not administered by the ministries or divisions of social welfare. For example, the National Youth Service program in Tanzania is under the administration of the Vice President of the country, the Worker's Brigade and Young Pioneers in Ghana was alternately under the administration of the President (Nkrumah), the Ministry of Education, and new administrations created from time to time for the programs. When Nkrumah wished to assign priority to the development of nursery schools,

¹ See pages 104-105 for a diagram of structures. See page 106 for a diagram of the administrative structure of social welfare in Ghana

he created a special structure in government administration for the program. The action was perhaps based on the theory that new programs are more likely to fulfill the function for which they are created if they are placed in totally new structures than in old structures. For example, when the Economic Opportunity Act was passed in the United States, a new governmental structure was created to administer it.

In the structural descriptions outlined below, an effort is made to present the financial, personnel, policy-making and training structures as accurately as the data allows considering the limitations indicated above.

Structures in institutions are the formal and informal patterns developed, or which develop to perform tasks relevant to the functions of the institution. The tasks may be defined as (a) performance of services related to the goals and objectives, (b) financing, (c) staffing, (d) planning and (e) training. In this instance, it is only the formal structures which can be described, since "on site" study would be necessary to discern the subtleties of informal structures. The chart describing the structures on page 104 clearly indicates that there are many similarities in the way in which the institutions of social welfare are formally structured in Ghana, Sierra Leone, Kenya and Tanzania. There are however some differences, and the discussion will refer to some major differences.

1. Structures related to program and services:

Each country has essentially two structures through which organized social welfare services are administered; namely, governmental and voluntary. The governmental services are direct and indirect -- i.e. the government totally finances those social welfare services offered by governmental agencies. The government also allocates grants-in-aid or subventions to most of the voluntary

social welfare associations. In addition to allocating grants to the associations the government normally provides resources such as consultation, standard setting, planning services and supervision. The direct government social welfare programs are also administered through some municipal structures, as is the case in Sierra Leone in Freetown where the City Council administers a small financial assistance program, and Kenya which has several municipalities with their own social welfare programs. Data were not available as to the relationship of these municipal social welfare programs and the national social welfare programs. National social welfare programs are also administered on a decentralized level through the provincial and district council structures located in the rural areas. The diagram indicates that every country has a specific Ministry through which the bulk of the government social welfare services are administered, but in all instances there are other Ministries which perform social welfare functions. Some social welfare services are administered by very special types of structures. For example, the National Youth Service programs, which perform social welfare functions are not located in the Ministries of Social Welfare. In Tanzania, for example, the program is located in the office of the Vice President. No evidence could be found of any planned structured relationship of organized social welfare and tribal or semi-tribal structures, except the district councils.

2. Financing:

Finances for organized social welfare in the four countries come from several sources. The money to finance the national and voluntary social welfare programs and services comes from the national budgetary allocations, voluntary giving, municipal budgets, provincial and district administration budgets, government sponsored fund raising campaigns, such as Flag Day

and lotteries. The external sources of financing are the United Nations, Bilateral aid and various other international organizations. It is necessary to indicate that some of the external aid is in the form of "aid in kind" such as consultation, planning, training programs, materials and supervision, teaching, etc.

Data comparing the amount of national budget going for social welfare with that of other units of government is not standardized, and in many instances social welfare is lumped with social services. Some community development and other social welfare programs are lumped in other units of government budgets.

3. Staffing:

Without exception, each country lists inadequate quantity and quality of personnel as a major limitation affecting the effectiveness of the services offered. It is not known how this assessment is arrived at, that is, whether or not each country has a standard relevant to its own needs of what social welfare personnel should be, or whether this assessment is more or less based on standards set by Western and "developed" nations of the world. This is a relevant problem for social welfare in these countries, and one worthy of some study, to arrive at a standard for social welfare personnel which takes into consideration the relevant variables of the country itself. The staff for the direct government social welfare programs are supplied by the Civil Service Program developed by the British Colonial officials and still being utilized by the new independent governments. In this case, the qualifications and conditions of employment are standardized. This system may or may not be functional in its present state for the developing countries, with limited trained manpower in terms of the British civil service standards,

particularly when the countries are so anxious to "Africanize".¹

If the countries continue to subscribe to the British civil service standards, it perhaps means that they will necessarily utilize Europeans in the senior positions longer than it will be good and functional for the total development of the country. For example, Tanzania government found the pension plans set up by the British government to be dysfunctional for the development of Tanzania and made modifications. It is interesting to find that in few instances are the positions in the social welfare structures referred to as social work, but rather as social welfare officers, community development officers -- again the British terminology.

The voluntary social welfare agencies have no standardized system for staffing their services. The provinces and district council structures which administer social welfare programs are generally responsible for hiring and paying for their own staff. It is not known what the conditions of employment are. It is known, however, that in Kenya where the local administrations are responsible for staffing and administering their community development programs, the system is being questioned, because of inadequate staffing. An understanding of the local administration staffing conditions and procedures is a full study in itself and beyond the scope of this study.

4. Planning:

Each of the countries has a government structure which is ultimately responsible for the final plans for social welfare planning, except Sierra Leone.²

¹ The concept Africanization refers to the replacement of African personnel for "non-African" personnel in government and non-government employing units.

² Carney, David, op. cit.

Planning generally takes place on several levels; district councils, provincial administrations, tribal, semi-tribal and informal organizations, municipal structures, various citizens participation groups, and the government ministries. In all instances the ultimate policy decisions are made by the Parliament or the President. Kenya and Tanzania are the only countries included in the study which have voluntary social welfare planning bodies. Tanzania has the Tanzania National Council of Social Welfare and the Christian Council of Tanzania as well as the Catholic Secretariat. The National government, through the Department of Social Welfare contributes to the Tanzania National Council of Social Welfare, by formal statements encouraging the development of decentralized committees of the Council throughout the country, allocating staff from the Social Welfare Department to work with the Council as well as other services in kind.¹ Kenya has a Kenya Council of Social Service. Kenya's Ministry of Social Service has Advisory Boards Councils and National Committees which constantly engage in planning activities with the staff. Recently Kenya set up the Development Planning Committees throughout the country to assure maximum participation of the people of Kenya in planning for the country.

5. Training:

While three countries (Kenya, Ghana and Tanzania) have Schools of Social Work, all countries tend to rely heavily on in-service training as the basic system for training staff for social welfare. These in-service programs are provided by the Ministries of Social Welfare, United Nations experts and Bilateral experts both in and outside the countries. In some instances staff persons are sent to other countries for extended formal

¹ See Appendix E. for further information on the Tanzania National Council of Social Welfare

degree programs. There are no formally agreed upon standards for social welfare training in terms of what the content should be for persons performing social welfare services in the country, except, of course, those specified by the Civil Service. The curricula of the Schools of Social Work are very much patterned after the British and the United States. Much of the staff is non-African. It is interesting to observe, for example, that the Kenya School of Social Work has only one small bit of content on the African culture, and nothing specific regarding traditional need meeting systems. One would assume this to be basic, and necessary content for the students, many of whom have been urbanized and westernized, or indeed must work with persons from different tribal groups from their own. One can question the assumption that a Kenya African necessarily understands and can work well with Kenya Africans simply because he is a Kenya African in rapidly modernizing Kenya. Each of the countries is keenly aware of the inadequacy of the quantity and quality of staff but are not specific about this crucial and intricate problem faced by their institutions of social welfare.

DIAGRAM OF SOCIAL WELFARE STRUCTURES IN GHANA, KENYA
SIERRA LEONE AND TANZANIA

COUNTRY	PRIMARY PUBLIC STRUCTURE	OTHER PUBLIC STRUCTURES	PLANNING
Ghana	Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare	Ministry of Health Ministry of Education	Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare with the National Planning Commission
Kenya	Ministry of cooperatives and Social Services	Ministry of Home Affairs	Ministry of Cooperatives and Social Services Ministry of Economic Planning and Development
Sierra Leone	Ministry of Social Welfare	Ministry of Health Ministry of Labour Minister of Veterinary Services	Ministry of Social Welfare
Tanzania	Ministry of Labour and Local Government	Ministry of Health Ministry of Housing Ministry of Cooperatives and C. D. National Housing Corp.	Tanzania National Council of Social Welfare, Ministry of Labour and Local Government, Ministry of Development and Planning

Data Sources

1. Cedillo, Valentin, Report to U. N., January 28, 1968
2. Mwangosi, T. E. J. "Existing Social Work Training Program in East Africa and Their Dev." Paper presented to the Regional Seminar at Makerere, December 18-21, 1967
3. Manis, Francis, Report to U. N., Sept 1, 1966
4. Draft, U. N. Biennial Questionnaire by the permanent representative of Ghana to the U. N. March 1, 1966

Data Sources continued page 2 of this chart

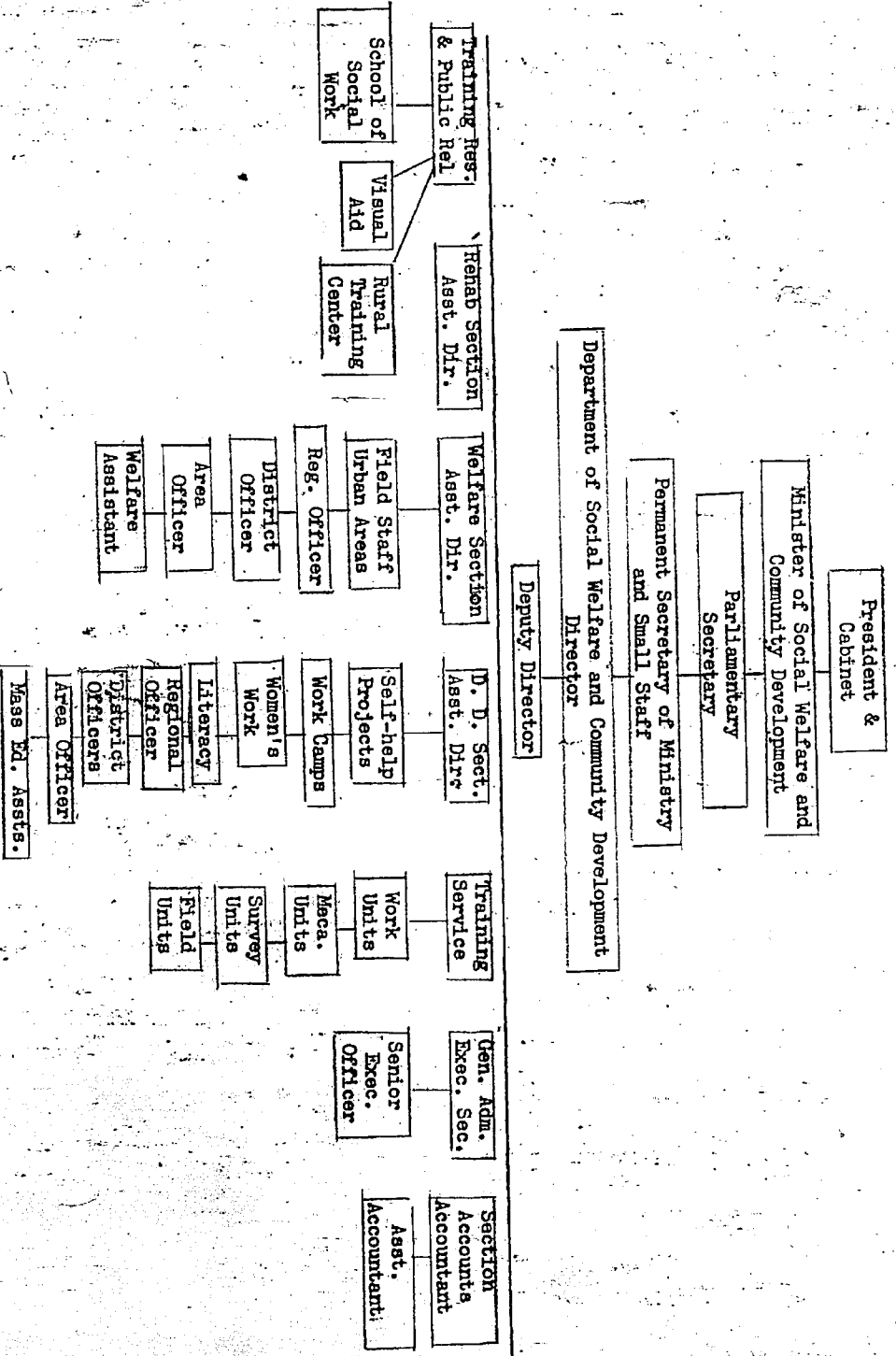
Continued

COUNTRY	FINANCING	VOLUNTARY COORDINATION STRUCTURES	TRAINING
Ghana	Trust Fund Public Grants United Nations Bilateral Aid Local Administration	No Voluntary Coordination Structure	School of Social Work Univ. of Ghana In service Overseas Training United Nations
Kenya	Public Grants Local Administration Private Funds Local Municipalities United Nations Bilateral Aid	Kenya National Council of Social Services	Kenya School of Social Work In service Overseas Training United Nations
Sierra Leone	Public Grants Private Funds United Nations Local Administration City Council Bilateral Aid	No Coordinating Structure	No School In service training United Nations Overseas
Tanzania	United Nations Bilateral Aid Government Grants Private Local Administration Lotteries Flag Day collections	Catholic Secretariat Tanzania National Council of Social Services Christian Council of Tanzania	Local Government and Rural Development Training Center In service training Miyageze Centre BlGwa Centre Bilateral

Data Sources

5. Sierra Leone, Biennial Report to U. N. by Sierra Leone representative to U. N., Sept. 19, 1966
6. U. N. Social Welfare Service in Africa, Patterns of Social Welfare Org. & Adm. in Africa No. 2, Dec., 1964
7. Republic of Kenya, Development Plan 1960-1970
8. Tanganyika & Report by the Gov. of Tanganyika based on U. N. Questionnaire dealing with social services, Social Welfare Service policy with regard to family, youth and child welfare, 1962

Organization Chart of Social Welfare in Ghana



1 E/C.N. 14 S.D. P/18
 Oct. 9, 1963 E.C.A. Org. and Adm of National Social Welfare Programmes in Ghana and U.A.R.

Summary

At independence, remedial types of organized social welfare programs existed in each of the four countries. In the process of assessing the units in the country for national development, the governing elite of at least three of the countries conceptualized social welfare as a potential contributor to nation building. They recognized, however, that the function of social welfare would need to become primarily developmental if it were to maximally contribute to nation building. Kenya, Tanzania and Ghana to a lesser extent formulated social welfare in programs as developmental. Sierra Leone, according to the limited available data, has tended to maintain ad hoc type of planning for social welfare and to emphasize remedial programs.

A review of the programs and services of the social welfare institutions in these countries reveals that there continues to be much emphasis on remedial programs for vulnerable population groups, but increasing emphasis on the part of some of the countries on developmental programs considered to be more functional to the nation building process. Those social welfare programs considered to be primarily developmental in function are categorized as women's development programs, child development programs, national youth service programs, community development programs, and social and economic security programs. These programs are considered functional for nation building in these four countries for the following reasons:

1. They develop much needed African manpower.
2. Most of the programs have the potential of being maximally effective with the expenditure of limited capital but a maximum of efficient administration, dedication, commitment to sound ideology, hard work and creative and imaginative use of natural

and human resources in the country.

3. Most of the programs have the potential of developing a spirit of national unity which is sorely needed for nation building.
4. The programs can innovate and selectively utilize certain of the tribal and semi-tribal values, structures and practices - thus cutting administrative costs, minimizing the use of non-African personnel, and maximally developing a feeling of national pride, awareness of nationhood and basic resources in the country.

Few basic changes have been made in the basic administrative and service structures of the institution of social welfare since independence. This is true despite the fact that there continues to be numerous changes in some aspects of the institutions. The structures are conceptualized as governmental and private, centralized and decentralized, specific Ministries of Social Welfare as well as disbursement of services through other Ministries. The countries basically rely on the same financing and staffing patterns as in the colonial era. More funds are coming from bilateral sources now, however, than in the colonial era. Systems for training now include sending persons to other countries for short-term and long-term training, as well as having experts come in from other countries to help set up Schools of Social Work and teach in the schools or offer short in-service training workshops. More countries are involved in training social welfare workers in the independence era than were involved in the colonial era. With respect to planning and policy-making more opportunities are being provided for citizen's involvement than in the colonial era.

It can be said that in terms of philosophy or belief system about social welfare function and stage of development, Kenya and Tanzania (in particular) are in the stage of entitlement. Each of the countries can be said to subscribe to the belief that when social welfare is conceptualized as primarily developmental in function, it does contribute to economic development. The application of these notions are progressing because of the increased recognition that human resources are indeed the target for development.

The forces which would appear to be advantageous to the institution of social welfare are:

1. The ideology that social welfare is a contributor to the economic development of the developing African nations.
2. The focus on the development and maximum utilization of human resources.
3. The commitment to a perception of social welfare in independence as having primarily a developmental function as opposed to a primarily remedial function.
4. A tendency to be flexible as to structures.
5. An awareness of the need for trained staff

The short-comings may be identified as:

1. Lack of a standard of what social welfare staff should be for the individual country in the independence era and in terms of the unique needs and aspects of the country itself.
2. Continued utilization of the British pattern of employment of staff and conditions of employment which may or may not be functional for the current needs of the countries.

3. A relatively built in system for perpetuating the unequal distribution of the country's wealth, i.e., the Civil Service system, the nature of the social security systems.
4. The lack of utilization of traditional structures for social welfare.
5. The disbursal of services throughout many Ministries can adversely affect the total impact of the institution of social welfare on the development of the country, and also make it difficult for the total planning bodies to accurately assess social welfare.
6. Inadequate quality and quantity of staff in general and particularly African staff.
7. Inadequate and unpredictable financing.
8. The "demonstration effect" is somewhat of a limitation to effective planning for social welfare. The fact that the masses feel themselves in a state of "relative deprivation" with respect to the "developed world" causes them to place heavy demands on government. Thus, the government must constantly change long range plans to meet short term demands of the masses.

IV. FACTORS IN THE COLONIAL ERA AFFECTING SOCIAL WELFARE

A. British Colonialism and Imperialism

A basic contributing factor to the nature of the institution of social welfare currently existing in Africa is the fact of colonialism and imperialism. Since the 16th century, European powers have been on the continent of Africa for various reasons. Whatever their basic and original motives, they continue to influence Africa.

It is to be noted that the concepts colonialism and imperialism are employed in this chapter as though they separate and distinct phenomena, while in reality they are interrelated and interacting forces appearing at times to be the same phenomena. They are in fact, and conceptually different and will be defined technically. Colonialism has as its most distinguishing characteristic that of economic gain. It is defined as "The policy of a nation (or segment of a nation) to extend its political control over a non-adjacent dependent territory, without according to the inhabitants of the territory the same rights of participation and representation in the governing of the whole or of the territory which are enjoyed by the inhabitants of the metropole: or without according to the governmental institutions there, if any, a proportionate degree of policy determination possessed by the government of the metropole."¹ Imperialism has as one of its most distinguishing characteristics that of a superior country taking a presumably higher form of civilization to a country with a presumably lower form of civilization.²

¹ Mittlebeeler, Emmet V., European Colonialism in Africa (Washington, D. C. Institute of Ethnic Study, Georgetown University, 1961) p. 1

² Hazzard, Harry and Huppe-Strauss, Robert (eds) The Idea of Colonialism (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc.) 1958 p. 2

The interrelationship of these two concepts is seen in the delineation of the following courses of action available when a nation extends by annexing contiguous territory;

1. Accord the subject full autonomy
2. Annihilate or expel the inhabitants and settle the area as an integral part of itself
3. Permit the indigenous to remain but in a permanently inferior status
4. Accord full citizenship to the individuals of the subject nation and attempt to submerge their nationhood in a larger nation
5. Create and maintain political domination over a geographically external political unit inhabited by people of any race and at any stage of cultural development.¹

A study of the European expansion in Africa reveals the reinforcing nature of these concepts. For example, the peak of colonization in Africa was between 1870 and 1910 during the Darwinistic Era which brought about imperialistic nations sanctioning and justifying the human and material exploitation of the continent of Africa on the basis of the jingoism of "survival of the fittest".

Several motives have been advanced for British colonial rule in Africa. It must be remembered that the several motives advanced reflect the era, attitude and particular bias of the individual writers. It is also necessary to remember that actions are not always the result of deliberate

¹ Ibid

² Busia, K. A., The Challenge of Africa (New York: Frederick Praeger, 1964) pp. 52-53

thinking and planning, and therefore much of Britain's actions can be described as "snowball" actions. Morrell suggests that Britain's basic motive for colonizing Africa was to facilitate her trade expansion. The need to do so resulting from the industrial revolution. Now, it can be argued that Britain could have expanded trade in Africa short of establishing rule. However, Britain was in competition with other European countries engaged in trade expansion and therefore perceived that she could more effectively protect her trade and commercial interests by establishing British control in these countries.¹

Burns (an apologist for British colonization of Africa) advanced the notion that Britain acquired the several territories in Africa (a) to repatriate British and North American slaves (Sierra Leone) and (b) to stop slave raiding and slave trading, and (c) to suppress human sacrifice and other barbarous customs.² On the establishment of the Sierra Leone colony by Britain, it is necessary to indicate that while numerous writers^{3,4} have suggested humanitarian motives as the basic reason for establishing the colony, some documents ascribe other motives than humanitarian. The

¹ Morrell, W. P., British Colonial Policy: In the Age of Peel and Russell (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc.) 1936 p. 10

² Burns, Sir Alan, In Defense of Colonies (London: George Allen Unwin Ltd, 1957) pp. 429-44

³ Peterson, John, "The Enlightenment and Founding of Freetown: An Interesting Interpretation of Sierra Leone History" 1787-1816. 1966 paper presented at Fourah Bay College, Freetown, Sierra Leone

⁴ Padmore, George Pan-Africanism or Communism (New York: Roy Publishers, 1956) pp. 23-43

following statement is presented to suggest that trade motives were in fact involved in the establishment of the colony.

"Both on the ground, therefore, of advantage to Great Britain and also that of profit to the company (Sierra Leone Company), the introduction of a spirited cultivation in Africa is most desirable. Cultivation or civilization is also considered necessary even from a commercial point of view then, but the directors would be extremely insensible to the principles by which they know the proprietors are activated, if they were to fail in observing it as a spirit of benevolence and a zeal for the extension of light and knowledge in a continent which has been kept in misery by slave trade, that have chiefly prompted them to the present undertaking; and through the establishment of an advantageous trade by means of increasing produce is one leading object, yet you are to remember also that the introduction of Christianity and civilization is a point, which in compliance with the wishes of the proprietors, and in hearty conformity of our own, we enjoin our council to have in view; and for the promotion of which, in conjunction with an honorable trade, you are to consider yourselves as sent out".¹

The objectives of the St. George's Bay Association (1790) which had first sent settlers to Sierra Leone were... "to colonize a small part of the coast of Africa, to introduce civilization among the natives and to cultivate the soil by means of free labour at the same time adjuring all concerns whatever in the slave trade".²

Perhaps the mixed motives for the establishment of British rule in Africa are best summarized by Pecham³ as expansion of trade, protection of British commerce, helping Britain to cope with her over-population problem, attainment and enjoyment of power and prestige, and humanitarian. These several motives were more or less dominant depending upon the African

¹ Harlow, Vincent and Madden, Frederick, British Colonial Developments 1774-1834: Selected Documents (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959) pp. 459-484

² Ibid

³ Pecham, Magery, The Colonial Reckoning (New York: Alfred A. Knoff, 1962) pp. 127-170

country involved, the nature of British public opinion and the particular period of colonization.

It must be remembered that despite the overwhelming materialistic and political power dynamics operative during British rule in Africa, there was always a small, but articulate group of opponents to various colonial practices who were able to effect change in the system. It was at the end of the 18th century that the antagonists became most vocal. The opponents were primarily economists who considered the venture economically unsound for Britain and the moralists who opposed the practices on humanitarian grounds. Among the more vocal antagonists were Pitt, Burke, Fox, Adam Smith and various anti-slavery and anti-colonists groups.¹

As a result of the humanitarianists' attacks on the practices in Africa and New Zealand, the British Parliament appointed a committee on Aborigines in the Empire at the behest of Thomas Fowell Buxton, a leader of the anti-slavery society. The committee submitted a report in June, 1837 which was subsequently adopted by Parliament. In summary it stated that all contracts for services of natives should be just and subject to official supervision, acquisition of native land was forbidden, no sale of alcohol to natives, the Governors were forbidden to acquire in the name of the Queen any territory without an act of Parliament and missionaries were to be protected. This policy statement was based on the assumption that Africa was to be governed by national interests and motives of a higher order.^{2*}

¹ Taylor, Don The British in Africa (New York: Roy Publishers, Inc., 1962) pp. 31-34

² Brunschwig, Henri, French Colonialism, 1871-1914 (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1964) pp. 10-11

* The values explicit in this report can be considered to represent pro social welfare, as they are designed to protect and promote the social and economic well being of Africans.

Several theories and doctrines were prominent during the period of British control in Africa which were significantly related to the development of social welfare practices and indeed the eventual development of an organized social welfare program.

1. The New Imperialist or Liberal Policy

The new imperialist doctrine was based on the assumption that Britain had a responsibility to help develop Africa for Africans, as well as to take them freedom and civilization.¹ This doctrine came into prominence roughly between 1870 and the early 1900's. This doctrine held out hope of self-government for the non-African colonies, but not for the African colonies, for the influence of Social Darwinism was intense. Britain now enjoyed a healthy economy and therefore her motives for possessing colonies in general were less economic and more in the nature of a superior culture culturing a barbarous people.² Indeed this new doctrine is epitomized in Joseph Chamberlain's statement:

"We have to carry civilization, British justice, British law, religion and Christianity to the millions and millions, to people who until our advent had lived in ignorance, bitter conflict and whose territories have fallen to us to develop.

We have now reached the third stage in our history, and the true conception of empire. What is our conception? As regards the self governing colonies, we no longer talk of them as dependencies... we speak and think of them as part of ourselves.... But the British Empire is not confined to the self-governing colonies and the United

¹ Hinden, Rita Empire and After: A Study of British Imperial Attitudes (London: Essential Books Ltd., 1949) pp. 72-73

² Jones, Creech A., Some Considerations of Social Policy and Its Costs in Hinden, Rita (ed) Fabian Colonial Essays (London: Essential Books Ltd., 1949) pp. 85-89

Kingdom. It includes... a much more numerous population in the tropical clime, where no considerable European settlement is possible, where the native population must always vastly outnumber the white inhabitants... We now feel that our rule over these territories can only be justified if we can show that it adds to the happiness and prosperity of the people; I maintain that our rule does, and has brought security and peace and prosperity to the countries that never knew these blessings before."¹

While the new doctrine was supposedly directed at replacing exploitation with development in Africa, numerous Britishers challenged it. Mary Kingsley shared Chamberlain's view that colonies should be developed rather than exploited, but believed that West Africa area could best be developed by the traders rather than the colonial officials whom she considered inefficient. She considered traders to be the true civilizing agents among the Africans. She believed in the reciprocal benefits which should result from British commercial intercourse in Africa.² Most African writers in the beginning trading era of the Europeans in Africa tend to have perceived it as desirable, not detrimental to Africans and indeed a phenomenon which took place among equals.

¹ Ibid pp. 72-73

² Hinden, Rita, Empire and After: A Study of British Imperial Attitudes (London: Essential Books, Ltd.) 1949 pp. 79

³ Kingsley, Mary H., West African Studies (London: MacMillan & Co., Ltd) 1899

Mary Kingsley eloquently expressed her ideas as follows:

"I humbly ask you to make a dive and consider what reasons European nations have for interfering with Africa at all... I fancy you will see that primarily two classes of reason exist-- (a) the religious reasons, the rescue of souls.... (b) pressure reasons....war justification.... (1) the necessity of supplying restless and ambitious spirits with a field for enterprise during such times as they are not wanted for defense of their nation in Europe....(2) population pressures; (3) commercial pressure. The two latter have been the chief reasons for the Teutonic Nations....overrunning the lands of other men....just as the surplus population created by a strong race must find other lands to live in, so must the surplus manufacturers of a strong race find other markets.. The tropical African...markets are of enormous value to us: They are, especially the West African ones, regions of great natural riches in rubber, oil, timber, ivory and minerals from gold to coal....they are in most places densely populated with customers for England's....goods...."¹

Mary Kingsley insisted that it was hypocrisy for Britain to suggest that its motives in Africa were to civilize and bring the good life to Africans for if they were truly keen on suppressing Arab slave trade and native cannibalism, they then would have gone to the Congo.

"Was it because you thought someone else could do it better?" she asked.²

Hinden summarized that Kingsley's great contribution was to champion the rights of Africans to benefit from the opening up of their countries.

Morel also championed the rights of Africans to benefit in the development of their country. Both were ruthless in their insistence that African interest be protected. They opposed abuses in employment of the Africans and the British Administration's ignorance of African

¹ Kingsley, Mary H. West African Studies (London: 1899) pp. 291

² Ibid p. 300

customs.

Sir (then Major) Ronald Ross was critical not so much of the new imperial policy as of the sloppy administration of the colonial office which did not effectively improve social and health conditions of Africans.

The poet, Edward Carpenter, criticized the notion explicit in the new imperial policy that British civilization was superior to African. He suggested that "British civilization was not so glorious a gem after all; perhaps there were abuses to set right at home before any mission abroad could be thought of; perhaps, even there was no 'glory in dominating others', and the truest glory was equal freedom for all races".¹

J. A. Hobson opposed the new imperialist policies on several accounts: (a) non-profitable for Britain economically; (b) imperialistic motives impose evil effects on the colonial people; (c) Britain's integrity was undermined by possession of colonies and (d) he perceived that the backward races could only be helped under a trusteeship system.

In his book *Imperialism*, Hobson concluded with the indictment:

"Imperialism is a depraved choice of national life, imposed by self-seeking interests which appeal to lusts of quantitative acquisitiveness and of forceful domination surviving in a nation from early centuries of animal struggle for existence. Its adoption as a policy implies a deliberate renunciation of that cultivation of the higher qualities which for a nation as far as individual constitutes the ascendancy of reason over brute impulse. It is the besetting sin of all successful states, and its penalty is unalterable in the order of nature".²

Hinden summarizes those antagonists of new imperialism by saying

¹ Hinden, Rita Empire and After: A Study of British Imperial Attitudes (London: Essential Books Ltd.) 1949 p. 84-85

² Ibid pp. 86-87

that none of them represented a "school of thought which could look at the problem from the black-man's point of view as clearly as from the white, and could accept him, literally, as a fellow human being with equal rights".¹

What was most significant about this new imperialist doctrine is that it represented a view that Africans had a right to expect to have their rights protected as well as to expect some social benefits. While these basic principles were not all acted upon with efficiency, the fact that they existed and that there was pressure and counter pressure for more benefit for them led to some improvement in the living situation of the Africans. The small amount of gains served to raise their hopes and expectations, and thus they began to become much more active in making some demands for themselves.

In the absence of concrete data, one can speculate that the relationship of the "New Imperialist" ideology to social welfare were the following:

1. A belief that the Africans had a right to benefit from the resources of the countries.
2. More searching and open discussion and debate regarding ways of helping Africans' social well being.
3. Policies developed to protect the interest of the Africans in their land. These policies can be said to have had significant social welfare consequences for the Africans who were dependent upon the land and subsistence farming for social and economic security.

¹ Hinden, Rita op. cit pp. 92-93

4. The implicit assertion that Africans had human dignity by virtue of being members of the human race is likely to have resulted in more humane treatment of Africans by the colonial officials in the African countries.

2. Trusteeship Doctrine

This period roughly covers 1914-1939 and is characterized by a variety of conflicting policy statements and beliefs about what the relationship should be between Britain and its African colonies:

There were the communists and radicals who were opposed to the paternalistic attitude of the British to the Africans, but who perceived trusteeship as the ideal type of relationship which should exist between the British and her African colonies. The British labour movement evolved a set of principles based on the beliefs that Africans should be treated kindly and that imperialism was bad and should be liquidated. These principles were derived from Smith, Burke, Bentham, James Mill, Wilberforce, Kingsley, Marx, Hobson and Lenin. The principles are summarized as follows:

1. The duty of Britain toward her African colonies is to help build up their democratic institutions, spread education, good health, scientific agriculture and industry and prepare them for self-government.
2. One race should not economically exploit another.
3. The British government should provide the economic resources to benefit the Africans.¹

¹ Hinden, Rita Empire and After: A Study of British Imperial Attitudes (London: Essential Books Ltd.) 1949 p. 94-119

During the inter-war years British government appointed various commissions which formulated policies for controlling labor conditions, abolition of forced labor, elimination of criminal punishment for breaking labor contract and spread of health services and education. This policy created so much unrest in Kenya that a white paper was published in 1923 on the matter.

Excerpts from the paper are cited below:

"Primarily Kenya is an African territory and his majesty's government think it necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interest of the natives must be paramount, and that if, and when, these interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail....But in the administration of Kenya, his majesty's government regard themselves as exercising a trust on behalf of the African population and they are unable to delegate to share this trust, the object of which may be defined as the protection and advancement of the native races...

It is the mission of Great Britain to work continuously for the training and education of the Africans towards a higher intellectual, moral and economic level than that which they had reached when the crown assumed the responsibility for administration of this territory.¹"

It is necessary to point out that throughout the period from 1914-1939 the dominant attitude towards Africa among all non-African

¹ Hinden, Rita Empire and After: A Study of British Imperial Attitudes (London: Essential Books Ltd.) 1949 p. 129

people was that they favoured or accepted the continuance of colonial tutelage or rule.¹ Indeed there was a mixture of paternalism, idealism and complacency. What was important as far as the welfare of the Africans were concerned was that the thinking was more in the direction of how the Africans could benefit from the resources of the territories. More laws were passed and put into effect to improve the social welfare of the Africans. The stage was being set for the eventual development of an organized system of social welfare. It was during this period that two Colonial Development and Welfare acts were passed by the British Parliament allocating loans to the British African countries for their development. While the first act was designed more to aid Britain than the Africans, nevertheless the symbolic act had at least some desirable consequences for the Africans.

3. The Doctrine of Self-Determination

This doctrine was most important in the period from the early 1940's through the current era. The force giving rise to such stirrings was the purpose for which the war was being fought--to kill the ideology of the "master race". The Africans were involved in fighting and supporting a war for "freedom". The entire European world was consciously affected by the ideology of the "master race" and the doctrine of freedom and saving the world for democracy.² Britain was rethinking the policies and beliefs systems which had governed her social and economic activities,

¹ Kirkwood, Kenneth, Britain and Africa (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1965) p. 45

² Hinden, op. cit. p. 131

as a result of pressures from various groups and individuals who subscribed to concepts of socialism and welfare stateism. The Fabians were quite active during this period in influencing British government legislative and executive policies which were to effect the welfare of the British held territories. Sidney Webb, a famous Fabian Socialist was in the British Colonial Office service and in such a position attempted to effect policies in favor of the Africans. While the Africans were not to benefit significantly by the welfare state policies formulated by the British Labour Party and the Fabian socialists, just prior to the end of World War II, it can be said that there was a relationship between the dynamics involved in the formulation of welfare state policies for Britain and the development of social welfare programs in the four African countries between 1940 and 1946.

While this is an interesting idea which would be worthwhile historical exploration, it is too complex to be included as a part of this research.

It can be said that a series of pressures within Britain, the war against facism, dictatorship and master race, in addition to pressures and risings within the African countries resulted in a firm position on the part of the British Parliament to support self-government in the African colonies as well as a decision to provide organized social welfare programs.

4. The Doctrine of Indirect Rule

This doctrine was developed by Lugard who perceived it as an effective type of administration of the Nigerian Colony. He defined it as an essential feature of the native chiefs. He said "there are two sets of rulers — British and Native — working either separately or in cooperation, but a single government in which the native chiefs have well-defined duties and an acknowledged status equally with the British officials.... The Chief has no place and power unless he renders his proper services to the State."¹ Indirect rule shifted the source of traditional power to British law. In his book Lugard² laid down the following general control principles:

1. Native rulers are not permitted to raise and control armed forces.
2. Only the suzerain power may impose taxation
3. Right of legislation is reserved
4. Right to appropriate land on equitable terms for public purposes is vested in the governor
5. The right of confirming or otherwise deciding the choice of the people of successor to a chief and deposing for misconduct or misuse is reserved for the governor

This doctrine was applied in Ghana. The governor had power to appoint any chief for any area for any specified time. The governor also had the right to appoint subchiefs and native councils to be the

¹ Apter, David, The Gold Coast in Transition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955) pp. 125-158

² Lugard, Sir Frederick The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1922) pp. 202-213

the Native authority in the area. Prior to British rule, the chiefs were appointed or recommended by the Queen mother in the Ashanti and voted on. There was a democratic procedure involved in setting up tribal structures. The chief could be destooled by vote. The British colonial officers prescribed the duties of the native authorities, removed officials he wished and indeed only the governor could remove a chief of native authority officially. The native authorities were responsible for maintaining order, preventing crime, apprehending criminals, issuing orders on gambling, distilling and sale of liquor, movement of livestock, extermination of tsetse flies and locusts, water pollution, timber cutting, tax evasion, infectious disease and famine, and provision of social welfare services. The administrative officer could at any time cancel the orders of the native authorities.^{1,2}

The effect of indirect rule on the Gold Coast were conceptualized by Apter as:

1. The focus of authority was shifted from the legitimate proper ties of Chieftance to those of British colonial officers. The consequence was that the Africans began to identify the chiefs as agents of British rule.
2. It disrupted tribal life by transmitting traditional legitimacy into legitimacy derived from Britain.
3. Persons became eligible for the position of chief on the basis of training and ability as opposed to lineage.
4. A new western elite power center was formed to challenge traditional authority, thus creating conflict.

¹ Hinden, Rita (ed) Local Government and the Colonies (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1950) pp. 98-100

² Busia, op. cit p. 197

5. A new system of solidarity was developed to replace the old kinship system. ¹

A native authority system was set up in Sierra Leone in 1936. It operated somewhat differently than the system in the Gold Coast. Chiefs were appointed, to operate differently than the traditional chiefs who continued to function. However, some of the power and authority of the traditional chiefs was transferred to the chieftan structure created by the British. District councils were set up which many times included traditional chiefs as members, but nevertheless this newly created structure was perceived as usurping power, authority, status and responsibilities from the traditional chieftan system. The district council structures were used by the British colonial authorities for the administration of various social services, in addition to performing functions related to maintaining law and order in the provinces.²

Kenya did not adopt the Lugard indirect rule policy. The local Native councils were established. It began with the passage of the Village Headmen Ordinance by the Legislative Council. Headmen were appointed to act as agents of the District Commissioner with the duty of keeping order, apprehending criminals and maintaining the public roads. These Headmen were not traditional rulers. The District Commissioner issued the orders, and was obliged to cancel any orders made by the chiefs. Chiefs were appointed by the Provincial Commissioner, but were selected by the tribal members at a public meeting. These chiefs were

¹ Apter, op. cit.

² Little, op. cit. pp. 206-208

paid salaries. A Native Authority Ordinance of 1912 empowered the Governor to order any chief to be subordinated to another. These chiefs were executive agents of the administration rather than representatives of the native population. A Native Authority Ordinance was passed in 1947 creating African District Councils. These Councils were to be responsible for roads, markets, recreation grounds, burial grounds, public lighting and lavatories, slaughter houses, public health, education, welfare services and social centers.¹

A native authority remodeled after Lugard's indirect rule policy was adopted in Tanganyika in 1923 and functioned until 1931. The Native Authority Ordinance passed in 1923 gave administrative officers, native chiefs and headmen the authority to issue rules designed to maintain order and prevent crime. In practice real executive power tended to remain in the hands of the administrative officer rather than with the native authority. The Ordinance assigned the native authorities responsibility for making laws, enforcing native courts, providing schools, dispensaries, providing labour for public works, providing food for travellers and developing measures to prevent famine. In some areas they were responsible for providing social centers to serve as clubs and adult education centers.²

In summary, it can be said that in each of the countries, the British Colonial powers created some type of structure within the traditional tribal structures for the purpose of making the administration of the

¹ Hinden, op. cit. pp. 125

² Hinden, op. cit. pp. 151-168

territories more effective. Among some of the desirable social consequences for the African population were:

1. This system helped to assure that some social services were available to the Africans in the rural areas, which might not otherwise have been made available. The British did not feel comfortable working directly with Africans.
2. This system made it possible for the Africans to have some role in, or access to the power structures in order to make their needs known.
3. Since the native authority officials were paid, this permitted at least a few Africans to enjoy better lives.
4. Despite the obvious disadvantages to the Africans of having their way of life patterns so drastically and quickly changed, the native authority system did make it possible for trained leadership to develop among the Africans.
5. Some Africans were able to get an education. Indeed it can be said that this system was probably responsible for assigning a high value to education. There was a tendency on the part of Africans after a while to equate education, or the ability to read and write, with power. They knew that only those persons who had certain prescribed educational qualifications could become chiefs, clerks or hold other official positions in the British colonial structure.
6. One can speculate that it was this native authority system which hastened the granting of independence. As more and more Africans became educated, experienced British life, learned that in some instances they were better qualified for some of the official positions than the British, they developed what is called a feeling of "relative deprivation" and thus demanded more and more.

B. Social Consequences of British Colonization in Africa

Any discussion of social consequences of any given function or phenomenon must consider the fact that social consequences is a value laden concept and therefore, is relative. It may be relative to the historical development, social situation, the values of the relevant parties in question. In this instance, the object is colonized British Africa. In this regard, one could list social consequences which were

desirable as well as undesirable for particular African countries and particular factions in the African countries. In order to do justice to the section each of these parameters will be considered. The following represents perhaps several of the undesirable aspects of British colonization for the African countries:

1. The British set up undemocratic governments in Africa with a minimum and in most cases no African representation. If, in fact, as the British argue, their 20th century guiding policy in Africa was to prepare the countries for independence and self-government, its practices of non or minimal involvement of Africans in high policy making structures was dysfunctional to the achievement of effective self-government.
2. One of the basic stabilizing forces in most African countries is the land tenure system. The avowed motive of the British for being in Africa as that of developing and civilizing was certainly not enhanced, but indeed aborted by the effective disruption of the land tenure system. If people are en masse displaced and their basic source of livelihood taken, it is highly unlikely that they can be developed as responsible people. This problem was particularly acute in Kenya where, because of the most desirable climatic conditions, the British government claimed the Highlands for the settlers and off limits for Africans except for African laborers. The land tenure system was a basic value concept in Kenya, particularly in Gikuyu country. It was just the breakdown of this system which caused the development of the Mau Mau movement and the eventual African rule of Africa.¹
3. One of the avowed motives of the British in the African countries was to bring civilization, morality and a superior culture form. The achievement of such a noble avowed goal could not have been advanced by the imposition and engagement in such practices as trickery, bribery, corruption, deceit, cruel and inhuman discipline, forced labor and brutal killings.
4. Sense of security and responsibility for the family was adversely affected by the practice of slave trade, forced labor, and the destruction of land tenure and the kinship systems.

¹ Leys, Norman Kenya (London: Leonard and Va Wolf at Hogarth Press) 1926 p. 314

5. The avowed motive of humanitarianism was again struck a blow by racially discriminatory practices which ascribed to the African status on the level with savages.
6. The economic development of the African countries for Africans was severely aborted by the British practice of extracting and exporting the natural wealth of the country to Britain, with little or no return to the African countries.
7. If one accepts the theory that rapidly induced social change can be destructive, then one realizes the extreme frustration and dislocation which British domination in Africa must have caused the Africans.

Both African and non African have considered and conceptualized certain possible desirable social consequences of the British rule in Africa. If one accepts that the basic and continuing motive for British domination in Africa are categorized as economic and prestigious advantages for Britain, it is axiomatic that many benefits accruing to the African were in the nature of what Merton calls unintended social consequences. For example, while one finds highly developed agricultural techniques and lands in Kenya, it must be realized that the fact that Africans currently benefit from these highly desirable "white Highlands" is certainly an unintended consequence of the phenomenon of British colonization in Kenya. For it is clear that where Europeans established themselves in favorable (to Europeans) climate conditions, they intended to remain as in South Africa and Rhodesia. If one observes that there were a fair number of well trained (to follow orders) junior civil servants in certain of the former British African countries, it is an unintended socially desirable consequence for the particular African countries. The British considered it efficient colonial administration to have indirect administration or control of the Africans. One way, for example, of assuring peace and quiet and freedom from African uprisings was to train Africans.

to administer the laws to the Africans on behalf of the British administration. One must hasten to qualify the "desirable" social consequence of British colonialism for in many instances the British way of training African civil servants to follow orders as opposed to training for problem solving has been somewhat less than desirable now in African countries which need creativity, initiative and innovation as opposed to rigidity.

The British required easy communication with the Africans to facilitate administrative control and therefore attempted to establish English as the lingua franca in the African countries under its control. It can be said that this phenomenon contributes to current administration in the countries.

There is the suggestion that the British stopped slavery of all forms in its British controlled African countries out of benevolence and humanitarianism. However, one author suggests that the motive for stopping slave trade was that it was expensive, and palm oil was more lucrative.¹ In any event, slavery was stopped and can be considered to have beneficial effects for Africa today.

The British established some basic public services such as public health, medical care facilities, sewage systems, roads, railroads, schools, etc. These are, of course, helpful to the current governments. Social change introduced into Africa by the British was in many ways catastrophic for African cultural forms. The introduction of industry and a monetary economy and indirect rule system resulted in the breakdown of land tenure, kinship system and other traditional systems for meeting basic social and economic security needs without replacing them with other need meeting systems, thus creating

¹ Brunswick, Henri, French Colonialism: 1871-1914 (New York: Frederick K. Praeger, Publishers) 1945 p. 10

unmet basic needs and increased criminal behavior. It was imposed social change and was not introduced planfully and deliberately with an awareness of possible undesirable social consequences for Africans. One of the more significant social change concepts introduced was that of man's potential ability to control nature. This notion played havoc with traditional belief systems of fatalism.¹

Busia is somewhat charitable to Britain in his discussion of the social consequences for Africa of British rule in Africa. Despite the understandable abuses of the British to Africans, Busia suggests that an important consequence of the colonization of Africa is the "technical progress it has made possible--some would make concession grudgingly; they would point out that Europeans have used their technical superiority to gain and maintain possession in Africa--that the roads, railways, telephones, and telegraphs have helped them to rule more effectively and to expand their trade; that through the sale of the industrial goods produced by their technology, they have been able to make colonial subjects adopt a European way of life, which again is good for trade; that the printed word, the cinema and the radio are instruments for influencing men's minds so that they may become better customers and consumers of European goods. There is much truth in all this; yet it must be remembered that there has been technical progress."²

¹ Hoskins, Halford Lancaster European Imperialism in Africa (New York: Henry Holt and Co) 1930 pp. 102-105

² Busia, K. A. The Position of the Chief in the Modern Political System of Ashanti (London: Oxford University Press) 1951 pp. 109-138

One very definite desirable social consequence for Africa of certain of the British colonial policies such as "indirect rule" and humanitarian treatment of the Africans was that it caused the Africans to have rising expectations to share more of the benefits of the material and non-material resources of the society. The demand was epitomized in the Africans' demand for total freedom, self government and to be rid of British rule before the British were ready to hand these desirable resources over.

Busia's research on the position of the chief in modern Ashanti political system presents the following material on how the Ashanti chieftaincy was affected by British colonialism:

1. Loss of the essentially military role.
2. Rejection by Christians of the rites which mark the chief's position as a link between the living and the dead and unborn.
3. Loss of education function.
4. Commercialization of economy.
5. Breakdown of lineage ties of inheritance and traditional rights of land tenure.
6. Internal migration affecting personal ties of allegiance.
7. British placed chiefs in antagonism to the young men as well as weakened their personal ties with their elders and other subordinates.
8. British assignment of role of tax collector to chiefs caused them to lose face and respect in their villages--Busia quotes a cocoa farmer as saying "that whenever the chief comes back from Kumasi he brings a new law...today we have too many masters...when you serve too many masters, your head tears off (wo-ti-te).

69 Differences in Social Consequences of British Rule
in East and West African Countries

West Africa was once the home of flourishing empires which had declined but was occupied and stable before the British came. These territories were economically stable and densely populated by tribal societies. The climatic environment was quite unfavorable for Europeans and the cultural climate was resistant to European influence. The immediate consequence of this social fact was that the British felt forced to create an indirect rule system. A reasonably well educated group of Africans were developed to serve as a buffer between the British and the African masses. These people, in time, developed a positive identification with the British colonial rulers. This was quite true in the case of the Sierra Leone creoles.

In British West Africa, Adu reports that it was always understood that in time, independence or at least some measure of internal self government would be gained. It was a question of how and when.

As a result of the nature of British rule in British West Africa, at independence there was a ready made educated middle class. Because these educated politically elite were so identified with the British rulers, they were resented and unidentified with the African masses.

In contrast to British West Africa, British East Africa has states which were sparsely populated, an hospitable climate and a few indigeneous states which could have raised immediate land rights problems. Thus European settlers came, stayed, built their own social, economic and political systems. In Kenya and Tanganyika, Africans were rigorously excluded from participation in the development of their own countries, and were given minimum educational facilities. The settlers so structured

the social, economic and political system such that there would never be any question of independence or self-rule for the Africans in these countries. The result of such a firm policy was that the natural resources and basic public services were rather well developed, but Africans during the colonial era benefitted minimally. Upon gaining independence, however, these benefits could and did accrue to the African in time.¹

¹ Adu, A. L. "Post Colonial Relationships: Some Basic Factors in the Attitudes of Africans" in African Affairs, Vol. 66, No. 265, October, 1967 p. 295

V. INSTITUTIONS OF SOCIAL WELFARE DEVELOPED DURING THE COLONIAL ERA

This chapter describes and analyzes the beginning development of a formal institution of social welfare in the selected African countries. The historical background and motives for the development of formal systems of social welfare are presented, followed by a description of the developing institutions in each of the countries. Limited terms from the Esman-Bruhn institution building theory¹ are utilized in describing these institutions. It is necessary to point out that at some points full descriptions of certain of the variables are not presented, because of the lack of necessary data.

Certain beliefs, theories, motives and practices related to the British control of the countries will be reflected in this presentation. For example, it can be assumed that there is a relationship between the basic function of the institutions, the amount of government resources invested and the motives of the British for being in the countries.

The selected aspects of the institutions are examined in terms of the extent to which they were functional to the development and effectiveness of the system as well as to the development of the Africans in the countries. The institutions are assessed in terms of whether or not the programs and services were primarily remedial, preventive or developmental.

The first act of the British Parliament to allocate money to the African colonies ostensibly for the welfare of the colonies was in fact masked. The 1929 Colonial Development Act, much debated and passed

¹ See Appendix B for explication of the theory

by British Parliament, whose manifest motive was the agricultural and industrial development of the colonies was in fact, an act designed to help Britain cope with its severe unemployment problem.^{1,2,3} The act, although passed while a Labour Government was in power, represented the laissez-faire economic ideology. The full acceptance that government had a responsibility for assuring social and economic security was to come much later. The predominant belief was that the colonies were to be self sufficient, despite the fact that the bulk of the wealth of the country went to Britain. Social welfare was to be financed by local taxes and voluntary charity.

It was not until 1940 that the British Parliament passed the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. Several forces served as motivating factors; (a) numerous riots and uprisings were occurring in the West Indies; (b) the eloquent pressures from such men as Malcolm MacDonald and Creech Jones. In arguing for an act adding the concept welfare to the 1929 Colonial Development Act, MacDonald said "It establishes the duty of tax payers in the country to contribute directly and for its own sake towards the development in the widest sense of the word to the colonial people for whose good government, the people of this country are ultimately responsible."⁴

¹ Spencer, John "Kenya's Kenya" African Report, May 1966 p. 6

² The Parliamentary Debates: Fifth Series, House of Lords, Vol. CXV, 1939-40 (H.M.S.O. London, 1940) p. 1006

³ The Parliamentary Debates: House of Commons, Vol. 36 (London H.M.S.O.) 1940 p. 48

⁴ The Parliamentary Debates, Ibid Vol. 229, p. 1929

Prior to the development of formal social welfare systems, the social and economic needs of the Africans were met through the family system, land tenure, work for wages, religious institutions and their social welfare systems, semi-tribal societies and a few voluntary associations. Thus a system of mixed status and contract can be said to have been the basic ways by which the Africans' social and economic security needs were met. By the 1940's the tribal systems were beginning to disintegrate, immigration to urban centers had started, a money economy had been introduced, those who had some education and skills found jobs, those, who for various reasons were unable to find work, or were vulnerable for other reasons were in many instances left destitute, or if they were juveniles in this type of destitute situation, they engaged in various types of criminal activities.

The Africans could no longer find or expect economic and social security through the disintegrating family system. Young people became aware of their "relative deprivation" position and sought a better life in urban centers. Finding it impossible to attain the "good life" through legitimate means they resorted to criminal behavior to attain their ends. Thus, urbanization, detribalization, and industrialization and "relative deprivation" had the effect of making traditional social welfare need meeting systems obsolete and indeed unavailable and inadequate.

There are particularistic factors regarding the reasons for the establishment of social welfare institutions in each of the four countries. There are also reasons why the British acted to create social welfare programs which relate to each of the countries. A United Nations report ¹

¹ United Nations, Social Welfare Services In Africa. Patterns of Social Welfare Organization and Administration in Africa (New York: United Nations, No. 2, 1964 p. 7

indicates the following reasons:

1. Moral principles
2. Practical considerations of industrial efficiency
3. The influence of the working class in Britain pressuring for welfare state types of programs served to focus attention on the well being of the people in the colonies.
4. Provision of welfare services were regarded as a necessary function of government in Britain, and therefore the colonial administrations were obliged to increasingly assume social welfare responsibilities heretofore assumed by missionaries, tribal structures and the "lady bountiful" activities of various European women.
5. Social welfare services were perceived by the British government as a system for preparing the Africans for eventual "self rule".
6. The doctrines of freedom, equality and democracy symbolized in the fighting of world war II in which Africans fought with Great Britain, and the numerous African risings increased the pressure on Britain to assume more responsibility for the well being of Africans.

Development of Social Welfare in Tanganyika During British Control of the Territory.

The period 1950-1963 is the period under review representing the date that the formal institution of social welfare was set up and the date when Tanganyika received independence.

As the background information indicated, Tanganyika's history was quite different from that of the other three countries. The Germans were in control up to about 1920 when the British took control. Social services of a general nature for Africans was only in embryo with only a minimum potential for coming to full fruition, since Germany's policy continued to be that the German government should benefit from the territory but she should treat the Africans humanely.¹

¹ Since no material is available to indicate there was a relationship between the German colonization of Tanganyika and the institution of social welfare as developed by the British and the African controlled governments, German colonization is not covered by this study.

During British colonial control, the basic policy governing their actions in Tanganyika was that the conservation and development of the natural resources must be given priority. As a result of this policy, a minimal of central government and colonial development and welfare funds could be spent on general social welfare services which did not have the potential of assisting economic development. Again, with such a policy it was highly unlikely that life for the Africans would be significantly improved under the British or indeed better than under the Germans. It can be said, however, that the British colonial policy of "indirect rule" or "native administration" coupled with the theory of local responsibility served to permit and encourage the Africans to make significant progress toward their own development. While there were many undesirable aspects of the "indirect rule" policy for the Africans, nevertheless there were some significant unintended consequences. Thus while the British government could benefit from the policy by maintaining law and order, squelching rebellions, as they developed and exploited the natural resources, the Africans now had some control over their own development and could maximize its use.

1. Latent and Manifest Motives for the Development of a Government Structure for Social Welfare

A social welfare department was developed in Tanganyika in 1945 for the purpose of assisting some 68,000 discharged African soldiers from the second World War to become re-absorbed in the territory. A social welfare organizer was put in charge of the small department and welfare centers built in 42 district headquarters. The services to be provided were meeting rooms, reading rooms, lectures, discussions, film shows and dances.

In 1950, the objectives of the department were re-examined and defined -- thus becoming the Department of Social Development.¹

The British colonial government was most concerned with maintaining law and order and indeed, this was the latent motive for the establishment of social welfare in most of its countries. The British Colonial office had a basis for believing that unless some social welfare services were provided for these newly arriving African servicemen, they would create unrest. These men had helped Britain fight for "democracy" and "freedom" and had a change in outlook. They knew a better life was possible and wished to share it.

2. Leadership: The basic authority for all actions occurring in the British held colonies was the British Parliament and the British Colonial office. The legislative councils generally made low level decisions and executed the directives of the British Colonial office. Once the social welfare department was established in Tanganyika and a staff appointed - the staff then created the machinery for implementing the basic policies. Once the department was reorganized in 1950, it became a part of the ministry of local government and ministry of social services and of course, took its direction from these two bodies.

An example supporting this fact is a reference by Bruce Hatt, Deputy Chairman and Executive Officer, in his report. He said, "... full consideration has been given to the Secretary of State's views..."

¹ Moffett, J. P., Tanganyika: A Review of its Resources and Their Development (Norwich: Jarrold and Sons Ltd) 1955 p. 69

April 27, 1945. In that dispatch the view was expressed that a disproportionate share of the total cost of the programme had been allocated to social services, public works and buildings, township developments, etc., and an insufficient sum to economic development. In this connection the Secretary of State pointed out that the extent to which the territory could afford the proposed expansion of the social and other services described...would depend very largely on the extent of economic development...¹

In this case it is clear that Bruce Hatt wished to allocate more funds for social services. At the time Britain was concerned to develop and exploit the natural resources in Tanganyika.

3. Doctrine: The doctrine of social welfare in the case of Tanganyika was the same as that maintaining in Britain's other African colonies. One value which the Tanganyika Legislative Council was charged with incorporating in all its policies was that of self-government since it had a mandate from the United Nations to do so. This objective was only minimally incorporated. Britain's theory of "indirect rule" or "native administration" affected social welfare development in Tanganyika because as it was applied it required the native administrations to finance, plan and administer their own programmes.

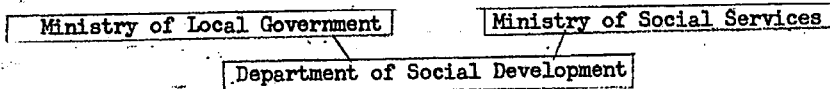
The stated objective of the Department of Social Development in 1950 was to raise the standard of living of the people in rural and urban populations.² A major decision made by the British Colonial Office around 1946 was to have its effect on social welfare development. By 1960 the

¹ Ten Year Development and Welfare Plan for Tanganyika Territory
Report by Development Commission (Government Printer, 1946) p. 2

² Moffett, op. cit. p. 69

policy to focus on economic development was well enforced in Legislative Council planning. The development plan explicitly stated that the plan was based on the assumption of economic development priority. The economic objective was to insure rapid and progressive increase in cash income to insure a steady improvement in peoples' living standard. The estimated budget, therefore, included a small allocation to social welfare and public health of 303,000 pounds¹ for 1961-62 while allocating 11,019,000 pounds for economic development.

4. Administrative Structure: The structure of the social welfare service in Tanganyika in 1950 was quite rudimentary as diagrammed below:



The staff consisted of 2 social development officers, 1 films research officer, a visual aids officer, 3 women welfare officers, 2 probation officers, 1 broadcasting officer, 1 radio engineer, 6 assistant welfare officers, 46 social development assistants and 8 assistant probation officers.²

The probation service originated in 1950 as a section of the Social Development Department of the Ministry of Social and Cooperative Development, with one probation officer and several assistants. The name of the Department was later changed to the Community Development Division. In 1958 the administration of the approved school was transferred from the prison administration to the probation service.

¹ Tanganyika, Development Plan for Tanganyika, 1961-62 (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1962)

² Ibid. p. 69

In 1959 the probation service began to expand and was transferred to the Ministry of Education. In 1962 it was returned to its previous ministry, now renamed the Ministry of Cooperative and Community Development. In 1963, the probation division became the Probation and Welfare Division. At independence it became the Ministry of Community Development and National Culture.¹

In addition to this formal governmental structure for social welfare, there were a number of voluntary and mutual organizations in Tanganyika which began to develop almost as soon as the British took control in 1920. It must also be remembered that there were church sponsored social welfare programs even while the Germans were in control of the territory. There was no statutory relationship between voluntary organizations and government programs.

5. Programs: The programs can be conceptualized in terms of those which were voluntary and those which were governmental, for while there was no statutory relationship between the government and voluntary social welfare organizations, the government did provide some resources to the voluntary organizations.

Voluntary Agencies and Organizations:

The voluntary organizations included (a) non rural Chamber of Commerce, (b) 97 boy scouts groups, (c) The British Council, established in 1951 for the purpose of encouraging stronger ties with British culture. The other organizations are described in greater detail in terms of their

¹ Mwangosi, T. E. J., Commissioner of Social Welfare of Tanzania Correspondence, May 5, 1968

specific social welfare functions.

-British Legion was established in 1938 to raise money to be used for hospitality for visiting servicemen (sponsored by a special center for Africans.)

-British Red Cross Society was established November, 1949, with a membership of 870. It engaged in efforts to improve health and prevent disease. It also trained in first aid, home nursing and operated a variety of services for the total population.

-Cultural Society was established in 1938 to promote racial harmony.

-St. John Ambulance Association became active in 1939.

-The Tanganyika Council of Women was started in 1951 to promote sympathy of thought and purpose among the women in Tanganyika regardless of race or creed. They studied nursery schools and clinics and engaged in the usual types of home craft.

-In 1926 the Women's Service League was established. Among other activities ran children's clinics and African women's welfare centers.¹

Governmental Programmes

1. Services to ex-servicemen: reading rooms, films, recreation centers.
2. Probation service
3. Community development
4. 25 Community Centers built from colonial development and welfare funds²

¹ Moffett op. cit. pp. 70-81

² Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament, The British Territories in East and Central Africa 1945-1950 (London: H. M. S. O., 1950) pp. 118

6. Functional Relationships: The developing institution of social welfare in Tanganyika performed many of its functions through the native administration. Limited funds and administrative directions were provided to these structures by the central government.

The central government assigned staff to certain of the voluntary associations to assist them in carrying out services.

Because of the nature of its development, the governmental social welfare services were assigned to various ministries from time to time, including the Ministry of Social and Cooperative Development; Ministry of Education.

7. Enabling Linkages: The major forces facilitating the development and growth of this new institution were the Legislative Council, the Executive Officer (Bruce Hutt) and Deputy Chairman of the Development Commission, the Secretary of State to the Colonies and the Administrative Officer of the department.
8. Resources: The resources which supported the government social welfare services were (1) the Colonial Development and Welfare funds which were primarily responsible for the construction of the community centers, (2) the "native administration" which financed and staffed many of the social welfare services in the rural areas. Indeed each community plan submitted for government approval was required to indicate a contribution of some kind, rather than to depend upon a "paternal government".¹ Voluntary organizations also provided resources for the social welfare services which they sponsored.

¹ Moffett, op. cit p. 70

B. The Institution of Social Welfare in Ghana (Gold Coast)
During the Colonial Era

A formal social welfare system was established in the Gold Coast by the British colonial office around 1943 and functioned under British administration until 1957 when the Africans gained control of the government.

1. Latent and Manifest Motives and Function: Prior to British Parliament's action in 1943-44 to create a post of Secretary for Social Services,¹ welfare needs of the Africans in the Gold Coast had been met through the extended family system, religious groups, and the Red Cross. The colonial government subsidized a few of these organizations.² At the time of the creation of the position, the function defined was that of undertaking "the coordination of social welfare work throughout the Gold Coast".³ When E. N. Jones assumed his duties in May, 1943 as Secretary for Social Services, he directed his attention to the formation of a social welfare department to provide social welfare throughout the Gold Coast.⁴

While the colonial power was concerned about the social problems created for Africans as a result of industrialization and urbanization and wished to relieve the pressure, it is also true that it was responding to the pressures of the Africans to share in the good life. Thus, a formal

¹ Gold Coast Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development for the year 1953 (Accra, Gold Coast Government Department)

² Gold Coast Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the Gold Coast 1934-35. (Printed by the Government Printer at Accra, Gold Coast)

³ C. F.

⁴ C. F.

system of social welfare was created to keep down rebellions. It is known that the Africans from the Gold Coast who were serving in the Second World War were agitating for benefits. The uprisings in 1947-48 resulted in the commissioner recommending strong upgrading of political, social and economic benefits for the Africans lest there be more national unrest.¹

2. Leadership: The basic leadership for this beginning institution was initially provided through the legislative action of Parliament creating the position of secretary for social services. Upon entering the office E. N. Jones, a rather forceful man, established his own sense of direction. He was administratively attached to the office of the Colonial Secretary. Here he worked as head of the Secretary to Central Welfare Committee. This committee consisted of heads of major departments concerned with social services—the Colonial Secretary, the Secretary for Native Affairs and certain prominent non-officials under chairmanship of the Governor.
3. Doctrines: The basic beliefs undergirding the development of social welfare were derived from the British; namely voluntarism, self-help, local responsibility, indoor relief, care for those most in need. The British placed great emphasis on juvenile delinquency and therefore, as it instituted a formal system of social welfare in the Gold Coast, it gave major emphasis to systems for caring for juvenile delinquents— such as remand homes, approach schools and probation officers.
4. Administrative Structure: A description of the structure for this new institution is explicit in a review of how it developed historically.

¹ Gold Coast, Annual Report of the Gold Coast, 1948 (Accra: Government Printing Department) p. 138

In 1944-45 the Department was officially set up with the following structure:

Secretary of Social Services

Assistant Secretary
Of Social Services

(1) Senior Welfare
Officer

(7) Welfare
Officers

In 1946, a department of Social Welfare and Housing was created and provisions made for a School of Social Welfare to train local staff. Two women and seven men graduated from the school in 1946. Two of them became probation officers and the others assistant welfare officers.

Several staff were added to the Department in 1947, 3 senior welfare officers, one woman welfare officer, 1 principle probation officer, 14 assistant welfare officers.

Numerous expansions occurred in 1948. Among them were several play centers, a remand home and a social development officer was appointed and attached to the political administration. He was to advise on the initiation of mass education and social development work in the rural areas. He was later assigned to the Department of Social Welfare and Housing and a social development branch was established.

An experimental program in mass education was carried out in Togoland. Being successful, it lead to the development of a mass education and community development section of the department. In 1950, the Housing Section split to form a new department, retitled Department of Social Welfare. At the same time a director of social welfare and community development was appointed.

The department changed its name again in 1952 to Department of Social Welfare and Community Development. Just prior to this action,

the department had been placed under the Ministry of Education and Welfare and took control of funds for the local development committees in rural areas. 1951-52 saw the rapid expansion of services to include an extensive mass literacy program and expansion of casework.

A new director of the department was appointed in 1953 and vocational training centers for socially maladjusted boys started.

Operating on the doctrine that people should help themselves, community development began in 1944. The pressure after World War II resulted in the development of a mass adult literacy program under the directorship of A. G. Dirksen.

In 1949-50, social development section of the Department of Social Welfare was formed. It had a Chief Social Development Officer, five regional social development officers, 24 assistant mass education officers and various instructors in arts, crafts, physical education, and building. A dispatch from Creech-Jones, Secretary of State for the Colonies gave official sanction to the pilot community development effort. Immediately thereafter the following structure was set up:

A District Commissioner
Local Development Committee (in each district)

By 1953, there were a total of 267 comprised as follows:¹

Senior Assistant Welfare Officer	21
Senior Mass Education Officers	22
Assistant Mass Education Officers	3
Assistant Welfare Officers	61
Higher Executive Officers	3
Executive Officer	11
Clerical Officer	7

¹ Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development for the Year 1953 (Accra, Gold Coast: Government Printing Department)

Clerical Assistant	39
Stenographer grade II	7
Typist	7
Junior Teacher	10
Technical Instructor	22
Second Class Trade Instructor	5
Third Class Trade Instructor	31
Sergeant Instructor	16
Youth Leader	9
Illustrator	1
Cinema Coordinator	3
Telephonist	1

5. Functional Relationships: It is clear that the framers of this new institution in the Gold Coast attached it to several established functional institutions as a method of assuring its continued existence. For example, the institution of religion had a long history on the Gold Coast, as it was this institution which first established formal social services. From the very beginning of British control in the Gold Coast in early 19th century, it was related to the Christian religious groups. While they shared some different motives, one common motive was to Christianize and westernize the Africans. The colonizers needed African laborers and Africans, being unaccustomed to working for non-members of the tribe or outsiders for wages, were reticent to work for the Europeans. The Christians assisted the colonizers by teaching the Africans the virtue of work. They also taught the Africans to read and write as a necessary function for being a good Christian (i. e., to read the bible) The unintended consequences of this for the colonizers was that the Africans were more efficient for their indirect rule system. In 1946 the Social Welfare Department assumed responsibility for a boys industrial school formerly under the control of the Salvation Army.¹

¹ Gold Coast, 1953 op. cit.

In summary, the religious institutions were performing functions in their work with the Africans which the colonizers considered sufficiently functional for them that they could use the institutions to administer certain of their welfare programs.¹ Among the programs administered by the religious institutions and partially financed with Department of Welfare funds were Day Nursery Centers, Society of Friends of Lepers, Community and Social Centers as well as various mass and adult education programs.²

Welfare workers were attached to certain education schemes to work with children referred by teachers or children known to be truanting school. A social development officer was attached to the local political administration to function as an advisor on mass education and social development in rural areas.³

The fact that social welfare functioned through existing tribal structures is clear in the previous section. One must hasten to make clear the fact that these tribal structures were subverted to serve the goals of the British empire—not those of the Africans. No effort was made to preserve the basic values of these tribal groups which were functional for an effective social welfare program for the Africans.

1 Hunter, Guy The New Societies of Tropical Africa (New York: Frederick A. Praeger 1964)

2 Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development for the Year 1953 (Accra, Gold Coast, Government Printing Department) p. 9

3 Ibid

6. Program: In the early years of the department, the services were minimal, since the institution of social welfare was developed primarily to care for juvenile delinquents. Reports of progress from 1946-49 for example, refer only to the number of houses built, and the number of remand homes, approved schools and community centers built.¹ The ten-year development plan outlined the following structure for the Department of Social Welfare and Housing.²

Social Welfare and Housing

Citizenship, social cultural and recreation facilities

Probation service and treatment of juveniles

The 1951 development plan conceived the role of social welfare in broader terms. It suggested that the Department of Social Welfare consist of social welfare and social development and probation. It considered such service necessary due to break-up of the extended family systems. The persons to be helped by social welfare were the more vulnerable groups such as:

- Underprivileged and handicapped
- Needy in urban areas
- Destitute
- Blind, maimed
- Those in moral danger
- Mentally defective who are not dangerous

¹ Gold Coast: Progress Report on the Draft 10-year Plan of Development and Welfare-1946-49 (Accra, Ghana, Government Printing Dept) p. 13

² Gold Coast, Ten-Year Plan of Development and Welfare for the Gold Coast 1946/47-1950/57 (Government Printing Dept. Gold Coast) p. 46

- Beggars
- Children on the streets
- Delinquents
- Families in danger of breaking up.

To help these groups, institutions were recommended, permanent youth training camps throughout the country, community centers in towns and villages, day nurseries for working mothers and welfare offices in the towns.¹ Special programs were set up to accommodate the 45,000 returning troops from the Second World War. Twenty-four resettlement advice centers had been established and work was found for 40% of the 22,000 ex-servicemen who applied to them for employment.²

By 1952 an extensive mass literacy program was started. Of 75,000 persons registered the first year, 18,500 received certificates. Casework was expanded as a result of the establishment of local welfare offices in urban areas. Remand schools, day nurseries and youth clubs increased. The destitute aged were placed in hostels and destitute children in care of the Red Cross.³

In addition to the social welfare programs completely administered and financed by government, the following is a list of government aided associations: Day nursery committee, Child Care Society, Gold Coast

¹ Gold Coast, The Development Plan, 1951 (Accra: Government Printing Dept.) p. 20

² Gold Coast, Annual Report on the Gold Coast for the Year 1946 (Accra: Government Printing Dept.) p. 6

³ Gold Coast, Annual Report for the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development for the Year 1953 (Accra: Government Printing Department)

Amateur Sports Council.¹

7. Resources: Prior to the passage in 1940 of Colonial Development and Welfare Bill by the British Parliament, social welfare was financed primarily by religious groups. Prior to the passage of the 1940 Act, the colonial policy was laissez-faire in nature--namely that the natural operation of the market system would assure that all peoples' needs would be met.² In presenting a case for the passage of the bill, Lord Lloyd argued that the "colonies shall be able without going on the dole to get assistance for recurrent expenditure. The development of the colonial empire involves the development, not only of its material wealth, its minerals, land, water and power..but also implies the development of human resources."³ The Duke of Devonshire, arguing in support of the 1945 Colonial Development and Welfare Act indicated that prior to 1929 it was taken as axiomatic that the colonies were responsible for their own finances and it was not part of the function of the British treasury to provide any finances for them at all. This bill, he indicated, established a policy of British governmental responsibility for the improvement of the standard of life of the colonial people.⁴ The bill passed with the allocation of 120,000,000 pounds for all purposes including research spread over ten years.

1. Ibid pp. 9-13

2. MacMillan, W.-M. The Road to Self-Rule: A Study in Colonial Evolution (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1959) p. 20

3. The Parliamentary Debates, House of Lords: Official Report Vol. 116, 1940 pp. 727

4. The Parliamentary Debates: House of Lords: Official Report Vol. 135, 1945, p. 915

Even after the allocation of such funds, the Gold Coast colonial government expected local governments, run by the native leadership, to levy taxes to meet the bulk of the social welfare needs of the locality under its jurisdiction.¹ In 1946, the expected revenue from native authority treasurers was 754,336 pounds.

Personnel to man the social welfare programs included Europeans as well as Africans. The personnel for the government sponsored programs all came under the civil service system which functioned after the British pattern. A government report on the status of Africans in senior government posts for December 12, 1946 reveals that of a total of 84, not one was in social welfare.²

These persons employed in the Department of Social Welfare held a variety of positions by 1947, but not one held a position social worker. They were called Welfare Officers (various levels) and Probation Officers.³

The physical facilities for social welfare programs included community centers, social clubs, hostels, juvenile courts, probation home, homes of fit persons, industrial schools, industrial institutions, remand homes, probation homes. The government had a plan by 1947 that every new housing estate built by the government would include a community center.⁴

¹ Gold Coast, Annual Report on the Gold Coast for the Year 1946 (Accra: Government Printing Dept.) pp. 47,98,99

² Gold Coast, Annual Report on the Gold Coast for the Year 1946 (Government Printing Dept. Accra, Gold Coast) p. 136

³ Gold Coast, Ibid 1947 p. 66

⁴ Gold Coast, Ibid pp. 67-68

8. Enabling Linkages The British Colonial Office was authorized to create a formal system of social welfare in the Gold Coast by the British Parliament. Mr. McDonald, Secretary of State for the colonies, said that a separate Department of Social Services in the colonial office was set up in charge of an assistant secretary to assist in matters dealing with the public health, housing, nutrition, education, labour and prisons.¹

A social welfare officer was appointed to the Gold Coast with the charge of setting up services which "will be recruited from within the colony to provide the progressive members of the younger generation a new and most valuable way of taking their share of responsibility for the development of their own peoples."²

To facilitate the effective operation of this new emerging institution, the House of Commons, on July 13, 1943, announced that a two year course would be given at the London School of Economics. In October, 1943, 20 students from several African countries (7 Gold Coast) were trained in youth services, industrial welfare and rural welfare.³

The colonial officials had a "ready-made organ" through which to administer the social welfare programs in the non-municipalities in the "native administration". These native administrations were set up on the theory that indirect rule was the most efficient manner in which to administer the Africans in the rural areas. They, therefore, had set

up

¹ Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, Official Report
Vol. 345 1939, p. 403

² Mair, L. P. Welfare in the British Colonies (London: The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1944) pp. 101-109

³ Ibid p. 101-109

up a complex structure for the rural areas which consisted of district council systems.

The technique of indirect rule was to install a small but highly efficient army and police force to keep the peace, and to find or create a loyal group of traditional rulers to function somewhat as before but with the moral, financial, military and ideological backing of Britain. This technique also included a civil service bureaucracy with Europeans as senior officers and Africans as Junior officers. For performing such a task as (1) getting support for British designed programs, (2) supplying labour for European's homes, mines and plantations, (3) recruiting soldiers, (4) collecting taxes, (5) suppressing certain local cultural forms (6) suppressing violence, these traditional rulers received money, power, prestige and patronage.^{1,2}

It was this structure then, which was utilized for establishing the welfare programs in the village.

9. Diffused Activities. It can be said that diffusion of the institution of social welfare occurred on three levels;³ (1) the training of civil service personnel (2) training of volunteer personnel and (3) education or training of the beneficiaries of the program.

The British government had certain values which it wished to

¹ Drake, St. Clair, "Traditional Authority and Social Action in Former British West Africa" in Hannah, John William (ed) Independent Black Africa: The Politics of Freedom (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1964) pp. 302-303

² Boahen, A. Adu, Topics in West African History (London: Logman Green & Co. Ltd. 1966) pp. 135-136

disseminate among the Africans in the Gold Coast. For the most part, these values were quite different from those maintaining in the traditional culture. This was a direct result of the fact of colonization and industrialization. The developers of this new institution held certain knowledge, skill and attitudes and values which they wished to have disseminated in order to assure the life and integration of this new organ in the total life of Africans. This process began in 1943 with the two year training course at the London School of Economics.

3 In 1946 a School of Social Welfare was established by the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development to train persons appointed as assistant welfare officers, assistant mass education officers, assistant hospital welfare officers, assistant industrial welfare, assistant personnel officer. This was a nine-month training course, and those completing it were required to remain with the service for five years.¹

Community development was the major organ through which the non-paid persons on the village level became to learn about and participate in social welfare. The principles of community development were clearly enunciated at the 1954 Asridge Conference. They included concepts of self-help, local initiative, knowledge of people in their setting. A variety of training took place including child care, physical training, first aid, literacy, agriculture, home crafts, construction, democratic participation, housekeeping, individual responsibility, value of work, etc

¹ Carlson, Victor, Current Activity Report No. 1 for April, 1961

² DeSautoy, Peter, Community Development in Ghana (London: Oxford University Press, 1958) pp. 2-40

The rigid bureaucracy of the British civil service system with its prescribed positions and role expectations served as a very basic system for assuring the continued existence of the institution. This, coupled with the strong colonial governmental control of the Gold Coast.

C. Social Welfare Institutions Develop in Kenya in the Colonial Era

It is not known precisely when an organized system of social welfare developed in Kenya in terms of the national government assuming responsibility for a more or less uniform system of social welfare. Because Kenya's colonial history differs from the other three countries in terms of the number of European settlers in the country and the responsibilities which they assumed for the development of stable structures, the local governmental units began to develop limited welfare programs as early as 1945.

The records show that there was a social welfare office in 1945. The director of education acted as social welfare officer. A Distressed Persons Committee administered the Distressed Persons Vote which provided some financial assistance to the destitute. By 1947 this service became known as the Social Welfare Organization, and again in 1948 it was changed to the Office of the Commissioner for Social Welfare. In 1952 the Ministry for Health, Lands and Local Government took over the responsibility for the administration of the Distressed Persons' Vote. Some years later Relief of the Distress Vote and its administration was shifted back and forth from the Ministries of Health, Lands, Local Government, Health and Town Planning, Local Government and Lands, Health and Social Affairs, Housing, Labour and Social Services to its current position in the Ministry

of Cooperatives and Social Services. In 1956 the name of "Distressed Persons' Committee" was changed to that of Advisory Committee for Relief of Distress. The Committee was dissolved in 1956, but it is not known if the functions were dissolved or became a part of another structure.¹

1. Manifest and Latent Motives for the Establishment of Social Welfare in Kenya

While there were manifest humanitarian motives involved in the establishment of governmental social welfare programs in Kenya, there were also latent motives related to the maintenance of "law and order". This emphasis was related to the Mau Mau movement. Landor² has indicated that the first service was a probation program started around 1946. It was a bare minimum program—basically repatriation and designed to keep the African "troublemakers" on the reserves allocated for them. Therefore when the young Kenyans came into the large towns and caused trouble for the "White settlers", it was the job of the probation officer to find a relative in African territory who would take the child. When this system failed to work effectively during the Mau Mau movement, when numerous parents were jailed, the local authorities felt obliged to establish some type of care for these vagrant children. At this time, (around 1957) positions of inspector of children and social welfare officers were created for the express purpose of finding places (foster homes) for these children to live. A solution was formed by local authorities which was to develop children's emergency camps.³

¹ Ankrah, Maxine, Correspondence Kenya Senior Social Welfare Officer, November 25, 1968

² Landor, Interview United Nations Social Welfare Officer, July 9, 1968

³ Landor, op. cit

2. Leadership

As was the case with most British African colonies, the initiative for governmental social welfare services normally originated with the British Parliament and the Colonial Office. In the case of Kenya, the initiative for the central government probation service originated with the British Colonial Office. The initiative for local government social welfare service originated with the Kenya legislative council.

It must be observed that the "white settlers" who aimed to make Kenya their home dominated the legislative council and were reluctant to have money spent on the welfare of the Africans.

3. Doctrine

Kenya was controlled by the same doctrine of the other three countries governing social welfare. In addition, however, was the notion that the African's basic needs were to be met through the combination status and contract system. In this system the African laborers lived in huts provided by the Europeans and engaged in "semi-forced" labour for the Europeans in exchange for minimum food, clothing and shelter. The rigid "pass system" maintaining in Kenya at the time forbade Africans to be in the cities and "white settlers" territories without a pass. This meant that they must be employed (belong to) by a "white settler" or a farmer or in some similar type employment. The concept of "native administration" was also perceived by the legislative council and local governments as the system through which the African needs were to be met. This, despite the fact that the best farm lands had been wittingly and unwittingly confiscated by the Europeans. The Municipal Affairs officer of Nairobi conceptualized this policy in 1946 by saying, "the policy adopted in social welfare work is to identify the African more closely

with his own development--self-help."¹

It is necessary to observe that while this policy was quite consistent with that of most of the tribal groups in Kenya, particularly the Gikuyu, it was no longer a tenable one since they had now lost their valuable lands. Unlike Sierra Leone and Ghana where "semi-tribal" mutual aid societies were numerous, Kenya Africans did not develop such groups. This fact can, in part be attributed to the fact that the Kenya Africans were constantly involved in a state of disruption and alienation and thus had no opportunities to develop such societies.

4. Administrative Structure

The development of social welfare services in Kenya were so haphazard or ad hoc that a well defined structure during the colonial era is difficult to isolate. Perhaps it can be said that essentially five types of structures existed, namely (a) a central government structure, (b) a municipal government structure, (c) a "native administration" structure, (d) a voluntary structure, and (e) mission societies.²

There was no separate social welfare department in Kenya. The Commissioner of Social Welfare was a chief personnel assistant to the child native commissioner. It was a branch of the administration. Policy for the Commissioner of Welfare came from the African Affairs Committee.³

¹ Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, Report of Native Affairs, 1946-47 (Nairobi, Government Printing Dept, 1949) p. 87

² Kenya, Annual Report of the Federation of Social Services in Kenya 1956/57 (Nairobi: Kenya (address by J. R. Gregory)

³ Colony and Protectorate of Kenya Annual Report of the Welfare Organization of Kenya Colony, 1949 (Nairobi, Government Printing Dept., 1950) p. 1

The department had eight district welfare officers, each under the administrator. The African welfare workers were trained by social welfare organizations at the Jeanes School Training Centre and were both employed and paid by local native councils. They worked under the direction of a European district welfare officer.¹ The central welfare service was located in the Ministry of Local Government and Health and Housing.

5. Functional Relationships

The extent to which the initiation of the rudimentary social welfare institution consciously and deliberately planned to create a permanent institution to meet the basic needs of the Kenya Africans is questionable. The needs of the Africans in Kenya were quite secondary and one has the impression that social welfare for Africans was essentially ad hoc. The European settlers probably considered that they were essentially dealing with a transitory situation and that eventually if they were sufficiently repressive, the Africans would retreat to the lands reserved for them (except needed laborers) and live their own lives under "native administration" and leave the white settlers alone. The "white settlers" had control of government and the economically productive resources in the society as ways of assuring that their basic needs got met. In instances where some failed in economic structure, there were the numerous European voluntary associations and the local distress relief fund to assist them. The Legislative Council then found it more economical and less bother for them, to allocate to the "native administration" responsibilities for caring for the Africans. The

¹ Ibid pp. 1-2

government also utilized the voluntary organizations and local administrations as units through which to provide social welfare services.

6. Programmes

Community development was an aspect of the social welfare service provided. It was defined as the development of citizenship in the widest sense. This service was devoted principally to Africans in Kenya. The service focused on education of personnel, local government, provision of service for the vulnerable in society, education of Africans regarding government policy and how it affects him in his geographic area, training of African leaders, stimulation and encouragement of a sense of communal responsibility, social service and dissemination of information to all Africans.¹ Among the specific activities of the community development section were:

- a. House construction.
- b. Construction of youth centers
- c. Adult literacy
- d. Leadership training for women's clubs and youth centers.
- e. Colony sports.

Child Welfare Services: by 1949 there were two pre-schools serving 100 African children and African welfare services for school children.³

¹ Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, Report of the Planning Committee (Nairobi: Government Printing Dept., 1951) p. 3

² H.M.S.O. Report on the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya for the Year 1960 (London: H.M.S.O. 1963) pp. 65-66

³ Colony of the Protectorate of Kenya op. cit

Youth Welfare Services included European, African and Asian scouts.

Family Welfare: The Community Center Associations were operated by government welfare officers providing general welfare work. There were 69 such centers in rural areas, 63 supported by native councils with small government grants for building construction. Family assistance (financial) was provided primarily by voluntary clubs.

Care for the Aged: The African family system was supposed to care for these persons, and when this failed these persons were placed in Louise Decker Homes and Eventide Homes.

Social Insurance and Social Security Schemes: there were no such schemes. The Labour Department was expected to assure that African workers were treated humanely by employers.¹

Care of the Beggars: there was no standardized system of caring for such persons. There were, however, several alternative courses of action for the local authorities (the level of government usually responsible for such persons:

- a. Arrest and jail
- b. Training
- c. Almshouse - at partial governmental expense
- d. Rehabilitation center or Salvation Army
- e. Relatives²
- f. Vote for Relief of distressed person:³ This fund was administered

¹ Colony and Protectorate of Kenya op cit pp. 3-6

² Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, Report of the Incidence of Destitution Among Africans in Urban Areas (Nairobi: Govt. Printer, 1954) pp. 2-3

³ Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, Report on Relief and Distress Among Europeans and Africans (Nairobi, Government Printing Dept, 1954)

by the social welfare division of the Ministry of Local Government, advised by the Advisory Committee for Relief of Distressed Persons. Representatives from all voluntary organizations were on the committee. In June, 1963, 50,000 pounds were spent by the Vote for Relief of Distressed Persons as there was a sharp rise in the number of distress cases.¹

Voluntary Service Organization: In 1957 there were 38 such organizations in Kenya coordinated through the federation of social services in Kenya administered by the Minister of Local Government and Housing. The members included:

League of Mercy
 E. J. Jewish Guild
 Louise Decker Memorial Homes
 Inner Wheel Clubs of Nairobi
 H. H. The Aga Khan's Personal Education Board
 Kenya Branch of British Red Cross
 Church Missionary Society
 Kenya Girl Guides Association
 Holy Family Conference of St. Vincent de Paul
 E. A. Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals
 Social Service League-Nairobi
 Ndaragwa African Center
 Y.W.C.A.
 British Legion, Kenya
 St. John Ambulance Association
 H. H. Aga Khan's Ismailia Provincial Council
 Christian Council of Kenya
 Nairobi City Council
 Nakuru Country Council (Social Service Committee)
 Municipal Bod of Kisumu
 Lady Morthery Home for Children
 Y.M.C.A.
 Abedare County Council
 Salvation Army
 Kenya Discharged Prisoners' Aid Association
 Nairobi Soldiers, Sailors and Airmen's Families Association
 Askaris Families Welfare Committee

¹ H.M.S.O. Report on the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya for the Year 1960 (London: H. M. S. O. 1963)

Cutchi Guyarati Hindu Union
 County Council of Narasha
 County Council of Nairobi
 The Maendeleoya Wanawake (Progress for African Women)
 Kenya European Welfare Society
 Child Welfare Society of Kenya
 Professional and Business Women's Clubs
 Mission to Seamen Appeal Fund, Nairobi
 The Save-the-Children's Fund, Nairobi
 Sheikh Fozal Ilaki Noor din Charitable Trust¹

7. Diffused Activities

It is necessary to indicate that a base minimum of training was required or provided for the staff.² Some training for African welfare workers was provided by the Community Development Program.³ African welfare workers were also trained by the social welfare organization at the Jeanes School Training Center and refresher courses in the Center C. training center.⁴

At the Jeanes School training included visual, literature and libraries, debates, discussion, plays, recreation, home management, nutrition, first aid, club work, home crafts, remedial work, general citizenship and administration.⁵

8. Resources

Funding for the several social services provided in Kenya came from the central and local governments, private contributions of citizens (primarily Europeans) native administration and from the British colonial

¹ op. cit.

² Landor, U. N. Social Welfare Officer, Interview, 7/9/68

³ Colony and Protectorate of Kenya Report on Planning Committee 1951 (Nairobi: Government Printing Dept.)

⁴ Colony and Protectorate of Kenya Annual Report of the Welfare Organization of Kenya Colony (Nairobi: Government Printing Dept. 1950)

⁵ Ibid

development and welfare act. In addition to these funding sources were religious groups and UNICEF and WLTO.

Personnel included Africans, Asians, Europeans. While African and European staff worked with Africans, only European staff worked with Europeans and Asians with Asians. Most junior level staff was local, and much of the senior level staff came directly from Britain.

D. The Institution of Social Welfare in Sierra Leone During the Colonial Era

Sierra Leone was experiencing some of the same types of problems as the Gold Coast at the time that the social welfare institution began to emerge. The major problem which concerned the colonial power, however, was officially defined as juvenile delinquency which was quite extensive in the urban centers.

The British government set up a commission of inquiry to discover cause and cure for juvenile crime with Alexander Patterson as head in 1942-43. Upon completion of the inquiry Patterson recommended that a social development office be established to deal with social problems in Sierra Leone. The office was officially set up in 1944. During the year, the major actions taken were designed to cope with juvenile delinquency, primarily through court procedures, institutionalization and repatriation. The program was designed on much the same order as the one in Britain. A remand home was opened at Kingtona, an approved school in Freetown, a juvenile court and a community centre. The juvenile court consisted of a magistrate, justice of peace, probation officer, police officer and a court clerk.¹

¹ Betts, V. O., Notes delivered at a Seminar at Fourah Bay College, June 9, 1966

In 1945 as a result of British Parliamentary action, two Sierra Leone probation officers were sent to the London School of Economics to study.¹

In 1948 the first welfare office was opened in Lunsar, in 1949 one in Bo and Mayamba and in 1950 one in Kenema. Between 1948 and 1953 four community centers were opened by the central government. In 1951 the Ministry of social welfare was set up. A community development administrator was appointed in 1950 and the first project started in 1952. These projects included road construction and installation of water supply.²

The following material which describes the institution of social welfare included the period from 1948 when the institution formally began to 1961 when Sierra Leone received its independence.

1. The Manifest and Latent Motives for the Development of Social Welfare

The Colonial office created the office of social development for the purpose of dealing with social problems, particularly those having to do with youth engaged in delinquency. It is known, however, that at the time of creation of the office, there was a great deal of unrest, and indeed rioting, sufficient to cause the colonial office to appoint a committee to study the situation and make recommendations. The committee admitted that the grievances which caused the rioting were legitimate since the Africans were forced to live at such a low level.

The risings were due mainly to the fact that youth, knowing of

th

¹ Ibid

² Ibid

the democratic ideology for which Africans were helping the British fight World War II were restless to share in the "good life". Their expectations were raised, and in frustration they engaged in criminal behavior against the British. While it cannot be denied that the British government was concerned with the rise of juvenile delinquency, it was obviously much more concerned with the maintenance of law and order, and thus perceived that a social welfare program would help achieve such a goal.

2. Leadership

The initial leadership responsible for the creation of the institution included the British parliament, British colonial office, the study commission and Alexander Paterson. In the institution's later development, however, an advisory committee was formed for the purpose of advising on social welfare needs and policies. This committee consisted of a representative from voluntary organizations, mission groups, the muslim community, government and the citizenry.¹ Through the passage of various ordinances the legislative council played a continuing role in the development of social welfare. Indeed it was the legislative council which passed ordinances creating the probation service,² and the services to young children without guardians.³ Sierra Leone women who have always been active in various social action activities, led a verbal fight with the legislative council to do more than repatriate or institutionalize juvenile delinquents, but to provide services.⁴

¹ Sierra Leone, Report of the Social Welfare Department in 1954 (Freetown: Government Printing Dept.) p. 1

² Sierra Leone, Annual Report of the Social Welfare Department, Year 1951 (Freetown: Government Printing Department) p. 1

³ Sierra Leone, Annual Report of the Social Welfare Department, Year 1952 (Freetown: Government printing Department)

⁴ A United Nations Social Welfare Officer, Interview (name confidential) 7/9/1968

3. Doctrine

From its very beginning the British government conceived and directed the institution, guided by its own goals for itself as well as its own values and principles. The values and principles embodied in the institution were self-help, self-reliance, local responsibility, voluntarism and punishment as a deterrent to crime. Indeed, the parliamentary proceedings in the Houses of Commons and Lords are replete with statements to the effect that local governments and colonies ought to be self-sufficient.¹ The concept of local responsibility was explicit in the tendency on the part of the legislative council in Sierra Leone to require that the native administrations raise a certain amount of money to take care of the welfare needs in the respective jurisdictions before it would allocate funds.

4. Administrative Structure

When social welfare was first set up it was a part of the department of education. In 1951 social welfare became a separate department in the Ministry of Education and Labour. The 1951 Annual Report² describes the following structures in the social welfare department:

Staff structure: The staff consisted of a social welfare officer, an assistant social welfare officer (2), a warden, headmasters, three probation officers, one youth organizer, and a warden-at the remand home. In addition to the above staff, the social welfare department also

¹ Misc. No 523, Colonial office: Social Development in British Colonial Territories: Report on the Ashridge Conference on Social Development, 1954 pp. 6-7

² Sierra Leone, Annual Report of the Social Welfare Department of the Year 1951 (Freetown: Government Printing Department)

assigned staff to the Blind committee, various schools, the King Infirmary and various other voluntary organizations.

Services structure: There was a central organization controlling the department, an approved school at Wellington in charge of a headmaster, a remand home in charge of a headmaster, a social welfare center at Bo in charge of a woman welfare assistant, a social welfare center at Lumsar and Maranya in charge of a woman welfare worker, and the community center at Freetown in charge of a warden.

5. Functional Relationships

It can be said that several forces caused the institution of social welfare to be attached to other organizations and institutions. Among these were the policy of indirect rule, economics, self-help and local responsibility.

The native administration in Sierra Leone was made responsible for helping to plan, staff, finance and administer various social welfare programs. The various social welfare services sponsored by the now well established Religious groups were also utilized by the social welfare department. The legislative council allocated money and consultative staff to assist these groups in their various welfare programs.

In the beginning of the institution of social welfare services, the Ministry of Education was the body through which the social welfare services were provided. The first assistant social welfare officer, a European woman, was attached to the Ministry of Education. During its development, the government social welfare services were located in the Ministries of Education, Health, Labor and Industry.

6. Program

The kinds of programs offered by the social welfare department were related to the following factors:

The country's priority: In his 1951 report, the governor explicitly stated that "expansion of social services, however desirable they may be in themselves, must as I see it be preceded by education and economic development without which other growth is bound to be stunted and ineffectual"¹

Philosophy of social and economic development: The philosophies of laissez-faire, self help and self-reliance which dominated this new institution were significant factors in determining the programs of the social welfare department.

Availability of Funds: Since the colonial administration was basically concerned that maximum benefit from the country benefit Britain, it was highly unlikely that adequate funds would be allocated for social welfare for the Africans. The various programs are outlined below:

Child and Youth Welfare:

Child welfare-----Recreation

Youth Welfare-----60 organizations

British Red Cross

St. John Ambulance Brigade

Welfare of Children and Young Persons Needing Special Care

Care and protection of children without satisfactory guardians.

¹ Sessional Paper no. 3 of 1951, Sierra Leone Speech and Review by his Excellency the Governor Sir George Beresford (H. M. S. O., 1951 (London: H.M.S.O., 1951)

Family Welfare:

Community Association Centers-----942 groups

Kindred social work

Case work -----Numerous problems related to tribes and
races, matrimonial difficulties, guardian-
ship, illegitimacy, predelinquency, and
numerous personal problems.

Social Welfare in the Protectorate:

Community development

Juvenile Courts

Remand Homes

Welfare Assistance to School Children

A few welfare officers were assigned to schools to
assist with various student problems.

Voluntary Organizations Assisted by Government Funds:

Boy Scouts

Girl Guides

Boys Brigade

National Youth Council

YMCA and YWCA

Kissy Sisterhood

Women's Institute at Bonthe¹

8. Resources

Table presents a picture of the amount and nature of financing
of social welfare services in Sierra Leone. It is necessary to note that

¹ Ibid

the total picture is not presented, as it does not include the funds allocated by the native administration for social welfare services.

Personnel to staff the services included British and Sierra Leonians. They were all a part of the civil service system.

The physical plants were two types: those owned and operated by the social welfare department and those owned and operated by other institutions and organizations and used by the department.

8. Enabling Linkages

Action by the British Parliament created the social welfare department and caused it to continue functioning through its various appropriations and other sanctions. The legislative council continued to be a major enabling force through its various ordinances creating new services, appropriating funds and planning activities. The British Colonial Office helped the institution through the provision which it made for two social welfare officers to receive training at the London School of Economics.

9. Diffused Activities

Training can be considered the basis method utilized to infuse the values of the new institution in addition to the actual services it provided. Training of social welfare workers was rather ad hoc, in that no training center was ever established in the country, a few workers were sent to the London School of Economics from time to time, and in-service training programs for paid and voluntary staff were sometimes held, more particularly for new workers.

E. Utilization of Semi-Tribal Associations for Social Welfare Programs

During the Colonial Era the institutions of social welfare in Kenya and Sierra Leone made deliberate efforts to utilize some of the semi-tribal associations as structures for the provision of social welfare.

Jellicoe, a social welfare officer in Sierra Leone consulted with the anthropologist Banton about the use of semi tribal associations and certain of their practices in the provision of social welfare services in Sierra Leone. One feature adopted was that existing in the Companies of dues payment as a way of financing some of the social welfare projects. By 1953, there were several women's groups which had been transformed by an African assistant of the social welfare department. The groups' initial interests was always handicrafts. Initial funds were provided by the social welfare department for the purchase of materials. After making objects, the women sold them and kept the money for their private use. The basic group was divided into sections, based on the neighborhood in which they lived and whether they were or were not literate. The meetings and programs operated much like the Women's Institutes in the United Kingdom. The groups required a great deal of leadership from the welfare officer for full attendance, and usually did not become self-sufficient. In 1954 the reorganized district councils took over responsibility for financing and policy making for the groups. The social welfare department acted in a semi-advisory capacity until the district councils could take over full responsibility. Dancing societies were also used as instruments for social welfare. These were spontaneous groups which rarely appealed for outside assistance. They originated in urban areas, but spread to the rural areas. They were

essentially friendly societies for helping members cover funeral and marriage expenses. Members paid a high entrance fee and low monthly subscriptions to the groups. These dancing societies were reorganized by the social welfare department by decentralizing them, and utilizing the societies' money to buy materials for handicrafts, and broadening their interests to include horticulture, native drama and poultry keeping. ^{1,2}

In Kenya, the Maen deleo ya Wanawake were developed as African women's organizations in 1946 by European women who were employed as part time workers. The major activities of these groups was adult education. By 1955, a full-time European worker was employed by the African district council. She was assigned a position of community development officer. There were 3,500 women's clubs in 1955 where the women were taught child care, cooking, sewing, hygiene and agriculture. ³

In Tanzania, social welfare officers organized women's clubs: using the Chief's wife as the central person. These clubs engaged in such activities as learning hygiene, child care, cooking and household management.

¹ Jellicoe, Marguerite, "Women's Groups in Sierra Leone", African Women, Vol. 1, no. 2, June 1955, pp. 35-43

² 1954 Report of Education Department of Sierra Leone, "Women's Activities in Sierra Leone", African Women, Vol. 2, No. 1, Dec. 1956, p. 12

³ Mboye, Paul, B. E. M., "The Maen deleo ya Wanawake", African Women, Vol. 2, No. 1, Dec. 1956, p. 14

⁴ "Annual Report of the Social Development Dept. in Tanganyika" African Women, Vol. 2, No. 1 Dec. 1956, pp. 18-20

Summary

The latent and manifest motives of the British Colonial Office's actions creating institutions of social welfare in the four countries can be categorized as a mixture of humanitarianism, pragmatism and enlightened self-interest as well as imperialism. These several motives affected the nature of social welfare which was developed in the country. Imperialistic motives can be considered to in part account for the fact that the British form of social welfare was introduced, without due consideration of the nature of the cultural system into which it was introduced. While the British utilized some of the Tribal structures, they did not take into consideration the basic function which these structures were designed to perform, but simply converted them to the form in which they wished to have them for administrative purposes. Enlightened self-interest can in part account for the fact that the initial social welfare services were primarily directed toward juvenile delinquents and that the service was primarily reparation. Some social welfare officials were motivated by humanitarian principles, as for example, R. N. Jones in Ghana, who fought hard for allocation of money for the provision of services in the social welfare institution in Ghana.

The beliefs introduced along with the institutions of social welfare were British, namely (a) local responsibility, (b) self reliance, (c) indoor relief, (d) efficacy of voluntarism and (e) remedial social welfare. These beliefs were reflected in the programs, financing, service structures and nature of the delivery of service in the institutions of social welfare.

The initial programs and services were in most instances geared to cope with risings, juvenile crime, and were basically custodial,

remedial and repatriation in nature. In the first stage of the development of the institutions, services were focused on the disgruntled World War II returned soldiers. While predominately recreational in nature, there were some efforts made to assist these men to find employment.

Later in the development of the institutions programs and services were directed to remedial functions in relation to the vulnerable population groups. In 1950's programs in mass literacy and community development were launched in each of the countries. It is not specifically known how much relative priority was given to community development as opposed to remedial types of programs. It is known, however, that the Africans were increasingly pressing for more adult education.

Kenya, as opposed to the other three countries had more voluntary organizations. This can be explained in terms of the nature of colonization in Kenya. The Europeans who settled in Kenya found the climate conducive, and therefore aimed to take control and remain in Kenya thus making it their home. Therefore they very early established voluntary organizations patterned after the British organizations and voluntaristic ideology. These organizations were established primarily for the Europeans and Asians. There were some, but few, African voluntary organizations.

The British created their own structures for administration of social welfare as well as utilized already existing voluntary organizations, tribal and semi-tribal structures. Ghana, in contrast to the other three countries had a broader program of social welfare as indicated by the size of the administrative structure and the number of staff. This can, in part, be explained by the fact that Ghana was fortunate to have a colonial leadership which was enlightened and committed to improving the well being of Africans. They also took seriously the notion of eventual

"self rule" for Ghana. Africans were minimally involved in planning, policy making and top level administration. This fact can be considered to be a major dysfunctional aspect of the administration. The policy that the "native authorities" should assume major responsibility for financing social welfare services was indeed dysfunctional, for the sources for generating such finances were terribly limited. The wealth was taken out of the country, Africans received lower salaries than Europeans in the same positions. The Africans did not have sufficient funds to finance their social welfare programs.

The British policy of utilizing existing structures and Africans in administration and service structures can be considered functional in terms of developing a core of trained leaders and personnel and providing the unintended consequences of raising the expectations of Africans as they became aware of their relative deprivation state, and increasingly demanded more and more from the system.

It can be said that prior to the formal establishment of institutions of social welfare in these four African countries, social welfare was in stage I of development. There were a variety of practices based on beliefs and values which provided basic social welfare services. These practices were not organized but engaged in by various tribal, semi-tribal, religious and mutual aid organizations. The basis for the practices derived from beliefs in humanitarianism, the efficacy of good work, a life after death, obligation to the ancestral spirits. Care was given primarily to vulnerable groups. Stage II of social welfare began when the British formally established institutions of social welfare in the countries around 1942 to 1945. Social welfare became an organized governmentally sponsored program.

VI. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Any country faced with development in this 20th century has a herculean task. The developing black African-controlled governments have the almost impossible task of attempting to move into the 20th century while competing with the highly technical and economically advanced countries of the "Soviet bloc" and "Western bloc" nations.

Among the problems faced by the developing African nations are:

1. Poorly developed economic capacity for competing on the world market.
2. Extremely limited capital and potential for generating capital.
3. Poorly developed human resources.
4. The "demonstration effect" causing the masses to develop attitudes of "relative deprivation".
5. A history of colonialism.
6. Valuable raw materials tied to foreign investors.
7. People who are divided in terms of race, tribe, political ideology and social class.
8. Dependence on external sources for capital.

The governing elite of these countries are essentially committed to an ideology that the economic aspects of the country must be developed and that all people should work toward this goal, as well as share the fruits of its attainment. The leaders are also committed to a concept of long range planning for development. Faced with crucial problems which change in intensity and nature frequently, the leaders (despite the ideology) find themselves unable to begin to match needs with resources. One finds the leaders establishing priorities based on immediate needs, anticipated external resources, political factional pressures and on what is in the best interest of the country on a long term basis. In the

early stages of independence, for a multiplicity of reasons, there was a tendency on the part of the governing elite to assign high priority to the development of those units of society considered the most likely to result in greater production of goods. Social welfare was not originally perceived as a unit likely to result in a greater production of goods. It was primarily perceived as a unit which would drain rather than contribute to the economic resources of the countries. It can be said that this perception of social welfare in national development was related to, or caused by, the acceptance of social welfare as having primarily a remedial function. The institutions of social welfare inherited by the governing elite of these countries was primarily remedial in function. The British Parliament and the British Colonial Office established these institutions between 1942 and 1945 in each of the four countries. The British government had a tendency to operate in ad hoc fashion at the time, and therefore established primarily remedial types of programs designed to respond to specific pressing problems.

Soon after the governing elite began to analyze the various units of government, in relation to the national development needs of the country, they recognized that social welfare could and indeed should contribute to the nation building task. The leaders recognized that political freedom was not a sufficient outcome of independence. The masses expected improvement in the social and economic aspects of their lives. They expected jobs, education, help with their children, better food, roads, health services and adequate income. Young men who had helped to gain political independence now demanded to share in the "good life". It can be assumed that these were among the factors which led the leaders to reformulate their notion about social welfare. Social welfare was formulated as a unit whose function was primarily developmental.

It included caring for the vulnerable in the society as well as developing and utilizing the total human resources of the country. Thus, services to care for the handicapped, aged, children without parents and juvenile delinquents continued. This was consistent with Nyerere's concept of "African Socialism" which recognized that there were those in the society who perhaps would require a great deal of help before they could become self-reliant. The developmental concept of social welfare was to include programs and services directed toward the development of human resources and physical infra-structure which would have payoff value for national development. The programs in this category include child development, youth development, women's development, community development, and social and economic security systems.

Generalizations are made with caution, due to the limitations of the data and the inability to do "on site" investigation. The investigation does, however, reveal some general insights into the nature of the development of social welfare in the developing African nations under study.

Social Welfare was Primarily Remedial During the Colonial Era

The British government through the Parliament, Colonial Office, and the Legislative Assemblies in each of the four countries formally developed social welfare institutions. Prior to the formalization of social welfare services, religious groups, well intentioned European women, and tribal groups provided social welfare services on an ad hoc basis. In the late 1930's and early 1940's several changes occurred in Britain, the African countries and the world, which resulted in changes in social welfare need meeting systems.

1. The British people were reassessing their social welfare ideology, programs, and structures. The Fabian Socialists and the British Labour Party, motivated by humanitarianism, desire for efficient government and practical factors, formulated a welfare state concept of social welfare based on a socialistic ideology which perceived society as a social organism. This rethinking about the responsibility of government in social welfare had a "spin off" effect into the British held African territories.
2. World War II, epitomizing the fight for freedom, democracy and equality was to effect the Africans in several ways. African young men fought on the side with British thus becoming aware of the ideology for which the war was being fought. The Western Allies had army bases in several of the African countries thus bringing "easy spending" practices to the countries. The young Africans became aware of their "relative deprivation" and engaged in theft, riots and other delinquent behavior.
3. Africans returning from the war demanded a better life than they knew before the war. They had fought for the British government and insisted on sharing the benefits.
4. "Law and Order" were considered by the British to be basic prerequisites to the efficient operation of the colonies. The constant "risings" were considered by the British to be dysfunctional to the efficiency goal.

Motivated by the above forces and others, formal government Ministries and Departments of Social Welfare were created. Implicit in the above motivations is the focus which social welfare was to take. The focus was on protecting British colonial interests, assisting the veteran returning from World War II, continuing and encouraging the various voluntary programs for the aged, disabled, orphaned children and community centers for young people. The social welfare programs and services,

supported by the Ministries and Departments of Social Welfare were orphanages, community centers, remand homes, approved schools, repatriation, women's work, recreation and employment services for the returned veterans. Rudimentary community development programs began to be established in the countries around 1945. The major focus was on adult literacy.

The Institutions of Social Welfare in Ghana, Sierra Leone
Kenya and Tanzania are Primarily Developmental in Function
in the Independence Era

At independence the new leaders faced numerous limitations as they attempted the task of nation building. Committed to the welfare state principles embodied in the ideology of African socialism which they had accepted as the basis for national development, the leaders now had to plan to meet the welfare goal. The planning process involved an assessment of the current and long term demands and needs of the people and the available resources. In the initial stages priority was given to the development of the economic sector on the assumption that this would automatically result in improved living conditions. The leaders soon became aware that economic development was dependent upon social development, and that social welfare was not necessarily a liability, but that the two forces are each basic elements in the equation of national development.

The function of social welfare was changed from that of being primarily remedial to that of being primarily developmental to meet the challenge of nation building. The social welfare programs and services which can be categorized as performing basically developmental functions are: national youth service, children's development, women's development, community development and social and economic security. While more symbolic than real in terms of coverage, they contribute to national development in the following ways:

1. They each help to "socialize" the population to the goals, values, and behaviors necessary for building a nation and for effective living in a modernizing society.
2. They provide opportunities for individuals to work for their country in the present as well as prepare for work in the future.
3. The potential for the development of a spirit of national unity can be built into these programs.
4. The likelihood of delinquent behaviors is minimized, for youth are engaged in self fulfilling activity and are identified with the goals, values and expected behaviors of the country.
5. These programs help develop leadership and skilled personnel amongst the Africans, thus hastening the "Africanization" process.
6. Each of the countries have very little capital. Many of these programs with good management, a sound ideology and adequate personnel, can function with minimum demand on scarce finances.
7. When individuals are meaningfully engaged in building their country, and their basic needs are met, they are less likely to engage in activities to overthrow the government.

During the Colonial and Independence Eras
There Were Societal Forces Which Were
Functional and Dysfunctional to Social
Welfare

The data required to respond to this hypothesis were not available. One would need first to formulate the variables in the system which are relevant to the hypothesis. This would require more knowledge about the various units in the system than was attainable for this study. One would then need to determine the manifest motives of the various units.

in the system, and how the units are related to each other and the entire social system in order to determine if the manifest motives of these units functioned in such a manner as to maintain and support the system. Data regarding latent functions are even more difficult to acquire. Value judgements is another variable which would need to be considered in dealing with this hypothesis. While the necessary data were not available to make firm generalizations regarding the hypothesis, the following statements can nevertheless be made:

1. If one views British colonization of African territories as an historical fact, it is possible to say that some colonial practices and beliefs had consequences which when viewed in the context of independence were advantageous and disadvantageous to the social welfare of Africans.

a. The "New Imperialist" doctrine resulted in policies, designed to protect the property rights of the Africans. The African tribes depended upon their land tenure system to meet their basic social and economic security needs. Secondly, a policy was developed for providing basic public services for the Africans such as education, medical care, public health, sewage system, and roads.

b. The indirect rule policy had the following desirable social welfare consequences for the Africans:

(1) introduction of a formal system of basic social services such as education, health, public facilities, provision of food, clothing and shelter during periods of famine.

(2) fostered the notion of planning for social services amongst the tribal groups.

- (3) native authorities became a part of the British Civil Service system and were therefore paid wages thus improving the welfare of some of the Africans.
 - (4) Africans received training for their jobs and thus were able to enhance the well being of their families.
- c. A significant undeniable social welfare consequence of indirect rule was disruption of the tribal system whose related parts prior to the introduction of indirect rule by the British functioned in such a manner as to assure that those persons who were members of tribes had their basic needs met. The colonial officials disrupted the tribal system but did not fully provide adequate substitutes for many of the social welfare functions formerly provided by this system. This resulted in delinquent practices among youth, lack of respect for tribal leaders and tribal mores, alienation amongst tribal members, decreased feelings of mutual responsibility.
- d. The British introduced to Africans a concept that man could control his environment, thus influencing the Africans to assume more responsibility for changing the conditions of their lives, such as improving their farming methods.
 - e. The British abolished slavery practices in their African held territories.
 - f. The British economic practice of taking the valuable natural resources from the African territories and not adequately compensating them had, and continues to have disadvantageous consequences for the social and economic well being of the African

- g. The British colonial officials' practice of hiring Africans only for low level civil service jobs had the consequences of building in rigidity, and a habit of blindly following orders, has perhaps had the consequence of building up a social welfare personnel with limited ability to be imaginative and innovative.
- h. Some British colonial and imperialist practices created amongst the Africans a sense of "relative deprivation" which resulted in the eventual establishment of a formal system of social welfare and eventual "self government".
2. The modernization process (a goal of the African nations) generally requires that people develop a different set of life styles and beliefs. In the case of the developing African nations the traditional tribal allegiances can be considered to be a handicap to a social welfare concept which posits that each person contributes to the nation and benefits therefrom. Basic to the modernization process in the countries are changes in the agricultural system, the traditional land tenure system and the tribal allegiance.
3. Political forces in the independence era impose strain on all units of government. These strains have had beneficial as well as non-beneficial effects for social welfare. National Youth Service programs in Kenya and Ghana grew out of political factors. The widespread nursery school system in Ghana resulted from political pressures. It can be said that some capital and manpower which might well have gone to social welfare has been spent in coping with threatened coups d'état, police and army expansions, establishment of new government, mismanagement resulting from pressure to hire certain persons despite lack of competence.

4. The fact that the four countries must depend upon bilateral aid for most social welfare programs are assets and liabilities. A major liability is the inability of the countries to do adequate long range or short range planning for some social welfare projects as they cannot accurately predict funding. Major assets are the introduction of needed innovations, trained manpower, capital and equipment.
5. African socialism as a slogan and an ideology can be considered an advantage to social welfare because it contains the notion of welfare state, mutual responsibility, self reliance and hard work.

General Findings in Relation to the Questions Which the Study Sought to Answer

Limitations imposed by the data are reflected in the extent to which the question can be answered definitively. Nevertheless, the following generalizations can be made:

1. The basic limitations which faced the institutions of social welfare at independence were inadequate financing and manpower, political activities which resulted in poor administration of programs, coup d' états, and lack of a firmly developed concept of what social welfare manpower should be in a newly developing African nation and lack of an adequate supply of African manpower.
2. The potential resources in the independence era to enhance the development of social welfare with minimum use of scarce finances are ideology of African socialism, natural resources, human resources, traditional structures and a people who assign high priority to education

3. The tribal structures, beliefs and practices which might be utilized to perform social welfare functions are: (a) the concept of mutual aid, (b) the emphasis on the group, (c) the semi-tribal associations, (d) the position "Queen" in the tribal structures and (e) the belief that each family member should contribute to the well-being of the family but those unable to contribute should be cared for.
4. It was not possible to assess the relative merits of a social welfare structure in which all government social welfare is located in one Ministry as opposed to several. The data only revealed that each of the four countries has government social welfare services administered through several Ministries. No data were available as to the reasons for this pattern. It might be assumed that such a pattern is less expensive and facilitates the necessary integration of the various programs in the Ministries which in most instances have a greater impact if integrated.
5. Social Welfare functions are consciously performed in the education system in the countries. Social Welfare officers provide counselling services to school children in selected urban schools who experience problems. Various religious sponsored social welfare organizations receive financial support from the government to perform what the governments consider to be useful social welfare functions. The community development programs are directly related to the economic unit of the government. Individuals are taught a variety of skills related to production, distribution and consumption. While it is recognized that much research is needed to increase the current scarcity of knowledge about social welfare in the developing African nations,

this exploratory study revealed the following areas for further research:

1. A demonstration or experimental study designed to deal with the problem of how and if social welfare functions can be performed in the context of the semi-tribal associations.
2. A study of the attitudes and beliefs of the governing elite regarding the use of tribal structures for the performance of social welfare functions.
3. A study of a selected group of "modernized" young African couples residing in urban areas who have dependent aged persons living with them to determine the attitudes and practices of the young couples toward these dependent persons.
4. A survey of a selected group of primarily remedial and primarily developmental social welfare programs in order to arrive at variables relevant to measuring the relative impact of the two types of social welfare functions on national development.
5. A significant area for study would be that of exploring the humanizing effect of social welfare in the colonial and independence eras.

APPENDIX A

Merton's Paradigm for Functional Analysis¹

1. The items to which functions are imputed i.e., social role institutional patterns, social processes, cultural patterns, culturally patterned emotions, social norms, group organization, social structure, devices of social control, etc.
2. Concepts of subjective dispositions (motives, purposes).
3. Concepts of objective consequences (function, dysfunction).
 - (a) Functions are those observed consequences which make for the adaptation or adjustment of a given system.
 - (b) Dysfunctions are those observed consequences which lessen the adaptation or adjustment of the system.
 - (c) In any given instance an item may have functional and dysfunctional consequences, giving rise to the difficult and important problem of evolving canons for assessing the net balance of the aggregate of consequences.
 - (d) Manifest functions are those objective consequences contributing to the adjustment or adaptation of the system which are intended and recognized by participants in the system.
 - (e) Latent functions are those which are neither intended nor recognized. These unanticipated consequences of action and latent function can be clearly defined. They may be of three types:
 - (1) Those which are functional for a designated system and these comprise latent function.

- (2) Those which are dysfunctional for a designated system and these comprise the latent dysfunction.
 - (3) Those which are irrelevant to the system which they affect neither functionally nor dysfunctionally i.e., pragmatically unimportant.
4. Concepts of the unit subserved by the system i.e., individuals in diverse status, sub-groups, the larger social group, etc.
 5. Concepts of functional requirements (needs, prerequisite of a given society).
 6. Concepts of mechanisms through which functions are fulfilled, i.e., social mechanism (role-segmentation, insulation of institutional demands, hierarchic ordering of values, social division of labor, ritual, enactment, etc.
 7. Concepts of functional alternatives (functional equivalent or substitute), i.e., range of possible variation in the items which can in the case under examination subsume a functional requirement. It unfreezes the identity of the existent and the inevitable.
 8. Concepts of structural context (or structural constant) (range of possibilities are limited).
 9. Concepts of dynamics of change.

Prerequisite to Describing the Item

1. Location of the participants in the pattern within the social structure.
2. Consideration of alternative modes of behavior excluded.
3. Emotive and cognitive meanings attracted by the participants.

4. A distinction between the motivation for participating in the pattern and the objective behavior involved in the pattern.
5. Regularities of behavior not recognized by participants but which are nonetheless associated with the central pattern of behavior.

APPENDIX B

Esman-Bruhn Institution Building Model¹

The authors define an institution as an organization which incorporates, fosters and protects normative relationships and action patterns and performs functions and services valued in the environment. They define institutionalization as the "process by which normative relationships and action patterns are established... The institutional approach emphasizes not only the instrumental characteristics, nor is the focus of analysis and action primarily on the structural, functional and behavioral elements internal to the organizational system... In institutionalization we are concerned with purposes and values which extend beyond the immediate task at hand, with the spreading of norms which affect participants and clientele beyond the functional and productive specialization of institution."

The authors suggest the following design for a studying institution.

A. Analytical Concepts

1. The structure of the institution as a system with a set of elements or variables which in the interrelationship, determine the behavior of the entity in the performance of its action.
2. Specification of the environment with which the institution interacts, i.e., specification of the relevant environment and its properties -- kinds and purposes of transactions conducted between the institution and its environment including exchange of goods and services and power, influence and values.

¹Esman, Milton and Bruhn, Fred. "Institution Building in National Development: An Approach to Induced Social Change in Transitional societies" in Comparative Theories of Social Change, Peter Hollis, (ed.) Foundation on Human Behavior, Ann Arbor, Michigan 1966, pp. 318-343.

B. Institution Variables

1. Leadership: This refers to the group of persons who are actively engaged in the formation of the doctrine and program of the institution and who direct its operations and relationships with the environment:

- political viability
- political acceptability and survival power of the members of the leadership group
- professional stature
- status or rank in the professional group and field of activity in the institution
- organization competence
- role distribution

2. Doctrine: The specification of values, objectives and operational methods underlying social action:

- specificity
- extent to which the elements in the doctrine supply the necessary foundation for social action in a given set
- relationship to existing norms
- conformity of doctrine elements to the intermediate goals and targets of society.

3. Program: Those actions which are related to the performance of functions and services contributing to the output of the institution:

- consistency with rules of the doctrine
- stability
- reliability of the output in quality and quantity
- feasibility regarding physical and human resources
- complimentary production of other organizations
- absorptive capacity of society
- contribution to needs

4. Resources: The physical, human and technological inputs of the institution:

- availability
- sources of input

5. Internal Structure: Structure and processes established for the operation of the institution and for its maintenance:

- identification-mechanism and processes which enhance identification of participants with the institution.
- consistency-conformance of internal structure with the rules and specifications for the institution's doctrine and program.
- adaptability-capacity to change over time to accommodate shifts in program emphasis and changing conditions.

C. Linkage Variables

Those variables which specify the interdependencies which exist between an institution and other relevant parts of society:

1. Enabling linkage: linkage with organizations and social groups controlling allocation of authority and resources for the institution.
2. Functional linkage: linkage with organizations performing functions and services complimentary in a production sense which supply inputs and use of outputs of the institution.
3. Normative linkage: linkage with institutions which incorporate norms and values relevant to the doctrine and program of the institution.
4. Diffused linkage: linkage with public opinion and relationship with the general public, news media, etc.

D. Transaction

The exchange of goods and services and the exchange of power and influence:

1. Purpose:

- to gain support and overcome resistance
- resource exchange
- structuring of the environment
- transfer of norms and values

Tests or indicators which may be used in assessing whether and to what extent institutionalization has in fact taken place.

1. The organization's ability to survive; survival may be in the form of some other institutions which have become the receptacles and protectors of these new values and norms.
2. The extent to which the institution is viewed by the environment as having intrinsic value. This may be determined by assessing the relations of the organization with the environment toward the organizations. Among the parameters to test the institutional character of the organizations are:

(a) Degree of autonomy (high). Indicators of autonomy are:

- the institution can establish rules and procedures deviating from and independent from the larger systems of which it is a part.
- the institution can acquire resources without being subject to detailed questioning of specific operational and programmatic items by invoking its acknowledged intrinsic value.
- the institution can rely on the acknowledged intrinsic value of the total institution in defending itself against attacks and encroachment on some of its elements.

(b) Influence: The institution can exert influence on the environment. Some indicators:

- the extent to which the institution influences decisions made in its functional area.
- the extent to which the institution can enlarge its sphere of action inside and outside the organization.

(c) Whether specific relationships and action patterns embodied in the organization have come normative for other social units. Measurement of the impact of spread-effect of the innovations introduced by the organization.

APPENDIX C

United Nations Model for Stages in the Development of
Institutions of Social Welfare

Stage I

The Families and mutual systems continue to function as organized social welfare services are being developed. The characteristics of the developing institutions of social welfare are: (a) no fine distinctions in functional specialization -- i.e., the workers are usually multi-purpose workers; (b) a predominance of voluntary social welfare activities; (c) much trial and error activities; (d) high priority is usually given to children in destitution, and other vulnerable groups in the population. These vulnerable groups are generally cared for by institutionalization, i.e., indoor relief.

Stage II

This stage of social welfare is characterized by (a) limited program development; (b) laws that fix the required pattern of social responsibility, i.e., who will finance the programs, level of priority, allocation of funds; (c) development of social service policy related to overall development plans; (d) programs in child welfare shift from institutionalization to programs that assist mothers in child rearing at home or substitute homes type services and care i.e., day care, supplementary food distribution, school lunches, foster placements, adoptions, (e) schools of social work begin to develop; (f) programs to stimulate latent capacity of neighborhood residents for self-help

¹United Nations, 1963 Report of the World Social Situation (New York; United Nations, 1964) p. 106.

and self-organizations appear and (g) little or no direct financial assistance for non-producing members of the population. Limited aid in kind types of assistance are available.

Stage III

This is the stage of entitlement, and inclusiveness. All persons in the population are entitled to adequate care. The goal is that everyone in the population can depend on a minimum standard of living whether he is or is not gainfully employed.

APPENDIX D

A: Description of The Four African Countries

A. Ghana

Ghana, as a former British colony was known as the Gold Coast. It became independent of Britain on March 6, 1957 when the Convention Peoples' Party under Dr. Nkrumah's leadership won the majority of the seats in the Legislative Council.¹ Prior to the 1966 coup, Ghana was a Republic with a president serving as an active Head of State. With the overthrow of Dr. Nkrumah, the army formed a National Liberation Council which rules by decree, advised by several committees - Lieutenant-General J.A. Ankrah is Chairman of the Council.

Ghana is located on the west coast of Africa and consists of 91,690 square miles of bushy and barren lands. It is estimated to have a population of 7,840,000. Education, as in all parts of Africa is highly regarded in Ghana. Universal education at the primary level was instituted soon after independence. Ghana has three major institutions of higher learning. The total enrollment in educational institutions increased considerably between 1959 and 1962.

While following a socialistic ideology with respect to social and economic development, Ghana has a mixed economy with some state enterprises, foreign-owned enterprises, enterprises jointly owned by the state and foreign interests, cooperatives and small-scale Ghanaian enterprises. Ghana's most outstanding economic development is the Volta River Project.¹

¹Legum, Colin, (ed.) Africa: A Handbook to the Continent (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1966) pp. 193-203.

²Ibid

B. Sierra Leone

Sierra Leone is a former British Colony located on the west coast of Africa. It has a tropical climate and a population of 2.18 million persons in a 28,000 square mile territory.

Sierra Leone gained independence from Britain in 1961 and became a member of the Commonwealth, with a unicameral legislature - the House of Representatives and a prime Minister. The Sierra Leone People's Party was in control of the government from 1957 to 1967 under Sir Milton Margai and Sir Albert Margai as Prime Ministers.¹ Following an army coup d' etat in 1967 the country was ruled by The National Reformation Council with Brigadier Juxon Smith at the Head. In April, 1968, the civilian regime was returned to power under Mr. Siaka Stevens, Head of the A.P.C. Party.

The estimated annual per capita income is 25 pounds. Diamond, iron ore, bauxite, gold and agriculture are the major economic resources of the country.² In 1965 there were 792 primary schools, 61 secondary schools, 8 teacher colleges and a number of technical and vocational schools.³ Despite this fact, however, Sierra Leone has about 90 per cent illiteracy.⁴

¹Ibid. pp. 223-226.

²Ibid.

³1965 Report of the World Social Situation, op. cit.

⁴Carney, op. cit., p. 358.

C. Tanzania

Tanzania was a British Colony from the end of the 1914-18 war to December 9, 1960 when it became independent. Formerly named Tanganyika, the territory became known as United Republic of Tanzania March, 1964 when it was annexed to Zanzibar. After the T.A.N.J.U. Party won the elections in 1960 Dr. Julius Nyerere (now President of the country) formed a government whose policy has been described as "African Democratic Socialism."

Tanzania, situated in East Africa, consists of 363,688 square miles with a varied climate. It has a population of 9,538,000 Africans, 22,300 Europeans and 717,300 Asians. The annual per capita income is 20 pounds with approximately one-half million Africans working for wages. While the government spends a large amount of the gross national product on education, only 40% of the school age children are in school.

D. Kenya

Kenya is a 225,000 square mile independent country located in East Africa. The land is varied, with beaches, snow-capped mountains, bush and highlands. Kenya's population is multi-racial, consisting of 8,836,000 Africans, 183,000 Asians, 49,000 Arabs and 36,000 Arabs.

The British took over Kenya in 1895 and on December 12, 1963 Kenya became independent of Britain. Mr. Jomo Kenyatta became Prime Minister shortly before independence and remains Head of the country but now as President. In 1964 Kenya became a Republic, but remains

in the British Commonwealth.

Kenya's economy is predominantly agricultural. However, only one third of its land is capable of producing crops. The highlands, formerly controlled by the European settlers, is gradually being acquired by the Kenya government for Africans. Kenya's most popular export is its coffee. The average cash income of the Africans in Kenya is 25 pounds per annum.¹ The illiteracy rate in Kenya remains at approximately 80% despite the fact that 70% of those children in the standard age range are in school.

¹Legum, Colin. op. cit. pp. 109-116.

APPENDIX E

TANZANIA NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AND WELFARE SERVICES

POLICY STATEMENT

In Tanzania where 97% of the people are in rural areas, the welfare of the individual is the responsibility of the family and community. This is a very healthy situation which must be encouraged. In towns, however, without the traditional social security of the community, growing number of people are exposed to acute social and economic problems. In Dar es Salaam, among other towns, this group is represented by an increasing number of destitutes, the physically handicapped, orphans and deserted children.

For a long time in the past some voluntary agencies and local authorities initiated various schemes with little or no co-ordination with each other. These efforts were by no means sufficient to take care of the vulnerable, especially the destitutes, physically handicapped and deserted children. In view of this problem, especially in the big urban centres, the Government took the initiative in planning for the co-ordination of Welfare Services. By taking such a lead the Government intended to stimulate the interest of the existing voluntary agencies and to enable Government to appeal to appropriate local, national and international organizations for assistance in the further development and extensions of the services planned.

The National Council is a Government sponsored organization responsible for the co-ordination and joint planning of all voluntary and official bodies concerned with Social Welfare Services. The National Council also acts as an advisory body to the Government.

The President, who is also Chairman, and the Secretary for the National Council are Government officials.

Objects of the National Council

- (A) The principal aims and objects of the Council are: to endeavor to co-ordinate all social welfare agencies including those of Government.
- (B) To act as an advisory body to Government and to all member agencies in all matters of social welfare.
- (C) To act as a representative body for all member agencies in transactions with Government and with Government Institutions.
- (D) To act as a liaison body for all member agencies and International Organizations in the field of Social Welfare.
- (E) To encourage and approve social welfare activities of voluntary organizations in co-operation with those of the Government.
- (F) To encourage the undertaking by voluntary agencies during times of emergency of projects not normally taken by them.

Structure and Composition of the Council at Present

There is a Management Committee which decides the affairs of the Council.

The Minister for Community Development and National Culture who is President of the Council, is the Chairman of the Management Committee. The Secretariat is provided by the Probation and Welfare Division of his Ministry through a full-time Social Worker. The Treasurer is an honorary officer of the Council. The Management Committee operates through the persons and emergency aid. Each Sub-committee has a Chairman, a Secretary and at least five members of the Council all appointed by the Management Committee.

The existing structure and composition of the Council will continue until the Annual General Meeting.

The Council is composed of representatives of every agency in Tanzania which is engaged in social welfare and whose membership has been

approved by the Management Committee. Such organizations include:

- (A) All Community voluntary and official organizations
- (B) All youth service organizations
- (C) All voluntary and official societies specifically concerned with the social welfare of the physically and mentally handicapped, the distressed, deprived children, etc.

Future Programme: Local Councils of Social and Welfare Services

Having established the National Council in Dar es Salaam, the immediate task is to develop and extend the structure throughout the country. This will be done by establishing local branches of the National Council to help co-ordinate social service activities at local level. Such organization will enable local bodies to gain jointly a comprehensive view of the problems which confront the welfare of the community. There will be need for thorough planning of these councils regarding the structure and relationship with the National Council - the Central Body.

When these local bodies have been established, the National Council would be in a better position to get close contact with voluntary and statutory organizations, and in so doing fulfill the aims of the National Council of Social and Welfare Services.

APPENDIX F

Problems of Old People in East Africa¹

Traditionally, in East Africa, members of a family are responsible for the welfare of their aged. Kenyatta (1961) relates how Kikuyu boys and girls at circumcision are taught that they must respect their parents and kinsfolk and look after them in their old age. According to Mboya (1963), even after money was introduced and the African came to work for wages he maintained contact with his native land and was secure in his mind that he could go back to his home and be taken care of in his old age and in sickness. In the past, it was not difficult for the family to provide some social security for its aged because families kept together and work was done communally. Today, with the spread of the money economy, young men go to town and even to other countries to work and women follow. Consequently, in many cases family ties are weakened and old people may be inadequately cared for.

In October 1966, 33 social work and social administration students (12 Kenyans, 5 Tanzanians, 16 Ugandans) at Makerere University College, each described the social situation of one old person known to him and where appropriate, indicated ways in which the social welfare services might help. Although the size of the sample was small and each student chose his old person, and tended to choose an old person who had problems, the accounts submitted suggested that some old people in East Africa may be living in varying degrees of unsatisfactory conditions and that more consideration should be given to their welfare.

The ages of the old people were not known but it was likely that most of them were at least 60 years old. In some cases the ages could be estimated by linking personal events such as marriage or the birth of the first child with historical events, such as the arrival of the missionaries or the famine in Kenya from 1897 to 1899.

Some of the old people who had lived in rural areas all their lives had been largely unaffected by the rapid social changes which had taken place in their countries.

Case I. An unhappy old Kenyan estimated to be about 95 years old, related that his first wife died of the famine in 1898. He remarried and, after divorcing this wife, married for the third time a wife who died some 30 years ago. His two children who survived childhood described him as a nuisance and his daughter-in-law gave him food irregularly. The old man lived in a hut in which the only source of warmth was a fire which constantly needed rekindling. His bedding was made of skins and his only piece of cloth was a

¹Mills, Rosemary. "The Yellow Leaf: A case study on: Problems of Old People in East Africa." East Africa Journal, Vol. IV, No. 6, Oct. 1967.

very dirty rag of an old blanket which he used to cover himself, should someone remind him of this practice. He never washed and no one would wash him. He claimed to be a witch-doctor and cured himself with drugs made from herbs which he knew very well. He had never attended hospital, believing that he would be killed there. No friends visited him and he did not know what went on in the world outside his own hut.

Although the old man's life span had passed from the pre-Colonial days to a modern independent state, he had been unaffected by the social changes which had taken place and had never benefited from any of the social services. A few of the old people had been held in high esteem in the tribal society in their younger days and resented their decline in status.

Case II

Thirty years ago an old man had been a respected chief in Sesse Island and used to pay homage to Mwanga,¹ who had a high regard for him. People had liked him and brought him goats, chickens, bales of bark cloth and many other gifts. He said that most of his property was lost in Lake Victoria when the canoes in which he was transporting it capsized. He also regretted having sold his land in Sesse Island. He complained that he used to eat and drink well, had many friends and a high status, but now he was forgotten and lived like any other old man.

Case III

An old Uganda widow said that in the past, as the wife of a chief, she was a leader of women and was held in high esteem, but since her husband's death no one had repaired her house, which was beginning to leak, so that when it rained the bed became wet. In most parts of East Africa it was considered to be the son's responsibility to look after his parents in their old age, but, as the care of old people fell largely on the women in the household, old people were very dependent on the goodwill of their daughters-in-law. Where there were no sons, or the sons could not persuade their wives to care for their old parents properly, the old parents could suffer considerable hardship.

Case IV

A man of about 65 years old, who had been a widower for three years, lived alone in a small hut a few years away from his eldest son. The man looked miserable and unhealthy. His problems were loneliness, irregular help, uncomfortable living conditions and swollen, painful feet.

¹ A former Kabaka of Buganda. Sesse Island, in Lake Victoria, is part of the former Kingdom -- Editor.

Food was brought to the old man by his grandchildren at irregular intervals, depending on when it was ready. Sometimes he lacked water to drink or to wash with. His hut was dirty, unhealthy and surrounded by bush. There was only a small path to the door. He had no proper bedding and no one to sweep his hut for him. When he asked the children to do it they did not do it properly. The nights were worse than the days because he did not sleep well. Very few people in the village visited him and when they did they did not stay long as they did not like to see the way he was living. The son also neglected his father and only visited him once or twice a week. The son had two wives but he was afraid to ask them to look after his father in case it broke up the home. The problem of being cared for by a daughter was that she had entered another kinship system and the old parents may not be very welcome. Much depended on the daughter's relationship with her husband.

Case V

An old Luo, who had survived all his wives, could only walk with the help of a stick and could not go far from the house. His only son had died and all his daughters had been married for a long time. He complained that life had no meaning for him and he wondered why God did not take his life away. His main problems were lack of proper accommodation and of good and regular food, and loneliness. The problem of loneliness was complicated by the custom that a man may not live with his married daughters, even if he had the chance.

Case VI

A stout woman, about 75 years of age, said that she was a spinster when the first Europeans arrived in Teso. Later she married a man who died in 1948. She was the first wife and there were two others. She had two sons and five daughters. In her early fifties she lived with her eldest son, leaving her husband with the younger wives. She was respected and consulted on all important family matters. She ate with the rest of the family, did little work but minded the grandchildren.

The woman's elder son, who had two wives but no children, was killed by lightning so she went to live with her younger son. A year later her husband died and shortly after this her younger son died. To make matters worse her sight failed and she became very weak.

She then lived with the son of one of the co-wives. The two co-wives died within a year or two and, as the stepson who looked after her became a drunkard and very aggressive to the rest of the family and to those for whom he was responsible, she went to live with one of her married daughters and her husband, who lived nearby. There she was

cared for, but her daughter and son-in-law were themselves becoming old and, as they were frequently out, she spent much time alone. Where there was affection between grandparents and grandchildren the lives of the grandparents could be much happier.

APPENDIX G

Voluntary Social Welfare Organizations

A. Tanzania's Social Welfare Organizations¹

1. Association for Prevention of T.B.
2. Catholic Relief Services
3. Christian Council of Tanzania
4. D'Salaam City Council
5. Muhimbili Rehabilitation Centre
6. E.A. Muslim Welfare Society
7. Shree Hindu Mandal
8. Ismailia Council of Tanganyika
9. Lutheran Social Services E.L.C.T.
10. N.U.T.A.
11. Salvation Army
12. Shri Guru Singh Sabha Sikh Community
13. St. John's Ambulance
14. St. Vincent de Paul Society
15. T.A.P.A.
16. Tanzania Boy Scouts of America
17. " Community Development
18. Tanzania Trust Fund
19. " Christian Refugee Services
20. " Girl Guides Association
21. " Red Cross Society
22. T.A.N.U.
23. " Youth League

¹Annual General Meeting, Tanzania Council of Social Welfare Services, June 5-7, 1967.

24. T.A.N.U. Episcopal Conference
25. " Legion and Club
26. " National Children's Society
27. " National Society for the Blind
28. Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania
29. T.S.F.C.A.
30. Young Men's Christian Association of Tanzania
31. Young Women's Christian Association of Tanzania

B. Kenya's Voluntary Welfare Organizations¹

1. H.H. The Aga Khan Shia Imami
2. Ismailia - Provincial Council
3. The American Women's Association
4. Arya Samaj
5. Association for the Physically Disabled of Kenya
6. Dr. Barnarda's Homes
7. Caledonian Society of Kenya
8. Catholic Relief Services
9. Child Welfare Society of Kenya
10. The Church Army in Eastern Kenya
11. The Christian Council of Kenya
12. East Africa Women's League
13. Edelvale Trust
14. The Family Planning Association of Kenya
15. Friends Services Council Housewives

¹Kenya National Council of Social Services: First Annual Report 1964-65 (Nairobi: The Regal Press Ltd.) pp. 31-32.

16. Inner Wheel Club of Nairobi
17. Kenya Association of Youth Centres
18. Kenya Boy Scouts Association
19. Kenya Catholic Secretariat
20. Kenya Floral Arrangement Club
21. Kenya Girl Guides Association
22. Kenya League of Penal Reform
23. Kenya Prisoners Aid Association
24. Kenya Red Cross
25. " Society for the Blind
26. " Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals
27. Kenya Voluntary Work Camps Association
28. Kenya Women's Society
29. Literacy Centre of Kenya
30. The Louise Decker Memorial Homes
31. Maendeleo ya Wana Wake Organization
32. National Freedom from Hunger Committee of Kenya
33. Outward Bound Trust of Kenya
34. The Salvation Army
35. The Save the Children Fund (Kenya)
36. The Social Guild of Kenya
37. Social Service League
38. Society for Deaf and Dumb Children
39. The Starehe Boys' Centre
40. St. John's Community Centre
41. St. John's Ambulance Association
42. St. Nicholas School for Mentally Handicapped Children

43. Society of St. Vincent de Paul

44. YMCA

45. YWCA

C. Sierra Leone's Voluntary Social Welfare Organizations^{1,2}

1. Sierra Leone Federation of Women's Organization
2. " Children's Home Association
3. " Women's Movement
4. " YWCA
5. " YMCA
6. Business and Professional Women Cooperative Societies
7. Sierra Leone Children's Home
8. Women's Institute
9. Sierra Leone Women's Movement
10. Women's Voluntary Service
11. Women's Religious Groups
12. Sierra Leone Girl Guides
13. " Red Cross
14. " Boy Scouts Association

D. Ghana's Voluntary Social Welfare Organizations^{3,4}

1. YMCA

¹Volunteers in Action: In West Africa, Sponsored by the Government of Sierra Leone and United States AID, Sept. 10-10, 1965. pp. 52-53.

²Handbook of Freetown (London: Brown Knight and Truscott Ltd. pp. 40-41.

³Volunteers in Action, op. cit. pp. 39-40.

⁴Draft, U.N. Biennial Questionnaire, Prepared by the Permanent Representative of Ghana to the United Nations, March 1, 1966.

2. YWCA
3. Boy Scouts Association
4. Girl Guides Association
5. Catholic Youth Organization
6. Boys' Brigade
7. Anglican Young People's Guild
8. Presbyterian Young People's Guild
9. Ghana Society for the Blind
10. " Red Cross Society
11. Cripples' Aid
12. Society of Friends of Lepers
13. Society for Prevention of Tuberculosis
14. Mental Health Association
15. Accra Women's Association
16. Society for the Deaf
17. The Order of Hope Society
18. The Honest Society
19. Catholic Mbqa Kuw
20. Guild of the Good Shepherd
21. Christ Little Band
22. Market Women's Association
23. Nyemimej Akpec
24. Ghana Child Care Society
25. St. John Ambulance Brigade
26. Accra Deaf Mission
27. Voluntary Work Camps
28. Salvation Army

29. Jirapa Orphanage

30. Akim Swedra Orphanage

APPENDIX H

MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

PROBATION AND WELFARE DIVISION

Socialism and Rural Development

The Government policy of socialism and self-reliance as applied to the rural environment is based on three basic principles of ujamaa, namely recognition of mutual respect, sharing of joint production and work by all. This is the objective of Socialism in Tanzania. To build a society in which all members have equal rights and equal opportunities; in which all can live at peace with their neighbours without suffering or imposing injustice, without being exploited, or exploiting; and in which all have a gradually increasing basic level of material welfare before any individual lives in luxury or before another man seizes an opportunity of exploiting another.

This is not a new philosophy in our traditional African way of life. The three principles did and are still the pattern of life within our rural communities and it is essential in re-inforcing them, that proper explanation of what socialism and self-reliance means in this modern time, with its economic, political and social change, be given to Tanzanians. Through our field officers (Welfare Officers in the field) this will be defined and explained thoroughly so that Umma would be able to implement this policy in relation to the demands of modern Tanzania.

It is, therefore, the Government's pledge to reinforce these existing principles through a combined effort by "change agents" in the rural areas as defined by the Arusha Declaration - the policy of which the Government of Tanzania is pledged to pursue.

The rural development programme, as outlined in the Ministerial policy designed to implement it, requires "change agents" of whom the Probation

and Welfare Division is one.

Under this philosophy, the Tanzania Government recognizes four categories of people who cannot be self reliant, namely:

- (A) Children
- (B) Aged
- (C) Crippled
- (D) Chronically and Incurable Sick Persons - for whom the State at any time can't provide with employment.

Functions of the Probation and Welfare Officers in Relationship to Development and Principal Rural Development Officers and Regional Rural Development Officers.

This Division in pursuance of this policy is charged with the duty of implementing programmes as provided in the Five-year Development Plan for these categories by providing:

- (A) Care for destitutes, the physically handicapped and delinquents and wherever possible, to give them appropriate basic training in trades or agriculture so that they may become self-reliant and also to provide for children in need of care.
- (B) To encourage voluntary welfare agencies to take a more active part in the organization of welfare services and to co-ordinate such activities throughout Tanzania.

Within this framework, there lies a concept of co-ordination of service in a preventive programme for communities in both urban and rural areas enumerated hereunder:

(A) Family and Child Welfare:

(a) Family Service

In a country like Tanzania with a mainly rural population the strength of communal and family ties and the customary obligations understood and accepted by members of the wider

family group and the force of a concept of mutual aid have for centuries safe-guarded the individual and preserved the pattern of family life. But the weakening of family ties and the recent social and political development, necessitates the introduction of services for helping the individual who is handicapped in some way or who fails to adjust to an entirely different social structure.

In preserving cohesion of the family, both in urban and rural areas, a programme in family service will be concerned with three services:

1. Educating families and communities regarding the needs of children of all ages, particularly the psychological and emotional needs as well as the physical needs, and the importance of all these needs for the healthy growth and development of children into adulthood.
2. Guidance and counselling on family problems. It is common knowledge that a family as a repository of customs, traditions, spiritual and material values, will be unstable if anything affects its stability and this will have repercussions on both the individual and the structure of the society. For this reason, a service to maintain and strengthen its stability and health is essential in order to cope with emotional, economic, and environmental strains which result in the creation of social problems.
3. A programme to work with parents or other community organizations in the area, through which problems of the broken family resulting from desertion, divorce and death of the parents, illegal unions where the status of the children is affected, the continuance into changed conditions of marriage customs such as child marriages, bride price, and other such situations could be discussed and reconciled.

(b) Child Welfare:

This programme in child welfare is concerned with four services:

1. To provide services, on a community basis, for children and young people which can help compensate, where necessary, either physically or psychologically, for such needs which have not been met within the family units. This will mean the Division will involve itself in pre-school activities like the kindergartens run by the U. W. T. in urban areas, and their programmes for women in the villages and in the towns. In these, special discussion group programmes regarding the needs of children from infancy to adolescence relating them to the problems as the women themselves see them, could be developed. This would enable mothers and community leaders to find ways of helping children with their needs and their control and sense of values during difficult times. This would include programmes through community action for the young, already in school, to be oriented for their future membership of the society and their active participation in its maintenance or development. This Division will work with the Ministry of Education in providing counselling in attitude change, thus transmitting the value and knowledge of the Tanzania Society and orientating them to the self-reliance concept of the Socialist Tanzania.
2. Developing understanding of the beginnings and the symptoms of problems among children throughout the community, particularly in school, etc., where many children are seen regularly so that behavior and emotional problems can be identified in the earliest possible stages and help made available with greater prospect of success. In these schools, through the help of the Ministry of

Education, a counselling and guidance service could become operative and would involve in addition, helping pupils with certain problems of adjustment, both in the schools and in the parent-teacher relationships, and above all to encourage regular attendance at school.

3. While at present we seem to plan for young people in schools it is essential also to have an overall programme which will include those in schools and those who are outside it.

(c) The Probation Service:

As social workers, Welfare Officers work in cooperation with Judicial Department in courts. The Welfare Officers in these courts undertake statutory functions which include the preparation of reports on the social factors affecting the offenders and, are also responsible for the rehabilitation of offenders placed under supervision by a court order. In this respect, they, through their contracts, have an important role to play in the prevention of crime by encouraging constructive measures, such as youth discussion groups, and also encouraging offenders to join state organized programmes, etc. In addition to this, programmes to assist individuals in prison and young offenders institutions (Malindi Approved School) include working with the inmates in prison and institutions, together with their families outside, in order to prepare them to receive the inmates sympathetically upon release.

(d) Rehabilitation of the handicapped:

Service for this group is provided in the Five Year Development Plan for the Division. There is a planned National Rehabilitation Centre which will cater for cripples both at district, regional, and National levels. However, modern trends in the rehabilitation of the physically handicapped favor team work, combining the knowledge and skills of

(f) Services for Destitutes:

While the Division had planned for both rehabilitation and destitute homes in its Five Year Development Plan, it nevertheless now wants to implement this in order of priority. It is currently ~~far~~strongly that there is a more urgent need for destitute homes rather than for Rehabilitation Centres. In this respect it is already subsidising the maintenance of destitute homes in Tanga, and Tabora run by Town Councils and plans are in hand to develop the Kipawa destitute home in Dar es Salaam run by the City Council, and others in Morogoro, Dodoma, Mwanza and Lindi are being planned. In these homes will live the aged, many of them senile, and those who are able to do something for themselves to become self-reliant will be included in an agricultural programme attached to the homes.

medical, health, educational, social and vocational services. Nevertheless the contribution of Welfare Officers is essential because the success or failure of rehabilitation depends on their efforts, and that of the patient himself, as well as on the understanding and support of his family and the community in which he lives. The work of the Welfare Officers will include helping to detect and notify disablement, recording the social factors concerning not only the patient's disability but also his attitude, and that of his family, toward his disablement, co-operating in planning the programme of medical and vocational rehabilitation and assisting the patient and his family during treatment, and in the following phase, helping the handicapped person to adjust to his job and to resettle within his family and community.

(a) Blind Welfare Services:

One training centre for the blind is in operation now. This is situated at Manoleo near Tabora in Tabora Region, and another will soon be opened at Masasi in Mtwara Region. At Manoleo blind men are trained in agriculture, carpentry, telephone operating, weaving and home crafts. One scheme at Urambo is a great success; the highlight of which is that some blind farmers have gained a profit of well over Shs. 5,000/= last season. In the field of prevention of blindness the Ministry of Health, aided by the Tanzania Society for the Blind is actively engaged in a preventive programme in Singida Region where the incidence of blindness is high. Moreover, to extend Blind Services provisions exist in the 2nd phase of the Divisional Five Year Development Plan in which it is intended to establish a Braille Printing Press and a Training Centre for blind women.

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APPENDIX I

TRIBALISM AND NATION BUILDING

Tribalism is a universal phenomenon which derives from strong primary group identification. Its most distinguishing characteristics are: (1) solidarity, (2) ancestral lineage, (3) socialization to primary group mores, (4) mutual social responsibility, (5) ascribed positions and roles, (6) consciousness of separate identity.

Tribalism in Africa is a phenomenon which many of the national leaders in Africa condemn as a force which undermines national identity. It can be said that as tribalism functions it has functional and dysfunctional consequences for the new nations. There are also aspects which are afunctional. It is possible that some aspects of tribalism can be made to contribute to social welfare and national development. The aspects which tend to be dysfunctional for social welfare and national development are:

1. Tribalism creates cross-pressures in governmental decision-making which can hamper quick actions necessary in nation building.
2. The civil service system and its "disinterestedness quality" can be threatened by tribalism, and its emphasis on "taking care of the members of one's tribe". The tendency to give jobs to members of one's tribe irrespective of qualification can result in inefficiency and mismanagement.
3. Tribalism tends to be decisive in some instances in determining one's political allegiance. The tendency to support a party or person based on tribal membership can result in extreme divisiveness and inadequately trained leadership. The energies, capital and manpower could thus be inefficiently utilized.¹

¹ Herskovitz, op. cit pp. 22-24

4. If a spirit of national unity is considered necessary for national development, strict adherence to tribalism can hinder the process with its emphasis on allegiance to tribe.
5. If a program of social and economic security is to be established, then a national standardized tax system is essential. Tribalism, however, with its emphasis on responsibility only to one's tribe can have dysfunctional consequences for such a goal.
6. Change is an essential element in modernization, national development and establishment of a welfare state. Tribalism tends to rely on the past as a basis for legitimizing present actions and beliefs. Such a practice tends to be unsympathetic to change.

Among the aspects of tribalism which are or might be functional to national development and social welfare are:

1. The kind of security and sense of identity which membership in the tribe provides can serve as a spring-board for enabling one to enlarge one's sphere of identification. Hence, identification and involvement with voluntary welfare organizations and national development programs could be enhanced.
2. Identification with one's tribe could serve to facilitate transition between village and town and improve relatives at home. Social welfare could be enhanced if the urban people were encouraged to contribute to their kin in the hinterland, and if they would consciously introduce the new and necessary modern practices to them. One is sometimes more likely to accept innovation from one's relatives whom one trusts than from strangers. Tribal concept of social responsibility could also be utilized to encourage the urban kin to help rural kin adjust to life in the city.

3. The solidarity and strong sense of position and role which is a part of tribal life serves to prevent the kind of anomie and alienation that leads to crime and other types of anti-social behaviors, feelings of loneliness, and sometimes mental illness.
4. One can also postulate that if individuals' basic needs are met within the context of the tribe, then the need to fight another tribe is lessened. Kenyatta suggests this was the case with the Gikuyu and the Masai of Kenya. The Masai only raided when they were desperate for meat.¹ If this is a valid postulate, then it is possible that the kind of structure and beliefs existing in tribes could be utilized for teaching various aspects of agriculture, health, child care, etc. Indeed, these structures might be much more effective than creating others for various social welfare functions.

¹ Kenyatta, op. cit

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