

THE PROBLEM OF RELEVANCE: A STUDY OF THE PERCEPTIONS
OF SOCIAL WORK PROFESSIONALS ON EDUCATION
AND PRACTICE IN THREE AFRICAN COUNTRIES

BY

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ABSTRACT

The problem of relevance in the practice of social work in the African context is examined in this thesis. In particular, the focus is on the perceptions of social work practitioners, administrators and educators of the contemporary professional system as it operates in Zambia, Tanzania, and Kenya. These countries have adopted varying ideologies--humanism, socialism, and capitalism (called African socialism), respectively. But despite this, each one is characterised by conditions of underdevelopment which have implications for what can be done by African professionals with and for the majority of people. Relevance defined by this thesis necessitates responses to these conditions that address the particular human and social problems fundamentally rather than pallatively. I argue, therefore, that for relevance of practice in such contexts, the criteria to be met are that practice strategies or approaches be broad-based, that administrative structures legitimate the authority of the professionals, and that education equips practitioners with a change-orientation. Failure in the attainment of relevance in the professional system results when these factors do not operate to reinforce one another.

Some practice strategies are examined. This is done through the use of vignettes which are derived from practice in

the region and about which the views of social work professionals are elicited as to an appropriate response to that particular type of problem in their own setting. The administrative bureaucracy is studied in terms of the administrator/professional relationship. A detailed quantitative analysis considers the extent to which the administrator gives leeway to the practitioner to exercise professional expertise through the sharing of power for the achievement of professional as well as organisational goals. The arrangement of educational programmes is examined so as to ascertain what the emphases in educational content portend for increasing the capacities of professionals to initiate and to sustain change activity in practice. Both quantitative and qualitative methods are employed to investigate what is done in educating African professionals. Comparisons are made of the responses of individual social work professionals between the three groups and across the three country settings. This procedure sets out the important similarities as well as the differences existing, despite the differing social-political situations.

The conclusions derived from the study are that the factors of both the administrative structures and education severely limit practice to less relevant strategies. Education reflects local conditions in its design and content emphases. Yet, the organisation of practice administrations and educational

programmes permit much less activity affecting these conditions than is required for relevance of practice as defined by this thesis.

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INTRODUCTION

THE PROBLEM OF RELEVANCE

This research, in the broadest sense, is about the current practice of and education for the social work profession in three African countries, namely: Zambia, Tanzania, and Kenya. Social work has been a feature of the social provisions in these eastern African nations since the 1940's when the British colonial administration introduced social welfare and later community development programmes into the area. The pattern of organisation and emphases that were promoted varied very little from country to country. Historical surveys of the development¹ indicate that welfare services began first as a response to the needs and problems encountered by Europeans and African labourers in urban areas. The employing organisations and local authorities initially provided the amenities, social services and recreational facilities needed. Then, gradually, government departments began to assist larger numbers of Africans with those and other needs. By the 1950's attention was increasingly turned to rural community development activities as part of the strategy to increase the contribution that agricultural productivity made to economic development, and because of the perception that a programme of community betterment could best prepare rural people to participate toward that end. Expatriate staff

was early joined and supplanted by African welfare and community development workers, the training for whom developed from in-service programmes to the establishment by the 1960's of social work education institutions, described in Chapter Two.

By that period, at the coming of independence to the three countries, a common pattern in social work had been set. This was seen either in the nature of the services, e.g., from stimulating community development to literacy, to self-help; or in the groups assisted, e.g., from labourers, to children, to youth; or in the objectives of the institutions, e.g., from educational facilities training lower levels of staff to university training for senior-level posts. It can be concluded from a brief historical overview (see Appendix A) that the growth which followed was a process of adding to what was already begun by the colonial administration.

There may not have been, however, a major and sufficient rethinking about what social work should be in independent African states--and consequently, a restructuring of the profession to meet contemporary African conditions. For despite the government's sanction of the practice--evident by increased permanent social welfare structures, activities and educational facilities--African leaders as well as social work experts persist in their criticism of its performance.

The difficulty can be elaborated as follows: social work

and social welfare in the Third World in particular have received low priority in terms of resources as well as recognition. Some critics in Africa lay the blame on the historical origins of the profession--the industrialized nations--and on the importation of the western models into that region. A more pertinent reason from the perspective of this research, however, is that social work fails to excite the interest of the national leadership. Leaders point to the demands of African cultures, the goals and strategies appropriate in Africa, and the options actually available to African governments as being incongruent with prevailing practice models. They argue that the consequence of this incongruence is a lack of meaningful connection between the major problems confronting nations and the strategies adopted by social workers to address these difficulties. Therefore, in their view, the profession has but limited relevance for Africa.

Such criticism notwithstanding, very little empirical consideration has been given in the region to the basic issues raised.

The problem for this research then is to find out from the perspective of contemporary professional actors and their actions in specific African countries what constitutes social work relevance, and to identify those factors which contribute to its achievement. The concept in its broadest meaning is

defined in this study as human oriented professional intervention that addresses the task, or practice, environment in its totality toward the ends of enhanced human capacity and efficacy. That is, the intervention has the effect of meeting social and human needs fundamentally when applied to the problems posed in the particular context.

As this definition implies, a number of factors could be examined in an effort to understand the problem of relevance. The criticisms of leaders, highlighted more systematically in Chapter One, give some clues as to what these might be. The direct involvement of the researcher in the system for more than two decades as administrator, practitioner and educator, however, provided an empirical base for believing that the critical factors would be the bureaucratic framework and the education equipping for social work practice.

These two possibilities are obvious. But when questions are raised as to the readiness of the national leadership for the comprehensive engagement of social workers or for the provision of leverage to professionals as implied by the definition, my experience suggested that more was at issue than mere practitioner behavior. I believed this "more" to be the very environment of practice itself. And when that environment can be characterised as underdeveloped, what relevant social work intervention is becomes a valid question of import and urgency

for social workers of the Third World in general and the African professionals in particular. But unlike some sociologists and political scientists, the social work scholars in Africa have given but scant reference to and no systematic study of the environmental factor in considering practice under African conditions. This is a serious omission which helps to explain why so little headway has been made in refuting the criticisms in the Africa Region. [The conviction that social work relevance is in some important way linked to what a society permits, dictates my approach.] The conceptual thinking about the context is introduced in Chapter One, while the whole of Chapter Two is focused on this dimension of the research.

In this research, however, attention is focused on the key actors, the social work professionals, seeking to bring into view what they perceive as relevant, given their particular contexts of practice. A discovery of the conceptions of relevance held by scholars and leaders is also of import to this inquiry. The country environments are treated, therefore, as the backdrop against which to understand what is being done and why.

The Profession as Relations

Let me make clear at the outset why I believe that the professionals' perceptions are so central to an understanding of and to any ultimate resolution of the problem of relevance for social workers in Africa.

The usefulness of relevance as a concept for an analysis of social work is that two other integral concepts can be highlighted thereby: professional practice and professional power--practice being the relation between a person and a thing, in this case a thing done as intervention or professional approaches, and power being that relation between person and person. The studies of African scholars cited later are analyses of some aspects of intervention. None have examined the power of the profession to actually effect the desired relevance. Social work as a "profession" implies the existence of a social group whose individual members have differentiated roles and access to power. But how power is distributed within the profession in relation to achieving relevance in practice needs to be made explicit.

The relation between the "persons" within social work--administrators, educators, and practitioners, operationally defined in Chapter Three--may or may not be a relation of mutual support. If, as the concept of relevance implies, the end is to obtain a positive result in people and societies, then a central issue is whether the functioning of one segment of the profession supports the attainment of the goals of the other. Hence this question: (who has the means and uses them to what ends?) The mutual support suggested as necessary is negated if the distribution of power enhances one category within the

organisation of professional practice at the expense of another. I maintain that power can be distributed between social work professionals in such a way that bureaucratic and detached relations are predominant and determine practice approaches.

The administrator is responsible to society for the outcomes of the interventions of practitioners. The national leadership appropriate the power vested in such administrative positions to its own ends. The administrator, holding such power, thus becomes the principle instrument through which the leadership's interests shape policies and their implementation through practice. Administrators would then relate to practitioners chiefly to constrain rather than to facilitate professional activity.

The relation between administrator and professional (practitioner), then, is not inevitably a mere division of labour whereby each category has different functions in carrying out the social work task. The relation between the two concerns relative power and therefore, in essence, is a class relation. By this is meant that there are those who rule in terms of the direction and content of practice. And there are those who are ruled, who implement. Hence, the professional practitioner can effect relevance in his approaches only where there is a re-arrangement in relations so that that power held by the administrator is diminished in ways that enable a decisive

participation by the professional in determining the direction of practice. It is argued below that this entails legitimating professional authority by the sharing of power through communicating, decision-making and commanding resources. By this means administrative support is increased for relevance in approaches. That is, the professional gains thereby a higher degree of control over the means to achieve his ends.

The conception of relevance the practitioner holds is in part a derivative of social work education. Social work educators, as do the administrators, share in "directing" or orienting practice. And they have potentially a greater degree of detachment from immediate outcomes of practice than do administrators or practitioners. Therefore, the social work educator might introduce through teaching those ideas, skills and experiences that relate to African conditions.

On the other hand, this detachment can function to create a gap between the educational institution and practice. The solutions proposed by social work education, when applied in an environment which is underdeveloped, could lead to "reproduction" rather than to the creation of new and relevant models. Ultimately, any manifested lack of relevance might also be connected with the conflict that arises where educators, too, have a mandate to conserve--and thus, they may teach what in fact works at cross purposes to our definition of relevance. It is

thus concluded that relevance in social work requires a common outlook manifested by administrators, educators and practitioners. To the extent that this is not achieved in the functioning of the three, to the same extent relevance cannot be attained.

As was intimated earlier, in Africa literature giving scholarly attention to the profession in general is meager and has been done with inadequate resources. Researchs done by Mutiso² on Kenya and Nyirenda³ on Zambia, both cited later in Chapter One, come close to my study in that each pinpoints the incongruence of many of the prevailing models of policy, planning and social services with the contemporary problems and needs in the areas studied. The Tanzanian social work experience has been relatively neglected as a subject of scholastic enquiry. Despite a common concern, the previous studies shed little--and only indirect--light on the problem of relevance. This is so because both scholars expand knowledge about what is known to be deficient or wrong in social work. My objective is to provide some answers about why the contemporary scene and present modes of practice exist.

Because the relevance of practice is of consequence to improved policies as well as implementation of social welfare strategies, direct focus on this concept is justified. The professional interests of administrators, educators and

practitioners are served by the provision of data that identifies significant constraints to relevance. But the usefulness of the study goes beyond this. The findings should also be of interest to other social scientists and professionals in large organisations who are concerned with the planning and delivery of human services and human resource development. Such national leaders as ministers, directors of human service programmes and the politicians should also have a better understanding of the problems facing professionals within the inherited structures and how these affect outcomes of policies for which they as leaders are responsible. Lastly, social work educators should derive a store of data from which to generate new knowledge and to modify curricula and teaching methods so as to develop new strategies and skills for practice. [In summary, a systematic analysis of major facets of the social work profession should furnish to a variety of groups hitherto missing documentation of what relevance is and what it takes to be so in contemporary African situations.] unnecessary

With the underlying thesis that relevance of social work is linked to significant facets of the context of practice, three varying settings were selected to test this idea. The shared history as colonies left the three countries of Zambia, Tanzania and Kenya with a common legacy in terms of economic, political, as well as such social systems as social welfare and

What's common - up front please

community development. The little that was known about practice and education suggested the existence of systems of similar dimensions, i.e., in social service programmes, in types of educational institutions, in the categories of staff. On the other hand, some important differences were expected because of the varying political ideologies each nation had declared as guidelines for its own development after independence. The possibility that the three sites would reflect both similarities and striking contrasts suggested that a comparative study would be both a valid and productive approach to the research problem.

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CHAPTER ONE

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES IN THE SEARCH FOR RELEVANCE

Introduction

what are they?

Interest in this first chapter centres on the concept of relevance itself, suggesting by what criteria it appears to be characterised. This is shown through an application of the concept to three factors of the profession considered here to be permissive of or to hamper relevance. These refer to the approaches to practice perceived to be appropriate to specific problems of the African context, to the orientation of professional education, and to the nature of administrative structures affecting the interaction between administrators and practitioners. Drawing on the literature, the aim is to identify the support which exists for the theoretical assumptions that guide this study. More of the analytical framework bearing on the context of practice is set out at the close of the review.

The dictionary or general usage of the term, relevance, conveys two notions of interest to this study. First, it denotes the existence of a connection between or applicability of something to the present circumstance, the current life situation, the issue considered. Since these conditions tend to change with the passing of time, the term signifies a varying and relative rather than a fixed quality. Relevance also refers

Are you using the dictionary?
 to that thing that demonstrates, or provides proof or disproves
 a connection between one thing and the other. That is, there
 should be visible effects. The examples of such proof are many.
 Where the agricultural training and technology are appropriate,
 or relevant, people obtain sufficient food to feed themselves.
 Highly technical, specialised and curative medical services
 leave the 90-95 per cent of Africa's rural population without
 access to health services. Primary health care and the "bare-
 foot" doctors are more applicable. Bore holes are more effi-
 cient than wells, but suitable only where there are trained
 technicians, spare parts, fuel. [In other words, relevance im-
 plies a positive rather than a negative result with respect to
 the problems to be solved.] This is different from

As the foregoing illustrations suggest, social phenomena
 to which the term is frequently applied are highly complex. It
 is seldom possible to indicate with precision those single fac-
 tors that bring about the desired result. The above delineation
 of the concept implies that the profession ought to reflect the
 particular colouration and ethos of the setting of practice.
 However, social work evolving in Africa as elsewhere holds, as
 the central focus of its activity, to the value of the primacy
 of people--their adequate functioning and wellbeing. These
 three--the profession, the people, and the environment--are the
 elements of my earlier stated definition. Thus, to repeat,

social work relevance is taken to mean professional intervention that addresses the task or practice environment in its totality, the ends of which are enhanced human and societal capacity, and efficacy.

As already intimated, the social interaction examined in this research is a highly complex phenomenon. [It is difficult in the study of such to indicate with precision the contribution of each single or intervening variable in bringing about a specific outcome. This is particularly true in the use of an evaluative concept to study such phenomena.] In this research I argue that relevance is a construct defined by a number of factors in social work reflecting certain prescribed conditions. [These factors--the practice approaches selected, education, and administration--are believed to decisively influence practice outcomes and to produce movement toward or a way from the relevance sought. Let us now consider each of these in some detail.]

Relevance of Approaches of Practice

In essence, the dominant approaches, evolved in the industrialised nations developed and adopted in developing countries, have focused too narrowly to obtain the results indicated by the foregoing definition. The individual approach where much stress is placed on individualised helping and on the worker-client relationship has already taken root in Africa. This arises as a consequence of transplanted models of social work

and social welfare organisations and the training of social workers in and by Europe and North America for the Third World.

[On the surface the individualised approach is a valid one.] Human beings and human relationships are proclaimed values in traditional African cultures. (Human development through raised standards of living is the declared objective of most governments.] Governments can be made aware of larger problems because of the plight of individuals. And as there are common life tasks and situations--e.g., marriage, parenthood, worker, citizenship--common difficulties arise. As it has been shown in industrialised countries, the individual approach can assist toward the satisfactory performance of these important roles. That approach may also help to bring about those attitudes and behaviours needed for certain types of communal activity and changes such as found in self-help operations. Equally to the point is the fact that there are problems, unique to underdeveloped countries and creating difficulties for the majority of people in them, which are not sufficiently addressed by the individualised approach. This is made apparent by the forthcoming discussion of the ideological contexts of practice.

To win wide acceptance by Africans--most of all, national leaders who control resources--social work approaches need to produce unquestioned beneficial results. [Modern medicine, also mostly a transplant from the developed countries, meets this

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irrelevant

crit^{erion}. I contend that the profession's failure to evolve the approaches in practice which make an impact beyond the individual case lies at the heart of criticism of both the African leadership and social science theorists alike.

The concern of African leaders is expressed by J. Riby-Williams who has pointed out the incongruity of a preoccupation with the individual "victim" in light of the aspirations of African governments:

At the time when our national leaders are seriously waging total war on poverty, hunger, disease, and unemployment; and at the time when national development plans aim at accelerated production and higher levels of living for all, social services are still colonial bound; they are still mainly concerned with picking up the social casualties; and they are devoting their exclusive attention to the destitutes, the neglected orphan children, the juvenile delinquent, the physically handicapped, or relief services.²

The remedial, individualised focus with which most of Africa started has meant, according to Gindy,³ that social work has remained largely urban. Even the work in rural areas has been of this "welfare" pattern. Weisner⁴ found in a study of mostly rural-based Kenyan social workers that 90 per cent were engaged in individualised activity. One administrator was reported to have commented that social workers were unable to concentrate on large-scale problems, mainly due to a casework orientation. Of this orientation, Mumeka argues:

Africans can no longer afford the luxury of western traditional social work which was a product of problems

specially peculiar to the nineteenth century western societies.

The foregoing discussion suggests that African leaders define the individualised model as inappropriate in light of Africa's problems, its priority--the masses, and its resources. They expect social work to provide alternatives.

Social science theorists, in the quest for more "suitable," "adequate," "effective" models have, like leaders in the Third World, identified the dominance of individualised approaches as contributing to social work's weak impact in both the developed and developing countries.

Siporin,⁶ through an analysis of the six major theoretical models of social work, found that whether for the practice of casework, groupwork or community organisation, an individualised focus was basic to them all. By this he meant the concern in each model for change at the individual level on a small scale, for altering attitudes and behaviours rather than institutional, structural, and societal change, and for creating small-scale forms of community or organisational life.

Several other thinkers have concluded that an approach that centers attention on treatment and rehabilitation is too restrictive. [A number of alternatives not biased to the individual model have been proposed. These include biases toward national development, the culture of the people, the society in its totality, "development," and rural areas. Each of these is

briefly defined below.

Briar,⁷ Heraud,⁸ and Rein⁹ argue that advocacy as a part of a restructured conception of the individual casework task should go beyond obtaining the direct services to which people are entitled or that help them to adjust. Professionals should also deal with those relevant persons, institutions, and organisations contributing to the difficulty. The ideological issues raised by such problems as poverty, inequality and racism cannot in Rein's¹⁰ view be dealt with by what he calls the traditional, direct, individual services and the community sociotherapeutic approaches. By his "radical" approach he refers to advocacy. But he also means the involvement of professionals in finding ways to bring about national reforms which include redistribution of resources, the reduction of inequalities between the rich and the poor, and the altering of disadvantageous social conditions and basic institutions as a concomitant to changes in individuals. Austin suggests that social work in developing countries should be aligned with a programme of national development. This requires that social work and social welfare be defined as:

specialised areas of activity that would contribute directly to the total₁₁ national plan for social and economic development.

There is thus an apparent agreement of views between leaders and social scientists that social work relevance is

hindered by too great dominance of the individualised approaches. However, the pronouncements of leaders in particular fail to suggest why social work attention seems restrained to and concentrated on micro-approaches. Researchers¹² have shown that social workers are able to integrate both individual and societal change orientations, and to function accordingly as the context permits.

With respect to culture, a ubiquitous facet of African traditions is that the individual's life finds its meaning in association with such others as the family, the clan, the tribe. Basing a professional approach on a strategy tending to isolate the individual and his/her problems from that network of relationships is incongruent with a common African ethos that places emphasis on the larger social groupings. (I take the position that where social work is relevant, there is a discernible impact at the community level through the common roots of the people's culture.) Some African leaders have suggested that the profession has not sufficiently grasped this point, and thus the lack of fit of the prevailing model with African cultures. Chagula¹³ has suggested that not enough attention is given to the "traditional values" of the African peoples in the development of social work services. He urges that social workers be aware of and "adapt" its interventions to local needs and conditions.

Nyirenda¹⁴ is more explicit. In his research that examines the planning of child welfare, housing and recreation in the modern section of Zambia, he compares existing services with the traditional forms. He concludes that a reliance on what is defined as "foreign recipes" and "borrowed tools"--the expertise and models of industrialised countries--prevents integration of such activities and services into the social organisation of the Zambian people. This in his view accounts for the rejection or little use of services, or the prevalence of other unmet needs.

what is the definition?

The people-development orientation of Nyirenda's study corresponds with our definition. Yet, he nevertheless fails in three respects to offer a way beyond the dilemma the subject of relevance poses. (He avoids providing a paradigm based on the "humanistic approach" advocated; only the ideological orientation is proposed.) Thus, secondly, he provides no explanation as to why those "foreign" factors constraining the planning mechanisms and services into inappropriate western molds come about, nor how they are to be handled. Finally, he takes no account of the possibility that an advocated traditional social organisation as the guide for activity in modern society may also entrench ideas and forms that act against rather than in favor of the desired change.

A concern for impact at the community level is recognised

in much of the work centered on the functioning of the welfare system. Gilbert and Specht¹⁵ argue that social work has remained an incomplete profession because it has failed to develop "communalistic" as well as "individualistic" solutions. By the former they refer to the institutionalised aspects of the welfare system, such as planning, policies, and programmes that ensure a structure of support for people on a permanent basis and as a right. Without these broader solutions social work cannot, in their view, respond effectively to societies' demands.

Implicit in Gilbert and Specht and others' conception is that a level of economic development has been reached which insures the necessary funding for an adequate system of welfare.

Because of continued underdevelopment of the African contexts, I contend that welfare services for the masses must in the foreseeable future be financially "cheap." Yet, they must be of a

nature that stimulates the riches inherent in communal living.

This refers to the attainment of a qualitative environment through using welfare structures to maximise the capacities of local people, local institutions, and local material resources to sustain life. This could mean bringing people into engagement with the modern industrialised sectors and technology through employment, trade and education. Or the system could be used to revitalise those aspects of the culture that ensure sufficiency for all from the provisions of the natural environment.

Studies in Africa

Communal work and sharing of resources typified by the programmes of harambee and ujamaa in Kenya and Tanzania, respectively, show what can be done. This is not to hold activity to the level of the village, but to ensure an identification of and use by the profession of those resources offered in the cultural social milieu of African communities.

Gilbert and Specht's work, earlier mentioned, suggests that communal-level responses, whether through institutional modern welfare or indigenous systems, potentially increase social work's relevance to a particular context. However, these essentially locally-oriented communal approaches have dominated the pattern, and thus in effect, set intermediate level intervention as the limit of social work's strategy beyond the individual case. This delimitation seems not to satisfy the demands of stated national objectives and goals, such as those of the respective countries under study. Through ujamaa socialism, African socialism, and humanism, the respective governments have declared their intent to bring about change and development of the entire nation. Their pronouncements are based on an implied assumption that actions furthering social development must ultimately make an impact significant at the societal level.

By implication relevant social work approaches should demonstrate a capacity to effectively engage the environment in its totality. By such engagement is meant the skilled

interaction of professionals with all of the social, economic, and political systems of the particular ideological context which determine societal-level social changes, policies, and programmes. National leaders and social scientists confirm the necessity of evolving approaches having an impact at that level. Third World thinkers in particular have proposed the "developmental social welfare" model as an alternative appropriate to the unique problems of developing countries.

This model, considered by African experts of social affairs as "...a more dynamic and wide spread preventive and prophylactic action" than "remedial social action--foreign by nature and approach..." has been conceived by them as:

...efforts organised and technically geared within the framework of an integrated and overall planning, aimed at generalised social progress and translated into a favourable response to the increasing basic needs of the people (health, education, clothing, food, etc.).¹⁶

This conception of the developmental approach in effect calls for a basic reorientation of the profession. Social work actions get directed toward ways and means to guarantee satisfaction of fundamental human needs of all people rather than toward the problems of the limited numbers for whom individualised services are a necessity. Rein¹⁷ is among the theorists who agree that this is an appropriate reordering of professional priorities. Some others have focused on the need for the overhauling or removal and creation of new institutions for welfare as a

necessary part of the above process.¹⁸

The foregoing theories imply that in a region characterised mainly by large rural populations, and where the keynote of national government policies designed to meet the basic needs of people rests on some conception of rural development, a similar interest should be reflected by the profession. That is, the impact of reorientation in practice should be felt in rural areas and their populace become the prime targets of social work intervention.

Gindy's conception of a developmental thrust for Africa, with which I agree, supports a rural emphasis. She argues that:

Developmental social welfare goes beyond the remedial and preventive actions to involve people's participation and the social aspects of rural development. It has meant a shift from urban problems to relate to rural programmes.¹⁹

A concern of nations everywhere for economic progress suggests that social work be related to the socio-economic context and policies. Some Third World thinkers conclude that economic development is a requisite for the attainment of the well-being social workers advocate. This position is taken up by Khinduka,²⁰ who believes that social work should contribute to the goal of socio-economic advancement of developing countries.

Developmental social welfare, as he sees it, is thus operationalised in terms of a commitment to forms of practice that further the economic development of society. This calls for

involvement of professionals in actions leading to increased productivity of people and in greater industrialisation of developing countries. Stress is laid on societal-level change and development of societal--and intermediate--level strategies, while not abandoning totally micro-level concerns. A concern for justice requires that social workers participate in coalitions with other groups to overcome resistances of vested interests to the fundamental changes "development" implies. The "development" approach, finally, "...mandates a collective and intelligent participation by the profession in the political life of the country."²⁰ The "developmental" conception of the social welfare task, in summary, provides a framework that directs social work's attention to actions that portend relevance to some of the basic value, aspirational, and structural issues confronting developing countries.

Despite the many advocates there is, however, little evidence that the perspective--whether as advocacy, confrontation, or developmental welfare--has made a major impact on the practice approaches of the profession in Africa.

J. Riby-Williams observes that indeed:

...most of the social welfare services in the region do not have a developmental function.²²

Mutiso's²³ research on social welfare and community development policy in Kenya before and after independence in 1963, established as its predictor the "western" individualistic

model of social work. She found little support in the policy for changes of objectives or strategies of social welfare and community development. More important for this discussion is her conclusion that while there was diminished emphasis in rationale on the individual, there was nevertheless a lack of commitment to the developmental approach.

Some other theorists hold that this approach has not become the dominant style of practice for these reasons: the reluctance of governments to hamper people's initiatives;²⁴ the prevalence of the individual approach;²⁵ and the preference of professionals for "soft strategies," i.e. those stressing cooperation and consensus rather than conflict to bring about changes.²⁶

None of these reasons, from my point of view, adequately explains the failure of the profession to assert a strong macro-developmental thrust. For they do not take full cognizance of those conditions creating fundamental disequilibrium, turbulence, and an underlying erroneous assumption that "developmental" social work can be a flourishing reality in societies otherwise being underdeveloped by forces such as those described in the discussions of the ideologies. These depict a steady erosion of the basic sovereignty of nations by factors emanating elsewhere through, namely: external control and distortion of economies; encouragement or creation of cleavages among

nationals; a stunting of the political development of the people; and dislocation of the inherited values and cultures by imitation of foreign-bred alternatives.

Choi's research of the microscopic and macroscopic orientations of Korean social workers suggests that a context of underdevelopment can function to impede a basic change of approach:

...the universal assumption that professional ideology is translated into their roles may not be tenable in those societies where political conservatism prevails to a considerable extent...the extreme conservatism held by social work agencies and the Korean government tend to "force" social workers, in general, and those with macroscopic ideology, in particular, to perform micro-scopic oriented roles. In those societies (i.e., political conservatism) it is not the professionals' ideology but the political interest which directs and shapes the professionals' daily practice and the overall social welfare programmes of those societies. Social workers do not need their interest in social policy stimulated but they do need a favourable professional environment for translating the interest into action....²¹

This observation may explain any discrepancy found by this research later between what social workers perceive as appropriate approaches and what appears to be the dominant trend in the respective countries. The macro-developmental approach may be equally a weak trend in Africa. I shall argue below that the favourable professional environment is essential. But I also hold that this is not enough. There is likewise the need for a favourable, supportive political ideological context. I expect that where this does not exist, the macro-, or

developmental activity will remain less intense than the traditional, individualistic approaches of social work.

To conclude this section, the foregoing discussion suggests (a) that the individual approaches have asserted an overwhelming impact but may actually provide too limited a response to the human and social problems of Africa; (b) moreover, social work must be related also to other significant developments in the context of practice, since the ideological and economic climate may enhance continuation of inappropriate practice; (c) and thus, social work relevance requires societal oriented, broad-based approaches.

Relevance of Administrative Structures

Let me now turn to the administrative framework of practice, the bureaucracy, and to the power relations intimated earlier to consider the theoretical underpinning for the analyses of data in Chapters Five through Seven.

With increased modernisation, the large complex organisation has proliferated to meet a variety of human needs. Social work is almost completely a practice within such organisations, although its prototype is the autonomous individualised service agency staffed by professionals. Some are essentially human service organisations characterised by an orientation to services that process or change people to social work values, and to non-routine professional technologies.²⁸ Others are the

formal organisations of industry, security and defense, and management--these representing some new fields of professional involvement. Whatever the type, these formal structures have a number of components in common: organisational objectives and goals, patterns of group and individual interaction, and resources for work. The structure of organisations, however, creates problems for social work. The profession, rather than defining the nature of these organisational components, is subject to organisational arrangements that may in effect amount to limitation.

African social work experts have tended to point to the problem of bureaucracies in general, primarily indicating their inflexibility and maladaptation to the African milieu. Among the very few references in the African literature some illustrate this point. J. Riby-Williams has suggested that:

The social institutional framework and the structures for social programmes have remained the same, despite the coming of independence.

Highlighting the people's perception of the structure, Ki-Zerba declares that it is:

...too far removed from the people. It is complicated and functions in a foreign language, and frequently people see in it repressive and constraining images. They use it only rarely and by necessity and try to get away from it.

And Gindy has observed that:

Relating social work to the developmental approach is still a problem of implementation.

Though expressing dissatisfaction, the African experts fail to clearly note at which interfaces of the bureaucracy difficulties are created for the profession. One can but surmise that this structure is but vaguely seen as a major factor constraining social work to "irrelevance." I maintain that it does and shall suggest in the paragraphs that follow why this viewpoint is held and what I think should be done.

Bureaucratic theories, as conceived in the Weberian model, have exerted a decisive influence on the administrative structures with important ramifications for social work, in particular, and developing countries in general. Though variously defined, bureaucracy implies a form of administrative organisation geared toward insuring maximum efficiency through highly rational behavior for the attainment of organisational goals.

The bureaucratic structures, according to Blau and Scott's summary,³² are designed to do routine, programmed operations in a stable, predictable environment. They are basically control-oriented, through rules and regulations, or by investment of duties and authority in hierarchical positions. Individual goals must be subsumed under organisational goals. The structures, finally, are designed to obtain the desired performance by manipulation of differentiated career structures and systems of rewards. It is the complex organisations exhibiting

these administrative features that constitute the primary environment of social work practice.³³

Establishing structures that support an implied reordering of professional goals and functions poses serious problems, however. The western practices of administration have been transplanted and entrenched particularly through the civil services of governments and through parastatals. The potential for impact does exist in a bureaucratic framework, e.g., through the societal-level involvement just discussed and by mediation of the state in the large scale provision of social service resources.³⁴ Nevertheless, some organisational theorists who have turned their attention to the administrative demands of developing nations argue that these positive roles notwithstanding, bureaucratic structures are inappropriate to goals of higher levels of interdependence, cooperation and technology.³⁵

Its most severe limitation, from my perspective, is its rigidity. In conditions requiring change, the bureaucracy shows little ability to adapt and to respond to forces for change-- whether emanating internally or from the environment. Bennis concludes that such form of administration is "...out of joint with contemporary realities."³⁶

In the bureaucratic milieu the goals of the profession as well as those of the individual may be subverted by the organisation. Such structures tend to concentrate the power of

actions at the top administrative positions, thus curbing democratisation and frustrating initiation of actions. The result is that professional actions are reduced as far as possible to routinised technical operations. Such determinate administrative structures are hardly supportive of a profession whose mandate is to deal with uncertain consequences of human and societal behavior through "indeterminate" technologies,³⁷ for non routine tasks. Clearly, if social work is to realise the development of more relevant approaches, complex organisations must be of a change-oriented type characterised by greater openness, decentralisation, and flexibility.³⁸ Such is termed by Mauer³⁹ as an "organic system," and by Steggart⁴⁰ as a "developmental bureaucracy."

The "openness" of the system, then, is held to be conditional for a differing professional social work stance. Interest here is in the indication of openness manifested in strategies of administrators and their interaction with professionals. Rosegren⁴¹ makes a distinction between the structural characteristics of organisations and administrative leadership. He suggests that the former is understood by the concept, authority, normally regarded as legitimised power over others. It defines the limits within which a participant must act. Administrative leadership, by which he refers to supervisory mechanisms of control, is reflected by the concept, influence,

which denotes non-legitimised power and indicates the limits in which a participant in the relationship may act.

Relevance, from the point of view of the administration of practice is ultimately a concern for the distribution of both legitimised and non-legitimised power. It implies a distribution that facilitates this orientation in the profession. Perrow has defined structure as the "...arrangements among people for getting work done."⁴² Within that structure of relationship in an organisation the administrator occupies the key position. A wide range of activities are understood as pertinent to that position such as coordinating, directing, managing, planning, organising, etc. But in the main the administrator functions to direct the maintenance of the organisational processes and to carry out the specific policies of the organisation. With control over resources and access to information within and outside the organisation, he/she is in a position not only to execute policy, but also to make decisions affecting it.

To the point of the study: the bureaucratic principle invests this position with control over personnel in the system to ensure the performance of the work to be done. As the theory implies, with the colonial as well as Weberian legacy, the administrator position becomes the organisational repository of both questions and answers.

Major problems ensue in the working out of this

bureaucratic principle, particularly in the context of underdevelopment. As the administrator derives his legitimised power from his status and position in the organisation, he need not use the mechanisms he controls to respond to the specific claims of professionals. Administrative dominance can lead to the stunting of professional activities or the introduction of negative policies in the interest of efficiency, conservative politics, or the economy. Perrow⁴³ asserts that where system maintenance is the overriding operative goal, a shift in the power structure is not encouraged.

When Rosegren's "participants" are administrators and professionals, there follows what several social scientists have identified as a conflict. Heraud⁴⁴ suggests that this should not be understood in psychological terms, but as a derivative of two different orientations, identified by Wilensky and Lebeaux⁴⁵ as the "colleague" and "hierarchical" principles. The professional's (in this study, the practitioner) contribution is spelt out in some detail below and in Chapters Six and Seven.

That a conflictual situation arises is not an issue about which I wish to contend here. Rather, the purpose is to first suggest that the problem of conflict is not one confronting social workers, alone, but professionals in general who work in large complex organisations. Secondly, the interest is to consider those conditions under which conflict gives way to

cooperation and complementarity--both perceived as underlying requirements of relevance.

Bureaucratic change, according to a number of theorists, should be in the direction of greater autonomy for the professional. Litwak⁴⁶ describes a professional bureaucracy as one in which both the routinised and non-uniformed tasks and behaviours--and thus the essential elements of both the rationalised and the more human relations-oriented administrative approaches--operate within the single organisation. Wilensky⁴⁷ and Crozier⁴⁸ suggest that the professional operates as an expert, accommodated because his/her knowledge is useful to attainment of goals. Friedson,⁴⁹ in a study of the medical profession argues that professional expertise can exert the same constraints as a bureaucracy. In the case of professions, "autonomy" in his view, refers not only to the quality of being independent and free. It implies most of all control over the content, if not the terms, of the work done. The professional is self-directing in his work. In an examination of the professional bargaining among teachers, Meyers⁵⁰ proposes an "academic union" model which advocates separate spheres or dual lines of authority. In organisations where this approach is adopted, such as universities, professionals are under no obligation to take the advice of administrators about the professional content of their jobs.

Though valid theories within the organisational context of developed countries, I do not find any of the above solutions a satisfactory lead to the problem of this study. In essence these approaches suggest, in the first instance, that the administrator's approach be congruent with both the purposes of the organisation and also with the orientation of those over whom he has control. Because the number of occupational groups in organisations in which social workers function are diverse, only the former of these injunctions are likely to be a real possibility. Secondly, these theories also imply a measure of control of the organisation. Such autonomy implies a broad-based recognition and sanction of the profession by the government and the people. They suggest existent "open" and flexible complex organisations. Prevailing structural arrangements, i.e., the bureaucratic models typified by the civil service, suggest that such directions are not likely to be part of African social work's reality in the immediate future.

In the control-oriented context of underdevelopment, a different definition of the problem--and thus, approach to solutions--is warranted. Hitherto, insufficient attention may have been given to the obvious: that for development of African countries, the contribution of both the administrator and the professional is an imperative both for implementation and for the conceiving of appropriate policies and programmes. Not

least among the reasons is for problems unique to this context, there are no precedents or transferrable solutions. For the results that relevance demands there must be, I maintain, administrative sharing of power. Let me further elaborate this concept.

The administrative problem for social work in the African context, as I see it, is a lack of recognition of professional authority interdependent with administrative authority. The basis for such professional authority is "...a systematic body of theoretical knowledge and associated skills, acquired by professional education..."⁵¹ I contend that the administrator/professional hiatus may not be due so much to a lack of knowledge and skills--a position to be examined further in Chapter Seven on education--but to the actual authority or power to act that is vested in the professional position.

Thus, by administrative sharing of power is meant the legitimation within the organisation of professional authority. In general terms this implies acceptance by administrators of the power that knowledge, ideas, and skills have for getting to the solution to problems. With no fixed solutions to African conditions, there is need for innovations, creativity and skills which can be provided by professionals. More specifically defined, it refers to the legitimation by the administrator of actions by professionals as an inherent component of

organisational strategy, basic to the attainment of organisational goals. It implies structural arrangements by which positional authority--legitimised power--is divested from the administrator to professionals in forms that in effect increase their power within the organisation. Power here is taken to include the ability of one entity to cause another to behave in a manner that he/she would not otherwise--were there not sufficient inducements by the first entity.⁵² It has also to do with the ability to exert control over rewards and punishment and the deployment of resources. Here our concern with power relates to the way administrators use their mechanisms of control. Administrators could permit power to professionals not only to implement policies but also to participate in selection of organisational goals.

The position that power be shared conforms closely to that implied by Thompson's work. In setting out what must be done to make administrative structures more responsive to innovations, he suggests that the need is to "devalue authority and positional status."⁵³ Blau's views are equally to the point. He argues for "non-authoritarian, decentralised control" which permits the conscious direction of bureaucratic activities "from the top," that removes "systematically" any obstacles to the exercise of initiative and responsibility of each individual in the system.⁵⁴

That such legitimation has hardly been realised in social work in Africa is illustrated by a number of examples. Legitimation would ensue as a function of the recognition by the national leadership of social work's contribution to problem-solving--however limited and whatever the approach of practice. The criticisms originating with African political leaders suggest that such recognition has not been granted. While they reproach social work professionals for not being relevant, the existing organisational structures fail to give them the power to exercise their skills.

The second source of validation would be the educational institutions that prepare professionals. Currently, most of these are part of the government's framework. So also are the ministries responsible for many of the human and formal organisations in which social workers operate. Qualifications and comparable periods of training do not gain status on par with others such as agriculturalists, economists--not to mention doctors and lawyers. That the profession lacks legitimation is evident, too, by answers to such questions as: where do social workers look for employment upon completion of studies? Why do they leave the field altogether and assume other titles? Why are there so few inducements to retain them?

Moreover, where social work is viewed as a routine technical job, the individual worker is seldom seen as a

"professional." Or when it is considered to be primarily "women's work" and a woman social worker, for example, is made the minister of a "junior ministry," the authority to deploy resources is diminished. Ministries and/or departments for social welfare get linked to, downgraded by, or swept aside for more "essential" ones such as for housing, labour, culture, etc. Even where legitimation is implied through the availability of resources, such as for community development, self-help projects and other activities, these can be used to glorify the politician while barring social workers from "politics." Under such circumstances there is insufficient legitimised power vested in the profession to bring on the processes needed for greater impact. A monopoly of power at the administrative level is therefore untenable in a search for relevance.

The administrator holding positional authority shares power when he/she consciously uses structural supervisory mechanisms of communication, decision-making and the allocation of resources to enhance the authority of the professional within the organisation.

Operationally this suggests, in the first instance, qualitative and quantitative communication between the administrator and the professional. The availability of information on organisational goals and resources is a major source of power for action. Its manipulation by administrators in facilitating or

refusing to give professionals access to it may positively or adversely affect performance. Experiments by Shaw⁵⁵ and Gilchrist, Shaw and Walker⁵⁶ indicate that increasing the relevant information uniquely available to a person in a given position has effects similar to increasing the centrality of his position. With more information he solves the problems more quickly and sends more information. His position is thereby considered to have higher status. Lindgren⁵⁷ argues that for administrators to influence those below, they must be open to influence from below. Organisational leaders can provide one-way channels to protect themselves. But, he notes: "What organisational officials have lost in blocking this source of influence is some of the power to influence their subordinates." Communication must not only be formal with reliance on information from scheduled meetings, reports, documents--all of which denote an essentially vertical direction. Also, structures that facilitate communications by increasing the range of occupational levels having direct access to the top administrator afford greater opportunity for all with task relevant information to share in directing action.⁵⁸

The earlier discussion of approaches implies the need for major changes in policies and programmes of social welfare and social work. Bureaucracy assumes that the task of making the major decisions resides with the top hierarchy. Persons at this

level may be least knowledgeable about problems of the field, of the clientele, etc. Yet Bennis⁵⁹ among others holds that decisions should be made at the point of greatest relevance where data are available, and where the roles devolve on those best able to perform them. Hage and Aiken's research showed that "... a high rate of programme change (implied for a reorientation in Africa) is associated with a high degree of staff participation in agency-wide decision-making, a low-degree of job codification, and a high degree of job satisfaction."⁶⁰

Administrative structures that emphasise the responsibility of administrators to enforce rational procedures where appropriate, rather than to make the actual decisions, would amount to sharing decision-making authority with professionals.

Based on the assumption that a profession without means adequate to its mandate cannot achieve relevance, the mechanism of providing resources is another source of power by which professional goals are attained or frustrated. The term is here broadly defined to include (a) those policies which give clear direction for planning and support for implementation; (b) materials or equipment; (c) and the acquisition of relevant professional knowledge and skills. Implicit in this definition is that professionals would have power to control resources sufficiently to make changes in orientation a real possibility. Thus Bowers and Seashore⁶¹ refer to resources as a "work

facilitation" dimension in the structure of "leadership."

The above directions in the use of administrative structural mechanisms, i.e., the non-legitimate power, should have the effect of re-enforcing existent, but latent, professional power.

Such power is intrinsic in the knowledge and skills earlier alluded to. I shall later argue that this increases where professional education is appropriate to Third World conditions. Professional power is also implied by the uncertainties that characterise not only the lives of people and environments,⁶² but also the organisations in which social workers practice in the African context:

Crozier contends that

...power will tend to be closely related to the kinds of uncertainty upon which depends the life of the organisation. ...The greater importance attached to the securing of the citizenry, the greater the power given to professionals contributing to human resource development.⁶³

To conclude: with the acknowledgement of professional authority and its influence on administrative power should come increased control over the content of work, facets of organisational life and control over the deployment of resources. Such power is expected to be hardly evident in African contemporary social work. Without rationalisation of the bureaucratic structures in ways that enable such influence through legitimating professional authority, social work is virtually powerless to effect more relevant approaches in practice.

Relevance of Education for the Profession

The claim to professional authority, I have just argued, rests on the knowledge and skills that social workers bring to the problem-solving task and to the organisation. In this final section I wish first to direct attention to some of the theoretical foundations in education in the region that have tended to contribute to social work's difficulties. Some ideas, therefore, that foster conservatism or maintenance of the status quo are identified. I then, secondly, suggest as an alternative a conception of education that has a change orientation. Under this concept I focus on the knowledge base, the skills development, and the empirical practicum which are thought to enhance the applicability of professional practice to African conditions.

The definition of relevance earlier advanced implies that education which equips for professional intervention should evolve as a specific response to the needs of a particular people. This is supported for Africa by the Experts on Social Affairs, meeting at Alexandria and already quoted who hold that:

Social welfare training in Africa draws its objectives and strategies from the socio-economic needs of African peoples....Social welfare workers should be particularly sensitive to the ever changing and ever growing needs of the people....This emphasis should ⁶⁴seep and be woven into all sorts of training programmes.

It is supposed from these pronouncements that meeting "needs of the African peoples" hitherto has not served as the guide to

what social workers do. This would be the case if in some manner social work education does help to further the underdevelopment of the context of practice. The experts' call for such orientation in training⁶⁵ underscores the belief of this study: the problem of social work relevance is rooted, too, in the education for the profession.

There is, I suggest, a basic though not readily apparent incongruity between what the "people-orientation" demands of professionals and the wider purposes and goals for which the educational system has functioned. A failure to identify those purposes and goals and to provide for the conflict that the incongruity causes may lie at the heart of the problems of educating for relevance.

Education as viewed in this research is conceived, firstly, as socialisation. Brims defines adult socialisation as education to specific roles, for specific positions. It is "a process by which society creates persons suitable to carry out its functional requirements." It is "...how man is taught to get the work of society done."⁶⁶

As with both approaches to practice and administrative structures, social work education has evolved through a heavy dependence on western sources for basic knowledge and skills. This dependence has not functioned to advance African thinking and discovery of its own solutions to problems. Rather, as

Brett points out: "Achievements of western thought have been as potent an instrument of control as its military and industrial technology."⁶⁷

The theory of human resource development, according to Kinyanjui⁶⁸ has had a dominant influence on education in the Third World since the 1960's. The element of "foreign control" in this theory is not immediately apparent. For that reason it would seem to be an orientation that is highly relevant to Africa's needs--and for social work education. It emphasises the development of knowledge, skills and capacities of the population of a society for the society's benefit. Nations and their people are not poor--the argument goes--because of the structure of international economic relations. Rather, development is possible for all if only the nations would improve the quality of their human resources. They must produce the needed manpower. Human capital theory, as it is called, therefore views education as an investment vital to economic growth. The focus on education in the next chapter shows that in all three countries this theory to some extent underlies the educational strategies.

This approach as Kinyanjui has pointed out--and with whose position I agree--does not, however, address the needs for structural changes nor the problems created by structural underdevelopment in Africa. It does encourage expansion of

educational systems. But the problems of internal and international inequality, nevertheless, are not touched by such growth. Instead, the system functions as one of the instruments to provide the labour force needed to make investments productive and profitable! Kinyanjui concludes that education's primary function in the context of underdevelopment has been to "reproduce" the cultural capital, ideological outlook, and skills among those groups agreeing to be incorporated into the "imperial" mode of production. Education in situations of colonial and post-colonial underdevelopment has then in effect taught professionals to work within the system and so, indirectly, to help maintain the status quo.

Barkun's⁶⁹ research of the aspirations of university students in Ghana, Uganda and Tanzania to which reference was made earlier illustrates this point with regard to educating manpower specifically for development activity. He observes that educational systems in most of ex-British Africa are conservative institutions which tend to produce well-trained, conservative men. Rather than to socialise students to govern, the students are imbued with the idea of serving. He concludes:

The quality of leadership, initiative,⁷⁰ and the ability to be critical have not been stressed.

He further observes that the key values of such socialisation are "reliability, honesty, and intelligence."

Some educational theorists have suggested that to provide

for change is the creative function of education.⁷¹ Gilbert and Specht point out however that the profession "...has responded inadequately to the impulse for change" because the knowledge and skills that should have been provided by education are lacking.⁷² Education has thus been geared to professional intervention as a response to the consequences of change, rather than effecting change itself. This in my view is the result of the scant attention social work professionals in Africa have paid to a pervasive area of African conditions: politics. Ultimately, social workers need to persuade the political leadership of the importance of their goals and those changes wanted by professionals. Professional authority derived from education--a position discussed in paragraphs above--is likely to be more fully utilised when combined with actively sought political support. This means a purposeful engagement with, rather than avoidance of, the political arena. Social workers must do so, however, sensitised through education and practice to the fact that that arena is itself a reflection of the prevailing ideologies. The appreciation that national leaders have of social work's contributions to society may stem from the professional's own self-image. The social worker might, as suggested by the values identified by Barkun, see himself too readily as an implementer and not as a policy-maker, as an honest and intelligent helper and not as a radical or innovator causing conflict.⁷³

Pearson puts the position thus:

Social work is in a primitive political condition and its professionals are consequently pre-political primitive rebels...waging a blind groping campaign against social injustice.

If in their approaches the professionals are adverse to change and to dealing with political power to attain goals, the possibility of making an impact toward fundamental development in contexts of underdevelopment is diminished, if not eliminated all together.

Having defined education as socialisation, this research secondly conceives it as a process gearing professionals for fundamental change. By this is meant that as much stress is laid on attaining capacities for initiating actions as for implementing policies. Such education thus emphasises understanding the interrelatedness of factors creating human and social problems to the solutions available to social workers. It places priority on attainment and use of some specific skills. It focuses in the practicum on rural areas--that environment permitting in Africa a maximum development of self-learning and of actions relevant to the majority of its people.

Barkun has alluded to the lack of stress in education on critical analysis. The social work approaches that "individualise" the person and/or the community have contributed to the tendency of professionals to rely more on descriptions than on analysis. Thus, social workers have not been able to understand

at a deeper level what are the problems or how these relate to other elements within the African context. It is necessary that education imparts through the curricula the knowledge and skills necessary to intervention specific to social work. But curricula should also integrate the social work dimensions with relevant other disciplines--sociology, economics, political science, medicine--to name a few. Toward this end, much attention in social work literature has centered on the "integrated approach,"⁷⁵ the concern being with generic training for a wholistic practice approach as opposed to a continued "methods" emphasis. Andargatchew⁷⁶ has suggested that a "broad-based, integrated approach" makes the curriculum responsive to local needs and conditions. Gindy⁷⁷ among others suggests that indigenous" materials should be developed by social work educational institutions so as to more closely relate training to these conditions. The concern of these social work experts is with generic training for a wholistic practice approach as opposed to a continued emphasis on the separate methods of intervention such as casework, groupwork, community work or community development.

My interest in the "integrated approach" differs. Mine has to do with the introduction of social work students to other disciplines. This should be done in such ways that students acquire a high level of ability to understand and to use the

theoretical and analytical tools derived from other fields. Many other professionals, as a result of the type of education described by Barkun, have acquired an orientation towards conservatism as have social workers. However, social workers are expected to cause and to manage change, not simply to study or to predict it. Lack of knowledge and the ability to turn such knowledge into a resource for change is therefore a more serious impediment for the profession. Being able to relate and to communicate with members of other disciplines serves as a means to enhanced professional authority and confidence. Thus, these fields are seen as critical to social work in their own right and not merely as ideas needed for exposure or background.

Relevance suggests knowledge and skills. As implied by the human capital theory, skills can be directed toward making people more economically productive. Or social work education can be utilised expressly to impart those skills fitting professionals into the economic or modern sector economy. The rationale for this in Zambia and Tanzania is to create indigenous manpower for national development and/or self-reliance. There is a danger, though, in the name of relevance, of distorting the purposes for which social work exist.

There is a need for what I refer to as "specific skills." These would increase the capacity of a professional to engage in change activity and to translate professional knowledge into

policy and programmes. Among such skills are planning, policy- and decision-making, analysis, and teamwork. The basic purposes and goals of the practice structures would determine what skills get utilised.⁷⁸ Laying stress in Africa in education primarily on relational skills (i.e., the ability to relate to the client system), I maintain, is insufficient to prepare professionals with those organisational or "adaptive" skills⁷⁹ needed for work in a bureaucracy. Bureaucratic skills are, however, held to be critical to enlarging the authority and role of the profession and to securing the support that social workers need for attaining professional goals. An educational approach that is essentially an "academic" study of the problems of bureaucracies dominates in the African experience. Professionals could therefore be lacking both the "specific" and "adaptive" skills need to deal effectively when confronted by actual structural constraints to doing relevant social work.

That the relevance of social work is questioned by national leaders suggests that its professionals must learn to do new things more apparently appropriate to the African context. They must expand their practice range! Education is referred to here then, thirdly, as learning, the term used to denote the relatively permanent changes brought about in a person's behavior resulting from specific experiences. What new things social workers are expected to do should be evident in

the use made of field-based learning. Not enough attention is given to the development of this component as a prime means of evolving knowledge and strategies pertinent to Africa. The tendency has been to give it second place to the more "academic" classroom content, or to dispense with it altogether when such problems as funds and supervision arise.

Education geared for change implies not only more field-based learning. It also suggests that through the practicum the practice range will be extended from an urban concentration to an effort to make an impact on the 85-90 per cent of the populations in rural areas.

Gindy argues, however, that:

Schools have not trained us to know how to work with rural areas.... Our role is to become integrated rural developers.⁸⁰ We need to give this as an area of special attention.

Field-based learning should enhance the capacity of students to help the rural populaces to learn those new behaviours that increase their ability to draw on their own cultural, material and human resources so as to satisfy basic needs. But social work students cannot introduce people to a new syndrome--planning, problem-solving, management of resources, participation--when they have not themselves learned to do such things. Various learning theories lead to the expectation that behaviour of people and students can be altered in specified directions, given modifications in the environment which reward or punish

specific activity.⁸¹

Stress on rural activity in the field-learning component should provide an environment that stimulates students' self-learning and that develops their own strategies for identifying, evaluating and resolving the problems that arise. It should help move the focus from individual to societal change strategies. The rural perspective should also facilitate the development of indigenous methods of response to rural targets as well as indigenous structural arrangements for practice. In summary, such education should free social work from "reproducing" to relevance.

Despite such potential, schools may not accord a special importance to rural practice. This would suggest, among other possibilities, that the rewards for the professional are few in terms of higher status or power, remunerations, etc. This could also mean that in the specific political context rural development is geared more to the development of the economy than to people. In this case the potential contribution of social work could be valued but little. If either were an adequate explanation, the political-economic context could not simultaneously offer a strong inducement to professionals to practice in rural sectors.

While it is not the intention to demonstrate a relationship between the factors of approach, administrative structures,

and education and the environment in which practice takes place, I have said in the previous chapter that that environment is held to be decisive to reordering social work in the African context--particularly because that context is one of underdevelopment. Let me, therefore, briefly define what is meant by that concept in this research.

Practice and Underdevelopment

Underdevelopment as Rodney⁸² and others have argued is not a condition through which all nations, historically, have passed--and thus African nations, as "newly emergent," must inevitably reflect it. Neither is it acceptable that underdevelopment relates to the economy alone. It has social implications. The synoptic examination in the next chapter of some of these will show that quite apart from the economic transformation wrought in a society to meet the demands for export of raw materials by Metropolitan economies--a development that had its beginnings during the colonial era--there is a further reshaping and shaping of social life so to conform with the requirements of the developed countries. The total process in both its economic and social manifestations are referred to here as underdevelopment. Its impact is felt in the total environment in terms of unmet needs of Africans, and distorted economic, political, and social relationships. This process is observed in its contemporary forms in Zambia, Tanzania and Kenya, selected

as the background against which the actions of and interactions within a profession are analysed.

In particular, the ideology of social work must be considered against the ideology of the particular social groups directing society. The social base that the ideologies of socialism, African socialism, and humanism give to society as a whole penetrates social work too, providing the consciousness as well as the nature of its mandate in the particular environment. To understand the meaning of underdevelopment within the context of the three countries, one needs to put the questions: From whose point of view do the prevailing ideologies define "local" problems? Whose interests do these serve? To raise these questions is to suggest my intent to go beyond the description of the context to attempt to grasp the challenge that the total environment is to social work relevance as defined.

For in a search for relevance, it is necessary to go beyond mere awareness of the effects of underdevelopment on African conditions. The concept needs to be understood also as the process producing the ideas and relations that would give rise to the alleged "irrelevant" social work. Where the profession is perceived to fall short, it is in its approaches--what its practitioners do, at what levels of society, and with what degree of involvement of the local people. Practitioners receive most criticism. Practitioners, it is argued, do irrelevant

things. Practitioners should be dealing with school leavers instead of unwed mothers. Practitioners should be doing developmental instead of remedial work. Critics do not explain why after nearly two decades of independence in African nations the supposed irrelevant practice has remained so entrenched! The connection is not made between those "African conditions" the practitioner is to address--poverty, breakup of traditional support relationships, unemployment, lack of housing, etc.--and the web of international and internal relations that function to negate the profession as well as to foster irrelevant strategies. The criticisms, in summary, assume an autonomy of professional practitioners and their ability to right wrongs unhampered.

A consideration of relevance of professional response does call for an examination of what is done by practitioners. This I attempt to do in Chapter Six. But the ends achieved must be considered in relation to the direction practitioners are given and to the source from which directives come. To do so is to begin to grasp the process of underdevelopment as it impinges on the administrative bureaucracies and education through the functioning of administrators and educators.

The Guiding Propositions

This study assumes that the particular interests of the context are materialised in the functions of these social work

administrators and educators. Therefore, it is being postulated that variations in the degree of relevance will be related to the personal and professional characteristics of the administrators, educators and practitioners. More specifically, the differences in age, in levels of professional social work education, in years of experience, in positions held, and agency type determine to a varying extent the professionals' perception of what is relevant in a given ideological context. This search is, then, guided by the following hypotheses:

Relevance of social work in terms of broad-based intervention is expected to vary according to the degree of political administrative support existing for the professional practitioners. While social work by Africans will not lose all the features that distinguish it as a unique profession everywhere, differences will occur as a result of the pressures exerted by the political economic context. However, professionals also exert a counter-pressure on organisations. Their professional perceptions and choices of action affect programmatic and educational differences. Given the influences outside the profession, relevance in social work is less than the dominant trend across the three countries. Approaches of practitioners tend to be less broad-based than administrators and educators perceive they should be. But in contradiction, the administrative and educational support tends to be less than the practitioners see

is needed. In fact, administrators are expected to be closer to the points of view of the practitioners on approaches that should be taken, but closer to the views of educators on the rationale of practice and perceptions reflecting on the societal context. Increased relevance in the profession as a whole would, however, be an outcome of creating new relations that enhance the capacity of all three categories of professionals to gear their respective approaches differently.

To the extent that the administration tends to be bureaucratic, the more the approaches of professionals correspond to that of the administrators, the more the practitioners perceive themselves to be limited. An increase in professional authority is associated, therefore, with both the professional characteristics of the practitioners and with the nature and level of the contacts he/she has with the administrator.

Social work education which has a dominant change-orientation will differ in content emphasis, knowledge and skills, from education having dominant conservative goals. More relevant education derives not from the fields of teaching, however, but from modifications in the context of practice that are manifested in the functions and structures of the institutions for educating.

The indicators for the variables named and justification for choosing them out of a number of other possibilities appear

in Section I of Chapter Three in which the methodology is discussed. The approach to data collection is also taken up in that chapter. The characteristics of and the perceptions of the social work professionals on practice and education are presented in Chapter Four and Chapters Five through Seven, respectively.

Conclusions

This chapter has presented the analytical framework for considering the concept of social work relevance and the relationships within the profession it implies. The literature just presented makes a distinction which associates the more relevant approaches in practice to those ideas, values and actions which permit all significant factors affecting the problems to be considered in determining the particular professional behavior that is required. The less relevant approaches appear to be those restricting attention to a single or very limited range of factors. In other words, the broader approaches more than narrower individualised ones indicate a greater degree of relevance in approach. It has been advanced, also, that administrative mechanisms of interaction that enhance the power of professionals for achieving their goals are of greater relevance than those that (in the African context) tend to neutralise or diminish this possibility by maintaining a concentration of power at the top. Lastly, it has been further suggested that

educational systems--using their capacity to change persons-- which orient students to the need for fundamental alternations --seem more appropriate than those that equip for maintaining systems, In summary, it is held here that social work relevance is attained to the extent that all of the "more relevant" conditions find expression within and through the entire professional system.

The views of national leaders and social science theorists have been examined for what each group suggests are the more or less relevant responses to the context of practice. The wide range of comment does not, however, spell out what shape social work has actually taken in developing situations such as those the study settings represent. The literature reviewed permits an interpretation of relevance as being professional actions and answers that make a significant impact on the people, the institutions, and the structures of a society. But it also makes apparent that the research cannot prove relevance to any specific context. Rather, the phenomena of approaches, administration, and education are being studied, the characteristics of which are believed to indicate the degree to which relevance is thought to be shown. While presenting the views of many other theorists, I choose to focus on the perceptions of the three groups of actors about their situations, expecting that these will reveal how close contemporary practice conforms to

the patterns prescribed by the proposed definition of relevance. The cross-cultural comparative approach adopted in this study can provide the breadth of knowledge from which to construct definitions and models true to the real situations pertaining in this section of the Third World. What some of these realities and their implications for social work are is the concern of Chapter Two which follows.

This is wider than any definition of social work that I have seen. It is justified.

social work and determines its direction by setting the scene for a process of change of inherited models. An account is given to support this assertion. Relevance in social work was defined previously as the maximum professional intervention that addresses the needs of the community in its totality... Whether the response comes through the national leadership or such a definition of the nature, of scope, of function, and scope for the profession to be examined in the presentation below. The latter extensive treatment of the practice context is consistent with the very importance that the political economy of the national level has as the realization of any such intervention. It is to be noted that the major theoretical and policy issues are raised in the last paragraphs of section 2.1.1 and 2.1.2. The latter extensive treatment of the practice context is consistent with the very importance that the political economy of the national level has as the realization of any such intervention. It is to be noted that the major theoretical and policy issues are raised in the last paragraphs of section 2.1.1 and 2.1.2.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CONTEXT OF RELEVANCE

Class?

A cross section of opinion presented in Chapter One shows the tendency of African experts to relate inappropriateness of social work to its origins in western developed countries. This researcher assumes the contrary, i.e., that it is the contemporary African context or environment, not its origins, that shapes social work and determines its direction by setting the terms for maintenance of change of inherited models. An attempt is made below to support this assertion.

Relevance in social work was defined previously as...human-oriented professional intervention that addresses the task environment in its totality.... Whether the respective contexts through the national leadership permit such a definition of value, of purpose, of function, and scope for the profession is the question to be examined in the presentation below.

My rather extensive treatment of the practice context is explained by the very importance that the political economy of the African states has to the evolution of any new institution. This is so because the nations themselves are in a formative stage and as yet lack traditions of modern social services and structures implicit in western models. Having an understanding of, and taking into account the limitations and multiple

dynamics operating in state formation, are the necessary first steps to deriving realistic social work prescriptions.

The context will be discussed below under the following headings: first, I shall consider the prevailing ideologies, i.e., Zambia's humanism, Tanzania's socialism, and Kenya's African socialism (capitalism), which guide the social and economic life in the three countries, respectively.¹ I shall next present the administrative framework in which social workers are functioning in these settings. Then the educational systems in which social work education is located are examined. I conclude with comments on the implications of the context for evolving social work in general.

The Ideological Framework

Zambia's Humanism: Although politically independent in 1964, the new nation was hardly structured to satisfy the basic needs of the African. Zambia inherited both a racially stratified society and dependence on the racially dominated southern African economy.² Zambians had neither been trained for nor permitted to exert a controlling influence on the modern sector. Copper monopolised Zambia's colonial history and its beginnings as a modern state. As a consequence, a dual economy emerged: an industrialised urban sector co-existing with a predominantly subsistence rural sector.³ Ethnic differences were greatly accentuated by tribal cleavages for political power, making

creation of national economic and political institutions problematic.⁴ Kaunda, in particular, attempted to enunciate an ideology which, against this background, would provide cohesion and direction for Zambians.

Humanism in essence is more a philosophy than is either Tanzanian ujamaa or Kenya's African socialism. Its basic thesis asserts the moral goodness of man and his capacity to create the just, i.e., humanistic society.⁵ From this premise it is argued that the total operation of the state should serve to further the development of MAN.

To this end, traditional values such as social mutual aid and self-reliance are reasserted as guides to modern living.⁶ Humanism attempts to provide undergirding for social, economic, and political action by Zambians. It seeks to create a society of social justice and equality of opportunity--if not equality in the distribution of resources.⁷ There is no place in Humanism for classes of rich and poor, of racialism, or regional disparities.⁸ It rejects capitalism as an exploitative system of MAN for economic gain. It aims at Zambian control of national wealth through a strong public sector as well as private Zambian participation. Politically, Humanism advocates "participatory democracy," "power to the people."⁹ However, the obstacles to the achievement of these ideals do exist, a fact that should become clear by an examination of some aspects of contemporary

Zambian life.

Zambia's modern sector contains nearly 40 per cent of its population of five and one-half million--constituting one of the highest national urban concentrations in Africa south of the Sahara. The basis of her modern economy remains the mineral wealth from copper, although there was greater intensification of effort in the agricultural economy by the end of the 1970's.¹⁰

With the UDI of Rhodesia of 1965 and the repugnance felt by Zambia about South Africa's apartheid system, she began and succeeded in strengthening her ties with other nations in the region. However, her links with international capitalism, chiefly through mining and the multinationals, were not assaulted.

Humanism in other words, though theoretically rejecting capitalism, did not formulate a clear socialist strategy as claimed by Kaunda.¹¹

The emergent ruling class has attempted rather to reform, or make more palatable, the economic, social--and to a lesser degree--the political inheritance. For example, through the Mulungushi, Matero, and Lusaka reforms of 1968, 1969, 1970, and 1973, respectively, the state's public sector gained formal control in mining, industry and commerce.

With Zambianisation (Africanisation), increased government ownership through some nationalisation with compensation, and the creation of parastatals, there has been a corresponding increase in the numbers of Zambians incorporated into the

executive and managerial ranks. Several other reforms have been aimed at raising levels of living, reducing income differentials and in general spreading the wealth, e.g., taxation on riches, price and wage controls, worker participation in managing the economic sector, and a code of conduct for the leadership.¹²

However, these measures--rather than thwarting a capitalist development--have tended to reinforce it in some important dimensions. Continuing to structure the economy principally around one product and through such giant companies for a limited market means that the needed capital, technology and skills still come from international centres interested in maintaining the status quo--that is, Zambia's dependence. Shaw and Grieses maintain that such a close state-corporation relationship actually undermines the development of an indigenous entrepreneurship.¹³

The pervasive "materialistic ethic" in Zambia is seen as one direct result of the participation of the national ruling class in the transnational relationships generated through the multinationals.¹⁴ A continued export-orientation hampers reorganisation and innovation in society geared toward development and use of local resources for local needs and conditions. According to Dumont,¹⁵ the absence of any self-reliant strategy--including self-sufficiency in food--has made Zambia acutely vulnerable to fluctuations of international markets, despite its

modern economic base. Under such circumstances she has been unable to guarantee consistent level of living standards for Zambians through her humanist policies.

Humanism has not produced a socialist pattern of economic development nor has it achieved its aim of attaining a classless society. Social stratification and subsequent inequalities are a dominant feature of significance for social development strategies, existent or projected. Zambianisation has helped to intensify class division, biasing growth toward the small ruling group. Shaw, Scott, and Kaunda¹⁶ identify chiefly two broad strata: a ruling class of the modern sector already mentioned and the urban poor and rural peasants, to be discussed below. This class structure is one aspect of neo-colonialism. Amin¹⁷ sees the ruling elite as a "dependent pseudo-bourgeoisie," which controls the state apparatus and its external associations, but not production. This "local branch of the transnational class," according to him, derives its affluence from cooperation in the exploitation and export of national wealth. Zambia's small elite thus tends to be more responsive to pressures by foreign enterprises than to internal pressures from the masses.¹⁸

Beyond the economic sphere, the elite wields power through the vast bureaucracy, i.e., the civil service or public sector. In 1975 the Mwanakatwe Commission¹⁹ recommended "fairly substantial" salary increases which in effect furthered wage

differentials and tipped government policy in favour of the employed Zambian of the modern formal sector. The Chona Commission provided the opening for the civil servant to participate in politics.²⁰ As many entered political party posts, power has been more greatly centralised within the foreign-oriented, ruling class. That class is therefore in the commanding bureaucratic and political, as well as economic, positions to promote those policies which serve its own priorities rather than those focused on the majority of Zambians.

The leaders of the trade unions separated from the mass of the modern sector workers, have become part of the ruling class and extract for themselves attractive benefits from local and foreign capitalists.²¹ Thus rendered leaderless and powerless to challenge the status quo, the working class has been slow to support humanism.²²

The groups most excluded from real power and progress under humanism, however, are the urban unemployed and poor, and the rural peasant. Emphasis on benefits for the employed of the modern sector, just noted, leaves the former of these two groups without adequate protection in an urban environment. This is partly due to social policy measures that are "imports," and thus not utilised, though present in urban towns, e.g., community and recreation centres, children's services. Nyirenda²³ suggests that the failure is due to lack of integration of such

provisions in Zambian life. It is more probable that these measures do not realistically address the perceived needs of the urban masses--the need to share equally in the political power and material progress of the country. This group is likely to be further deprived due to the lack of developed capacity in the rural area to absorb an expanding population. An important consequence of the foregoing conditions is skewed distribution of income and resources so that under humanism wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few.²⁴

With respect to the rural sector, Zambia's rural development policies reflect a humanist objective: to redress a colonial legacy of neglect of rural peoples and areas. Of rural reconstruction and development, Kaunda asserts that it is aimed "...not just at mass production, but production by the masses... to involve the people themselves in production...as a way of fair distribution of wealth in the nation."²⁵ To this end, inputs of finance, administrative support, and infrastructure have increased considerably since independence, targeted in several directions. An essentially capitalist agricultural policy has focused on the small family farms, encouragement of the cooperative movement, stimuli for village regrouping, and on rural progress through an intensive development zone strategy.²⁶ Incentives in the form of subsidies and tariff concessions are provided to the mainly European commercial farms to

boost production for self-sufficiency in foodstuffs for the 1980's.

Despite this multi-pronged attack, the rural-urban gap has not been sufficiently bridged to the material benefit of 60 per cent of Zambia's population. Shaw and Dumont suggest rather a decline in real incomes and standards of living.²⁷ They and others²⁸ give several reasons for this: rural people have lacked incentives as well as resources for change. Higher incomes and benefits accrue to the urban worker/dweller. Social, economic and political institutions designed to foster enhanced communal cooperation and production, e.g., village productivity committees, have not been enabled to serve their purposes. The villagers have therefore lacked the requisite education and preparation to be either fully self-governing or self-supporting. Whether the civil service provides the appropriate structure and ideology for communication and mobilisation at the grassroots level has also been questioned. Bratton attributes these evident internal constraints to the decisions made by the foreign-oriented elite, decisions that are not aimed at giving priority to meeting basic needs of rural Zambians.²⁹ The neglect, whatever its rationale, viz-a-viz the dominant modern sector, has contributed to the near stagnation in agriculture, the base of rural life, and thus to dependence particularly now on western supplies of food as well as investments and expertise.

This is so to the extent, argues Dumont, that self-reliance has been forgotten in Zambia.³⁰

Politically, humanism is committed to "participatory democracy" and consequent power decentralisation. This has been tried, e.g., through the workers' councils and political committees.³¹ Yet, no effective transfer of power from the centre to the rural peasants and urban masses has been achieved in Zambia. As the educated elite has been absorbed into the political leadership, the United National Independence Party has more and more reflected the views of that elite. The broad base of support for UNIP has diminished with the systematic curtailing of popular mass involvement in politics.³² An expected consequence of these developments is that the masses lack real influence on policies affecting their wellbeing.

Lastly, Zambia has linked its humanist ideology to a pan-African foreign policy.³³ This has led to critical involvement in support of liberation groups fighting minority white regimes in South Africa and Namibia, and now-independent Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Heavy costs in terms of declining national wealth and human lives have had to be borne. The extent to which humanist ideals could be implemented must be judged not only by the assumed ambivalence of the elite about such engagements in light of their interests, but also against a backdrop of stretched or depleted resources of a land-locked country. However, freed

African countries potentially extend Zambia's range of contacts with nations who in the development of their approaches away from underdevelopment, e.g., Mozambique, might formulate responses more greatly influenced by African culture and priorities. These could help lead the way for the Zambian ruling class to be more inward-looking and committed. For without their full support, no social or economic measures can succeed.

Tanzania's Socialism, Ujamaa

Although its modern history has been shaped by and its political economy structured to serve the colonial powers of Germany and Great Britain, Tanzania has differed in some significant respects from Zambia and its neighbour, Kenya. Its development per se had received far less attention than either of the other countries. It was (and is) a poor nation, serving chiefly as a market for Kenya's goods and as a source for primary products³⁴ until the border closures of 1977.

In its political economy from 1961 to 1966, independent Tanzania also endorsed a capitalistic strategy of development. With the adoption of the Arusha Declaration of 1967,³⁵ however, it opted instead for ujamaa socialism and self-reliance--a transformation that it considered would bring about a fundamental change in the political, social, and economic life of its people. Through this and other guidelines of the Party, TANU (to be reorganised as Chama-Cha Mapinduzi in 1971) the national

objectives to be achieved through socialism were declared. Those ones more critical to social work are outlined in the synopsis below to provide the framework in which to examine the profession later.

Man-centered at its core, Tanzania's approach to socialism measures national development and progress in terms of the concrete improvements that occur in the standard of living and overall wellbeing of each individual, with people as the instruments to bring about development.³⁶ Obstacles to this end, whether begun under capitalism or later, must be identified and destroyed, to be replaced by values and institutions that further ujamaa.

Nyerere argues that wealth, in particular, should provide for human need and not be used in a manner that encourages selfishness and permits severe inequalities to exist in society.³⁷

A corollary to this concept is that no man should be exploited by another. Ujamaa as a policy thus opposes capitalism which aims to build a society based on exploitation. Rather, it encourages harmony (and not the class-conflict of scientific socialism), reciprocity, hard work--all of which are seen as strengthening socialism. It projects a situation where ideally there will be no class differences and no elites. As far as possible individuals, groups and regions must benefit equally. participation of the people in affairs touching their lives and

work. This participation is to take place through the party and other mass organisations, such as those for women and youth, and workers' trade unions.³⁸ Lastly, Tanzania's principle of self-reliance emphasises internal rather than external growth, but at the same time it accepts the necessity for continuing economic ties with international centres. However, these contacts must be governed by Tanzanian priorities and geared to meeting basic national needs. They should not simply cover continued underdevelopment.³⁹ Despite the progress made in realising its objectives there remain several persistent obstacles which in themselves attest to the tenacity of a capitalist legacy, to attitudes favoring capitalistic values, and to the vulnerability of underdeveloped countries. A brief analysis of some critical areas of Tanzania's approaches lends support to the above conclusion.

Rural development is the key strategy through which Tanzania seeks to achieve national self-reliance. The policy, which has at its core "peasant" development, is implemented primarily through ujamaa village and cooperative production and development. By 1979 as a result of villagisation, more than 14 million Tanzanians, 90 per cent of the population, were living in 7,361 registered villages.⁴⁰ One argument for such massive resettlement was that the state is thus enabled to make available adequately staffed social services. Agricultural

productivity for local consumption and for export could be more easily raised through organised living, it was argued.

Though the villages were established--some by a measure of coercion--socialist cooperative production has hardly been achieved. Mohiddin and Lappe and Beccar-Varela found that the peasants preferred "block" cultivation, that is, working on individually owned plots, to cultivating cooperatively.⁴¹ The danger of this preference is obvious. Block cultivation differs only in scope from the capitalist agriculture of Kenya. With it, too, has come such class characteristics as the exploitation of labour. Official countenance of non-cooperative farming also threatens the egalitarian principles espoused. Falling production is cited by a number of critics of ujamaa and villagisation. Some suggest that the use of coercion between 1973 and 1976 to establish many of the villages had led to peasant resentment of the policy. This may account for much of the resistance and for the shortfalls in production in the cash crops needed for export.⁴²

The decision in 1972 to decentralise the administration of government was intended to help the rural peasants gain access to administrative machinery and personnel. With the Village Act of 1975,⁴³ registered villages constituted the government at the local level. Through the village councils the peasants, theoretically, have control over their own development

as participants in decision-making and planning, and also in programme implementation. The actual structuring of relationships, however, places critical decision-making and most planning in the hands of government bureaucrats, such as village managers and extension workers, other technocrats, and the party leaders. Despite the structuring of village life, in essence direction still flows from the top and thus from outside the village. This hierarchical arrangement is reflected in political representation at the national executive level of the party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi, where the peasant is conspicuously absent. Dumont⁴⁴ argues that the rural masses do not yet hold actual "peasant power," although the prospects are seen as more promising than for the peasants of Zambia.

Consistency in ideology is revealed in Tanzania's long-term industrial strategy which seeks a complementarity of development, with progress being made in both the rural and the modern sector. Nsekela puts it thus: "...agriculture will get the necessary inputs; industry will produce first for the local market...industrialisation is therefore to overcome our export dependency and thus instability."⁴⁵ Tanzania has therefore decided on a policy of nationalisation of some vital areas of the economy, including industry, commerce, and the financial institutions. It owns, or effectively controls, the means of production, distribution and exchange of goods. This is in

stark contrast to the foreign ownership in Kenya and multinational dominance in Zambia. Private enterprise is not eliminated, but kept on a limited scale. Local capitalists are therefore only marginally linked to transnational capitalism.

To give direction to economic and social development, Tanzania expanded the state bureaucracy by 92 per cent since independence, greatly increasing the number of parastatals and other state institutions.⁴⁶ With these moves the state attempts to manufacture locally the requirements of Tanzanians. As the largest employer, it is able to deploy human resources in accordance to its view of priorities.⁴⁷ Moreover, private enterprise is not curbed in areas where the individual worker or peasant could be exploited. For example, most land is state property, thus people are assured of access; housing cannot be used for rent, etc.⁴⁸

Despite the above moves, Tanzania has not attained "self-reliance." From the end of 1979 on into 1983 her economy continued to suffer the effects of the war with Uganda, escalating oil prices, world-wide inflation, national disasters of drought and floods leading to poor harvests and loss of export earnings.⁴⁹ In attempting to build local administrative and managerial skills, her industrialisation has been plagued by inadequate leadership, failures in achieving targets, and waste.⁵⁰

While Tanzania has foregone foreign investments, she has

welcomed foreign aid on what she considers "her terms." But the combination of the economic, political and social factors has meant more inflow of aid--from \$195.7 m in 1974 to a request for \$1.8 billion in 1982.⁵¹ Sixty-eight per cent of her development budget by 1979 was financed by loans and grants from foreign sources.⁵² Donors, notably the World Bank, play a dominant role in the very design of policy and projects, and as provider of expertise.⁵³

Although this assistance is part of an effort to stem Tanzania's economic decline,⁵⁴ it would, however, appear to draw her closer to the dependence against which the socialist policies were initially conceived. With progress toward self-reliance being eroded, Tanzania may come under increased pressure from external and internal interests to relax on some of her objectives and in her strategies. She may need to move more slowly and toward a market socialism, accommodating incentives for individual interests while attempting to maintain overall state control and direction.

The people's participation is a keystone of Tanzania's socialism. Nyerere and the party leadership foresaw the temptations for individual Tanzanians occupying positions in the inherited bureaucracies and in the industrial sector, particularly to continue to embrace capitalism. The "Leadership Code"⁵⁵ has attempted to establish rules that would, in the main,

prevent the political and public leadership from using its position to gain wealth or power vis-a-vis the "worker and peasant." Socialism holds that leadership should in fact come from the ranks of workers and peasants.

There are those who argue nevertheless that the workers, as the peasants, hold little actual power. Shivji believes that nationalisation of the economy led to perpetuation of facets of capitalism while permitting the bureaucratic elite to advance its own interests.⁵⁶ Salum suggests that the economic policies promoting greater state intervention have only led to newer forms of exploitation, with the bureaucrats constituting a "class dictatorship" against the workers and the peasants. According to him, these trends within the state and party, if unchecked, would reverse the progress that has been made toward national democracy and a "people's" state.⁵⁷ By 1982 widespread violations of the Code led the CCM to establish a party structure to enforce it. The implied meaning is that under increasingly difficult economic conditions, the bureaucratic leadership is not fully committed to the socialist ideal. Having a monopoly over policy, finance, and knowledge, it is not compelled to listen to the voice of the peasants and workers, who may anyway be increasingly powerless. If they do actually fail in their commitment--and it may be too early to judge, given the problems facing the nation--it is conceivable that, in time, classes and

values could emerge to challenge the socialist beginnings.

This possibility, which has implications for the political socialisation of people, has not been overlooked. Tanzania's leadership holds that its economic and social development requires a political consciousness and participation of the people at all levels of society. As previously mentioned, democratic mass institutions permit the ordinary Tanzanian to participate in the political process. In particular, TANU and its successor, Chama Cha Mapinduzi, have been heavily involved in the formulation of social and economic policy and its implementation. Lappé et al⁵⁸ concludes, however, that the party and government have become "somewhat indistinguishable," and therefore like the bureaucracy, have become potentially less genuinely responsive and accountable to the masses.

Tanzania may, therefore, not yet have achieved her goal to socialise the people politically. Political education, absent in Kenya's African socialism and scarcely promoted by humanism, is the foundation on which socialist attitudes are supposed to be laid. It has become an integral component of all formal educational curricula and of civic and adult programmes as well.⁵⁹ Within the Party and the mass organisations, institutions already exist in the system through which the people may potentially express their views. Time will tell the extent to which such correctives advocated by a more politicised people

are actually applied to keep leadership on the professed socialist path.

Socialisation in Tanzania includes an attempt to undo the colonial-bred tendency to devalue things "African" by substituting things "European." Instead, there is a conscious effort to preserve and to promote a Tanzanian life-style, consumption patterns, and values. Intergroup and cultural interaction and fusion⁶⁰ are aided by the use of Swahili, the official language of Tanzania. The shared culture is transmitted through the mass media and manifested by non-dominance of any particular tribal, religious or racial subgroups within the country. The educational system to be discussed below reinforces an approach that bases the national ethos firmly in the Tanzanian culture. In summary, value placed on cultural roots aims to foster integration of national life and ideally cooperative effort.

Finally, a Pan-African policy in foreign relations and a position as a "front-line" state has meant considerable political involvement by Tanzania--as with Zambia--in the liberation struggle of now independent Angolans, Mozambiquans and Zimbabweans, and for Namibia and South Africa. A costly war helped to depose the tyrannical Idi Amin from Uganda in 1979. These efforts underscore the consistency of Tanzania's socialism, i.e., its commitment to the cooperative and self-reliant development of African, and not just Tanzanian, peoples. But these

involvements have also necessitated expending the scarce financial, material and human resources of a relatively poor nation for problems outside her borders--a fact of import to the question of provision of basic services needed by Tanzanians.

Kenya's African Socialism

Years before Kenya's independence, the settler population, having wrested concessions from Great Britain, was able to use the colony's government apparatus to establish domestic capitalism in the colony.⁶¹ The foundations perpetuating economic links with external capital, resource outflow, and a social organisation favoring class formation were thus laid. With intensification of the struggle for and the approaching independence, some shifts in the settler policy occurred. Of particular significance were provisions of the Symnerton Plan which --through its land policies, fostered the creation of an African middle-class, a group whose interests corresponded more to those of the settler community than to the African landless and poor.⁶² It was to this nucleus that political power was transferred at independence.⁶³

The Sessional Paper Number 10, African Socialism and Its Application to Planning,⁶⁴ in which the national ideology is summarised has guided Kenya's post-independence development. Under African Socialism, Kenya has attempted neither to reform the inherited capitalist system, as did Zambia, nor to reject

even parts of it in order to follow a socialist path, as in Tanzania. Kenya has instead pursued what Leys and others have identified as a neo-colonial pattern of development.⁶⁵ In choosing to leave intact the existing economic, social and political structures, the new state could easily be incorporated into international capitalism. Maintenance of the status quo is partly justified in the Sessional Paper by an appeal for inspiration to former African traditions that acted as societal organising principles--notably, mutual social responsibility and political democracy. The two were to continue to operate in the independent state securing the welfare of the individual and through property rights, respectively.⁶⁶ No foreign ideology such as marxism was to be tolerated. And Kenya vowed to avoid entanglements with foreign enterprise, unless such contacts advanced the "interests of Kenya." Concomitantly, the Sessional Paper envisaged a society that would curb local accumulation of wealth and prevent further emergence of class divisions and inequalities--although individual talents would be differentially rewarded. All Kenyans could look forward to ultimate freedom from want, ignorance and disease, and to human dignity and social justice. However, the immediate objective--and a prerequisite for achievement of the other aims--was (and is) the steady economic growth of a mixed economy.⁶⁷ To this end, the Sessional Paper proposes a massive inflow of foreign capital,

external assistance, and expatriate expertise. At the same time rapid Africanisation and participation would be encouraged to the fullest. Private property would be protected, nationalised only with full compensation. With its limited resources, the state's role was not to intervene in production through ownership. Its function would be to plan, regulate, and to exercise such control as needed to support the private and public sectors. In fact, the Sessional Paper expects the private sector to play a "large" role in development, thus facilitating the continued inflow of capital and expertise.⁶⁸ In turn, the state guarantees political stability and peace.

With the above thrust in ideology pursued almost without deviation before and since independence, the Kenyan capitalist strategy has brought noticeable advancements in economic terms. An economic growth rate of approximately 7 per cent has been sustained from 1965 through 1977. Per capita incomes have increased, although not equitably distributed. The social services and infrastructure have all been expanded,⁶⁹ much of this through technical assistance.⁷⁰ And the public sector, made up of central and local government and parastatals, has expanded, participating in enterprises "selectively...but only where... essential."⁷¹

These developments, however, confer a somewhat mixed blessing. Achievement of economic growth has been accompanied

by structural imbalances. The industrial sector has grown at the expense of the agricultural sector. The major beneficiaries of this industrialisation have been the relatively few urban employed Africans, the Asian community, and foreign interests. These latter two groups dominate the modern sector, with multinational control of 60 per cent of production and heavy involvement in such key sectors as banking, tourism, trade, and transport.⁷² Dominance of the private sector in economic activity by outside interests and the subsequent outflow of profits seriously reduces Kenya's capability to raise levels of living of the whole population. At the turn of the 1980's, the rate of economic growth fell from an anticipated 6.9 to 5.4 percent--and this, it was warned would inevitably affect adversely the realisation of planned growth targets for the period 1978-1983.⁷³ This authoritative forecast follows earlier pronouncements by such influential bodies as the World Bank and the International Labour Organisation⁷⁴ that massive and growing inequalities in Kenya would intensify such existing problems as widespread poverty and unemployment. The trend would be reversed only with a change in development strategy designed to redress the income imbalance between the few rich and the masses of Kenyans.

The Africanisation, or Kenyanisation, of workers especially in the industrial sector as well as the economic policies

of African socialism are in effect biased toward, and a major contributor to, the formation and growth of middle and upper classes in Kenya. Occupation in the civil services and in other organisations and the professions have helped this minority to capitalise on the advantages earlier attained through land policies. With authority and status conveyed by skills and education, Africans have been absorbed throughout the private sector, holding key managerial and technical posts. The trend increasingly is toward outright African ownership as well as shareholding.⁷⁵ Through these developments, the African elite is moving more securely into a role as intermediary or "comprador"⁷⁶ and architects of the local capitalist scene. With the top politicians and the military drawn into the circle of the affluent, the ruling elite of Kenya are in a position to defend the system --at least from internal threats.

Africanisation has also secured for Kenyans near complete control of the public sector, both in decision-making and implementation. The degree of efficiency with which it operates has served to increase Kenya's attractiveness to international organisations and institutions. Through the Ndegwa Commission,⁷⁷ civil servants were accorded the right to participate in profit-making enterprises. Their salaries provide them the means to buy company shares. But in addition, the Commission endorsed the view of "entitlement" to differential rewards already

implicit in the meritocratic orientation of education. Thus Kenya countenances a differential of 25:1 between the highest and lowest wage earner.⁷⁸

Differences between the haves and have-nots are visible in other ways. The ruling classes of Africans increasingly exhibit preference for western culture, chiefly British, in life style and dress, in consumption patterns in, e.g., housing, cars, etc. The English language as a medium of education and official discourse is under no threat from Swahili or any other indigenous language. Mohiddin⁷⁹ argues that, in effect, the values characteristic of the western culture with reference, for example, to workers, to acceptance of the existence of poverty, individualism, and personal wealth, have become part and parcel of the ideological framework of the ruling classes.

The foregoing does not negate the trickling effect of capital inflow and the material improvements that have occurred in Kenya for the worker and the peasant.⁸⁰ The point is that Kenyan society still reflects sharp contrasts not only between regions and between the rural and urban areas,⁸¹ but also between subgroupings. This is clearly manifested in the case of the urban worker. The labour force in Kenya is almost totally Africanised. Growing urban unemployment is exacerbated by the inability of an export-oriented industrial sector to absorb all the job-seekers. The trade union is cowed in the interests of

preserving industrial harmony and profits. Its leadership has no representation in politics,⁸² thus negating the workers' influence on national policy and the possibility of protection of their interests. The informal sector, consisting of self-employed entrepreneurs of services and goods, absorbs a fraction of the urban would-be-poor. While in effect its cheaper services, among other things, subsidises the urban elite, its own existence is highly precarious. It is largely without government sanction, protection and attention to its development.⁸³ As African socialism succeeds, the above inequalities and consequences may not easily be reduced.

In contrast to Zambia, Kenya's rural area has featured prominently in her economic and social development policies and programmes. Like Tanzania, nearly 90 percent of the population must obtain a livelihood from the land. Unlike the other two, Kenya's arable land is in short supply, relative to a population expanding at 4 percent per annum by 1982. And in keeping with African socialism, Kenya's underlying emphasis in its rural policy has been basically economic. Attention has centred principally on agricultural productivity for export. It is cash-crop oriented. Policies of private ownership of land and Africanisation permit participation of the bulk of rural Kenyans in the agricultural economy, while also accommodating large scale farming which includes the foreign companies, non-Africans, and

a growing number of rich Africans. The latter group has been most able to increase its holding--either as individuals or through cooperatives. It has also benefitted most from state services of credit, marketing facilities, and extension expertise.⁸⁴ The disparity in income that results is reflected by the comparative ownership of land with 50 percent of the land contained in 5 percent of all farms.⁸⁵ Eighteen percent of Kenya's rural population is landless.⁸⁶ One aim of the capitalist agricultural strategy is that agriculture should become a major source of employment. This has not yet been realised.⁸⁷ To have this desired effect, the educational system, income distributive patterns to the rural areas, and a capital-intensive export orientation in production, as well as attitudes, must change.

The point here is that the above combination of factors contribute to a situation perpetuating the poverty of the rural area in general and the small farmer, the squatter, and the landless in particular. In essence, rural development in Kenya has meant the development of the rural economy and such agricultural infrastructure as transport extension and water services. It has not noticeably focused on the development of rural people by sensitizing them to their own capacities, strengthening cooperative values and attitudes, and building participatory democratic institutions. It cannot be argued that

the "basic needs" approach of the Fourth Development Plan will secure these particular ends.

Indeed, an ILO sponsored analysis of the "basic needs" strategy suggests that a major problem addressed by the Plan is "...uncertainty about future growth prospects..."⁸⁸ Thus, an externally induced internal focus should further economic growth through a more efficient and mobilised rural and urban labour force. A basic needs strategy, however, implies no fundamental policy or structural change in Kenya.

People's participation--in the urban and rural areas--is implied in the earlier mentioned objective of political democracy. Yet the political system as operated in Kenya gives very limited scope in this regard. Political power is concentrated at the centre,⁸⁹ largely in the person of the President. Planning, implementation, and security are functions of the state's civil service apparatus with the Provincial administration playing the key role.⁹⁰ The politician does not function to change the status quo.⁹¹ The political party, KANU, in this one-party state has been permitted to wither, if not to die.⁹² Through occasional party elections, the ruling elites provide the masses with an opportunity to choose from among increasingly well-to-do KANU candidates. Thus, Kenya does not in reality offer a channel for communication and a framework for effective participation of people at all levels. The ILO analysis points to the

need for decentralisation and genuine participation if support for the policies and programmes is to be real.⁹³

A policy of non-alignment has served as a guideline for Kenya's external affairs. However, she has shown a proclivity to support western as opposed to eastern positions at home⁹⁴ and in international circles. Pan-African activity too has shown a consistent promotion of a capitalist strategy. She has maintained a vigorous trade with African partners through the now defunct East African Community and independently. But Kenya has born little of the brunt of the liberation struggles of other African peoples fighting minority regimes. A stance of national self-interest undoubtedly feeds and is reinforced by the value of individualism inherent in the ideology.

In brief, parallel developments can be observed despite different approaches each of the countries has taken since independence. Implied is that movements in all aspects of national life are affected by the continuance of structures, relationships, and attitudes having origins in colonialism. This suggests that where the system as a whole continues to be underdeveloped--whether by internal or external forces--modifications in the direction of its sub-systems are problematic. Where the prescribed direction challenges dominant social, economic, and political interests, this should be so. My concept of relevance, as defined, suggests just such challenge. Thus, this survey

moves next to a consideration of the current administrative structures of practice for an indication of the possibilities of implementing a different kind of social work.

The Organisational Context for Social Work

Although now declining in relative prominence among strategies for social development, community development and social welfare--introduced during the colonial era--provided the social work models for which the organisational framework was established. These models were designed to ensure increased economic gain through the adaptation of Africans to conditions assuring a labour supply on the one hand, and on the other to deal with obvious threats to social stability.⁹⁵ The provision of social services was therefore a colonial expedient. In this section interest is concentrated on existing administrative patterns and the different responses they generate.

The social work situation in Zambia is conditioned by two important factors. The first is the nature of the perceived relationship between community development and social welfare administrations--and thus programmes and personnel. The second is the considerable contribution that industry and the local councils make in the provision of social welfare services. This latter development along with government interventions, portends the provision of a higher quantitative level of services for urban rather than rural areas--a disparity commensurate with

other developments just noted.

Social work, practiced in a variety of organisational frameworks in Zambia, parallel the programmes of Kenya and Tanzania to be examined later. A Department of Social Welfare under a director with a staff in 18 field stations, has responsibility for statutory and non-statutory services to children and adults. Highly individualised services are offered to the family and the child, including counselling, foster care and adoption services. A small fund for the relief of destitution is administered by the Department and programmes for the aged and handicapped come under its aegis. Probation, delinquency preventive and correctional services also are provided. Voluntary agencies, largely sponsored by churches, complement the work of the Department in most of these activities.⁹⁶

Like Tanzania and Kenya, the social welfare services are slanted toward the urban area. Unlike both, there are no structural arrangements for on-going contact with groups, whether urban or rural.⁹⁷ Secondly, like Kenya, social welfare and community development activities fall within one single ministry. However, these are offered by two separate administrations with formal, functional links only at the ministerial level. In practice, this arrangement tends to sharpen the dichotomy between rural and urban social work and has a negative effect on the achievement of an integrated holistic approach to the

development of people. In recognition of this implication, the Second National Development Plan proposed a merger of the two units;⁹⁸ this possibility was under discussion at the time of the study.

The Community Development Department is headed by a Commissioner with community development staff deployed from Lusaka to the provinces and districts. The stated objective is improvement in the quality of rural life through promotion of voluntary group and community efforts.⁹⁹ To this end a variety of activity is carried out, e.g., generation of income through women's agricultural programmes, functional literacy. Other activities aim at improved infrastructure and cooperative living with staff working with the village development committees.

Local authorities and municipal councils operate departments of social services which also include welfare and community development programmes. Some efforts at integrated innovative approaches to social welfare service provision have been attempted within such organisations.¹⁰⁰

Industry, and the mines in particular, have made substantial contributions to the growth of social work services in Zambia. Earliest initiatives in the field sprang from industry's attempts at helping with adjustment and social problems of European and African workers.¹⁰¹ Currently, industry's direct provisions are geared toward meeting basic needs of workers and

their families, e.g., housing, health facilities, recreation, etc. Social work graduates are utilized in two spheres. Some man the delivery of social welfare services in industry, providing the supervisory and administrative staff needed. Others occupy such managerial positions as personnel, public relations and executive officers. The pull of industry in ways indicated in the final section of this chapter affects the supply of manpower to the public sector and thus the quality and quantity of governmental social services in Zambia.

At independence, Tanzania had few voluntary agencies. Moreover, under socialism, the government is the prime mover in the initiation and direction of social welfare services, whether designed for target groups or for whole communities. The non-governmental organisations have a role, but one less critical to the realisation of national social welfare policy than is the case in Kenya.

The Arusha Declaration, in specifying who might receive assistance, assured governmental care of certain target groups within society,¹⁰² for instance, the child, the aged, the handicapped, the unemployable.

Responsibility for these services rests primarily with the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, with some programmes recently started by and channeled through the Ministry of Home Affairs (Prisons), and of Health. The Social Welfare Division

is headed by a commissioner.

Formal social welfare services began in 1946, while the present institutional formation for practice occurred in 1969.¹⁰³ A small nucleus of qualified manpower assists at Headquarters (Dar-es-Salaam) in planning, programming and coordinating services. The Ministry for Labour and Social Welfare is not decentralized, i.e., established as an entity in each of the 20 regions. However, in response to the national policy thrust of rural development, the Division's current policy is to deploy social workers to the rural areas as quickly as qualified manpower becomes available. By January, 1979, regional social welfare officers had been posted to 19 of the 20 regions. These officers sit by invitation of regional development directors and/or commissioners on some regional level committees. They may also interact at district level with other disciplines functioning at that level. Due to shortage of staff, workers had by 1979 been posted to only 12 out of the 96 districts.¹⁰⁴

The rural thrust is thus only becoming visible. Social work practice remains more correctly typified by the inherited urban-biased patterns of administration and services. These include probation and a broad-based corrections programme: general welfare services for families and individuals which are essentially guidance and counselling; child welfare services covering provision and supervision of child care facilities, day-care

centres, adoptions, and foster care; rehabilitation (vocational) services; and rehabilitation centres for the aged and the poor.¹⁰⁵ These programmes are operated on the principle of engagement by the social work professional with the rural areas as far as possible. The National Council for Social Services, with 57 members in January, 1979, exists principally to advise government and to coordinate the activities of the voluntary sector. Its impact is diminished, however, by lack of staff and funds.

The policy of ujamaa has influenced organisational arrangements and the roles of rural workers. The work of developing rural communities is so "elevated" that it has become the direct responsibility of the Prime Minister's Office at Dodoma. The "Community Development Officers" of the colonial and early independence period were fore-runners of the present "Ujamaa and Cooperative Officers" (UCDO),¹⁰⁶ but both the objectives and the strategies of policies and programmes have now changed. In addition to mobilisation of the people, the aim of the UCDO is to develop cooperative living from the ujamaa village level upward. The comprehensive strategy of rural organisation includes: importation of such cooperative management skills as bookkeeping and auditing; help to villagers to improve their own management capabilities, to identify problems in undertaking self-help; and to educate them to their rights and

responsibilities.¹⁰⁷ The current structure and personnel came into being in 1972 with the decentralisation of the government administration. Workers are currently deployed in all the regions and most districts. With Tanzania's policy to concentrate development efforts at the village level, the UCDO as a rural social development worker assumes an important place in Tanzania's social development strategy.

Consistent with Kenyan African socialism's principle of mutual social responsibility, the state participates prominently in the provision of social work services, though sharing, as will be noted later, the responsibility with the voluntary sector. The state also intervenes through a variety of departments: the ministries of Home Affairs, Education, Labour, and the councils of the Local Government Ministry.

The highest concentration of social work professionals is, however, in the Ministry for Culture and Social Services in its divisions for Social Welfare, Community Development, Youth, Rehabilitation, Family Life Training and the Women's Bureau. Community development and social welfare activities were initiated as early as 1939, with the present formal organisation established in 1964. Although these services have been expanded and the personnel had already been Africanised, Mutiso¹⁰⁸ notes that since independence the new leadership has evolved and stressed development policies, and has tended to give less

prominence to community development and social welfare as strategies for building Kenya. Nevertheless, qualified social welfare and community development manpower has been deployed through these several channels to all provinces and districts. Unlike the situation in Zambia, the community development and social welfare and other divisions within the Ministry for Culture and Social Services are under one administrative head, a commissioner. Community development programmes are designed to "...help whole communities to raise the quality of living..."¹⁰⁹ through such means principally as self-help and harambee projects, women's groups, and youth polytechnics. For reasons already suggested, going beyond the structural improvements to greater participation and conscientisation of the people from the grass-roots level upward are not, however, major goals of development workers.

Social welfare activities focus on a minority designated in the Fourth Development Plan 1978-1983 as "the disadvantaged."¹¹⁰ Priority attention is given to the child through foster-care and adoption services, institutional care, pre-school feeding schemes, and day-care centre programmes. While these fall under the direction of the Ministry, actual delivery of most of such services is delegated to voluntary agencies. Public aid, i.e., "Relief of Distress Funds." though theoretically available to all, aims chiefly to assist needy children in

their own homes.¹¹¹ Correctional services are provided by the Home Affairs Ministry.

Through a policy of "partnership," the state looks to the voluntary sector to play a major role in the provision of social services. Approximately 90 non-governmental agencies and organisations are coordinated through the Kenya National Council of Social Services, established in 1964.¹¹² Expatriate staff and funds from foreign sources constitute important resources for this chiefly urban sector. In addition, a number of "indigenous" social welfare structures have been identified by Mogwanja¹¹³ who notes that these are in the main local level activities, having no or few links with professional social work nor with the resources of the "modern welfare" structures. However, these are--in keeping with the prevailing policy--voluntary and private sector rather than governmental initiatives.

As information about the profession of social work has spread, increasing numbers of qualified social workers are finding employment in industry in Kenya.

To close: the foregoing descriptions have sketched in broad outline the organizational contexts of practice. Attention focused chiefly on governmental programs of social welfare and community development because such provisions represent the more uniform pattern prevailing in all three countries.

Together these reflect a bias that leads to an expectation of

continuance of inherited models. The reformulations implied by Tanzanian socialism's "people-orientation" have yet to become the dominant motif in the structuring of social welfare, although some changes have been noted, such as in rural ujamaa work.

Educational Systems and Educating for Social Work

Prior to independence, education in the three countries along with the political economy as a whole—served purposes conditioned by colonialism. As a missionary enterprise, its use was in the conversion of Africans to Christianity. As a secular undertaking, its value lay in the preparation of Africans for participation in circumscribed areas of the colonial administration. Inherent in both uses were mechanisms of control. The selection, supply, content, and benefits which ensued had the effect of transforming traditional societal values, organisation, and relationships into modes adaptable to the needs of colonial powers. However, education had "unintended consequences." Abernethy, Makulu, and Mwanakatwe suggest that it was a primary road to independence, creating and heightening the enlightenment necessary for irreversible changes.¹¹⁴

The need for education which is relevant to African conditions was recognised prior to the coming of political independence to many of the African nations. Foster points out that the earliest comprehensive policies were attempts to ensure

adaptation in education to African traditions and environments.¹¹⁵ With foresight, however, Africans perceived the greater status and benefits carried by education that fitted recipients into modernising sectors. Demand for an academic rather than a technical and agricultural training was therefore a deliberate choice.¹¹⁶ Education and aspirations were thus early tied to and oriented toward values and interests external to Africa. That social work education has been so affected is an underlying assumption of this study.

Awareness of the larger educational system, of which social work education is but one segment, should show that the direction implied in this study would be the result of various economic and social forces at work with roots as already described in shared experience of underdevelopment as well as in the professional outlook.

Looking at education in Zambia, Kaunda states:

What worries me is that we seem to take a functional view of education, regarding its products as job fodder, to be fitted into some vocational slot as they emerge from the machine. True education should do more than equip people to earn a living.

What about those other skills such as depth of judgment, a sense of perspective, and a compassionate understanding?¹¹⁷

In these remarks President Kaunda has capsuled Zambia's educational dilemma.

A policy of Zambianisation of manpower introduced after

independence resulted in a focus in higher education--diploma and degree programmes--on filling the "skills gap" and removing the heavy dependence on expatriates, especially in the modern sector and in the professions.¹¹⁸ Since independence Zambia has greatly expanded the educational system at all levels, including increased activities in adult education.¹¹⁹ An attempt has also been made to redirect education from an academic approach to a focus on practical skills to prepare Zambians for productive self-reliant living in the rural and urban areas.¹²⁰ Another aim is to reduce the tendency toward elitism associated with an academic emphasis.

These attempts, however, relate more to overhaul than to fundamental changes in the system. Rewards of the modern sector accrue to higher levels of academic attainment and to employment in managerial, technical, and professional posts. A service ethic, implicit in humanism, appears as a minor theme. The earlier noted rural-urban disparity is reflected in both the quality and quantity of schooling with the rural child being the disadvantaged.¹²¹ And since Zambia has not been able to overcome its dependence on expatriates, especially at secondary and higher levels, communicating the ideals of humanism in Zambia is compromised. In summary, schooling--despite humanism--is largely shaped in the capitalist ethos and plays a dominant role in the creation of an educated elite divided from the masses of

Zambians by language, skills, status and wealth.

Tanzania inherited an educational system which in essential details of structure and purposes differed little from that of Zambia and Kenya. In Nyerere's view, however, it was inadequate and inappropriate for building socialism.¹²² With the Arusha Declaration and the policy on Education for Self-Reliance of 1967, Tanzania reformulated the total educational system.

The key elements of the resulting educational strategy relate to values, to reorientation in schooling, and to economic and political purposes. Education encouraged as values, the sense of commitment and service and working together for the advancement of the whole community. Redirection to a communal rather than elitist outlook has led to reshaping the educational structure. Since all education is viewed as preparatory for life, each level--primary, secondary, university and adult education--is complete in itself. Schools prepare the majority of students for life and work in the rural areas rather than for the modern sector. Secondary and higher education are linked to actual opportunities for further education or employment in the modern sector, thus aligning education with other development priorities. One's contribution to socialist living as well as one's academic attainment is incorporated into the educational assessment in Tanzania.¹²³ With the ultimate aim of socialism

being the liberation of people's mind from the inherited past, conscious effort is made to politicise the thinking of citizens at all levels, with schools serving as major instruments for such attitude change.

Court and Kinyanjui¹²⁴ conclude that Tanzania has made notable progress toward greater equality in regional distribution of resources, in standards, and in access, as well as a beginning impact through political education. More time would be needed, however, to conclude that schools are creating the intended socialist attitudes and behavior.

The objectives of education in Kenya, particularly with respect to political and social aims, are less precisely spelled out than are those of Zambia and Tanzania. Various statements of national policy give some indication of what these are. For example: the Second Development Plan, 1970-1974, suggests that education should not only "...inculcate values which contribute to enrichment of people's lives, but...values which are essential to maintenance of a cohesive and productive society."¹²⁵ The Development Plan 1979-1983 has an implied social concern in its theme of alleviating poverty. But economic objectives, on the other hand are clear. Production of the manpower needed to man a complex economy and public sector get highest priority.¹²⁶ "Relevant" education issues from increased emphasis on skills which enhance income-earning opportunities.¹²⁷

Ghai¹²⁸ concludes that Kenya's education maintains the function acquired in the colonial era, i.e., to service the economy—this, despite such impressive advances as expansion in all areas of formal education, change in curricular content toward Kenyan material, more teacher training and similar institutions, African control of the system, etc. All of this is decried by Court and Ghai as "...linear expansion rather than structural reform."¹²⁹

As in the case of Zambia, Kenya's educational system manifests certain inequalities despite the claim of equal opportunity for all based on merit. These include categorising schools with national and provincial facilities as superior to those of the harambee school; disparities in regional distribution of educational resources; fees and academic assessment procedures that favour the elite. Court and Kinyanjui note in particular that the masses of Kenya are further disadvantaged because advancement is achieved by tying occupational access and higher economic mobility to levels of academic attainment.¹³⁰ Bokongo¹³¹ has pointed out that, unlike Tanzania, no attempt is made in Kenya to provide political education through the system or to esteem African culture as a base for educating Kenyans.

The above combination of factors is believed by some¹³² to contribute to the rising level of discontent with the system, evident through school strikes and subsequent

closures of institutions, and the fact that the certificate no longer guarantees employment and an adequate standard of living.

The objectives and strategies--as well as some contradictions--of the formal education systems described above mirror the ideological orientations discussed in the first section of this paper. It is expected that the resulting orientation in education has had a decisive impact on the emergence, content, and direction of social work education as well. In particular, international aid arrangements have been important factors to the introduction and sustenance of social work education in the region.¹³³ This last section briefly identifies the major programmes producing qualified manpower in the three countries, their central objectives, and the deployment of the graduates. Chapter Eight discusses the perceptions of social work professionals as to whether what the subsystem, i.e., the educational institutions, imparts adequately addresses the conditions of the context.

Social work education in Zambia dates back to 1961 when the Oppenheimer College of Social Services was opened in Lusaka for students of eastern, central and southern Africa. The college was formally incorporated into the University of Zambia in 1964. The current Department of Social Work is situated in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences. The department offers a three-year Diploma and four-year Bachelor of Social Work

Degree. With Zambianisation, staffing policy seeks to reflect a balance between African and expatriate staff.¹³⁴

The Department's central educational objective is broadly formulated, i.e., "a generic programme, ...national developmental needs represent a guiding principle upon which all teaching is based."¹³⁵ An earlier statement indicated that students were being prepared for the practice of social work. However, the degree programme focuses on administration, research, policy and programme development, and staff training. This would imply a gearing of education at that level to the wider manpower needs of the economy, a direction commensurate with the overall thrust of education earlier discussed.

Education for the middle-level manpower, for work for direct delivery of service and for development of rural-oriented social work practice, is provided through a number of special programmes and institutions.¹³⁶ The Department of Community Development trains at the lowest level for rural and urban community development programmes under the auspices of government and municipal councils,¹³⁷ but by the end of the 1970's there were no institutionalised and obvious channels of communication, coordination, or cooperation between the various levels and institutions.

The policy of Zambianisation in the modern sector would appear to affect the availability of graduate social work

professionals for the traditional social services of the public sector, and for the rural areas. Though equipped to work in rural practice, graduates--with few exceptions--rarely remain at rural posts.¹³⁸ Rural practice is thus left chiefly to the specialised community development worker.

Tanzania's programmes are the youngest of the three. The University of Dar-es-Salaam initiated a "Social Welfare Option" within the Department of Sociology in July, 1973. This three-year programme offers the Bachelor of Arts Degree. Its chief objectives are to "develop consciousness of and willingness of the graduates to participate in the developmental efforts of the nation,"¹³⁹ and to meet the manpower needs of Tanzania for administration. This is interpreted in terms of the administrative skills needed in the rural as well as in the modern sector. The programme is academic and not designed to equip with skills for social work practice per se. However, preparation of a "development" worker is the expected outcome.¹⁴⁰

The National Social Welfare Training Institute is a post-secondary level educational institution, awards a Diploma in Social Work after three years of study. It was established in 1974 to offer a generic training,¹⁴¹ designed to prepare "first level" professionals for careers in human services with particular emphasis on direct practice in administration, consultation, and supervision. The educational objectives are

broad in nature with a focus on prevention of problems and enhancement of human capacities and opportunities (especially of rural populations); alleviation of socio-economic problems of the people, anticipation of needs; and participation in progressive changes in welfare policy and programmes.¹⁴²

Several linking mechanisms operate between the University and the Institute on a continuous basis which create the possibility of a common outlook. The two institutions share in the latter's formulation of policy, in teaching, in joint research projects, and in continuing education. And the Institute's courses are recognized by the University, providing for upward professional mobility of diplomates.¹⁴³

The Ujamaa and Cooperative Department under the Prime Minister's Office has several training schemes for different levels of staff for rural and urban ujamaa and cooperative personnel. In Mzumbe's Institute of Development Management and the Cooperative College at Moshi, respectively, three and two-year diploma programmes in community development have been offered.¹⁴³ Together with the University and the National Social Welfare Training Institute these institutions furnish the core of social work manpower for the horizontal and vertical integration of planning, supervision, administration, and implementation of Tanzania's welfare and development services in rural as well as urban settings.

One year after the establishment of the Oppenheimer College of Social Services in Zambia, in 1962, the Kenya-Israel School of Social Work was founded--a joint undertaking of the two governments. The school was incorporated in 1968 into the Department of Social Development Studies of the Kenya Institute of Administration (K.I.A.), an institution organized chiefly for the training of civil service personnel. The K.I.A. offers three main programmes: a two-year generic social work course, a two-year course for probation work, and a one-year's course for community development front-line workers. The first two are at the level of post form IV and lead to a social work certificate.

The K.I.A. educational design of 1976¹⁴⁵ advocated, among other things, preparation of professional social workers for practice in the "broad field of social development" in government services and private organisations. The educational programme was also expected to lead to skills in research, the formulation and use of social policy and legislation, and ability to practice at the middle range of administration. It was anticipated that the graduates, as professionals, would contribute to the development of a "just society" and adhere to a professional "code of ethics" in practice.

With the introduction of social work education at the University of Nairobi in 1976, the senior-level manpower needed to complement the product of K.I.A. is provided for. Located in

the Department of Sociology, the three-year course leads to a Bachelor of Arts (Social Work) degree. The course is oriented toward generic practice for multiple operations, i.e., policy, maintenance and social services, social action and administration.

Concern with management of social problems ensuing from rapid social change is reflected in the objectives of social work education at university level. Specifically, practitioners' efforts should lead to prevention or reducing social problems and to strengthening people's capacities to deal with their problems, rather than simply adjusting to them.¹⁴⁶ This approach is consistent also with the general educational orientation that stresses improvement in overall conditions and not necessarily innovation and change. The emphasis on a high level of intellectual performance not only ensures a professional social worker competence in his/her practice, but it also fulfils the meritocratic requirements of educational policy in Kenya. The University's programme notes the need to prepare students for the Kenyan context but at the same time recognizes that social work education cannot depart totally from professional components as identified in other parts of the world.¹⁴⁷

In Tanzania and in Zambia there appears to be a less conscious effort to relate objectives and outcomes of educational

programmes to social work, internationally. Tanzania, in fact, suggests that its educational formulation has its "roots" in Tanzanian soil, not the international setting.¹⁴⁸

The Implications for Social Work

In this concluding section, some of the implications of the three contexts for the nature, content, and direction of social work practice are drawn as a prelude to examining the views of the respondents to this research.

Major dilemmas are posed for social work in Zambia, despite its humanist philosophy. In real outcomes the political economy biases resource allocations in favour of the modern economic sector. It accords a comparatively lower priority to those social actions designed to assist groups which lie outside that sector and are already neglected by the system. Identified human needs can go unattended because of the inability of the prevailing social service system to extract from the ruling elite the resources that are needed to adequately address the requirements of the masses.

It is equally problematic that modifications can be effected which would lead to greater capacity within the system. Existing state administrative structures define social welfare activity as the function of qualified social workers (although not recognising social work as a profession) and community development as the task of technicians which effectively excludes

the former from most rural practice.

High monetary status and rewards of the modern sector economy are the types of incentives that could cause most graduates to seek work in that sector rather than in the social services which compare less favorably in this respect. There is a further potential for a conflict in value orientation because, as graduates, social work professionals also acquire status as educated elite. The foregoing possibilities imply the need for a social work education model which firmly instills values and which strengthens a commitment to people and to service-oriented goals.

Tanzania's socialism appears to encourage commitment to communal as well as the traditional individual-oriented social work approaches. Stress in the ideology on self-reliant development for the majority also implies effective use of the village as the fundamental base of practice. In this context, the profession would need to delineate roles and methods designed to enable the villagers to manage their own social problems. The possibility of encouraging flexible "open" structures, i.e., those permitting maximum scope to the people to determine the framework and content of their engagement with social work, rather than follow patterns which force people into predetermined molds and relationships. Genuine innovations and models might result from such approaches.

Open collaboration with political structures such as the CCM, and with politicians, should help legitimate a more radical approach in social work. Advocacy and accountability of the bureaucracy, for example, could help to reverse the trend toward powerlessness of the people. A stronger ideological thrust would also enable social work to play a gap-bridging role in, for example, its interdisciplinary contacts where human factors of consequence to successful communal living would be stressed.

The Tanzanian social worker, in making a shift to the "normal" and the "large numbers", need not be limited to preoccupation with urban-focused activity of a remedial nature directed toward system maintenance. New fields that lie outside conventional practice, e.g., manpower development, worker's education, social services in defence programmes, provide an opportunity for involvement with all segments of the population. New worker-client relationship could be fashioned, giving prominence to building new skills and methods.

While the guide set by Education for Self-reliance suggests that social work education will nurture a commitment to the development of all the people and the whole country, the social worker is also absorbed chiefly in the state bureaucratic framework. The decision to emphasize social work preparation at the middle level should, however, facilitate communication and feedback for use in the provision of and the design of services.

University education which prepares a "development" worker might produce graduates who are adaptable and sufficiently committed to the development of people to chart new directions in keeping with the demands of an evolving society.

In Kenya, the principle of "mutual responsibility," through which the help needed for problem solving is expected to come largely through a network of traditional relationships, and the policy of "partnership" of the state with the voluntary sector, would both lead to further expansion of both governmental and non-governmental social services. However, the prevailing heavy reliance of government on the voluntary sector could forestall its commitment to assuring the universal coverage of social welfare services, guaranteed provisions to meet basic welfare needs, and adequate deployment of manpower to execute policy. Fragmentation due to the lack of effective coordination between the government and the voluntary sector could serve further to dissipate social work impact and to keep it on the periphery of developmental activity.

The major thrust of social work in rural practice in Kenya is through governmental programmes of community development--although the voluntary sector does provide some social work services in the rural areas. Important constraints to dynamic rural practice must be noted, however. Some are ideological: where basic institutions perpetuate a mainly

non-participatory role for the people, it is assumed that social work practice aimed at groups and whole communities is characterised in the main by technocratic, programmed functions and not by mobilising or conscientising roles. In Kenya, nevertheless, the social worker does have channels for practice outside the traditional framework. These include "harambee" activities and interdisciplinary development programmes. In these contexts social work becomes more visible as a contributor to national goals aimed at raising standards of living. On the other hand, unless this involvement permits a demonstration of social work expertise in promoting human development over against infrastructural needs, the profession risks dissipation of social work objectives, loss of professional identity, and possible attrition from the profession.

Introduction of social work at the university level has two possible interpretations. It could imply recognition of certain failures in the societal system; but it could also represent recognition of the usefulness of social work for managing more effectively the problems within the system. Along with expansion of services, provisions of increased manpower at lower, intermediate, and higher educational levels can be anticipated. The concern inherent in African socialism with projecting and maintaining a good international image should in time result in the preparation of Kenya's professionals holding

not only the qualifications, but also the values and goals, consonant with those of social workers in the developed countries. This raises again the question of applicability--the central interest of this study.

In summary, it should be noted that as underdeveloped nations, Zambia, Tanzania, and Kenya continue to be shaped by conditions from outside as well as from within their borders. These conditions do not always promote improvement of life for all the people. To the contrary, they can maintain instrumentalities and solutions that are inappropriate for new needs and the problems created by the environment. The implications of the continued use and development of some social work instrumentalities and the main direction of some others have been considered with this problem in mind. Since circumstances in the environment of social work practice affect its movement toward responding appropriately, important factors in that environment must be supportive if the profession is to generate both concern and basic solutions to human problems. The organisational frameworks and the programmes of education are two such factors that help translate ideals into real outcomes that touch the lives of the majority. In the next chapter the methodological approach to testing these contentions is spelled out.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Having indicated the theoretical positions from which the problem is being approached, and having identified those environmental conditions pertinent to an examination of my thesis, I wish now to focus on the methodological issues of this research. The discussion here is developed around four important factors: the definition of the population for study; the population and sample design; data collection; and data processing. Attention is paid in particular to the collaborative efforts of governments in each country, these having had both positive and negative consequences.

Some Conceptual Issues

An underlying assumption of the study was that the contradictions between what national leaders require of social work professionals and what support the context gives to the profession for relevance is best shown in the professional relations. However, certain conceptual and definitional problems first had to be resolved. No widespread consensus has yet developed regarding the definitive criteria of the "professional social worker" in Africa, although some type of education is basic to the idea. Thus, a problem was posed in specifying accurately the most relevant universe for the study. With the decision

that the research respondents be confined to "social work" manpower, a concept was needed which was broad enough to include all the persons or groups who together could offer a comprehensive and sensitive perspective on contemporary practice.

Meyer¹ and Siegel² have considered some of the problems inherent in selecting the most appropriate title. In a study of social service manpower needs Siegel applies the term, "social service workers," to all personnel in positions classified as "social worker" by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. He reserved for holders of the Bachelor and Master's degrees the designation, "social worker." The difficulty arises for Meyer because that title has so many meanings in the United States as elsewhere. I expected the term to be an inadequate, and even unacceptable, designation for identifying a large number of potentially useful respondents in Africa. This was assumed to be true especially of administrators in critical policy-making roles in the social service field. However, there was a desire to go beyond the social services to locate professionals who, believing that social work knowledge and skills are applicable to a wide range of problems and functions, have been absorbed into a variety of other human service and formal organisations.

With these requirements in mind, I have adopted the term "social work professional" to broadly conceptualise the worker in the situations studied. The concept carries the notion of a

"professional participator" rather than a "semi-professional" as defined by Etzioni.³ It encompasses those persons whose professional discipline is social work whatever the occupational roles or tasks.⁴ It denotes also other individuals who, with diverse occupational roles or professional training, nevertheless participate as integral units with respect to the professional practice of social work within the human-service field.

Two specific criteria were applied to identify the populations. As implied in the concept, the first was a criterion of professional education. The second was a criterion of position. Both criteria were expected to apply in the choice of most, though not all, of the participants in the research. Using this idea, three categories of potential respondents were defined.

All persons categorised as "practitioners,"⁵ i.e., those having chiefly direct service responsibilities, were to be included on the basis of meeting the educational criterion. A minimum of two years' preparation in a programme of professional education for social work--or community development, if offered as a separate programme--was specified. This period is suggested by the International Association of Schools of Social Work⁶ as requisite to acquiring the level of basic knowledge and skills necessary for beginning professional performance. As indicated in Chapter One this minimal level of education for practice is

available in each of the three countries. Some such qualified persons were excluded from the study sample. The reasons for this will be discussed later.

It was expected that for the second category, broadly described in Chapter One as "administrator," individuals could represent a variety of disciplines, e.g., social work, education, sociology, public administration, etc. Whether or not the educational criterion was met, the criterion of position would be applicable to all potential respondents in the "administrator" category. The term "position" is linked to the notion of having authority or power to direct policies, manpower and/or services toward achievement of specified organisational goals. Except where the respondent could be included on the educational criterion--i.e., an administrator professional qualified in social work, but working in some other formal organisation--administrators were selected on the basis of employment in a human service organisation in which he/she had responsibility for the work of professionally qualified social workers.

Each individual holding an instructional position in an institution specifically for the preparation of social workers could be considered by virtue of his/her "educator" role. Where a social work education programme was situated in a department for some other discipline, e.g., sociology, only persons holding responsibility for the core social work or community development

content was included.⁷ Professionals qualified in social work, and teaching social work content, but traced to instructional positions in other disciplines or institutions, e.g., medicine, schools for public administration, were to be included on the basis of his/her meeting the educational criterion.

All three categories of professionals were approached for their responses to identical situations for the purpose of assessing their perceptions on appropriate approaches--given their ideological context, their perceptions on inter-professional relations within the bureaucracies, and their perceptions about the nature of education in their specific milieu. Other professionals, the informants described below, provided background information on the dynamics of the organisational relationships and on the country contexts.

Let me now translate the concepts introduced in the previous chapters into operational terms and to justify my choices of factors for study. First, by approaches in practice I refer to what African professionals do or define as appropriate forms of intervention for the specific problems or situations with which they are confronted. Like Rein,⁸ the point argued here is that what social work is is defined by what its professionals do as practice. Where professionals attempt to meet basic needs by engaging all conditions and aspects of society that threaten the wellbeing of people, that approach is by this conception

relevant to Africa. The broad approaches hold out the greater possibility of such intervention. This implies a practice orientation that is manifested in administrative support as well as in what practitioners are seen to be doing. To examine the extent to which the trend was toward relevance of approach, data was gathered and analysed of the perceptions of all three groups of respondents. The degree of relevance is measured in terms of the relative frequencies in the individual responses to the specific questions. These frequencies are then used in making comparisons.

(An explanation of the concepts, administration and the sharing of power, were discussed in detail in the theory.) It has been suggested that these terms refer to use by the administrator of the authority of his position to legitimate the power of professionals. In delineating these ideas it was reasoned that such was a more realistic first step than the western pursuit of "professional autonomy."

It was also argued that social work in Africa is almost wholly a practice in bureaucratic organisations. That framework suggests that administrators and practitioners could hold similar views about how problems should be solved. But because of the class division outlined in the theory, it is anticipated that the two groups of professionals could hold widely different views on the functioning of the administrative structure with

respect to giving leeway to practitioners.

If the administration does indeed support, rather than hamper relevance, this would be demonstrated through the nature of communication, of decision-making, and of resource deployment characterising organisational behavior.

Data was thus collected from administrators and practitioners and, on some few questions, from educators about practice in the bureaucracy with respect to the nature and frequency of interaction between the different categories of professionals. This line of questions was for the purpose of measuring the degree to which bureaucratic interactions tended to increase decisively the influence practitioners have over practice approaches.

Education has functioned in most African contexts to equip its products to conserve by serving a social system. By contrast, gearing social work to long-standing problems, exacerbated by external forces, requires an outlook prepared to change systems. For the quality of education relevance implies, I have used the concept, "education for change," to refer to those strategies that seek to shape the ideological perspective of students so that they think and act--later as professionals--in such ways that induce fundamental alterations. The elements in the educational process that signal relevance are thought to be integrated curricula, professional skills, and field-based learning. There have been attempts to "re-define" the

profession and professionals, as, for example, the harambee approach of Kenya and the ujamaa worker of Tanzania, with the intent to reflect a "new breed" of professional. Therefore, since the 1960's in all three countries greater emphasis has been placed in training on a conception of development and a corresponding professional role in it; I anticipated that education would begin to reflect broader objectives and strategies. Contributions into new definitions of education from regional and international bodies (such as the UNECA, Association for Social Work Education and the International Association of Schools of Social Work) should have been another source of stimulation for changes in educational designs. But these can have the unintended effect of drawing professionals away from the local situation to a focus on universal traits of the profession. Social work educators would then vary little in what they teach, despite differences in perception held by practitioners and administrators of the problems and needs. They would all show little development of skills for working through organisations or in rural areas.

In attempting to measure this dimension through interviews and a study of curricula, I attempted to ascertain answers to these questions: (a) to what extent is there an agreement between what educators expected and what practitioners say they do? (b) what are the type and degree of emphasis placed on the

specific and adoptive skills delineated? I anticipated that there would be a discrepancy between what educators expected as outcomes in skills and the outputs of the education process to effect the rural situations and the bureaucracies. Therefore, educators were asked to indicate in what specific ways students were being equipped for work in large organisations and how attention was being given to rural practice.

The Populations and Access to the Sample

Since it was thought that social work professionals would be deployed nation-wide, the critical decision concerned acquiring a base for operating in each country--much less the sites of distribution of the units. Later, the specific geographical locations of visits made are mentioned.

With this delimitation, it was assumed that the social work professionals would be most readily found in the ministries responsible for the social services. Thus, discussions on field operations were initiated with key informants, i.e., Commissioners and Directors, in the bureaucracies and social work education institutions in Zambia and Kenya, in January and March, 1978, respectively.⁹ The actual field research, which began in Zambia in September and continued for seven weeks, was followed by seven weeks in Tanzania from January to March, 1979. A final nine weeks were spent in Kenya over the months of March through June. That the leadership in these ministries and in

social work education perceived the research to be of potential use undergirded the extensive logistical support proffered, through such means as transportation, accommodation, and communication facilities. The interest and cooperation of these leaders were the critical factors in gaining access to the majority of potential respondents. Despite their support, the levels of response attained (See Table 3.1) are no higher than could be expected from any well organised research. Moreover, it was discovered through interviews that the interest displayed by the leaders was matched by that of the other administrators and educational leaders participating as informants.

Sample Design

In the research design a decision was made to identify, trace, and to approach the universe of social work professionals in each of the three countries. There were several factors dictating this choice rather than the use of random sampling--despite its known advantages over a complete coverage.¹⁰ Before entering Zambia and Tanzania it was not practical to obtain complete sampling frames from which to derive a random sample within the allocated time. Once in all three countries, the required information became available gradually in the course of field visits. The numbers in the categories of educators and administrators were known to be few; the larger category of practitioners was assumed small enough to be accessible through a mail

questionnaire. In the face of inadequate information, such coverage, though possibly excluding groups to be mentioned below, could ensure sufficient numbers for analysis and at least tentative conclusions. But more important, the resultant non-probability sampling was adopted because of the purposes intended for the research.¹¹ The aim was to gain the insights and critical appraisal of a group having particular competence and experience with the specific phenomenon, social work. It seemed less important to seek the opinion of the "average" social worker from a sample representative of the entire social work profession.

Moreover, it was felt that what was known of the views of social work professionals was insufficient to do more than provide partially formulated ideas to guide an exploration rather than to provide hypotheses for testing.¹² The choice does not imply indifference to the possibility of error, but instead a willingness to rely on other factors such as the consistency of views reported and how these correspond to other things known¹³ about social work in the three countries.

In Zambia, two major sources of data were utilised in getting respondents. The first was the lists¹⁴ of persons who had qualified at the University of Zambia from 1964 through 1977. Additional biodata as available was supplied informally, initially, through social work educators at the University of Zambia in the Department for Social Work and officials of the

Ministry for Labour and Social Welfare, respectively. Other organisations identified as employers of these graduates, i.e., multinationals, parastatals, municipal councils and voluntary agencies, were approached directly--either at Lusaka, or in the provinces in field visits planned with the Ministry. Visits extending over a period of three weeks were concentrated along the "line of rail," that is, from Livingstone to the Copperbelt Provinces. This route coincided with the known deployment of the bulk of social workers in such localities as Kitwe, Ndola, Kabwe, Mazabuka, Choma, Livingstone, and Lusaka.

Professionals traced during such visits helped to identify others located in the specific area. However, the time limit precluded verification of much information, especially with respect to professionals not in the human service organisations, such as mining.

The second source of information, implied above--which could be verified from the outset--was the establishment rosters of the Department of Social Welfare and of Community Development. Included on these were the professional staff of Monze's and Kitwe's Community Development Staff Training Colleges. Through one of these, most potential respondents obtained at least part of their professional education in community development. Characteristics of the total Zambian sample are described in the next chapter.

Information on the two most critical groups of potential respondents in Tanzania, the social welfare and ujamaa workers, were attained through the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare and the Prime Minister's office, respectively. For the former, the lists of graduates from the National Social Welfare Training Institute for 1976 and 1978, and from the University of Dar-es-Salaam's Social Welfare Option, 1975-1977, were both used as primary sources for locating professionals in social welfare. Other local graduates were traced to their positions in the parastatals, other ministries, and to the voluntary agencies--a task facilitated by the recentness of graduating classes.

A compilation of the names of persons who had studied social work or community development outside Tanzania was made from records of the Education Section of the Ministry of National Education for the period 1961-1977.¹⁵ Where such persons could not be located through the two bureaucracies, information was usually provided by other professionals.

An exception was made in studying the ujamaa worker population. Because of an establishment of an estimated 1,500¹⁶ officers from the national to village level, in February, 1979, a decision was made to include in the population those officers in the five regions visited whose professional training at the Institute of Development Management, Mzumbi, or at Moshi Cooperative College, had included community development studies.

Five of the twenty regions were visited. These included Dar-es-Salaam, Morogoro, Iringa, Dodoma, and Mbeya. This was not done because of the "representativeness" of ujamaa activity, but in order to ensure that ujamaa workers were represented among the three categories of respondents. Eighty-two ujamaa staff were identified.

A major source of corroborative data on potential respondents on Kenya was provided through the Ministries for Culture and Social Services and Home Affairs, each utilising social workers in major social service programmes. This data was corroborative because, initially, information was provided through compilations of graduates of the Kenya Institute of Administration (K.I.A.) for the years 1964-1977. As in Tanzania, records of the Ministry of Education¹⁷ were used to identify Kenyans who had studied social work abroad, from 1961--the earliest period for which records were available--through 1977. Data on the distribution of professionals named by the two major sources were supplied through contact with professionals in Nairobi and in field visits to the Central, Eastern, Nyanza, Western and Coast Provinces. Table 3.1 shows the outcome of efforts to trace the social work professionals in the three countries.

Table 3.1

Locations of Potential Research Populations

Location	Tanzania		Kenya		Zambia	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total of professionals listed	239	100.00	404	100.00	295	100.00
In social work/related fields	146	61.1	249	61.6	182	61.6
In training	30	12.6	18	4.4	5	1.7
Outside social work	27	11.3	40	9.9	8	7.7
Outside the country	14	5.8	17	4.2	21	7.1
Retired, deceased, foreign	4	1.6	17	4.2	46	15.6
Not traced	18	7.3	63	15.5	33	11.2

Despite the means adopted to select respondents, i.e., identification through official records, by other professionals, and through on-site visits, several persons could not be traced within the time set. This is a problem that can be expected where the survey aims for complete coverage.¹⁸ In addition to this loss, it was decided that certain persons would be excluded, though meeting the educational criteria. Among such were those who were engaged in clearly unrelated employment such as banking, commercial enterprises, party, or public administration. Such positions were defined as "out of social work" because of the marginality of social work practice to that particular activity. Nationals outside of the country at the time of

the research were excluded. Foreigners, with two exceptions, were not approached: those who were included were nationalised citizens, working professionally, and expatriate social work educators who constituted nearly 50% of the total at the University level in Zambia and Kenya. Limitation of time and geographical distance precluded interviews with some potential respondents who, though located, had to be listed as "not approached." On the other hand, in non-human service organisations where the professionals' functions implied use of social work knowledge and skills, e.g., manpower development and personnel, such persons were considered in a "related field" and were included for study.

The numbers selected for each country from the populations of social work professionals appear in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2

Summary of Social Work Professionals Surveyed

Numbers	Tanzania		Kenya		Zambia	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Listed	239	100	404	100	295	100
Traced	221	92.5	341	84.4	262	88.8
	<u>% of 221</u>		<u>% of 341</u>		<u>% of 262</u>	
Not approached	45	20.4	74	21.7	75	28.6
Approached	176	79.6	267	78.3	187	71.4
	<u>% of 176</u>		<u>% of 267</u>		<u>% of 187</u>	
Not responding	38	21.6	77	28.8	76	40.6
Responding	138	78.4	190	71.2	111	59.4

To sum up: a non-probability--purposive--sample was selected for gathering ideas on a problem about which little data exist. Although a random sample would have resulted in a sample design giving greater confidence in drawing inferences from the findings, the purpose of the research was to obtain views sensitive to the impact of specific factors on social work practice. The unavoidable bias is seen as justifiable where the resultant sample can be expected to supply--quantitatively and qualitatively--more of the information wanted¹⁹ than would a sample randomly selected from the entire profession. In the next section attention is focused on instrument designs and data collection, with indications of the means employed to minimise methodological difficulties.

Data Collection

The cross-cultural study of several dimensions of social work using several methods could not gain for the researcher as "in-depth" a perspective as a narrower focus might. However, the use of a combination of data collection methods was expected to secure qualitative data as well as a higher percentage of response. Both the interview schedule and the mail questionnaire were developed--the former for use with social work professionals in administrative and educational positions, and the latter to be posted to the "practitioner" category. Visits to the practice field were intended to facilitate administering the

instruments, to expose actual practice situations, and to aid collection of documents.

The questionnaires were drafted in Kenya in cooperation with the Department of Sociology, University of Nairobi. Selected variables were based on known social work practice components and social work education designs in Africa, outlined notably by Andargatchew²⁰ and Shawky.²¹ Data obtained through observations of these practices, work of other experts reported in documentary sources, the familiarisation trips to Zambia and Kenya, and the practice experiences of the researcher herself, all helped to inform the questionnaire content (See Appendix B for the questionnaires used).

In drafting, cognisance was taken of the differing functions of respondents in each category. Questions were worded to reflect such difference of function while yet examining the same variables. For this reason several questions addressed to administrators and practitioners who more commonly shared in the same activities were excluded from the interview schedule for social work educators.

Other presumed variations, such as in levels of education of respondents, settings, and time available for involvement in the research, suggested the design of an instrument making maximum use of structured questions. The open-ended questions were also employed in all the sections of the questionnaires because

of the opportunity these offered for probing and getting data not anticipated.²² These were utilised especially where later interpretation of findings could be helped by knowing the rationale behind professionals attitudes and actions. In some questions, e.g, Section I, numbers 1-7, a compromise between the structured and unstructured format was made by providing a range of choices for the respondent. Lastly, because of the desire to keep the study focused on contemporary practice and perceptions, questions where past behaviour was to be commented upon, e.g., Sections IV and V, pages 8-9 and 9-10 for Zambia and Tanzania and Kenya, respectively, were kept to a minimum.

It was felt that the contemporary focused questions would yield useful factual data that could be quantified for comparisons between the three countries.

Pretest and the Final Designs

As the social work professional's response was to be the major source of data, a plan was made to pretest the instruments, especially to ensure that they were adequately measuring the selected variables.²³ These were conducted in Uganda,²⁴ since that country had had a similar social work history, educational and administrative framework, and categories of social work professionals.

A methodological problem was created by this choice that resulted ultimately in redesigning the research instruments.

Aware of the severe disruptions in Ugandan life, care was given to selection of professionals who it was thought could reflect on the problem of the research despite the local environmental problems. But in the end their efforts were insufficient to overcome the disadvantages of using that context. In compensating, their responses served to bias reformulated questions toward a practice ideal that did not correspond to the realities later discussed in the three countries.

The discovery was made in Zambia, site of the first field operation. Some key respondents experienced difficulty in the interviews in relating the questions to practice there. This difficulty was not explained simply by the differing contexts. The mail questionnaires were probing some areas of information insufficiently. These significant problems, found in the instruments initially used, prompted modifications of the questionnaires--an action which Kearl²⁵ considers justified when there are notable departures from the expected. Such modifications as rephrasing of questions for greater clarity, deletions where data could be obtained through other sources, and increased use of scaling of responses, were undertaken to secure more reliable responses from the two remaining populations.

The change, drafted into the instruments for Tanzania and Kenya, were "pretested" as supplementary questions during the final two weeks in Zambia in the form of concluding informal

questions put to some interviewees. Redesigning the instruments has compelled use in this study of two sets of questionnaires. The difficulty caused has been approached by not entering into the analysis all the variables included in either set of instruments, and by undertaking a separate analysis of a part of the Zambian data: Appendix B contains the complete versions of the two sets of questionnaires.

In sum, when the need to obtain data on a broad spectrum of topics, cross-culturally, and from several categories of respondents was recognized, questionnaires were designed which combine the structured and factually-oriented questions as well as those that were open-ended. Modifications of the instruments might explain a considerably higher response rate obtained later in Tanzania and Kenya.

Interviewing Social Work Professionals

The near "official backing" that the extensive logistical support intimated greatly eased the problem of contacting and securing the cooperation of respondents for interviewing. Most administrators in the civil services and social work educators were able to schedule appointments and keep them at the specified time. Outside of national headquarters most appointments were made in advance to coincide with the dates set for field trips. Non-response in these organisations was confined almost completely to practitioners' failing to complete questionnaires.

The executives in the non-human service organisations more frequently showed preference for interviews at the close of work. This pattern reflects something of Southhall's observations about the leadership in general.

While African elites were only would-be elites in still colonial societies, they remained very flexible and open, easy of access of visiting political scientists. When they became established and had established work to do, sheer reasons of efficiency compelled them to define their limits, close their ranks, and restrict access to themselves.²⁶

Interviews with few exceptions took place at the interviewees' offices.

The extensive support from the top was, however, somewhat of a "mixed blessing." Where an entire staff was induced to participate, it was inevitable that ideas about the research were shared. This was even more likely the situation in educational institutions where interviews in the same buildings were spread over several days, or the period of stay was long because of the numbers involved and because of the need to schedule appointments that were known by others who could later discuss the interview content.

Efforts were made to minimise contamination as far as possible by conducting the interview at the first meeting, if at all feasible. Stress was laid in my introductory remarks not so much on the legitimisation of the research by the official contacts, but on its pioneer effort to ascertain what professionals

were thinking about the research problem. It was felt that this latter approach was not without important effect in eliciting cooperation, particularly where professionals worked in non-civil service organisations.

All interviews were conducted by the researcher. One purpose was to ensure as far as possible consistency in probing, restatement of questions, and in explaining the purposes of the research. Practically, to have used other interviewers would have necessitated finding, training, and supervising individuals in three countries--a costly as well as problematic exercise. The interviews were all recorded on a portable, battery-operated cassette recorder. It had been expected that some respondents would object to its use. In the end only three administrators did. Only two administrators listed refused to be interviewed. Both were in Zambia. Two others failed to find time for the appointment: one in Tanzania and one in Kenya.

A more problematic methodological issue posed in the use of both the interview guide and the mail questionnaire arises from the varying levels of comprehension of respondents. With regard to the former, in Zambia an attempt was made to expose the three categories of respondents to instruments as earlier noted. A small number of respondents who, it was thought, should not be excluded from the sample because of their key positions within the social services, required more frequent

Also collected

restatement of questions or probing than respondents in non-social service and education positions. The lower level, or differing, professional training available to this group as indicated in Chapter One were considered possible causes of the problem observed. Where advanced information about the potential respondent presaged much difficulty for this small group in responding in the interview situation, the approach was to leave the interview schedule for reading prior to the appointment. The dilemma was whether to preserve the spontaneity of response, or to recognise the real limitations of a willing collaborator. The choice was to facilitate comprehension by a means requiring a minimum of direct input from the researcher.

Neither in Tanzania nor Kenya was a comparable procedure required. This fact and the relatively higher response rate in both countries shown in Table 3 below may be the result of success in improving the tools after the Zambian exercise.

For Tanzania, apprehension about ujamaa workers' willingness to cooperate was due to awareness that the community development model had been rejected. This fear proved partially unfounded. Face-to-face contact with and explanation of the reason for inclusion given to the top officials in the Prime Minister's Office won the endorsement of the research in that administration. Rich background material and access to regional staff were provided by key informants there. An equal

proportion of administrators in the sample responded to the interview as did practitioners to the mail questionnaire. This suggests a failure of the letters sent from the PMD and the researcher (see Appendices C and D) to elicit cooperation. This was possibly due to the failure to make it sufficiently clear why for this study the ujamaa worker was being equated with the community development worker of Zambia and Kenya.

The fact that most interviews in Kenya were conducted with former professional colleagues or acquaintances had both positive and negative consequences that were already implied in Phillips'²⁷ discussion of investigator effect. Of the former, respondents were readily available and questions were answered spontaneously and fully. On the other hand, in awareness of the need to minimise the bias the personal element introduced, a passive listener posture was adopted. However, it was not possible to prevent an effect from the earlier acquaintance with researcher, leading for example to unsolicited disclosures.

In all, 165 structured interviews were conducted over the entire field period. In the administrative category, 45, 37, and 29 individuals were interviewed in Tanzania, Kenya, and Zambia, respectively. In the category of social work educators 15, 15, and 14 persons cooperated in the respective countries. Only in this latter category was there a complete coverage of the populations.

In the three countries unstructured interviews were held with heads of academic and ministerial departments with oversight of manpower and resource distribution, for a perspective from a different discipline, such as the sociologists, or from a non-social work position such as that of commissioners or directors. Table 3.3 shows the responses in the three countries.

Table 3.3

Response to the Research by Country

Numbers	Tanzania		Kenya		Zambia	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Social workers approached (in practice or training)	176	100.0	267	100.0	187	100.0
Not responding	38	21.6	77	28.2	76	40.6
Responding to research requests	138	78.4	190	71.1	111	59.3
Of those responding:	<u>% of 138</u>		<u>% of 190</u>		<u>% of 111</u>	
Structured interviews and questionnaires	130	94.2	178	93.7	104	93.7
Unstructured interviews	3	2.2	3	1.6	5	4.5
Discarded questionnaires	5	3.6	9	4.7	2	1.8

The Mail Questionnaire

Except in the timing, there was little variation in the procedures for handling the practitioner category. Such limited contact as did occur during field visits were confined to informal discussions about the local area, or to some specific practice problem, e.g., of rural families, resources for services, etc. The ministries for the human services in all three

countries undertook the delivery and receipt of questionnaires sent to their personnel. Mailing, where the practitioner's location was known with certainty, was undertaken at the outset of the field operation.

This assistance was an invaluable financial and logistical contribution. Channeling the questionnaires through these offices with their accompanying letters (See Appendices C and D) legitimated the research in a needed way. However, it cannot be ruled out that some practitioners perceived such cooperation as pressure from the top, or imagined that the returned instruments would be scrutinised. This possibility would increase the bias in responses. To minimise this possible effect, a "neutral" address was offered to other respondents where feasible, such as the National Social Welfare Training Institute in Dar-es-Salaam and the University of Zambia's Guest House in Lusaka. No satisfactory alternative to the Ministry for Social Services could be found in Kenya.

Postings of questionnaires to potential respondents in other organisations were spread over the weeks of field visits as individuals were more precisely located. In instances where they were traced to a geographical locality, but not to a specific address, the questionnaires were hand-delivered by other professionals. Ambiguity also surrounded the ranks of some individuals. One suspects that a number of these questionnaires,

though containing letters of explanation and "authorisation," were not delivered. Or administrators whose position had changed, might have declined to complete a form clearly labeled, "practitioner." *The study is to be completed*

With the postings spread, uncertainty in some cases about addresses in Zambia, and shortage of time, the telephone served as the primary means of contacting heads of departments to encourage speedy return of the questionnaires. Where in the capitals some questionnaires had been delivered by hand to organisations employing a number of professionals, a date was set, usually coinciding with interviews, for collection. Time nor the above set of circumstances permitted the posting of reminders to practitioners.

Processing the Data

Although most of the data processing was undertaken in Uganda and Kenya, initial processing began with the outset of data collection in the field. The recorded tapes and notes were transcribed and edited by the researcher daily, or within the shortest possible interval following the interviews. Quotations used in later chapters represent verbatim statements of the respondents. The coding of the data was done at the conclusion of all field activity. Here, while all open-ended questions and uncoded closed questions were coded by the researcher, a Ugandan Sociology Ph.D. candidate supervised the work of three third-

year undergraduates in coding the closed questions and preparing the data for the computer. In addition to the scales introduced in the designs for Tanzania and Kenya, some ad hoc scales have been developed subsequent to coding the open-ended questions.²⁸

Among these are scales that endeavor to measure the degree of accord as to appropriate response to problems, and education perceived by professionals for practice; and the extent of linkage perceived to exist between the education for and practice of social work. Details of these scales appear in the discussions of data in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

The processing of data was done, using both the ICL and SPSS Computer programmes. Because of the highly descriptive nature of the data that, it was thought, should be collected for an exploration of the perceptions about relevance in social work, no claim is being made to an analysis chiefly testing the hypotheses. It has been possible only to a modest extent to correlate some variables with classificatory data. This was done primarily by the use of the gamma test of association.

There was an interest in discovering the real differences, if any, in views that exist between the three categories of respondents within the respective countries as well as between countries. The data permitted use of the student means test.

This use of the means test on data gathered through a non-probability sampling is justified on the following grounds. The element of ordinality was recognised and dealt with in the way that I coded the data. An interval scale, developed by Choi²⁹ in a study of Korean social workers examined a comparable problem in a Third World country. His scale was based on closed coded materials. I, by contrast, determined to use the open-ended questionnaire in order not to put answers into the respondents' mouths. At the same time, a number of alternatives were presented as a check to see the extent to which a common frame of reference exists with respect to the problems introduced. The coding, using a modified scale (based on Choi's work) was therefore uniform, and not arbitrary or rated simply in terms of frequencies in responses.

Rather, a marking system was established and marks were awarded on the basis of where each respondent fell on the scale. The marks, or scores, allocated to each respondent were in effect based on the extent to which the actions taken or answers given met the same criteria and were like the other responses to the same problem. Lower marks were given to actions or answers that least reflected the criteria of relevance set out in the theoretical chapter; the higher marks reflected the move in action or answers to greater relevance. A middle range in responses was used, especially in approaches dealt with in Chapter

Five, to suggest that actions or answers fitted neither extremes too clearly. Again, such judgements and coding were in keeping with the interval scale designed by Choi. The averages and means are compared in order to show differences and significance, if and where any exist.

The problems to which all respondents were asked to indicate the action(s) most appropriate, from their own perspective, were drawn from a variety of sources. These included the practice experience of the researcher, the informal interviews conducted with professionals during the familiarisation visits to Zambia and Kenya, the pretest exercise in Uganda, and from the social work literature. From the list initially of twenty-two vignettes, seven case-problems were finally chosen for inclusion in the questionnaires (see Appendix B, Section I, pages 1-4). As just noted, the outcomes are presented in Chapter Five.

Conclusions

A central methodological concern was to select a sample that could provide an appraisal of the social work situations in each of the respective contexts. A concept of the social work professionals was advanced which it was thought was sufficiently comprehensive and reflective of manpower in these countries to encompass all the individuals needed in the sample. The resultant populations and samples, shown in Tables 3.1-3.3, suggest the conclusion that samples were obtained that are

representative" of the social work professional as defined. Thus, with caution, some general conclusions can be drawn about social work from the perceptions of these central participants in the social work systems. On the other hand, a non-probability sample was used for the several reasons given. This severely restricts the statistical measurements that can be applied to the data, limiting the interpretations that can be made from the findings. But it is doubtful that a random sample would have included the numbers of informants holding key positions in social work, i.e., administrators and educators--given the difficulties of lack of adequate sampling frames, timing, and others noted in the chapter. The informed opinions they were expected to contribute by virtue of their central positions -- vis-a-vis practice--was considered a worthwhile gain in the face of loss of greater complexity and sophistication in data analysis.

By use of both the interview schedule and the mail questionnaire as data gathering methods, I was permitted a more extensive coverage of the populations. But with the cross-cultural study approach, a single method, i.e., the interview, might have yielded qualitative information with reduced bias and rates of non-response. This reliance on the two categories interviewed would have been more economical as well as convenient. That is, the populations of administrators and educators were more easily

identified and located. A random selection of these samples would have been feasible within time limits. However, exclusion of the practitioner category would have biased the research toward views held by the leadership alone--the smaller segments of the profession.

The non-response bias, accruing largely by refusals of practitioners to complete questionnaires, suggest that the sampling (the choice was for complete coverage of the entire social work populations) might have been more restricted. For example, it is possible that a higher response rate would have been recorded had the samples dropped the potential respondents traced to "related fields." In Zambia where 83 persons were so distributed, these respondents were largely in non-human service, formal organisations. Bias in replies arising out of the interview and mail questionnaire situation might have been further reduced had there been less assistance from government ministries. However, in the use of a cross-cultural approach this was hardly a viable alternative. Not only is legitimation of the research by such ministries a necessity, but budgetary constraints would have excluded a study of this dimension without such help. There was need to develop techniques that reduced the "visibility" of such bureaucracies, e.g., use of alternative locations as channels for incoming communications, and also that reduced investigator bias that could arise because of the

connections the researcher had to such ministries.

In the next chapter I turn to the results of the data analysis, looking first at the salient characteristics of the social work professionals whose views form the major content of the next three chapters.

CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIAL WORK PROFESSIONALS: A PROFILE

Introduction

If new models of practice and of education are prerequisites for the relevance of the profession, and if obstacles to the development of African peoples are inherent in the nature of the post-independent communities of this study, then who does the society choose to do social work, and how do these professionals perceive the problems and tasks for which they are paid to handle? In this chapter attention is shifted to the prime actors. In the next chapter we identify their views by considering their conceptions of practice appropriate to their contexts. The link between the processes selected for establishing social work as a viable and contributive system in Africa and the environment itself has hardly been considered in the African literature. Development and change characteristic of all societies and the actions of professionals are interrelated phenomena which are here treated as such. Without an alteration in patterns of relationships and resource provisions within societies, the conditions calling for the intervention of the social worker as a specialist in human social functioning do not arise. But neither can relevance evolve without sanctions,

knowledge and resources. The intent here is not to defend this conclusion or to restate the implications of these interrelationships - a task already undertaken in Chapter Two. It is instead to see in the practice processes applied by African social work professionals how the various interconnections bear on their responses. This chapter presents a profile of three groups of such professionals.

The Actors

Who is the social work professional? The answer to this question is of greater import to this research than a mere description of the three samples. This is so because the question of relevance presupposes that the professional has the requisite expertise and attitudes to execute functions specific to the need. Thus, consideration must of necessity be given to who is doing the acting as well as to what is being done. This research seeks therefore to examine carefully who administers practice, who educates for, and who practices the profession. Each individual social work professional as just defined in the previous chapter, or the separate groupings of administrators, educators and practitioners will perceive the practice situation from the perspective of his/their personal and professional attributes. They will also see it from the vantage point of the specific responsibilities carried. Hindrances to relevance may or may not spring, however, from this source, i.e., the actors.

The basic thesis argued earlier is that practice relevance is a function of a facilitative context. Indeed the views of the individuals and the groups about what response is required, are held here to be shaped largely by the realities of the context. The orientation and experiences of other social workers in other milieux, even western countries, cannot neutralise the impact of these realities. Ascertaining how professionals react as individuals and as a collective in specific African countries, each having in common the factor of being underdeveloped, should nevertheless permit understanding of the problem from an African perspective. Thus, interest lies in comparing perceptions and actions across three countries as well as across three groups of actors.

To answer the question 'who are the professionals' in contrast to 'what do they do', the personal variables of sex and age are first examined. The existing pattern may well be explained by the respective contexts. As seen below in Table 4.1, a higher representation of men than women is found to be the case in Zambia and in Tanzania. In both countries the percentage of men occupying positions in all three categories exceeds 50 percent. The percentage is highest in Tanzania where nearly 80 percent or more of all posts are held by men. That social work is largely executed by males is firstly a function of educational systems initially introduced by colonial

Table 4.1

Respondent's sex by category*

	Zambia			Tanzania			Kenya		
	P	A	E	P	A	E	P	A	E
	%			%			%		
Male	56	83	64	79	82	87	48	57	47
Female	44	17	36	21	18	13	52	43	53
N =	(61)	(29)	(14)	(70)	(45)	(15)	(126)	(37)	(15)

* P = Practitioner

A = Administrator

E = Educator

administrators and missionaries which, until recently, operated chiefly to prepare males for service in their administrations. It also reflects the tendency of traditional African societies to attach less value to the education of women whose prescribed roles were centred predominantly on the home rather than for the "market place." As a consequence of this bias in western-style education, males were selected first when opportunities for professional education became available.

That social work is performed mostly by men as a consequence of a colonial educational legacy would be expected to be felt in Kenya also. The deviation from the pattern in the higher representation of females in practice and in education is therefore a development of some importance. Women hold more than 50 percent of these positions. This exception to male dominance--although slight--is anticipated where a specific function is biased toward women, (i.e., the role is seen as

"women's work"). Unlike the development in Zambia and Tanzania, social work education and practice in Kenya did not evolve solely from inherited British structures. Rather, social work education in particular was significantly influenced through a technical assistance agreement between the governments of Kenya and Israel which led to the establishment of the afore mentioned Kenya-Israel School of Social Work in 1962. The first director was an Israeli woman who conceived the social work function as that of furthering the development of the rural sector. Despite this broad objective, initially only female students were admitted, a move supported by women leaders of Kenya. This restriction was lifted only in 1966.¹

The less prominent representation of women vis-a-vis men in other fields noted in Table 4.2 below tend to support the view just advanced, i.e., social work as women's work. As Table 4.2 shows, the total numbers of the employed males in other professional groupings in Kenya exceed females by a ratio of 5:1. The trend toward female dominance of social work is also seen in Zambia, where the percentage of women in practice is nearly equal and in education is almost 40 percent that of males. The higher representation of males as administrators in all three countries, however, reflect the traditional subordination (or submission) of females, conditioned by both the sex and educational differentials. Being disadvantaged educationally.

Table 4.2
Wage Employment of Professionals in Kenya by Sex
1977 and 1978

Occupation	Sex	
	Male	Female
Middle-level Executive and Managerial Personnel	16,880	1,405
General Managers/and Salaried Directors	11,640	403
Teachers	67,734	34,116
Medical, Dental, Veterinary, and Related Professionals	1,180	940
Agronomists and Related Scientists	613	27
Professionals not elsewhere classified	1,515	430
Totals*	629,033	120,945

Source: Republic of Kenya, Statistical Abstract, 1979, Central Bureau of Statistics, p. 251.

and steered toward stereotyped jobs, women are less able to compete for or to develop those attitudes and skills required to obtain promotion to the upper administrative ranks. Positions as educators in higher educational institutions, e.g., universities, suggest that there are fewer restraints to the advancement of women in teaching of social work than appear to exist in the administration.

Lastly, the pattern of females in the social work population in Kenya, and to a considerable extent also in Zambia,

* Non-professionals listed, but not included in this presentation, are included in the total figures.

closely parallels that pertaining in western nations where women have been historically more numerous than men. There are important implications for relevance when a profession is viewed as a female occupation in a male-dominated society. Not least of these relate to the profession's ability to attract resources to attain its objectives, or as earlier discussed, the legitimation to assert power for change in its prescribed directions. More to the parallel with the West, the question can be posed: have the two countries also elected to take on the priorities and emphases that have characterised the profession in developed countries, i.e., concern with victims and with psychotherapeutic difficulties more than with change of unjust conditions and structures. The proportion of women in administration in the sample for Tanzania is slightly less than that for Zambia, while the percentage in education is considerably less. The contrast between Tanzania and Kenya, however, is striking. This male bias suggests that currently in Tanzania the educational factor more than the sex factor is at play and that social work does not yet labour under a sex-based stigma that could conceivably affect communications, relationships, resources and the dominant approaches of social workers.

Looking at the sexual characteristics of social work professionals, one thus finds that they are largely a function of the selection pattern of the particular society. The trend

for social work to be handled by women is more pronounced in Kenya and Zambia than in Tanzania. But despite the trend, males in all three countries still hold sufficient control over the direction of practice through positions as administrators. This suggests that the sex of professionals is not yet an unsurmountable handicap to exerting influence within the environmental and administrative contexts of practice.

In terms of age, the highest concentration of social workers across the three countries is in the range of 30-39 years as Table 4.3 below shows. This concentration is primarily a result of an historical development, i.e., social work professionalism as a result of education--both locally and abroad--was accelerated from independence, the mid-1960's. In addition, African programmes for social work education have catered to older students--those 23 and above, for those having trained in other fields such as teaching, or to those who have had employment prior to further study. The data in the table, however, indicates the predictable tendency for practitioners to be as a group younger than administrators. The variation between Tanzania's administrators with that of Kenyan and Zambian-- the latter two having as high as 41 and 14 percent over the 40 to 50 years age range, respectively--in particular reflects a Tanzanian governmental policy to prepare social work professionals for specific administrative posts.² The assignment rather than age

Table 4.3

	<u>Respondents by Age</u>								
	Zambia			Tanzania			Kenya		
	P	A %	E	P	A %	E	P	A %	E
Up to 29	31	7	14	37	18	33	28	8	0
30 - 39	54	38	50	50	42	40	54	35	53
40 - 49	12	41	29	13	31	20	16	43	34
50/over	3	14	7	0	9	7	2	14	13
N =	(61)	(29)	(14)	(70)	(45)	(15)	(122)	(37)	(15)

is a major factor. Conversely, the greater congruence in percentages at all ages and categories between Kenya and Zambia is chiefly the result of the bureaucratic principle to promote workers to higher echelons on the basis of seniority. Administrators and educators for practice are also appointed by organisations from other professions, and from outside the organisation--a fact with significant implications for sharing common orientations and goals with practitioners. Such appointments, promotions, and attrition from social work practice also explain the near absence of practitioners over 50 years of age, while in all three countries educators and administrators are of such range.

The variation in ages between the younger practitioners and the older administrators and educators does not in itself indicate that the younger practitioner is more ready to adapt more relevant or radical approaches or to cast off western ideas and methods.³ However, the younger the professional, the more

likely he/she was educated at a time when national ideologies earlier discussed were evolving and thus potentially having an impact on practice strategies as well as on the curricula of social work education.

Turning to the professional characteristics of the three samples, the educational levels, functions and positions held by professionals and years of experience are briefly considered. As Table 4.4 reveals, there is wide variation in the professionals, most markedly between the Kenyan sample and those of Zambia and Tanzania.

Table 4.4

Level of Respondent's Professional Education

	Zambia			Tanzania			Kenya		
	P	A %	E	P	A %	E	P	A %	E
Certificate	15	21	43	13	7	0	75	25	6
Diploma	70	51	36	68	55	0	20	39	7
Bachelor's	15	21	7	17	29	53	2	27	13
Master's	0	7	7	2	7	34	3	9	47
Doctorate	0	0	7	0	2	13	0	0	27
N =	(61)	(29)	(14)	(69)	(44)	(15)	(126)	(36)	(15)

Kenya's practitioners reflect the lowest level of education, a result explained by the fact that professional education was introduced locally initially at the post-primary level (i.e., Form II, teacher training, or some other equivalent training).⁴ With the exception of the few practitioners entering the profession after study outside of Kenya, social

workers for more than a decade were supplied from this level. By contrast, in Zambia and in Tanzania where education for social work began at the diploma level, within or linked to a university, the more highly qualified professional is already prominently represented, making up nearly 87 percent of both samples compared to 25 percent of that of Kenya. The disparity is particularly great where the Bachelor of Arts degree holders are concerned. Two percent of Kenyan practitioners were graduates at the Bachelor's qualification in social work, at the time of field research while 15 and 17 percent in Zambia and Tanzania, respectively, were so qualified. This situation began to change from the end of 1979, when the University of Nairobi graduated its first class of social workers. The percentage for Zambia is actually lower than anticipated, given the earlier introduction of B.A. level education locally. This finding can be explained by the description of the context in Chapter Two. The modern sector operates to siphon off the university graduates into the economic administrative and executive posts, thus depleting the potential supply of social service personnel. The larger percentages for Tanzania results from educating social workers abroad, e.g., at Makerere in Uganda, and a manpower policy that systematises both the allocation and movement of graduates from one sector to another. Kenyan graduates trained outside the country have not been subject to such restraint in

*General
Social
Work
Practice
in
Kenya
1979-1980*

their employment. As university certification at the same time signifies a higher degree of knowledge and skill, the differences between Kenyan practitioners and the others represent a real difference in degree of professionalisation, and thus the potential to execute those functions that could enhance legitimation and professional power, e.g., planning, administration, research.

How the practitioners' educational levels compare with the administrators is of importance, especially as they jointly conceive and carry out functions of the profession--and mainly within the same organisations. Administrators in Zambia and Tanzania have reached levels that correspond more closely to that attained by practitioners than is the case in Kenya. In all three instances administrators possess a greater percentage of degrees than do practitioners, a result anticipated since education (meritocracy) is a primary means of acquiring posts and for moving up economic and professional ladders. And in the case of Zambia, administrators educated at the certificate level were found to be chiefly in community development settings which have tended to emphasise training in institutions other than universities. As Table 4.5 shows, administrators in each sample had had training in additional fields, while a comparatively insignificant number of practitioners of either country had.

Table 4.5
Fields of Professional Education of Administrators

Field	Zambia %	Tanzania %	Kenya %
SW/CD only	42	53	36
SW/CD and others*	48	35	56
Other than SW	10	12	8
N =	(29)	(43)	(36)

The most striking variation is observed between the Kenyan practitioners and administrators--a wide gap existing at all levels. Table 4 shows a concentration of practitioners at the certificate level, or 75 percent of the sample--this cluster being an outcome of the selection and level of recruitment and emphasis mentioned. While nearly one-fourth of the administrators of Kenya and Zambia hold certificates, further examination of Table 4.5 suggests that the educational level of administrators is substantively different because of the added training that did not in all cases lead to a higher award than certificate. Thus the lower qualifications of Kenyan practitioners in particular suggest a real gap between the two categories in both basic social work education and other fields. For the practitioner, the certificate has meant for most the sole and terminal level, there being no organic, functional link between the

*Among these figured most prominently are the following: social policy and administration, personnel management, planning, rural development, adult education, education, sociology.

intermediate and higher educational institutions. This gap between the practitioner and administrator in Kenya should narrow with the impact of degree level education and employment, as has been the case in Zambia and in Tanzania.

Not surprisingly, the educators hold the largest proportion of higher degrees in Tanzania and in Kenya. The imbalance in the Zambian sample occurs for two reasons. The total sample includes staff of the two institutions training for community development functions and which are attached to a government ministry. Such personnel were not required to hold degrees in order to teach pre-university level workers. Although at the time of the survey the university's department for social work education had five filled posts (two M.A.'s, three Ph.D.'s), only two members of staff were available for the research.

The data at hand indicates that the use of the university graduate from B.A. level upward for educating in social work is a definite trend in all three countries. Moreover, the tendency is to have education undertaken increasingly by Africans--only five expatriates were among a group of 44 educators, 17 of whom studied only in Africa; 17 others studied in Africa as well as abroad, while only 10 were educated exclusively in western or other countries. This finding notwithstanding, the extent to which educators project a local rather than western orientation is reflected not only by the locale of training. It is also

revealed by the curricula designed and the materials used for educating. The extent to which these bear on the local situation is examined further in Chapter Seven.

What the respective countries expect the functions of social work professionals to be is indicated to a large degree by the positions societies permit social workers to hold. To the question, "What areas do you (they) do most of your (their jobs) work?", administrators and practitioners reported that the absorption is primarily in traditional social welfare work and community development.

Table 4.6
Major Areas Where Practitioners are Getting Jobs

	Zambia		Tanzania		Kenya	
	P	A	P	A	P	A
	%		%		%	
Specialised	31	19	38	68	34	80
Generic	56	8	46	9	61	9
Other than traditional social work	13	73	16	23	5	11
N =	(61)	(26)	(69)	(43)	(116)	(35)

Table 4.6 above shows that when both specialised and generic practice are considered together, from 84 to 95 percent of the samples of practitioners are so occupied. This is explained by national welfare strategies in which both the inherited programmes as well as the inherited administrative structures are perpetuated. Such provide the major operational

context for the profession--as will be seen more clearly below--and appear therefore inadvertently to dictate functions.

Practitioners in all three samples indicate being involved to a greater extent in generic practice that combines several approaches, than they are involved with specialised and individualised services. This is a significant finding as it suggests that despite the continuance of structures and programmes having their origin under colonial administrations, a shift in functions, and thus in the content of professional practice, is already underway. It also suggests that at least at the practice level, the model which gives priority to a broad rather than the narrow approaches is having an impact.

Table 4.7

Positions Held by Respondents

	Zambia		Tanzania		Kenya	
	P	A	P	A	P	A
	%		%		%	
Social work	44	17	49	32	59	61
Community development	31	35	17	49	14	8
Personnel	5	17	10	7	3	0
Administration	20	31	24	12	24	31
/other						
N =	(61)	(29)	(70)	(43)	(125)	(36)

The high proportion of practitioners and administrators holding social work positions, in Kenya (See Table 4.7), 59 and 61 percent, respectively, does appear to belie this argument. This view is supported, however, by a nearly double percentage

of practitioners found who, although in such positions, say that they do most of their work generically. It is the function more than it is the position held that provides the clearer indication of the content of the job. This is the case also because of the practice in the three countries of using a single title that covers a diversity of activities.

There is a sharp divergence in the perceptions of administrators and practitioners about areas of functioning. In each of the samples, the percentages of administrators who perceive practitioners as functioning elsewhere than in social work are higher than those where practitioners actually locate themselves to be. As the earlier Table 4.6 shows, less than 10 percent of the administrator samples think that the practitioners are functioning in other than the specialised services. The contrast in the Kenyan samples is particularly outstanding since, as Table 4.7 reveals, over 50 percent of all the administrators are themselves directing practice from posts in social work/community development settings. This lack of awareness of the specific functions of another category of the profession is only partially accounted for by the fact that the administrators may be operating from different organisations. This is hardly the most important reason since as will be seen below, most practice is within the central government ministries.

The levels and fields of education, earlier discussed,

imply that the administrators chosen to head practice programmes may have a different orientation than practitioners. This different in outlook could affect awareness. However it is the non-uniformity of the profession well reflected in the samples that best explains the differences.

Although no more than 48 percent of the Zambian administrators held positions outside of traditional social work, 73 percent of them (See Table 4.6) thought that practitioners were getting jobs and functioning in such areas. Only 13 percent of the practitioners' sample held the same view, while 25 percent were in such employment. As noted in Chapter Three, one-half of the prospective Zambian respondents were traced to the large industrial organisations. This suggests that in Zambia social work professionals are indeed functioning and finding positions largely outside of the social services. By contrast, in Tanzania, social workers, by our criteria, were traced to ujamaa development functions and positions. However, as they rejected the inherited community development model, so did many reject inclusion in a study concerned with that model! But as the research does tap the views of some administrators of these two groups, the lack of a common perception on functions is expected. The greater importance to the attainment of social work relevance, however, is that the profession may be losing individuals having a wider experience, potentially a more accurate

view of what social work in African conditions should be, and the skills with which to do more relevant things.

Table 4.8

Teaching Content as Reported by the
Social Work Educators

	Zambia	Tanzania	Kenya
	%	%	%
Social work/Community development	50	47	46
SW/Social Science	29	13	27
Social Science	21	40	27
N =	(14)	(15)	(15)

Turning to the content of what is taught in preparation for practice, Table 4.8 reveals the well-known trend in professional social work education to include social science knowledge as part of the "foundation" for practice. Especially in Tanzania and in Kenya where social work educators were shown to possess a relatively higher proportion of degrees than in Zambia, the emphases, suggested by the numbers of educators teaching the social sciences alone or with social work, nearly equals or exceeds that focused solely on social work content. The difference with Zambia, more clearly implied by the earlier Table 4.4, indicating levels of education, is that the social science content reflects the necessity in educational programmes to address the needs of "field" workers for practical skills--in Zambia's case, for community development programmes. Thus educators teach in such areas as health education, child care, and

literacy. Educators in the other two samples seek to equip students for a broader practice through, e.g., rural development, social policy, sociology, law studies. In summary, there is a range of emphases that potentially provides the knowledge for a practice applicable to the local context. Whether educational emphases bring about the desired outcome is also considered in Chapter Seven.

The bureaucracies of the central governments in all three countries provide the major organisational framework for practice, confirming the presupposed dominance of this pattern. But the differences with respect to the proportion of professionals found in all other types of organisations (See Table 4.9 and 4.10) suggest the varied development strategies adopted in each country. Zambia's economic and Zambianisation policies place all graduates in a favourable position for employment in the modern sector. As a result, social work professionals too are deployed at both the administrative and practitioner level of parastatals. That a greater percentage of Tanzanians than Kenyans are also based in the parastatals as administrators as well as practitioners is also predictable in light of the earlier discussed sex and educational characteristics of the Kenya sample. As Kenya's level of industrialisation is higher than Tanzania's and more diverse than Zambia's, the problems of industrial and urban living coupled with the production of

Table 4.9

Organisations Employing Respondents

	Zambia		Tanzania		Kenya	
	P	A	P	A	P	A
	%		%		%	
Voluntary agency	8	10	6	11	23	24
Local authority	11	21	0	0	21	6
Central government	66	45	84	82	51	67
Parastatal	15	24	10	7	5	3
N=	(61)	(29)	(70)	(45)	(124)	(37)

graduates should also ultimately effect a change in distribution of social work professionals in its parastatals.

On the other hand, the percentage of Kenyans practicing in or administering programmes of the voluntary agencies is twice as high as for their counterparts in either Zambia or Tanzania. Kenya's extensive deployment to that sector is explained by its policy to rely on individual initiatives and communal private resources to substantially provide for the welfare needs of citizens. But although 23 percent of Kenya's practitioner sample practices in voluntary agencies, its professionals are less likely to determine, direct or to control the policies or activities than are Zambians or Tanzanians in their situations. As private ventures, such factors as the purposes of foreign interests, external financing and expatriate manpower can weigh more heavily than professional affiliation in the choice of administrators as well as of priorities. Levels of education also weigh heavily on choices. Zambia and Tanzania

appear to permit voluntary organisations to assist but do not delegate to them major responsibilities. The slightly larger percentage of administrators than practitioners in contrast to Kenya suggests that the primary interest of the organisations is in the potential for leadership rather than in having professional implementers. Indeed, only in central government organisations do Kenyan social work administrators show a clear pre-dominance over the percentage of practitioners. Nearly even representation of Tanzanian practitioners and administrators in all organisations is the result not only of the recent introduction of education and a greater similarity in educational levels of the two, but because of the manpower policy deploying all qualified manpower to a variety of settings according to perceived needs.

Social work education is carried out largely by intermediate level institutions despite the trend for these to be staffed by university graduates. Only 8 (18 percent) social work educators of a total sample of 44 persons were teaching within universities as shown in Table 4.10 below. The predominance of governmental and parastatals departments for educating is explained by the slowness of the governments to give a high priority to programmes focused on the social needs and problems of the people, or to accord to a profession concerned with these, the status of an academic discipline within universities.

Table 4.10

Organisations Employing the Social Work Educators

	Zambia		Tanzania		Kenya	
		%		%		%
Govt./Parastatal	86		87		66	
University	14		13		27	
Non-government	0		0		7	
N =	(14)		(15)		(15)	

On the other hand, that more than two-thirds of the social work educators are in units of governments suggests that the governments are committed to supplying manpower for the social services although not necessarily to a modification of strategies, policies, or structures to which the social workers must relate.⁵

Table 4.11

Years of Respondent's Experience in Practice or Education

	Zambia			Tanzania			Kenya		
	P	A	E	P	A	E	P	A	E
	%			%			%		
1-6	41	50	79	50	51	87	42	27	53
7-12	34	28	21	24	22	13	40	27	27
13-18	16	14	0	16	25	0	11	38	20
19/over	9	7	0	10	2	0	7	8	0
N =	(56)	(28)	(14)	(68)	(45)	(15)	(122)	(36)	(15)

Given the history of the development of education for the profession with respect to experience, the similar proportions of Tanzanian and Zambian administrators and practitioners working up to 12 years as shown in Table 4.11 above is an unexpected

finding. However, this parallel can be explained by the decreased numbers of students enrolled at the University of Zambia for social work studies during much of the 1970's, the reduced recruitment to the social service sectors, and some attrition of professionals to the modern economic sector.⁶

That from 5 to 100 percent of all the professionals in the Zambian, Tanzanian and Kenyan samples had practiced for 12 or fewer years suggests that, as with respect to age, most of the professionals have gained their experience at a time when the major national development policies were being formulated or made operative, and this potentially makes an impact on practice and on education. But on the other hand, except for the educators of Zambia and Tanzania, an important proportion of professionals entered practice before much rethinking or implementation of national policies had occurred--13 years or more. The orientation of these professionals could differ from their less experienced colleagues.

The educators are the most recent entrants to the teaching aspect of the profession. This reflects the tendency in these countries for educators to have practiced previously. Two-thirds or more of each sample reported having worked in the profession before assuming teaching responsibilities. Others come to social work education direct from universities and are thus without long teaching or related experiences.

Conclusions

"Who are the social work professionals?" The findings reveal a highly diverse group. Most probably a given social work professional will be a male, aged between 30-39, educated at the diploma level professionally, be employed as a social or/and community development worker in a central government ministry, and with no more than twelve years in practice or administration. But there are many professionals to whom this description does not apply, notably the Kenyan, with Kenya's being the most disparate of the samples. What emerges are patterns of professional and personal variables significantly dissimilar as to portend important differences in practice and educational responses, irrespective of the context.

As is already apparent in the selection, deployment and use of social work professionals, and as will be seen more clearly in the next chapters, the context or environment of functioning is not neutral. By clearly defining its priorities scribed the socio-economic and political context from which this conclusion derives. The personal parameters of the samples give the pattern of recruitment within the particular societies. This background provided, I turn next to the major outcomes and interpretation resulting from this research effort.

CHAPTER FIVE

PRACTICE UNDER AFRICAN SOCIALISM, UJAMAA, AND HUMANISM

Having defined the conception of relevance guiding this study and profiled the African professional, I now turn to the core of the search, the empirical results of an examination of the three major aspects of the profession. The task of this chapter is to determine the basic activity of professionals-- what they are most likely to do or think should be done in their ideological contexts with respect to the problems presented. The underlying issue is whether what they do is of such scale and objective as to substantially advance the capacity of peoples and communities to be self-sustaining. Implicit in the criticism referred to is that when African social workers begin to do relevant things, some actions will be distinctly different from those associated with social workers of developed countries. To what extent do the local models show such distinction at all? And if there are similar actions--e.g., on the scale of individualised intervention--does the profession in terms of its purposes, which are reflected by its rationales, hold to a conception of practice that nevertheless takes cognizance of the African condition?

To obtain the perceptions held by the professionals as to the most appropriate ways to intervene, several identical

vignettes, or case-problems, were first presented to each respondent of the three countries. Of the seven problems about which the professionals expressed opinions, three will suffice as illustrations in this analysis of current social work practice.¹ There are three criteria upon which the choices are based. The first is that all three ^{case problems} vignettes highlight problems, known to exist in Third World countries and identified by some social work experts as a rightful concern of social work professionals.² Secondly, social workers had the possibility of dealing with the problems because of the existence of government sanctions and programmes for these areas. Thirdly, each problem permits the practitioner to intervene at more than one level, i.e., from an individualised to the broader approach. What the professional reports may be a description of his own activity. But since he is expected to be aware also of what others are doing, what he says can be a reflection of practice in general terms.³ In view of the nonuniformity of this professional group (and the lack of prior base-line data), consistency in the reports of the three categories, plus documentary evidence, should both reveal as well as confirm what practice actually is.

Moreover, the questions that focus on what professionals perceive to constitute the best approach to the problem are linked to my concept of relevance: it is assumed that their choice of action shows to some extent their own conception of

What does the mean?

what is appropriate to the specific difficulty. Or, the way of handling the matter might not relate so much to professional preference as to the requirements of the context. Thus, professionals are asked to indicate not only what they do, but later, the reasons for the choices made.

Assuming, also, that practice still show a continuum, from the individualised to broad activity, an attempt is made to discover the degree to which specific interventions can be shown to be "more" and "less" relevant, according to the theoretical framework already set out. Thus, three sets of tables are used to show the following: the various intervention strategies of choice; the reasons for such intervention; and an assessment of the degree of relevance that their answers indicate.

Basically, then, the concern of this chapter is to present the scale or scope of actions and the rationale--the latter being indicative of the objectives as well as values that underlie professional response. With data on what is done and why, attention can be turned to the administrative interactions and the thrusts of education for an assessment of their impact on practice--the exercise for Chapters Six and Seven.

Doing Social Work

Before proceeding to a detailed discussion of the approaches prescribed, let me first state the problem presented and highlight some of the basic issues confronting the

professional by each one.⁴ (See Appendix B, Section I, pages 1-4).

Case-Problem I People's resistance to change:

"More offices for social welfare and community development programmes are being set up to assist the people. However, people of some areas seem to resist new ideas for improvement in their standard of living."

The phenomenon of resistance is often associated with rural populations. Urban peoples and communities may, however, also reject ideas--particularly if these are perceived as coming from "outside," and the anticipated change as not necessarily in their long-term interests. For the former objection, the issue may be whether there exists a credibility gap⁵ between the professionals bringing the idea and the people who are to act on it. The causes for resistance may lie in the differing understanding of what is being demanded of the people. Whatever the causes, negative attitudes and uncooperative behaviour stand in the way of a process, supposedly, of planned change. At issue are the values and content of social work practice in such situations. Do the ends being sought help to ensure those values and purposes which social work presumably is to promote? And if professionals are to contribute to moving people to change, what strategies can guarantee that the dignity and worth of people are not violated in the process?

Table 5.1

CASE PROBLEM I:Ways to Deal with Resistance to Changes*

Approaches	Tanzania			Kenya		
	P	A	E	P	A	E
Counsel	4	2	-	8	3	-
Home/office visits to persuade, advise						
Less						
Discover "felt needs"	3	16	13	5	18	47
Inform about resources						
Hold seminars						
Bring in experts						
.....						
Investigate causes/educate	52	78	80	54	59	27
Discover if conflicting						
More or Less						
with local culture						
Contact local leaders						
Explain aims						
.....						
Team with others	3	-	-	4	3	13
Organise people and ser- vices for improvement						
More						
Demonstrate	14	2	7	7	11	13
Show others impact of changes						
Deal with problem through national structures and institutions						
.....						
Miscellaneous	3	-	-	2	3	-
Do not handle (DNH)	21	2	-	20	3	-
N =	(70)	(45)	(15)	(126)	(37)	(15)

*The percentage for the Tables 5.1, 5.5, and 5.9 for the case-problems first show the complete distribution of frequencies. Adjusted percentages are shown later when degrees of relevance (less-more) are discussed. This part of the question was not asked in Zambia (see footnote 4).

To the problem of resistance, nearly all administrators and all educators thought that this situation should be dealt with by practitioners, and just under 80 percent of the practitioners reported that they do. Table 5.1 above shows that when presented with this problem, except for Kenyan educators, more than 50 percent of each sample say that one seeks to investigate causes, particularly by establishing contact with local leaders and attempting to educate the people about the benefits of change.

While more than twice as many administrators as educators in the Kenya sample made that choice, administrators and educators in the Tanzanian sample are very closely agreed in perception about investigation/education. (I earlier argued in the theoretical framework that the dominant interests of the national rulers are materialised chiefly through the functions of these two categories.) Bearing in mind that for Tanzania, national policy prescribes a programme of development of the rural people, administrators and educators would fully comprehend the necessity for persons in their positions at least to appear to propagate the ideology. On the other hand, that only 52 percent of those practitioners who say that they handle this problem do adopt the same approach is probably explained by the limitations of practice structures. As described in Chapter Two the organisational structure for social welfare, while not

Statistical difference
and
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wholly urban, nevertheless is centralised, i.e., the policy and programme decision-making is centred in Dar-es-Salaam at the ministry headquarters, rather than in each of the 20 regional offices. Because the social welfare officer cadre is not widely represented at the district level--in 12 out of 96 districts--the potential impact of the social work professional is stunted. This thin spread results in a limited participation in the types of activity that ensures a level of contact permitting investigation or education on a large scale. For a different reason, the ujamaa worker would also see this approach as less likely than do educators and administrators. Although deployed nationwide--through the reduced numbers--the organisational goals, and thus the content of ujamaa work, has shifted from a function of mobilisation to that of imparting management techniques, e.g., to do auditing and accounts.⁶ This highly technocratic approach would curtail functions designed to investigate why people resist or to educate with the aim to motivate, except for the specific matter, e.g., to ensure training for keeping good accounts. Thus, for social welfare and ujamaa professionals of Tanzania, the structures and programme goals mitigate against engagement with the people in ways that on a large scale assure changes in the people's attitudes and behaviors.

The similarity in perception of administrators and practitioners in the Kenya sample may be explained by the merging

within an administration, the functions of both social welfare and community development, as described earlier. The Annual Reports of five of the seven provinces of Kenya for 1977⁷ indicate that self-help activity, popularly known as "Harambee," remains a central programme of the Department of Social Services. This, and Kenya's policy of integrated rural development, permit all professions that have a people-oriented focus to be co-opted. Both programmes entail less a technocratic approach than a mobilisation of people. Kenya's professionals are expected to play "guidance, advisory roles."⁸ One informant reports: "People now know social workers better by what they do. People even in rural areas know there are social workers and that they deal with problems."⁹ It is recalled, moreover, that 61 percent of the Kenyan practitioners say that they practice generically, rather than in a specialised manner, whereas only 56 and 46 percent of the respondents of the Zambian and Tanzanian samples, respectively, did.

The slightly higher percent of administrators than practitioners who would "investigate/educate" suggest that, as expected within a bureaucratic framework, the administrator is an explanatory element in processes that get adopted. For reasons concerning his relative power in the bureaucracy, the administrator may be having a more decisive impact in Kenya than in Tanzania. Chapter Four has already shown that the Kenyans are

older and have more years of experience--important attributes in that structure.

In summary, the nation-wide deployment of Kenyan administrators and practitioners ensures the type of contacts in which investigation and education could be seen by both groups of respondents as a feasible and appropriate approach to the problem.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the responses given in Table 1 is where, within each sample, the agreement on approach is highest. In Tanzania the administrators and educators do not differ more than 5 percent on any strategy, with a Kendall Coefficient of Concordance $W = .37$ for administrators with educators. The coefficient for the administrator and practitioner is also $W = .37$. In Kenya, administrators agree very strongly with practitioners (Kendall Coefficient of Concordance $W = .76$), but hardly with educators ($W = .16$). Explanations can be given for these striking contrasts. As shown in Chapter Two, institutionalised links exist between Tanzania's institutions for educating and administrations for practice. Among these are channels for discussions that centre on programmes and policy as well as on students.¹¹ The impact of these contacts and the ideas generated may not be as significantly felt at the practice level, however, as between educators and administrators.

Communication between the administrators and educators in Kenya on the other hand, is on an ad hoc basis, there being no

legislated ties between their respective organisations. And in the absence of significant continued communication with educators, the practitioner/administrator views would be more in harmony, possibly reflecting primarily the requirements of the organisation.

A review of the table as a whole indicates that the percentages of respondents choosing the remaining actions are more varied. Only a small proportion in the three samples reported the use of counselling or working in a team situation to deal with resistance. The very little use suggested of the team approach in both samples is surprising in view of the fact that the ujamaa worker in particular is an extension worker among other extension workers. An explanation may lie in the tendency toward technocracy, and thus ironically, toward small scale, if not, individualised approaches. One informant described social welfare as an "isolated" activity. This is an apt description because it is not yet decentralised and integrated with other social services. The higher percentage of respondents in the Kenyan sample indicating a team approach, therefore, is in keeping with the ministerial and other organisational structures that have professional interchanging social/community development functions, working potentially more collaboratively.

Educators in Kenya are least in agreement with other respondents in their "felt needs" approach, as well as with

nearly every other choice. The one exception is their agreement with the approach to "demonstrate impact." This probably is accounted for by their earlier reported less direct experience in the practice field. Of the 15 educators in the sample, only 53 percent had worked in social work prior to teaching. Of that proportion, two of the eight persons had worked in more developed countries. By contrast, 66 percent (N = 15) of the Tanzanians and 100 percent (N = 15) of the Zambians entered teaching with a background from practice. Thus, the educator's choice may be a tendency to intellectualise social work; discovering "felt needs," for example, does not require the same degree of contact or the ability to motivate people to action, as do some other types of strategies named on Table 5.1.

As to whether, in fact, the problem is handled at all, a very similar response is given by practitioners in Kenya and Tanzania who alone were asked the question; about 20 percent in both samples say that they do not. This would be explained in part by structural and deployment patterns already discussed.¹² No more than 3 percent of the administrators and no educators thought that practitioners should not deal with it. A number of informants in Tanzania gave as the reason: "We don't handle such problem because people try to agree and to get involved in development."

Since administrators and educators are assumed to have an

overview of practice as well as directional power, it is assumed that most professionals do in fact, at one time or another, deal with resistance. The foregoing discussions show that the majority suggest approaches that can initiate or sustain broad-ranged processes of change--a direction commensurate with the definition of relevance proposed.

Because the dominant professional view on the problem of resistance perceives the solution to require both a direct input of information to the people and their reorientation, delineation of the basis for such action is of considerable importance. This is so because the criteria professionals use constitute one of the central determinants of the strategies adopted. I have argued above that the structures and programmes predispose professionals toward certain view and practice responses. In the matter of reasons, however, the individual professional can presumably reveal his own purposes. (And these may show how closely their perceptions conform to the concept of relevance employed in this research.)

All respondents were asked, therefore, to select from a list of five alternatives the most important way(s) to handle the problem and then to state the reason for each choice.¹³ In grouping the data to show the most persistent themes, the results as indicated on Table 5.2 (See Appendix E(a) for responses) show that the professionals are concerned largely that

Table 5.2

Reasons: "Investigate causes" or "Introduce new ideas"

Reason	Example	Zambia		Tanzania		Kenya	
		Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
Perception of Context:							
Environmental conditions	"The worker can better understand the local situation". "He can approach elders and study the traditional norms."	1	53	1	50	1	61
Actions of People	"Communities can identify their own needs." "People will set their priorities."						
People's participation	"The people would agree and get involved in development." . . .						
Professional goals:							
Planning	"Appropriate strategies would be planned."	2	47	2	50	2	39
Solutions	"Workers would find the best solution to the problem."						
Attitude change	"The worker could educate people on the need for change." "The desired change would have lasting effect." "National development could be speeded up."						
Societal change	"The worker avoids crises this way."						
N -		(91)		(98)		(149)	

(Of 412 respondents, 69 percent (N=282) chose "investigate causes"; 14 percent (N=56) chose "introduce ideas"; 15 percent (N=62) chose 1 of 3 remaining ways and 2 percent (N=10) did not give reasons. See Appendix E for complete tables of the alternatives. The examples are the verbatim statements made by respondents.)

either their intervention has impact on the environmental context or that it facilitates specific professional goals.

The two alternatives selected by 83 percent of all respondents were "investigate causes" and "introduce ideas through seminars, etc." These two correspond to the approach most Kenyans and Tanzanians, in response to the open-ended question, also say that they do or that should be adopted. In the choice by respondents in the Zambia sample, also, there is an overall consistency in view-point on how the problem should be handled by the profession. The high proportion of professionals who say that the actions must in some way have a repercussion on the society, to the environment of practice, suggests that more than 50 percent of them would not be content if people do not understand and act to become more involved, (that they do not change).

In ranking the responses, however, Table 5.2 shows that while the goals are the same, the reasons given for the chosen alternative or strategy are not. There is considerable difference in the reasons stated by respondents of Kenya and those of the other two countries. It is probable that the nature of the already mentioned commitment of manpower in Kenya supports a

greater concentration on community-based activity which, in turn, sensitises professionals to the importance of the total community dimension in this problem-solving process. That these respondents at the same time might less readily focus on the professional role is possibly explained by the little headway the social welfare professionals in particular have made in clarifying the content of their rural practice. According to one Kenyan informant:

There is a "lack of visibility arising initially from a lack of content. Social workers must be able to demonstrate that by doing W, X and Y, they will get Z.¹⁴

Having higher levels of education--and thus potentially more clearly conceived notions about what the professional is to attain by what he does--could perhaps explain the Zambian and Tanzanian responses.

A trend toward the broad strategies suggested in the foregoing discussions is made clearer by Table 5.3 in which the categories of approaches in Table 1 are grouped to show the degrees of relevance indicated by what respondents of Kenya and Tanzania say about practice. (See, again, footnote #28, Chapter Three, for a discussion of the scale used.)

Table 5.3

Resistance: Degree of Relevance by Respondent*

	Tanzania			Kenya		
	P	A	E	P	A	E
	%			%		
Less	9	18	13	16	23	46
More or Less	68	80	80	70	63	27
More	23	2	7	14	14	27
N =	(53)	(44)	(15)	(99)	(35)	(15)

*Do not handle, miscellaneous and NA are excluded from this dichotomy.

When all actions are considered together, practitioners in all three samples tend to do slightly more relevant things than are advocated by administrators and educators, thus not confirming in this first problem what had been earlier hypothesised, i.e., that practice approaches would not be as broad as educators and administrators thought they should be. In this instance, the practitioners show responses that are on the whole the broadest. The finding can be explained, nevertheless.

It was reported in Chapter Two that in Tanzania educators in particular have a responsibility for political as well as professional education. Moreover, that they and administrators hold such close views may reflect a perceived imperative to propagate the policy positions of Tanzanian socialism, even though, as elites, they may not facilitate those actions that develop peoples and communities in real terms. The fact that the Tanzanian practitioners also differ more significantly from

their administrators and educators than do Kenyan respondents suggests that the former may enjoy a higher measure of freedom to practice without frequent reference to the administrator--a possible consequence of being put directly into contact with people through deployment at the village level.

The apparent paradox in the wide divergence of perception in both samples between the practitioner and the educator who prepares him/her may be understood by what the latter is teaching. This will be reviewed in Chapter Seven. However, mention was made earlier of the "developmental" approach and stress on local conditions emphasised in classrooms, conferences and seminars, as well as through governmental policies. Barkun describes the socialisation of the educated elite as preparation to perpetuate an "elite-mass gap."¹⁵ Although also members of the educated elite, because of the success and rewards he/she hopes to receive through the programmes he/she implements, the practitioner may bridge the gap between the professional and the people. Administrators and educators need not do so, as they are not dependent in the same way and on the same sources for support.

Considering now, lastly, the relationship between the degree of relevance in perception about practice with which it is associated, I find that the variable of education has an important impact. This however, is reflected only on the

practitioner roles with a rather strong effect on the Tanzanian sample (Gamma 0.46) and a more modest, but positive relationship to practice relevance in Kenya (Gamma 0.27). Taking only the two extreme categories, less relevant and more relevant, Table 5.4 below shows that whereas none of the certificate holders in the Tanzania sample and only 10 percent of that of Kenya took the more relevant approach, the percentage of practitioners who were located in relevance at that level, i.e., "more," as the level of education advanced from certificate to diploma to degree. This does not mean that the professional practitioner trained at the certificate level is more likely than the degree holder to adopt only narrower strategies. The proportion of certificate level respondents located at the middle range is larger than either the diploma or degree holders in both samples. Rather, as shown in the table, higher levels of education appear to increase the proportion of practitioners overall who do more relevant things.

Table 5.4

Degree of Relevance Perceived by Level of Education

	Tanzania			Kenya		
	Certificate	Diploma	Degree	Certificate	Diploma	Degree
	%			%		
Less	11	8	20	17	16	0
More or	89	66	40	73	53	3
Less						
More	0	26	40	10	31	0
N=	(9)	(39)	(5)	(77)	(19)	(3)

(Note the small number of degree holders in both groups). One would expect this higher degree of relevance to be a function of a particular content in educating for practice--a proposition to be pursued later in detail.

There is only a negative association with the type of organisation employing professionals for the Kenya practitioner sample (Gamma -0.07), and only modest, though positive gammas for the other administrators and practitioners: KA = 0.23 ; TA = 0.35 ; TP = 0.22 . This is expected since the practitioners, in particular, in dealing with this type of problem function in the people's setting rather than exclusively in the bureaucratic milieu. I will suggest later that this potentially expands his leeway to pursue his/her professional goals. These findings, moreover, suggest that although the administrative structure encompassing programmes and deployment as well as administrative direction) is important, it is less likely to shape what practitioners do with the problem of resistance than does the education they get.

It can be argued that the nature of that problem lends itself to an approach necessitating a concern with the larger community and with groups and, therefore, it does not provide an adequate test of the theory propounded, i.e., could the problem be dealt with on an individualised basis? But would practitioners as well as administrators and educators be equally inclined

What are the implications of this finding?

What are the implications of this finding?

to go beyond the individualised approach where there are perceived obstacles to professional involvement? Population/family planning is an especially interesting problem for this research because of the opportunity it provides to see how professionals face such a dilemma. Unlike the problem just discussed, patterns of structures and roles are just evolving. To determine the relative importance of the factors that affect professional perceptions and the approaches to this new field, all respondents as with the previous problem, were asked to discuss its handling.

Case-Problem III: Population and Family Planning

What should the social worker do to help families when government permits activity of the Family Planning Association but does not itself have a national policy or programme?

Let me first identify what were the important questions posed for the social work profession (at the time of the study).

Despite the heightened interest from the 1950's, particularly of some of the developed nations, in the rapidly rising population of the Third World, and despite massive support for family planning activity, not all African governments perceived a rapid increase in population as problematic and the major impediment to economic and social development. Tanzania and Zambia, in the face of extensive arable land resources, have given quite different interpretations of their population problem and have been more hesitant in programmes of family planning

than has Kenya.¹⁶ Although by the time of the research all three governments had actually introduced population and family planning policies, the mixed reactions voiced by government spokesmen tended to cloud the issue of the extent of official and political endorsement of family planning activity. The "problem" was further aggravated by cultural sensitivities surrounding child birth, children, marriage and property, attitudes about sex, etc.

By the end of the 1970's, family planning had become an important theme in curricula of schools of social work, particularly in Asia, and to a lesser degree in Latin America and Africa through the activity of such bodies as the International Association of Schools of Social Work and the Association for Social Work Education in Africa.¹⁷ When this data was gathered, social work professionals were executive directors of the Family Planning Associations of Kenya and Tanzania; and one had been a founder and first chairman in Zambia. Nevertheless, the conflicting viewpoints held suggest that considerable ambivalence as well as strong sensitivity exist among professionals about this field. Comments of some informants suffice to highlight this point.

In Kenya: "The worker must be prepared to provide answers and services." But, "the worker cannot introduce family planning independent of other development factors."

In Tanzania: "A worker who wants to work will find that he is not against the policy. Ujamaa is part of the

government's population policy." But, "Government has said that we need family planning, yet resources are not enough. I feel that this implies a lack of full government backing. Therefore the social worker can't do much."

In Zambia: "The worker should not go far ahead of public opinion, but yet should inform clients of services."

The issue raised in the light of such ambivalence is this: to what extent should the professional involve himself in such controversial field, and if at all, with what aims and approach?

Although the response pattern to this second problem varies from one category to the next, there are, as Table 5.5 below shows, some important emphases which the respondents of both samples identify. Most of the respondents see a direct participatory role for social workers, chiefly of education about family planning. However, the educators of Tanzania, more than any other group, perceived that referrals were the most appropriate strategy. It is probable that some social work professionals see education as a preliminary step to making a referral to clinics, an action which surprisingly few professionals say that they take--surprising in light of the actual possibilities existing in both countries.

Table 5.5

<u>Case-Problem III:</u>							
<u>Population and Family Planning Assistance</u>							
Approaches	Tanzania			Kenya			E
	%			%			
	P	A	E	P	A	E	
Educate the Couple							
Let families decide	25	2	-	25	3	-	
Explain the benefits, aims, services							
Referrals	2	18	47	3	27	27	
Refer clients to clinics							
Persuade							
Educate Community	19	52	47	22	27	13	
Work with FP agencies							
Work through families, community leaders, community activities							
Educate Governments	4	18	6	7	13	27	
Recommend policies, services							
Exert Pressure to Get More Policies, Programmes	7	5	-	14	30	33	
Miscellaneous	-	4	-	-	-	-	
Do Not Handle	43	2	-	29	-	-	
N =	(67)	(42)	(15)	(122)	(37)	(15)	

Tanzania, Zambia and Kenya all have a network of clinics operated in conjunction with governmental maternal and child health services and as aspects of programmes of the family planning associations. On the other hand, the high percentage of respondents urging an educating role may be explained more by how family planning is defined. One informant stated: "Some

people say that you should get as few children as possible. (I say you) should insist on bringing up happy families and how to raise them." With this latter position, educating might then be little more than "common sense" advice given in the course of other duties. Support for such interpretation exists by the response in choice of alternative actions (see Appendix E(b)). As many as 20 percent of the educators of Tanzania and Zambia, and as high as 10 percent of all administrators and practitioners thought that the subject "should not be mentioned at all unless asked." A small percentage of practitioners say that "nothing should be done unless one is employed in family planning."

But what the respondents see as an appropriate strategy beyond the individual couple lends support, rather, to a conscious participatory role more than to a casual ad hoc involvement. Table 5.5 indicates that as much as 47 percent of all educators and 52 percent of the administrators of the Tanzanian sample advocate a practice role at the community level. Twenty-three percent--an important proportion of administrators--urge engagement through education and pressure at the level of government to bring about institutional and structural change. This latter position is even more strongly represented in the Kenya sample, i.e., 13 and 30 percent, respectively, for administrators and 27 and 33 percent for educators.

This may suggest that the Kenyan professional not only has resolved any cultural and political conflict that may exist about the subject, but that he/she is more ready than the Tanzanian to confront the prevailing establishment to bring about change. Data to be presented in the next chapter intimate that in fact the Tanzanian social work professional has a potentially greater likelihood of doing so, since he/she has more extensive dealings with the political arena than does his/her Kenyan counterpart.

The differences between the two groups of respondents shown in Table 5.5, therefore, more likely reflect the level of development of services and opportunity. Apart from direct involvement with individuals and families about family planning, the activity of a family planning association provides the major, if not the only, point of entry for social work professionals in Tanzania. The several possibilities in Kenya exist because of the greater variety of programmes for which social work expertise fits in, such as counseling and educating (on nutrition, sex education, etc.); employment opportunities through the government and voluntary agencies; and by initiation and direct operation of services by the ministry responsible for social services--for example, the running of family life training centres in which family planning promotion is an important activity.¹³

The data do not clarify sufficiently why such a large percentage of practitioners of both samples do not handle the problem at all. A combination of factors are expected to be influencing professional decisions--e.g., the cultural and political constraints alluded to above--for which this research is not designed to separate the individual components. For whereas nearly one-half of the Tanzanian respondents say they do not handle this type of problem, a surprisingly high proportion of Kenyans, despite the opportunities just listed, also say the same. Some clues are given, not only by the response of administrators, but also in the patterns of agreement. That both administrators and educators in both countries highly endorse a practice response to this field, suggests that there is a basic congruence with this programme policy and the ideological thrust of the context of humanism, African socialism and ujamaa--to which these two categories, I have argued, are highly sensitive. In Tanzania these two show a coefficient $W = .71$ as to what should be done. For the practitioners with the administrator it is $W = .64$. However, the extent of agreement between educators and practitioners is quite low, there being a coefficient of $W = .27$. In Kenya, administrators also show a close agreement with practitioners, having a coefficient of $W = .63$, but only a $W = .35$ with educators. In both instances, the patterns imply the type of support (especially in terms of such resources as policy

*Basic analysis
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guidelines, staff time for interventions, etc.) that would commit the specific administration to this field. The failure of such a large proportion (see Table 5.1) of the practitioners to handle the problem at all, therefore, in part reflects an inadequate perception of the degree of sanction that already exists in their organisation, vis-a-vis their administrators. On the other hand, as seen below in Table 5.6, only 6, 9, and 11 percent of the respondents in the total country samples thought that family planning is an appropriate role for social workers. The administrators, like their contexts, may themselves have but an uncertain commitment to the development of people through this somewhat controversial service.

By grouping the data to show the goals in view, it is again apparent that the implicit criteria or reasons for actions are that such "addresses the context," i.e., that it touches the larger society, if not in its entirety as my definition requires, then at least in part. This tendency is also consistent with my direction observed above with respect to the problem of resistance to change. Only in the reasons given by Zambia respondents are the more individualised services first in rank. Such criteria for action fall into second place in both Tanzania and Kenya. Two reasons may be given for this difference. As already noted, social welfare personnel in Zambia have no real access to groups and communities.

Table 5.6

Reasons: "Inform Through Social Welfare Activities" or "Encourage Government Support"

Reason	Example	Zambia		Tanzania		Kenya	
		Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
Perception of Context:							
Spread of information	"Information could reach more people."	2	28	1	48	1	40
Local culture	"People would be given a chance to act in harmony with their own traditions."						
Prevention of problems	"They could understand the problems." "Further problems would be avoided."						
Development of communities	"This programme develops/benefits the whole nation." * * *						
Perception of people's development:							
Benefits	"The welfare of individuals and families is improved."	1	40	2	23	2	33
Involvement	"To encourage voluntary and effective participation of citizens." * * *						
Perception of structural impact							
Provides sanctions	"Social work participation is permitted."						
Exercise of governmental responsibility	"This would lead to people putting pressure on the government to provide services and policies." * * *	3	26	3	18	3	16
Resources	"Government would provide facilities." * * *						
Perception of SW role:							
Social Work activity	"This is part of the duty of social worker."	4	6	4	9	4	11
Team work	"This programme enables work in cooperation with others in the field."						
Other		--	--	5	2	--	--
N			(90)		(115)		(140)

(Sixty-eight percent [N=279] of the respondents chose "Inform..." Fifteen percent (N=62) selected "Encourage..." Seventeen percent (N=70) picked one of three remaining alternatives. One respondent [N=412] did not answer.)

Whereas the community development programme is geared toward the masses in Zambia, it is not by policy integrated with health programmes--the locus there of most family planning activity. Thus, most social work professionals would likely introduce the subject chiefly at the individual or family level.

The conclusion that the orientation implied by the reasons given is toward a broad approach in practice is supported by the findings that most actions fall into the "More or Less," or the "More" categories, as shown in the summary, Table 5.7.

Table 5.7

Population and Family Planning
Degree of Relevance by Respondents*

	Tanzania			Kenya		
	P	A	E	P	A	E
	%			%		
Less	46	21	47	39	30	27
More or Less	33	55	47	31	27	13
More	21	24	6	30	43	60
N=	(39)	(42)	(15)	(87)	(37)	(15)

*Do not handle, miscellaneous, and no answers are excluded.

On the other hand, practitioners mostly intervened at individual or family levels, if they dealt with the problem, and educators in Tanzania strongly endorsed this approach, showing the highest percentage of "less relevant" response. Having suggested what may account for Tanzanian professional's not handling the problem--particularly given the dearth of possibilities

and obstacles to doing so--I do not argue at the same time that he is thus not being relevant in his situation. The question again rather is whether the larger society has rightly grasped the nature of the problem and is adequately geared to its solution. Therefore, by combining the last two degrees in Table 5.7, one sees what professionals say that they do do, or think should be done when they can intervene at all.

Confirming my general proposition that practitioners would be "less relevant" overall, Table 5.7 also shows that indeed administrators in both samples advocated notions slightly more congruent with my definition, and that educators of Kenya show this trend even more clearly. My hypothesis further assumed that a narrow focus would be the function principally of a limiting bureaucracy. However, I find that the administrative variable is positively associated with the approach to family planning only in the response of Tanzanian administrators and practitioners--and that very little (i.e., Gamma 0.08 and 0.16 respectively).

Instead, there is once more a more definite, though modest, relationship with education levels in both the Tanzania and Kenyan practitioner samples (Gammas 0.26 and 0.30, respectively). This relationship is only slight though for administrators of the two respective samples (Gammas TA -0.13 and KA 0.18), and even negative for Kenyan educators (Gamma -0.52)

but positive for those of Tanzania (Gamma 0.25). Although education is obviously not the decisive factor in the roles prescribed by administrators and educators, their heavy endorsement of professional involvement in this service presumably gives leeway for some level of practice in this area, as well as for the possible inclusion of family planning in curricula for social work education.

The impact of sex on the degree of relevance of action is more pronounced still, though here, too, the relationship is modest. Upon comparing the degrees of relevance shown by males and females in the Kenya sample, one finds that apart from practitioners, the response of women is "more relevant" than that of men. This is not the case of Tanzanian respondents except for female administrators, as Table 5.8 below shows--43 percent of whom could be classified as "more relevant," while only 16 percent of the male respondents could be. Reference was made above to the fact that the Kenya women are in positions of increased responsibility in government and voluntary service agencies through which they can promote policies and programmes seen to be in the interest of women. In addition to this greater opportunity in Kenya, the proportion of females in the administrator and educator samples nearly equals that of males; there are much fewer in both categories in Tanzania. This would reduce the influence the women could have on promoting and pressuring the

Tanzanian government for similar services. Thus, while the profession nevertheless does address this problem--with the administrators and educators suggesting slightly more relevant things than practitioners say they do--what is adopted in each context is more significantly related to the sex of the professional as Table 5.8 indicates.

Table 5.8

Degrees of Relevance by Sex*

	Tanzania						Kenya					
	P		A		E		P		A		E	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	%		%		%		%		%		%	
Less	30	15	22	14	46	50	23	32	29	31	29	25
More/Less	22	8	54	43	46	50	27	18	47	0	29	25
More	13	7	16	43	8	0	25	17	24	69	42	50
N =	(54)	(13)	(37)	(7)	(13)	(2)	(60)	(62)	(21)	(16)	(7)	(8)
Gamma	0.54		0.28		0.14		0.02		0.25		0.08	

*Do not handle, miscellaneous, and no answer are excluded. However, the percentage is calculated on the basis of all responses in each category.

This notwithstanding, the female administrator response in Tanzania, and conversely, the "less relevant": approaches of the female as well as male practitioners, suggest the hypothesis that the degree of relevance in this service area is a function of a facilitating context if not the administration. The possibility that neither Tanzania nor Kenya adequately provides such context probably explains why few male respondents with the exception of the educator in Kenya could be classified as "more

relevant." Moreover, in African cultures in general there is a reluctance to discuss matters of human reproduction with persons of the opposite sex where no kinship ties exist. If these hypotheses are correct, then female respondents would intervene to a lesser extent (69 and 32 percent do not handle the problem at all in Tanzania and Kenya, respectively), and less relevantly as results in Table 5.8 show. Despite their positions and numbers of males, their response, too, suggest the effect of lack of opportunity and/or of the culture to participate more extensively and relevantly in this field.

Now to examine responses where no such controversy exists about professional involvement as above, I consider lastly the problem of destitution.

Case-Problem VI: Destitute Mother with Children:

A mother separated from her husband and having a primary standard of education, but without a steady job, comes to the office of the social worker in the urban area asking for assistance for herself and children.

This is a classical social work situation where need is felt strongly at the individual and/or family level. Such poor women become the "cases" of social workers, particularly of practice in urban areas. The professional practitioner can be seen to be doing social work through the interviewing, home visits, paying of school fees, handing out used clothing and food parcels, etc., to such needy mothers. Yet, a requirement of the definition of relevance employed in this research is that

the approaches adopted contribute to satisfying needs in a more fundamental, permanent way. Implicit in the discussions in Chapters One and Two is the belief that the individual case of poverty has ramifications for, and is a reflection of, a range of other conditions within the larger society. Rapid urbanisation in particular in the African context has had a consequence of putting pressure on the family group, leading to economic as well as social problems--and even to the dissolution of the family. Social workers in the three countries speak about seeing an "increased" number of such "cases," the problems brought mostly by the woman.¹⁹ The issue is whether a basically helping role typified by the individualised approaches just described, is what social work ought to be about in Africa, considering the resources that would be needed against those that, in situations of underdevelopment, can be expected to be placed at the disposal of the profession. Or, are larger problems and goals already being tackled and achieved despite a continued concern of many professionals at the individual and family level?

While actions to bring about reconciliation, and thus an apparent individualised service approach, is adopted by respondents in both Tanzania and Kenya, as Table 5.9 below reveals, practitioners recommend this approach to a lesser extent than do their administrators.

Table 5.9

		<u>Case Problem VI:</u>					
		<u>Ways to Approach Assistance Needs of Destitute</u>					
		<u>Mothers with Children</u>					
		Tanzania			Kenya		
Approaches		P	A	E	P	A	E
		%			%		
Reconciliation		5	25	13	10	14	--
	Advise going back to husband before other actions taken						
	Plan action with two seen together						
Less							
	Interview and Assist	18	13	13	44	32	14
	Marriage counseling and/or funds, job						
	Refer to other agency						
	* * *						
	Traditional resources	36	40	47	34	46	86
	Alert kinship						
More or less	Encourage self-help, work withincome generating women's groups to help such mothers						
	Involve village elders						
	* * *						
	Rural life						
	Improve rural standards of living						
More	Encourage village development						
	* * *						
	Miscellaneous	--	--	7	--	--	--
	Do not handle	29	--	--	10	--	--
N =		(66)	(45)	(15)	(121)	(37)	(14)

Programmes of government and voluntary organisations provide services to destitute families which involve some form of counseling. However, this type of assistance is non-statutory, i.e., the advice and direction given are not legally binding--

there is no way that the professional can compel compliance. This notwithstanding, 25 percent of Tanzania's administrators advocate reconciliation. When one considers that 82 percent of the administrators are male and that, traditionally, women in many tribal groupings do not have the right of independent existence once the woman is married--if they are not regarded as the man's property--it is probable that administrators are more strongly influenced by the cultural bias. For then, the relevant "professional" response is to recognize this as the starting point in intervention. As is seen in Appendix E (c), 53 percent of Tanzanian administrators suggest that the husband first be called in as the means to solving this problem.

It appears that Kenyans to a greater degree than Tanzanians, however, are prepared to enter a relationship with the mother on the basis of her statement of need only. The willingness on the part of Kenyans to be involved in reconciliation and assistance is, it can be assumed, undergirded by attitudes that support greater independence for such women and recognition of their existence apart from their husbands. This is done, one respondent declared, because "the mothers should be made to accept the situation that they are separated and have children to bring up. The social worker needs to give her confidence in herself." This individualisation is reflected by the two approaches, "reconciliation" and "interview and assist," which 54

percent of the Kenyan practitioners indicated to be the actions appropriate to their situation, whereas only 23 percent of the Tanzanian practitioners say that they respond in such ways.

The two countries differ in terms of structures for material assistance. The Kenyan government provides a maintenance programme which, through public assistance, known as "relief of distress," regular payments can be made for destitutes anywhere in the country.²¹ An individualised practice approach is thus facilitated rather than eliminated.

The alternative to the individual counseling/assistance approach is to deal with the problem in the context of the wider community. A strong orientation toward seeking familial/com-munal assistance to handle problems of this kind is shown by the response rate in Table 5.9 where from 34 to 86 percent of all respondents say that traditional resources which draw both on the kinship system and village leadership are useful approaches. Once again Tanzanian administrators and educators are more closely agreed on approaches to this problem, with coefficients of $W = .65$ against $W = .61$ with practitioners. Such an approach is in keeping with the "self-reliance" doctrine of the state in Tanzania. The fact that 29 percent of the practitioners say that they "do not handle" this matter at all could be explained, if, indeed, reasons stated by informants are to be taken as reflecting the real situation. Firstly, they say that under

ujamaa policy, Ten (10) Cell groups actually do intervene at the village level whenever this problem is identified. Before a mother can approach professionals in governmental offices, she must have first approached village leaders who, having examined the causes of her difficulties, will then authorise her to take this additional step. Thus, few cases may actually ever reach practitioners because of the use of this network and the traditional resources found within the rural area. Indeed, one informant in a church agency suggests that only unwed mothers are normally seen.²¹

Results in Kenya suggest that the tendency there, too, is to integrate the individual more securely with social, if not kinship, relationships, and to find solutions in the broader context, or at best, to avoid those actions of professionals that further estrange her from the traditional resources.

The similarity shown between all categories may be accounted for by the presence of and services received in both Tanzania and Kenya through mass organisations for women--the UWT and Maendeleo ya Wanawake, respectively. By 1979 more than 5,000 of such women's groups were in existence in Kenya. The programme aims were to take village technology to women in their home environments. "Keeping in line with ongoing policy, women's groups are systematically instructed to embark on activities which would make life easier and improve the standard of living

through income generating activities,"²² one informant reported. Another remarked: "Since we have introduced this method, i.e., women income generating groups, we are receiving less cases. Increasingly, the relief funds available are used to help women as a group to be self developing."²³ Thus, reliance on traditional resources though in fact an official social policy approach to women in general, constitutes a facet of social work practice as well in both countries.

While practitioners of Kenya more than those of the Tanzanian sample say that they handle the problem, a specific rural emphasis is less evident despite the fact that use of traditional resources as suggested implies engagement with the rural community. No more than 10 percent of the total Kenyan sample point to a strategy of intervention that could significantly affect rural conditions. One can only speculate in the case of Tanzania where the proportion who say that the concern is with rural development is substantially higher. Without further data, it is not certain whether the professionals do actually further the capacities of village leaders and communities to assist and to find permanent solutions with this type of problem, given the earlier discussed hiatus potentially existing between the extension bureaucrat and the peasant. The respondents in neither sample, then, clearly indicate an approach that guarantees the building of new institutions or that radically

changes structures affecting the problem of destitution.

This conclusion finds further support in the alternatives selected and reasons given. Table 5.10 below shows that from 30 to 53 percent of all professionals advocate reconciliation on grounds of the traditional and cultural pattern of relationship. An analysis of other reasons given for the two alternatives chosen by the majority of respondents show, however, that African professionals have in view the goals of "getting at root causes," "finding permanent solutions," and linking people with governments who "have resources"--goals congruent with the definition of relevance that requires ways that meet needs fundamentally. But that professional actions do not fulfill such expectations may be the function of continually constringing administrative structures. This is intimated by respondents, where only as much as 10 percent in all three categories see governments as holding the solution to the problems of destitution! That the reason of potential support through "governmental resources" and/or "actions with the people" is not ranked higher by Kenyans is of particular importance in light of the structures for assistance, i.e., relief funds and promotion of income generation through women's groups. One would have expected professionals of the Kenyan sample to recommend an expansion of such arrangements. Such action is implicit in the response of a much larger proportion of Zambians and Tanzanians

Table 5.10

Reasons: "Investigate" and "Call in Husband"

Reason	Example	Zambia		Tanzania		Kenya	
		Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
Understanding total problem:	"You can't listen to one complaint only to make a judgement."	2	27	1	29	1	46
Root causes	"This type of problem may affect many other women. We need to be aware of what causes it."						
						
Reconciliation:							
Traditional response	"Traditionally and culturally father has a responsibility."	1	53	2	36	2	30
Family-Life	"The family should stay together."						
						
Permanent solutions:	"These are common problems which need long-term solving methods."	3	11	3	15	3	23
	"Investigation will help to prevent occurrences."						
						
Structures:							
Resources	"The woman must be helped to help herself." "Government has the resources."	4	8	4	10	4	1
Cooperation	"Only government working with the people can solve this type."						
N =		(84)		(96)		(120)	

(Twenty-eight percent (N=115) chose "Investigate how common the problem," while 46 percent (N=190) selected "Call in the husband." Twenty-two percent (N=89) picked 1 of 3 remaining alternatives. Four percent (N=18) did not handle or did not answer. Three percent of those answering gave no reason. See Appendix E (c) for distribution by categories.)

who presumably perceive a wider governmental responsibility in this area. It is to be recalled that under African socialism, the network of private relationships--including voluntary agencies--have a "mutual responsibility," with the government providing resources only where the network fails. This tenet could possibly function to dissuade professionals within governmental administration, in particular, from demanding more visible, institutionalised or financially substantial intervention on behalf of this group of the poor. In advocating community related activity, the profession in Kenya as well as in Zambia and Tanzania is addressing itself to the problem in a way least likely to meet with opposition of a potentially critical, ruling national leadership.

Table 5.11

Destitute Mother with Children:
Degree of Relevance by Respondent*

	Tanzania			Kenya		
	P	A	E	P	A	E
	%			%		
Less	32	38	29	60	48	14
More or Less	51	40	50	38	44	86
More	17	22	21	2	8	-
N -	(47)	(45)	(14)	(109)	(36)	(14)

*Do not handle, miscellaneous, and no answers are excluded.

Now, locating professionals on the "more" and "less: relevant scale, one observes in Table 5.11 that very few Kenyan practitioners (2 percent) and no educator respondents can be

classified as "more relevant." Moreover, as earlier hypothesised, practitioner approaches at each degree of relevance are less broad than anticipated by administrators and educators. Although the majority in all but Kenyan practitioner and administrator responses can be located in the "more or less relevant range," I have suggested above that what professionals do indicates that a greater demand is made on the traditional structures for increased support in cases of destitution than is made on governmental structures for change of conditions making such requests necessary. Kenyan practitioners stand out particularly, showing that 60 percent of all respondents apply a narrow intervention strategy to this situation. Access to an embryonic "public assistance" or relief programme, and the perception that a basically counseling/therapeutic role is appropriate here--a view shared more by administrators (48 percent) than educators (14 percent)--may be the forces constraining the practitioners to a practice reflecting a lower degree of relevance.

Indeed, of the several background and professional variables examined, only the type of organisation in which practice takes place shows a strong relationship to the degree of relevance of approach. This is notably so for Tanzania's administrators (Gamma 0.70) and practitioners (Gamma 0.40), but strongly negative for its educators (Gamma -0.89). There is less, though still positive, relationship for Kenyan administrators

(Gamma 0.23) and practitioners (Gamma 0.07), although, again, it is negative for educators (Gamma -0.25).

Table 5.12

Degree of Relevance of Approach by Organisation*

Tanzania	Practitioners		Administrators		Educators	
	Vol.	Govern.	Vol.	Govern.	Univ.	Gov.
	%		%		%	
Less	100	29	20	40	50	21
More or Less	-	53	80	35	50	43
More	-	18	0	25	0	21
N =	(2)	(45)	(5)	(40)	(2)	(12)
t sign =	-----		.85*			
Kenya						
Less	63	52	62	43	-	18
More or Less	29	37	38	46	100	78
More	8	11	0	11	-	-
N =	(24)	(89)	(8)	(28)	(3)	(11)
t sign =	----- .0005		----- .0005			

* For Tanzania, student's t-tests were carried out between administrator and practitioner respondents in government organisations only because of sample sizes in the voluntary agencies.

However, examining how professionals have responded in light of their settings, Table 5.12 shows that in Kenya where a larger number of professionals are to be found in the voluntary sector, practice tends to be slightly more positively broad in governmental than in voluntary organisations. Of the few Tanzanian professionals in that sector, none classifies as doing "more relevant" actions, whereas from 18 to 25 percent of those

working in government administrations do. Considering the potential of the voluntary agency to be more "open" than large governmental bureaucracies, to a "professional" as opposed to an "organisational" orientation, this finding is rather remarkable. This result can be accounted for, though, by the trend of the voluntary social agencies in the African context to provide a mostly urban service to categories of such "victims" as orphans, the handicapped, the aged poor, etc., who require individualised attention.

A comparison of the results of means tests reveal that the relationships between the degree of relevance of approach and the type of organisation is also statistically significant for the Kenyan respondents of the administrator and practitioner samples. A similar comparison of Tanzanian administrators and practitioners within government structures, there being only two respondents in the voluntary sector, showed no statistical importance, however. In other words, in Kenya at least, it is much more likely that administrations of governmental organisations will facilitate more relevant professional interventions than will those of voluntary agencies. In the previous chapter I concluded from the data profiling professionals that in fact professional practitioners in Kenya did not direct the affairs of such agencies to a degree commensurate with that for Tanzanian respondents.

Further, the difference in response between administrators and practitioners and within the same administrative framework of practice is found to be statistically significant at the $t = .0005$ level. Whether in the voluntary or governmental bodies, practitioners respond less relevantly, raising a question to be pursued in Chapter Six as to whether being in the specific type of organisation is perhaps less important than some other variable still, such as the degree and substance of contact of the two categories of professionals. The strength of the relationship of these two variables does suggest as has been assumed that practice approaches are geared at best to containing the situation, i.e., tending to solve the problem in such a manner that in no significant way changes the status quo of the practice organisations. Administrators responses' showing more positive approaches on the whole is expected if, as Mutiso found, national policy leaders in Kenya adopt the rationale for broad-based actions, but not necessarily the strategies for implementing these--especially not through social welfare and community development programmes.

People's Contributions to Practice

Finally, it is assumed that certain facets of the wider environment of practice have a bearing on and possibly influences the degree of relevance in the approaches taken. In particular, I wanted to ascertain whether there are important

differences between professionals with respect to this dimension and the extent to which people's involvement is seen to be a factor of much importance to their work. Responses to all the three problems analysed above have just shown that social work professionals say that much of their activity is at the group to whole community level. And, in fact, the definition being used presupposes substantial involvement with people. For this provides channels for them to alert professionals to their own conception of their problems and needs. Feedback as well as guidelines for a reality based, relevant practice could flow from such contacts.

The administrator and practitioner respondents in Tanzania and Kenya were asked to indicate the type and extent of involvement of the people seen as necessary to their practice. Four differing situations were presented (see Appendix B, Q 10), and the respondents were asked to indicate for each the degree of contact that is typical for them. The three situations analysed include sanctioning of professional actions by laws which tend to preclude further immediate involvement of people, the participation of local leaders in decision-making with respect to goals and the strategies to be followed, and the participation of people at large through outputs, termed "resources."

Table 5.13

Degree of Involvement of Local People in Practice

Involvement	Tanzania		Kenya	
	P	A	P	A
	%		%	
Activities set by law				
To great extent	35.3	23.3	36.1	32.4
Some	18.5	11.6	22.7	27.0
Very little	27.7	37.2	23.7	24.3
None	18.5	27.9	17.5	16.2
N =	(65)	(43)	(97)	(36)
\bar{X} =	2.70	2.30	2.77	2.75
Decisions on work made with local leaders				
To great extent	30.3	35.6	40.2	24.3
Some	27.7	35.6	30.4	43.2
Very little	18.6	15.6	22.5	24.3
None	23.4	13.3	6.9	8.1
N =	(64)	(45)	(102)	(37)
\bar{X} =	2.656	2.933	3.03	2.838
Peoples' contributions essential				
To great extent	56.7	60	68.2	58.3
Some	14.9	20	20.6	27.8
Very little	19.4	10.0	8.4	-
None	9.0	10.0	2.8	13.9
N =	(67)	(40)	(107)	(36)
\bar{X} =	3.19	3.30	3.54	3.30

No outstanding variation in response pattern across the two countries occur as Table 5.13 shows. Those who describe the people's involvement as "some" and "to a great extent" in each situation represent from 54 to 89 percent, with the exception of

the administrators in the Tanzanian sample with respect to "laws," which exclude a more direct contribution. Here, only 35 percent of the administrators, compared to 54 percent of the practitioner sample see involvement in the same way.

The difference would be accounted for by the lack of awareness by some administrators of the details of practice--a possibility already noted in Chapter Four.

The similarity of views shown between Tanzanian practitioner respondents with those of the two Kenyan samples about the effect of laws--59 percent in both categories, can be explained by the fact that the Kenyan administrator sample more than that for Tanzania hold social welfare community development positions and work with the practitioners of the sample in the same or in related organisations. They would then be familiar with the prevalence of and/or utilise the laws governing social services, such as the statutory provisions for child welfare, juvenile crime and delinquency, etc. Such laws, though inherited from a colonial administration, are still being enforced in the three countries.²⁵ A perception of the need for the "people's contributions" could spring from the considerable ujamaa and harambee, or self-help activity, explaining why from 71 to 89 percent of all practitioners and administrators say that people were involved from "some" to "a great extent."

Despite the high level of agreement, the fact that almost

without exception the mean values shown on the table increase gradually as the level of involvement demanded gets higher, i.e., from laws, to local-leader decisions, to large-scale participation--reflects, nevertheless, increasing apprehension among professionals about this dimension of practice. Interestingly, the mean value increase, although not uniformly, is greater for the Kenyan respondents than those of Tanzania. The difference may lie in the degree of stress that is placed on people's involvement. Tanzania seeks to make this operative at all levels of decision-making and development and attempts to structure such participation, notably through the political party, CCM, and through mass organisations. Kenya provides a more non-political framework for such involvement, as I have pointed out in Chapter Two, and thus professionals have less certain guidelines from the national leadership as to what level and type of involvement is sanctioned.

When using people's involvement as a measure of relevance in approach and examining its application with respect to Case Problem VI, the destitute mother with children, for "local leaders" and "people contributions" only, one sees in Table 5.14, that in the Tanzanian sample, a higher percentage of respondents fall into the "more or less" and "more" categories of relevance where local leaders are concerned, than do the Kenyans. Receptivity of the professionals to the views of this group is

in keeping with Tanzanian socialist policy which aims for an input from the grassroots upward.

Table 5.14

Degree of Relevance of Approach as a Function of:

Relevance	Tanzania				Kenya			
	extent of involvement with local leaders;							
	Great P	Other %	Great A	Other	Great P	Other %	Great A	Other
Less	57	23	33	43	69	54	50	46
More or less	36	54	33	39	31	44	30	50
More	7	23	33	18	0	2	20	4
N =	(14)	(31)	(15)	(28)	(36)	(54)	(10)	(26)
	extent of people's contribution							
Less	34	29	32	44	60	56	50	43
More or less	45	59	41	37	38	41	50	43
More	21	12	27	19	2	3	0	14
N =	(29)	(17)	(22)	(16)	(63)	(32)	(14)	(21)

* This questions was not asked in Zambia. The percentages differ with Table 13 because not all respondents handled the problem, nor ticked this item on the questionnaire. The categories, 'Some', 'Very Little', and 'None' of Table 5.13 are combined in the category 'Other' in Table 5.14.

Whereas the variables, "leader's" and "people's contribution," make no appreciable impact on the degree of relevance of the Tanzania respondents (Gammas TA = -0.09, -0.0: TP = -0.27, -0.11), there is a rather strong association between the "leaders" and "peoples" variables (Gammas 0.26 and 0.63, respectively) and the approaches of the Kenyan administrator

respondents, whereas the association is slightly negative (Gammas -0.08 and -0.10 , respectively) for the practitioners. These results suggest that professional practitioners could alter the direction of practice as a consequence of people's involvement, but only as the administrator, and not the people, urge such action and give full support. The fact that the practitioner response does not reflect a high degree of relevance, despite their relatively high degree of engagement reported in Table 5.13, suggests that such support has not been forthcoming.

Levels of Practice

With that possibility in mind, the final table of this chapter shows important variations in perception as to where emphasis in practice is (now) needed in order to increase the relevance, and thus the impact, of the profession.

In light of the comments of social work experts, such as Aida Gindy, which were set out in the theoretical presentation, and in view of the stress put in national policies on the development of rural communities--the area usually designated, the "grassroots"--that all social work professionals see a need for a greater emphasis at that level is in keeping with a widely declared trend.

Table 5.15

Levels of Practice Perceived as Requiring More Emphasis*

Levels	Zambia %	Tanzania %	Kenya %
Grassroots	52		
Enough being done		3	7
Little more needed		10	14
Great deal more		87	79
N =		(127)	(165)
Intermediate	30		
Enough being done		19	11
Little more needed		52	60
Great deal more		29	29
N =		(124)	(150)
Highest level	18		
Enough being done		23	18
Little more needed		34	18
Great deal more		43	64
N =	(100)	(122)	(154)

* Zambians were asked to indicate only the "most required" emphasis. All respondents were requested to answer this question. Totals show the country response.

Thus, in Tanzania, the least urbanised of the three countries, 87 percent of all respondents (see Table 5.15 above) felt that a great deal more attention should be given at the lowest level, and this would correspond to the intention of that government to further deploy social work professionals to the districts and villages. Seventy-nine (79) and 52 percent of the Kenyan and Zambian respondents, respectively, expressed a similar viewpoint.

Only "a little more" rather than "a great deal more" is seen to be needed by a majority of Kenyan and Tanzanian

professionals. Thirty percent of the Zambians think that more is required at the intermediate or middle level of practice. This is a result of educational programmes, especially in Zambia and Tanzania, that have geared training toward preparing for supervisory and administrative posts at the middle and higher levels. University level training in Zambia has meant that social work professionals could not only obtain positions at these levels in the social service field, but in the non-human service organisations as well. The higher proportion of Kenyan respondents, 60 percent compared with 52 percent in Tanzania, is probably a reflection of the lower level of the initial social work education and of its purposes, i.e., a direct service role. The fact that professional education has been available for a much longer period inside Kenya (since 1962) than in Tanzania (1975) leads to the expectation that the needs of the middle level would have been more adequately met than is shown by the figures. That it is not suggests the hypothesis that where practitioners in Africa are specially geared toward undertaking individualised services, the move to the intermediate levels of practice is likely to be retarded as well.

The consequences would be the same at the highest, or directional, level. The table reveals a significant difference between Zambian and Tanzanian respondents with Kenyans with respect to the requirement for the top positions, i.e.,

administrators. Whereas 64 percent of the Kenyans say that "a great deal more" emphasis needs to be put there, only 43 and 18 percent of the Tanzanians and Zambians, respectively, take that view. This, in essence, means having the professionally qualified social worker hold directional responsibilities for practice, and thereby to increase the possibility that the orientation of administrators and practitioners toward practice will be more nearly the same. In Zambia and Tanzania the trend is to use administrators who come from the ranks of professionals because of the training emphases as mentioned. In Kenya the administrator educational backgrounds are more diverse, as indicated in Chapter Four, and the professional administrator roles tend to be more dichotomised. Thus, in effect, Kenyans, more than the other respondents perceive that for a more relevant professional response there must be change at the top.

Conclusions

In this chapter it has been shown that in the approaches professionals have taken to problems presented in African contexts, there is a greater degree of activity that can be classified as "more or less relevant" than at either of the two extremes. Thus, while the trend is away from narrow, individualised activity, there is nevertheless an absence of a decidedly broad trend in practice.

It was also shown that while variations in the personal background of professionals had a little effect on the response to problems, the professional variables of education and administration importantly affect the types of intervention adopted or recommended. Professional practitioners tend to prescribe less relevant activities than are expected by their administrators and educators. On the other hand, they respond to the broader issues and context the less the problem requires administrative structures. Conversely, the more intervention calls for structural support, the more individualised or narrow tend to be the approaches--and thus increasingly less relevant--as was seen with the problems of population and destitution. Lastly, professionals are shown to be doing the least broad-based activity, i.e., dealing basically with communities and local leaders. They report activities that are marginal to basic changes by governments of their structures and strategies for meeting people's needs. There is no confrontation of the political economic system.

But relevance is seen to be a function of both the structural arrangements under which practitioners must make choices that correspond to requirements of the administration and the preparation they have received for practice. In the problems examined, education is associated with what is done. As earlier noted, however, it emerges as an important factor in situations

more removed from the administrative framework. Given the finding that educators tend to prescribe different approaches to problems than do practitioners, there could be too little reinforcement from the institution to the practice field.

In viewing professional response as a function of structural variables, I have focused on three aspects of approaches: the intervention and rationale, the degree of involvement with the people of the environment, and the levels of practice held to need attention. The question to be addressed now is this: to what extent are the trends, just exposed, due to the lack of facilitating administrations that fail to provide sufficient leeway to professionals to effect practice responses for which they may be capable by virtue of their educational preparation? Given this possibility, I now shift the analysis to an examination of the views professionals hold about the administrative contexts. To do so, I shall look at professional administrative behaviour in light of the basic perceptions of social work professions about that behavior, and not merely the arrangements made for practice.

CHAPTER SIX

SHAPING THE ADMINISTRATION FOR FOR AFRICAN REALITY

Introduction

In describing the social work profession as an operational phenomenon in Chapter Two, three types of organisational settings were identified. The first was the practice administration of governments. The civil services, in particular, were inherited as part of Africa's colonial legacy and in contemporary life have obligations to the political economic leadership. The voluntary agencies, too, as inherited structures, have much of their direction linked to the inflow of resources from outside Africa, although increasingly providing local manpower for practice. The non-human service, large organisations of economic sector serve as the third setting, or milieu, in which social work is done. But it is recalled that these organisations, though absorbing social work graduates, exist to make a profit primarily for external interests. Thus, they do not have as the first priority the objective of meeting the needs of local peoples.

Two things are clear, therefore, as one approaches the administrative dimension of practice of social work in Africa: the African professionals have had little to do with the origins of their practice organisations or the form they have taken.

Consequently, they have had to adapt, too, to existing administrations. How well, then, are they faring in these contexts? This is the question I now propose to answer in this chapter.

My interest in the organisational structures has two aspects. First, I wish to show the bureaucracy as it appears to the African social work professionals, indicating in what areas they see problems occurring, or where, if any, the profession is seen to be making an impact.

But the major tension to which this chapter is addressed concerns a second aspect: that interaction taking place between the administrative leadership--with its commitment to the organisation and its goals--and the professional practitioner with his/her professional mission. Locating social workers in the organisations named above does not tell enough about how, in fact, the internal structural relationships function to facilitate practice. Are they in Weberian terms as earlier delineated? Or has there emerged a legitimating model as I have constructed in Chapter One? My interest thus centres around the sharing of power between the administrators and the professionals within the bureaucratic framework. I wish to show how in the African situation, power is distributed between them and what this portends for doing relevant social work. Whether social work professionals can deal with social problems and needs beyond the individual case, I have argued, is connected

with their ability to influence that distribution toward their concept of appropriate practice outcomes. For exerting such influence and for shaping the bureaucracy so that it is responsive to African conditions, they need the support of their administrations and/or other sources or groups. I will show that the social work professionals are not indifferent to both the potential and the problems the use of such sources can be.

The Changing Face of the Bureaucracy?

Ideas set out earlier of "open" bureaucratic structuring of relationships lead to an expectation that in organisations for human services, there might be a discernible move away from the rigidity characteristic of the inherited model. Such openness would be one response to the need for structures that facilitate developmental strategies not adequately met by administrations structured for maintenance or control. But do the professionals see their practice context as limiting, and thus its acting to reduce the scope of their power to handle problems from the perspective of their specific knowledge and skills? Or, are administrative relations being fashioned which portend that the shift in the direction of more relevance will be further advanced?

To ascertain just how the professionals in all three countries view the broad structural framework, all the respondents were asked (Appendix B, Q - Z (P) 22, (A) 22; T-K - (P) 25, (A) 24, (E) 17.) to indicate in what way(s) the

"traditional setup," i.e., the inherited bureaucratic administrations into which professional social work practice had been grafted as it was introduced into Africa, was seen to affect practice. Secondly, they were asked to identify any "positive" trends or changes noticed in practice, whatever the perceived effects of the existing structures. Tables 6.1 and 6.2 show the patterns of response across the three countries. To obtain a more synoptic perspective, the response to the second question is dealt with first.

Despite a considerable variety of answers, a pattern emerges that suggests a marked contrast in opinions. On the one hand, respondents see the profession as gaining greater recognition or status, and having increasingly better trained manpower that is more extensively used. On the other, a large proportion of respondents see little or no significant change at all.

The first perception, that professionals are gaining in status, is presaged by two earlier findings. The first is that in all three countries social work education is pursued at increasingly advanced levels. According to one informant administering practice in Kenya, this is leading toward greater professionalism within the ministerial framework, exemplified by the increasing tendency to appoint as heads of districts the qualified professionals rather than senior administrators.¹ A similar observation is made by a senior administrator in Tanzania:

There is greater acceptance by other disciplines and professions with social workers having much more interaction now... More qualified staff are being transferred to the regions. The effects of their higher training is already felt in the work.

The second finding noted in Chapter Two, is that humanism and African socialism in particular stress minimal rather than maximal governmental intervention in solving the social problems that accrue to persons. It is recalled that both base their development on strategies emphasising economic growth. Resources could be in short supply. Recognition of social work's contribution to containing problems and the expansion of the service were anticipated. This result is revealed in Table 6.1 below. Later it will be shown that recognition in Tanzania is tied to the attempt by professionals to fit practice firmly into ujamaa socialist policies and to be seen even by politicians to be doing so. Having graduates, especially in the civil service, who fail to receive the status and other rewards commensurate with qualified social workers employed in the economic sector-- or as community development workers without advanced levels of education--probably explains why Zambians perceive their context as conferring less recognition than do Tanzanians and Kenyans.

Table 6.1

Positive Trends and/or Changes in Practice

	Zambia			Tanzania			Kenya		
	P	A %	E	P	A %	E	P	A %	E
Recognition	16	3	22	20	27	20	32	27	20
More training and use of social workers	2	3	7	-	18	20	2	11	33
Greater variety in methods and approaches	8	10	7	14	11	33	11	24	13
Emergence of in- tegrated approach	3	10	7	6	11	7	5	11	20
Increase in community work	8	28	43	7	2	-	4	3	-
More rural practice	5	3	7	23	7	13	9	5	7
Increased range of problems handled	3	-	-	3	-	-	5	-	-
Miscellaneous	-	10	-	-	4	7	1	3	-
Very little or None	29	28	7	20	11	-	2	13	7
No Answer	24	3	-	7	9	-	29	3	-
Totals	(61)	(29)	(14)	(70)	(45)	(15)	(126)	(37)	(15)

While the range of problems appear not to be expanding, the way practitioners are permitted to handle them represents to them a significant new trend. As found in the previous chapter in the examination of approaches, the proportion of practitioners who think that the structures allow for new strategies and methods is on the whole smaller than the proportion of

administrators and educators who think so. This suggests acceptance by these latter two categories of the rationale whereby "development" is to take place through many integrated approaches. Kenya in particular has laid considerable stress on the "integrated rural development" strategy as national policy.³ It is among the respondents of the Kenya sample however that differences are most substantial, suggesting once again that practice realities may be more limiting than the professional leadership in Kenya thinks that it is. Neither practitioners nor educators in the Zambian sample see a particularly positive development in this area, possibly for the same reason that they discerned little recognition of the profession accruing within their context.

An increase in community work and rural-based practice, combined, is the third major development cited by some respondents. It is particularly noteworthy that a higher percentage overall of Zambians than Tanzanians or Kenyans see this as a significant move. This suggests that community development, promoted extensively through urban and municipal councils as well as through the central government, is having a recognized impact. It may also mean that there is some movement toward implementation of national social welfare policy that calls for community-based welfare activity.⁴

Against the majority who see overall positive trends in

practice, despite the limitations of bureaucracies, an important percentage of professionals do not share that view. Respondents were requested to "write in" or to report any positive trends or changes seen. Two different responses were given: either the individual wrote in that he/she saw "very little" or "none"; or having answered the questions above, he/she wrote nothing. Thus, the table shows that, taking the "very little or none" and "no answers" categories together, from 27 to 53 percent of all practitioner respondents say they see no positive trends or changes, while as few as 31, 20, and 16 percent of the administrators and only 7 percent of the educators of Zambia, Tanzania, and Kenya, respectively, could identify very little or none.

In summary, a process of legitimation is underway--expressed by professionals themselves chiefly as "recognition" or as "use". The shifts evident to them are in the direction of a wider scope for and range of intervention strategies as well as greater sanction for the profession within their specific framework. There is consequently an enhanced potential for professionals to deal with more of the totality in the problem situation, i.e., to act relevantly. However, the fact that so high a percentage of all practitioners hold to a view that there is little or no positive change suggests that at the level of doing social work, there remain still some very important constraints.

An indication of trends provides the first measure of the receptivity of the administrative structures to the particular perspectives of social work professionals. A second is the degree to which the "traditional set-up", or inherited bureaucratic structure, is perceived to affect a successful outcome in efforts to deal with problems. Table 6.2 presents the response pattern to the things seen to affect attainment of success in practice, i.e., achieving the goals of social work. Interest here is in the traditional set-up; attention is focused later on other things, such as the resources for practice. Table 6.3 indicates the most important ways the bureaucracy is seen to hinder successful practice outcomes. Zambian respondents were asked to rank items, while those in Tanzania and Kenya were asked to select from precoded categories the extent of perceived effect. For Zambia, only the percentages where the traditional set-up was ranked in the first or second place of importance is shown. Administrators and educators were then presented with an open-ended question--to indicate the way the structure affects success as he/she sees it--while practitioners chose from a precoded list. The tables for Table 6.3(b) were chosen from the several possibilities (see Appendix B, Q(Z) (P) 20, 21; (A) 21, 22, (E) 18, 19; (TK) (P) 21, 22; (A) 22, 23; (E) 11,12) because of the comparability of the outcomes in practitioner responses with those of the administrators and educators.

Table 6.2

Traditional Set-up: Extent of Effect on Success

	Zambia			Tanzania			Kenya		
	Ranks 1 & 2			P	A	E	P	A	E
	P	A	E						
	49	56	36						
Great deal				36	44	73	43	32	33
Slight				49	42	27	44	49	60
None				15	14	-	15	19	7
N=	(51)	(23)	(14)	(67)	(43)	(15)	(103)	(37)	(15)
X	10.2	5.75	2.8	2.2	2.3	2.7	2.2	2.1	2.2

*Some Zambian respondents who did not rank this item, nevertheless indicated its affects on success--thus the difference on totals between Table 6.2 and Table 6.3(b) The percentages represent those who ranked the traditional set-up 1st or 2nd in importance.

Table 6.3(a)

Ways Administrators and Educators Perceive the Traditional Set-up Affecting Success

	Zambia		Tanzania		Kenya	
	A	E	A	E	A	E
	%		%		%	
Too bureaucratic	46	64	2	33	24	40
Too conservative	21	22	33	33	27	20
Problems with integrated approach	11	-	20	7	5	-
Administrator as head	-	-	5	7	11	13
Social work as remedial	4	-	5	20	8	13
Morale	-	-	2	-	3	-
Miscellaneous	-	7	-	-	-	14
No effect	18	7	33	-	22	-
N=	(29)	(14)	(43)	(15)	(37)	(15)

Several things are dramatically apparent in the two tables above. First, there is a remarkable similarity in response pattern between the professionals of Tanzania and Kenya, especially. In addition to the congruence in viewpoint between these two countries, there is a very high level of agreement found between their practitioner and administrator respondents as well (Kendall Coefficient of Concordance $W = .76$ in each context.) Despite the wide distribution of cases among the categories, it does not in most instances approach that of a normal curve. This is especially so for the distribution with respect to ways seen as affecting success in Tables 6.3 (a and b). As indicated by the mean scores for all three countries, there is a clear tendency for professionals to perceive the bureaucracy as a strongly limiting force. Moreover, there is slight tendency of Zambian administrators and educators to see the bureaucratic aspects as being more restrictive than either of the other two groups. Further, as to the ways identified in Tables 6.3 (a), nearly all of the educators are sensitive to the constraining nature of the structures; but both the administrators and educators of Tanzania and Kenya, in addition, pinpoint these areas intimated in the previous chapter as posing problems, e.g., integrating the practice of the separate groups, leadership at the top, etc.

The responses in the three samples are, overall, in the predicted direction: that the bureaucracy would be seen as constraining its professionals, and thus to be maintaining practice in clearly prescribed patterns. One informant defined the situation as "...too much bureaucracy in that social workers are having to solve social problems by certain procedural perspectives which never introduce any originality."⁵

When one examines the tables for the extent of effect, it can be argued that a majority of respondents actually say that the structures affect success only slightly or none at all. It should be recalled, however, that the respondents were asked to indicate both the specific way, e.g. material resources, and the general way, i.e. the traditional structuring of practice, by which success is affected. The result suggests that whatever predisposes practice toward relevance for many professionals, it is less the differences in the subjective perception of a constraining administrative context than specific aspects of that context. What some of these are is revealed below. Nevertheless, for a high proportion of all professionals, the administrative structure as a whole, and not just particular responses, is viewed as having a negative impact on attempts to achieve desired professional goals.

With this point in mind, the background and professional variables were examined to see if any of these are associated

with the social workers' perceptions to any significant degree. I find again that such variables as sex, age, years of experience, and position--all assumed to be closely related--show in fact only a weak or negative association with how the traditional set-up is perceived. One's level of education shows a positive bearing for practitioners, (i.e., Gammas $Z=0.20$, $T=0.35$, $K=0.32$) and educators, (i.e., Gammas $Z=0.25$, $T=0.60$, $K=0.59$). But the association of the education variable is negative for administrators of all three countries (i.e., Gammas $Z=-0.38$, $T=-0.23$, and $K=-0.03$). This is not unexpected in view of the pressures exerted on administrators to ensure that the requirements of the organisation itself are met. Education is but one of several determinants of what they do in the organisation with respect to the professionals for whose work they carry responsibility. Expertise borne of social work education may indeed be of less import than, for example, expertise in the control of resources and personnel.

Thus, in contrast to all other variables, there is a positive and somewhat stronger relationship exhibited by the type of administrative structures from which professionals practice (Gamma - Zambia (P) 0.69, (A) 0.43, (E) 1.00; Tanzania (P) 0.45, (A) 0.16 (E) 1.00; and Kenya (P) 0.26, (A) -0.39, (E) 0.39. To examine this relationship in greater depth, I considered again Table 6.3(a) and the first four categories of ways identified by

Table 6.3(b)

Perceptions of Practitioners

	Zambia*	Tanzania	Kenya
	P	P	P
	%	%	%
Limit introduction of new ideas	23		
great deal		56	52
slight		35	41
none		9	7
N =		(64)	(103)
\bar{X}		2.469	2.429
sd		0.666	0.677
Limits opportunities for progress in career	15		
great deal		45	58
slight		38	28
none		17	14
N =		(64)	(104)
\bar{X}		2.281	2.441
sd		0.745	0.725
Lowers status of practice and worker	10		
great deal		35	38
slight		50	34
none		15	28
N =		(62)	(95)
\bar{X}		2.210	2.084
sd		0.681	0.808
Other	32		
No effect	20	6	8
Total	(60)	(68)	(122)

*Zambians were given but one choice

the administrators and educators; and from Table 6.3(b) above, just one of the variables to which practitioners were asked to repond, i.e., "Limits new ideas." It was found that where professionals see the government setting as limiting success, they tend to see it as having a great deal of effect. This is the case especially in Tanzania where 55, 72 and 69 percent of the practitioner, administrator and educator respondents, respectively, from the governmental sector perceived it as having that degree of effect. Practitioners located in the same administrative framework in Kenya who thought that it limited new ideas a great deal were only 42 percent, while the percentage of administrators in the Kenya sample indicating the same degree of effect was highest of all, at 76 percent. On the other hand, except for the practitioners in Tanzania (75 percent), professionals in the voluntary sector tend to view that setting as having a much lesser affect on successful outcomes--at the "great deal" category only 10 percent each for Kenyan administrators and practitioners, and 14 percent of the Tanzanian administrators. Kenyan educator repondents differ most from this trend. Whether in institutions of government or the university, the majority of educators, 60 percent, say that the structures only slightly affect practice success. This persistent pattern of differing substantially from the other two professional groups, I have earlier contended, comes about

because the professional role of the educator does not require him/her to intervene directly with the bureaucracies in which practitioners carry out their work. It is also possible, as Kinyanjui maintains, that differences occur because the pattern being reproduced is not locally derived, and thus educators do not have to make it conform to local needs.

For the Zambians for whom the same set of variables were ranked first or second (Ranks 1-2) in terms of greatest importance to success, 18, 49 and 36 percent of the three categories (P,A,E) were situated in governmental settings, while 3, 9 and 7 percent were in the voluntary/university settings, respectively.

The results just reported do imply that the governmental framework alone hampers relevance by restricting those actions that would conform to the professional's intention--fulfillment of the objectives of social work. However, a close look at the responses of those professionals who say that they see "no effect" of the traditional setting on successful practice reveals another picture. An analysis of the data for this category alone was done to determine in which bureaucracies professionals least encounter problems in effecting the desired strategies. The partially grouped responses are presented in Table 6.4 below.

Table 6.4

Administrative Structures Perceived by Respondents
as Having No Effect

	Overall Totals	Zambia		Tanzania		Kenya		Number	%
		P	A	P	A	P	A		
Central government		-	-	3	9	-	-		
Ujamaa	71							22	31
Community development		4	3	-	-	2	1		
Social Welfare	149	4	-	1	1	-	4	10	7
Local government	41	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	2
Parastatal	30	4	1	-	2	1	-	8	26
Voluntary agency	58	-	1	-	1	6	3	11	19
Other central govt. administration	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Educators	44	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Organisation omitted	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
N =		(12)	(5)	(4)	(13)	(10)	(8)		
Totals	(412)	(104)		(130)		(178)			

"No effect" is here then interpreted, in light of the preceding responses, to mean that the administrative structures do provide the latitude professionals need to act in ways considered appropriate to the problem at hand. As shown by Table 6.4 most respondents work within governmental administrations. Those individuals whose titles enabled a clear identification of the specifically social welfare and community development/ujamaa

administrative arrangements are so classified. Sixteen civil servants could not be placed by this procedure. Neither could this be used for most professionals employed in the local government, parastatals, and voluntary organisations. Three respondents failed to indicate organisations in which they worked.

What is immediately apparent from the above table is that not all administrations of the central government are perceived to have the same impact. The percentage of respondents serving in ujamaa/community development structures is more than four times higher than the percentage of professionals located in social welfare administrations. That only 7 percent of the total sample of 149 persons seeing no effect practice within Social Welfare, a section most often identified in Africa with "professional social work", suggests that these workers perceive of themselves as actually having fewer possibilities than do others to exercise their preferences as professionals. When it is also noted that 13 percent of all respondents in the local governments carry the title "social welfare officer", or "social worker", and thus operate from a social work administrative structure, there is important support for the conclusion that this type of framework hinders gearing practice differently. Below I shall consider in just what ways this is so.

It was suggested in the previous chapter that the con-
straining effect of structure is somewhat diminished by the

community development ujamaa practice situations; these require that the professional be given leeway to decide in the field the best approaches to people and problems. Greater flexibility and less routine, if not hierarchy, are also possible because of the need in parastatals for openness to creativity and new ideas in order to derive economic or other intended benefits. This could apply in the voluntary sector, though to a lesser degree for reasons stated in Chapter Five for Case Problem VI. Thus, the largest percentage in Zambia seeing "no effects," 16 percent, is explained by the presence in that sample of the highest proportion of respondents--especially administrators--situated in parastatals, voluntary agencies and community development administrations (see Chapter Four, Tables 4.9 and 4.7). Moreover, their higher levels of professional education is assumed to have a bearing on the level of demonstrated expertise. Zambian respondents, then, more than Tanzanian and Kenyan respondents, might make a greater contribution to orienting the traditional set-up toward professional ends. To the extent that they are successful in doing so, they would not see the administration of practice as being the major problem. They are, as earlier noted, more likely to be co-opted into the administrative leadership within the organisation--overseeing, rather than doing practice.

In summary, the results of Table 6.4 suggest that it is

not because the social work bureaucracy is part of the larger central government framework that relevance is hampered. Rather, professionals tend to see the administrative structures as limiting with respect to specific functions. Bureaucracies for social welfare functions are perceived as presenting the greatest obstacle to success.

Top Man

In the theoretical presentation of Chapter One⁶ I contend that bureaucratic structures tend to concentrate power at the top administrative positions, and thus potentially to frustrate the initiation or modification of practice from the practitioner level. There I argue that relevance necessitates, instead, a distribution of power by the administrative leadership in ways that would enhance the authority of the professional practitioner. The extent that this is evident is revealed below. Before closing this section, two important observations need to be made that provide some clues as to the administrator/professional relations prevailing.

Firstly, it is revealed in Table 6.2 that administrators as strongly as, or more so than practitioners, say that the bureaucracy within each of the three countries limits practice success slightly or to a great extent. This response confirms my basis assumption that the administrator will not perceive that he can administer practice much differently, given

control-oriented thrust of the administration and context as described in Chapter Two.

Secondly, for some administrator and educator respondents of Tanzania and Kenya, the problem as seen in Table 6.3(a) is that practice is directed or headed by one who is an "administrator" rather than by a social work professional. In Kenya where this view is more strongly held, one informant defines the administrator role as one to "coordinate the many duties assigned" to the social work administration. "The professional staff is concerned with programmes as laid down to carry them out effectively and efficiently."⁷ This sharp dichotomy leads, according to one Kenyan practitioner respondent, on the one hand, to "a lack of understanding of practice requirement," and on the other to "a growing conflict between the professional's perspective and the perspective of the administrator." Although the percentages in Table 6.3(a) are small, since these represent the views of the professional leadership--a view expected to be even more pronounced among practitioners, had the question been put to them--it provides some evidence that administrators and professionals perceive themselves as being quite separate entities.

While, too, the social work administrator clearly is in an authoritative position vis-a-vis some professionals, the earlier defined supervisory mechanisms of control of the

organisation at his disposal may provide even the administrator with insufficient power to assist professionals to modify their practice.

Table 6.5

Ranked Responsibilities of the Top Man,
The Administrator

	Zambia			Tanzania			Kenya		
	Rank	Govt. %	Non-Govt. %	Rank	Govt. %	Non-Govt. %	Rank	Govt. %	Non-Govt. %
Planning	1	32	50	1	20	60	3	14	25
Supervision of personnel	3	23	-	2	25	-	2	17	25
Formulation of policy	2	18	33	3	18	-	2	21	12.5
Administration	3	18	17	4	15	-	1	28	12.5
Financial control	-	-	-	5	5	40	2	17	25
Recruitment	4	9	-	5	10	-	-	-	-
Other	-	-	-	6	7	-	4	3	-
N=		(22)	(6)		(40)	(5)		(29)	(8)
X		4.4	2.0		5.7	2.5		4.8	1.6
sd		1.6	0.77		2.4	0.50		2.1	1.0
t sign (Between Govt. and Non-govt.)		= .05			0.05			0.01	
t sign (Between T & Z)		= .0005							
(Between T & K)		= .01							
(Between K & Z)		= .784							

Therefore, as shown above, each administrator was asked to identify and to rank the most important functions he/she executes with respect to professionals--expecting that the responsibilities carried would signify the degree to which he/she could possibly sway the organisation toward professional goals.

The responsibilities ranked from first to fourth positions by all administrators--planning, supervision of personnel, formulation of policy, and administration--provide administrative mechanisms by which practice directions can be set. That "administration" as such is identified by the Kenyan respondents as being the most important function is explained by the pattern there of scaling the categories of civil servants, with the higher scales being reserved for administrators. Their responsibilities are determined more by rank in the hierarchy than by any particular professional orientation.⁸ Administration then is an "umbrella" under which other more specific functions are understood to be subsumed.

While administrators clearly may to a large extent determine the content of professional activity, it is much less clear that they control the means to sustain it. Only in Kenya is the control of funds ranked highly--in second place. But this function is of no greater importance than is formulation of policy and supervision. It is in the fifth position in Tanzania;

Zambian respondents say that they have no power at all in this area. Where administrators in the non-governmental organisations hold this and other responsibility, they do so to a higher degree than do those in government settings. Of import here is that administrators of the profession may themselves little influence how this most vital of resources for sustaining services--money--is dispersed.

Two comparisons of mean scores were undertaken. In the first, an attempt was made to see whether the difference between administrators in organisations of governments and those in voluntary agencies, were statistically significant. The results presented in the table reveal that this is the case in each country, with their responsibilities giving significantly greater control over these activities that set the direction of practice to administrators in the non-governmental organisations than governmental ones. That the difference is strongest for the Zambians is in keeping with the earlier findings that suggest that the higher levels of education would give Zambians as a group more than their Tanzanian and Kenyan counterparts responsibilities that would give the administrator some part in directing, whatever the setting. And it has just been shown that the voluntary agency setting is one permitting greater leeway (i.e., having no effect) for practice than do some administrations within the governmental framework.

The second means test was done to find whether there were statistically significant differences between countries, representing as they do the separate approaches of governments to their people. Only the responses of administrators situated in government organisations were compared, since theirs are expected to best reflect the views of the context. The differences between Tanzania and her neighbours was found to be highly statistically significant, with $t = 1.671$ or at the .01 level for Kenya and $t = 3.846$ or .0005 level for Zambia. By contrast there was no statistically significant difference between Kenya and Zambia, with a $t = 0.784$. This latter outcome is accounted for by the fact that the two countries share basically similar development strategies as discussed in Chapter Two, with both encouraging extensive private initiatives for solving local problems. For this policy, the voluntary sector is well suited as implementor. The results suggest recognition of the contribution of social work professionals to evolving governmental responses to human and social needs. The fact that in Zambia and in Kenya such a high proportion of administrators in both countries carry responsibility for "administration," however, suggest that as technocrats, they, too, implement, rather than operate to bring about basic changes. But then, these contexts, as I earlier implied, endorse and expect this of them.

Apparent limitations may result from the failures of

administrators to use all available supervisory mechanisms to steer the profession on to and along a relevant course. Whether this is so is the concern to which I now return.

Legitimizing the Social Work Professional

If, as argued in the theoretical framework and implied by the responsibilities carried, the administrative position is the prime repository of the organisation's mechanisms for fashioning a relevant response--supervision being one important, concrete form for guiding the profession--it follows that success in achieving relevance would be closely related to the actions of the administrator. I contend that, indeed, a perceived lack of practice relevance would be explained by the failure of the bureaucracy through its administrative leadership to recognise and to enhance professional authority by investing sufficient power in the practitioner position for a change in the practice model to take place. A higher degree of legitimation of professional authority, would be manifested through communications decision-making, and resources. Lastly, I hypothesised that an increase in professional authority is related to the nature and extent of contact as well as to certain professional variables. The underlying assumption is that the administrator and the practitioner would come closer together in conceptions and perception of relevance the more these contacts legitimate the professional practitioner's contribution. My interest in this section.

therefore, is to establish the nature of the administrator/professional interaction in the African context. It is to be recalled that by 'structures' I refer to how the members of the bureaucracy organise themselves to get work done--in this research, to do social work. Therefore, the administrator/professional relationship is considered now from two perspectives. The first is an examination of the legitimation of professionals from my conception of sharing of power through the specific supervisory mechanisms just named. The second is from the professionals' perceptions of the extent of and their approaches to wielding influence within the organisations.

These two perspectives serve as my indicators of the potential of social work professionals to modify the prevailing practice within their particular context. The discussion begins with an examination of communications between professionals and the administrator to identify strategies of sharing of information.

In the previous chapter it was revealed that administrators and practitioners, particularly in Kenya, were closely agreed on approaches to practice; and differences in Tanzania were not remarkable. This similarity in part could be explained by the pressures exerted within the organisation for achievement of its own goals. That is to say, the close viewpoints expressed--in light of the fact that practice approaches tended to be less relevant than required by my definition--may have reflected

less the preferences of the professional than those of the organisation, dictated through administrators. A similarity in views, could be a function of a vertical flow of information.

Increased power to act relevantly, on the other hand, requires an upward as well as downward flow and control of information. I have said that having information conveys power in the relationship similar to that of holding a higher position. The professional therefore needs access to the administrator through whom information is channeled in large organisations. Further, the content of such contact should assure knowledge that forms the basis of appropriate action. Information here is thus both a resource as well as a measure of the support the administrator gives to the practitioner.

Table 6.6

Frequency of Contact Between Administrators
and Practitioners

	Zambia		Tanzania		Kenya	
	P	A	P	A	P	A
	%		%		%	
Weekly/other	16	24	13	49	2	32
Monthly	2	14	21	22	9	24
Occasionally as need arises	82	62	66	29	89	43
N =	(61)	(29)	(70)	(45)	(114)	(37)

These two categories of respondents in the three samples were asked to indicate the frequency and the ways of contact.

Tanzanians and Kenyan professionals were also requested to tell what attention is focused on in such meetings. Reactions to the first two questions appear in Tables 6.6 above and 6.7 below.

Table 6.7

Relevance of Approach as a Function of Frequency
of Contact of Practitioners with Administrators

	CP I		CP III		CP VI	
	Sched.	Occas.	Sched.	Occas.	Sched.	Occas.*
	%		%		%	
Tanzania						
Less	4	9	41	28	25	28
More or less	63	46	17	15	25	37
More	12	20	17	11	21	7
Miscellaneous	4	2	-	-	-	-
DNH	17	23	25	46	21	28
N =	(24)	(46)	(24)	(46)	(22)	(46)
Kenya						
Less	-	14	13	29	47	56
More or less	53	55	27	21	47	32
More	7	12	33	22	-	2
Miscellaneous	7	1	-	-	-	-
DNH	33	18	27	28	7	10
N =	(15)	(111)	(15)	(111)	(15)	(106)

* Sched. stands for Scheduled and Occas for Occasional

The considerable difference in each sample between administrator and practitioner respondents is quite understandable in light of the total manpower over which the former holds responsibility, a part of which is indicated in Note #12 in the previous chapter. It is conceivable that he/she is in daily, weekly, or some other amount of contact with one or more levels or categories of professionals, although less so with these specific social work professionals. His/her answer would thus

reflect all these contacts, while the practitioner's response refers to himself/herself alone. Since the data show a predominance of essentially ad hoc meetings, i.e., "occasionally as the need arises," as against systematic--and thus more planned and structured communications--the professional practitioners could be at a disadvantage in attempting to influence the administration concerning the basic orientation of the profession.

When the degree of relevance of approach in the handling of the three case-problems is examined in relation to frequency of interaction, the implications of such contact become clearer, as shown in the following table.

Despite the tendency shown in the previous chapter toward less relevant approaches, Table 6.7 shows that the higher degree of contact, i.e., that scheduled daily, weekly or more, reflects also a tendency toward slightly higher percentages in degrees of approach with problems requiring power and resources from the administrative leadership. The notable exception in both samples is in CP I where 20 percent and 12 percent of respondents in Tanzania and Kenya, respectively, show more relevant practice although having only occasional contact with their superior. This result is indeed as it should be since, it must be remembered, CP I deals with the problem of people's resistance to change. I earlier suggested that working with people in their own environment gives greater leeway for professionally

determined intervention strategies. The practitioner, in contact with the top man only occasionally, is removed somewhat from potential administrative structural constraints, and thus can use this leeway to operate according to the demands of the situation.

A yet more important revelation of this table is that in all but CP I in Kenya, the percentages are higher among those who DO NOT HANDLE where contact with the top is only occasional. One possibility is that the professional is less certain of the behavior wanted by the administration, and therefore, of what power he has to act. But what can be concluded from the percentages of DNH is that where contact is an irregular occurrence, practitioners may not take up the problem at all!

The pattern in frequency of contact raises further questions. One of these relates to the way communication takes place--whether upward as well as downward--and what this portends for the sharing of power through access to information. Administrators and practitioners were asked to indicate the means by which each communicated with the other. (See Appendix B: Z Q (P) 15, (A) 17; T-K (P) 15, (A) 17.) Since my interest is in measuring the extent of access to the top authority, data on other less direct forms of communication, such as through intermediaries and staff conferences, are omitted here. For the same reason, attention is being given only to the "most usual"

way, rather than ways identified as "occasional" or "rarely". The percentages shown in Table 6.8, therefore, are based on the members within the total sample who answered, "most usual", or where that response is implied by the nature of how the question is put--as in the case of the Zambia sample.

Table 6.8

Most Usual Way of Communicating with
the Superior or Top Man

	Zambia		Tanzania		Kenya	
	P	A	P	A	P	A
Direct	44	18	48	51	50	54
Written	35	39	60	50	59	58
N =	(61)	(28)	(69,66)	(44,44)	(104,109)	(35,34)

For many social work professional practitioners, access to the top man is nearly as often in written form as in face-to-face contact. The Zambian response, however, shows greater variation which is a consequence no doubt of having to select one of five possible choices, while Tanzanians and Kenyans were asked to show the degree of use of each means of communication. These differences in presenting the question, notwithstanding, certain features stand out and are common to each sample. Only about one-half of all practitioners say that they regularly see their superiors in an individual conference. This has important implications for a pattern of social work professionalisation which is premised on continuing supervision of the work of the

least experienced by the more experienced professionals.¹⁰
 Again, the potential of the practitioner to influence the views of the administrator is reduced.

The alternative most in use is written communication, a point on which there is close agreement between administrators and practitioners. Indeed, the overall similarity of results is but another manifestation of the degree to which the social work professionals share a similar perception of their administrative contexts, in spite of differing cultures and political ideologies. These findings are in keeping with the data presented in Chapter Two which prescribe a quite similar administrative frame-work of practice existing across the three countries. The combined data suggest that in terms of what the administrative structures permit to professionals, such small differences as shown in Table 6.8 may be apparent, but of little import.

Of the background and professional variables thought here to be relevant to professional behavior, only the organisational setting of practice show a consistent, strong and positive association with types of communication. The gamma tests for practitioners yield the following results: ZP = 0.22; TP = 0.60; KP = 0.43. The following are found for administrators: ZA = 0.74; TA = 0.02 (direct) and 0.22 (written); KA = -0.35 (direct) and 0.62 (written). The gammas for all but Tanzania and Kenya administrative respondents were computed on data dichotomised as

direct and written, whereas those for administrators are based on all the categories regarding ways of communicating. It is corroborated in Table 6.9 below where the response patterns of both administrators and practitioners are presented.

Table 6.9

Most Usual Ways of Communicating as a Function
of Administrative Setting

	Voluntary		Local Authority		Central Government	
	P	A	P	A	P	A
	%		%		%	
Zambia						
Direct	40	-	87	33	41	16
N =	(2)		(7)	(2)	(18)	(3)
Total	(5)	-	(8)	(6)	(44)	(19)
Written	-	-	13	17	46	53
N =			(1)	(1)	(20)	(10)
Total			(8)	(6)	(44)	(19)
Other	60(3)	100(3)	-	50(3)	14(6)	31(6)
Tanzania						
Direct	75	50	-	-	44	51
N =	(3)	(3)			(30)	(20)
Total	(4)	(6)			(69)	(39)
Written	25	17	-	-	61	55
N =	(1)	(1)			(40)	(21)
Total	(4)	(6)			(66)	(38)
Kenya						
Direct	71	63	52	100	35	44
N =	(22)	(5)	(12)	(4)	(24)	(10)
Total	(31)	(8)	(23)	(4)	(68)	(23)
Written	29	25	48	50	65	73
N =	(9)	(2)	(11)	(2)	(44)	(16)
Total	(31)	(8)	(23)	(4)	(68)	(22)

Contrasting responses in the voluntary settings with those

respondents in both local authorities and central government, one sees in Table 6.8 that there is a definite tendency toward greater use of written forms of communication in the latter than in the former types of settings.

Even in the voluntary agencies, however, fewer administrators than practitioners say that they most usually communicate directly. While the percentages for local authorities show considerable variations with respect to direct contact for Zambia and Kenyan samples, there is almost no difference between administrators and practitioners with regard to use of written communications. In both Zambia and Kenya, the pattern toward such use is less strong than in central governments, however. There, in the two countries, administrators are in the lead in identifying this means as primary. Again, it should be recalled that a greater proportion of respondents in both voluntary and local authority settings than those in some central government bureau reported also that the setting per se had "no effect" on success of practice.

What the foregoing findings suggest is that the Weberian bureaucratic administration which favors the more formal and impersonal forms of communication--notably, the written word--continues in force, especially in governmental settings. This is in contrast to the alternative type "professional bureaucracies" which give greater scope for contributions that

depend more on sharing of expertise more directly than through hierarchically determined directives. The weakness in use of written communication as a dominant means of legitimating professional expertise, or authority, is its potential to too narrowly set the content and parameters of professional response. This, in turn, can amount to a constraint on the upward flow of ideas from the practitioner to the administrator. Initiation of action depends on communication and so then rests with him/her as well. Such situation, as a consequence, limits the administrator's exposure to the full range of ideas, purposes and goals of the profession. Such information as shared-- whether about administrative matters, or on general departmental or local community problems¹¹--can thus transfer but little power to professionals to act toward any goals that are not conceived by the administrator. One can therefore conclude that the sharing of power as earlier defined is hardly realised through the prevailing pattern of communication in the administrator/professional relationship.

Obviously, the assumed smaller size of most voluntary agency administrations in comparison to those of governments would account for more direct contact between administrators and practitioners. Paradoxically, practice in the voluntary setting with a greater extent of face-to-face communication does not of itself lead to more relevant approaches as was shown in the

previous chapter. This fact suggests that access and information alone do not give professionals the power needed to intervene differently. These need to be complemented by interaction along other dimensions for which the underpinning is both access and information. These further dimensions of legitimating professional authority include decision-making and provision of resources.

Steggert suggests that:

....a basic idea underlying conventional bureaucratic forms is the notion that differential decision-making and performance ratios must exist at different organisational levels. On the basis of this logic, lower levels are concerned primarily with performance activity and minimally involved in decision-making. The higher up the organisational hierarchy, the less there are of the performance functions. As the apex, organisational behavior is exclusively non-performance.¹²

He adds, however, that one of the essential characteristics of truly professional activity is the fusion of decision-making and performance behavior. I argue that such fusion is a manifestation of the legitimation of the professional in contexts of underdevelopment. The findings now reported are examined to ascertain the extent to which my research situation fits Steggert's analysis.

Table 6.10 sets out as an overview the responses of Tanzanian and Kenyan¹³ administrators and practitioners to the inquiry: "concerning the worker's share in decision-making, what happens in your department?"

Table 6.10

Ways of Participation in Decision-Making*

	Tanzania		Kenya	
	P	A	P	A
	%		%	
Written				
Yes	28	21	45	14
No	72	79	55	86
N =	(61)	(43)	(89)	(37)
Different levels of professionals				
Yes	43	12	23	27
No	57	88	77	73
N =	(60)	(42)	(94)	(37)
On the field				
Yes	46	23	49	18
No	54	77	51	82
N =	(63)	(43)	(86)	(34)
Reserved for chief				
Yes	49	69	28	43
No	51	31	72	57
N =	(61)	(42)	(90)	(37)

*See note #12 for the Zambian analysis.

Four variables are given attention in Table 6.10, only three of which are analyzed in greater detail in subsequent tables (see Appendix B: TK, Q(P) 18, (A)20).

For over one-half of Kenyan practitioners, i.e., 59 percent (see Table 6.8), the written word is the most usual way of communicating with superiors. But as seen in Table 6.10, it is also the primary means by which 45 percent participate in decision-making as well. This is in contrast to all other groups of respondents for whom this is the least important way.

Moreover, there is a considerable gap in perception of the practitioner role in decision-making between the two groups of respondents in both countries. It is also clear that administrators think that practitioners participate far less in this activity than those professionals say that they do. In Tanzania, about one-half of the practitioners say that they share in decision-making, both at different professional levels and from the field, i.e., away from the administrative centre and where information is only later transmitted to the higher authority. Nevertheless, a much larger percentage of Tanzanians than Kenyan professionals say that the chief, or top man, makes most of the decisions, 49 and 69 percent in contrast to 28 and 43 percent, respectively. The fact that this figure is relatively higher for administrators suggests that they do not consciously concede decision-making power to professionals. This is further confirmed by the strong NO administrator response to all other ways of sharing in decision-making--77 to 88 and 73 to 86 percent by Tanzanians and Kenyans, respectively.

That practitioners perceive practice to allow them scope for decision-making reflects the likely consequence of professionals operating in field situations which are slightly removed from the administrator and thus permit greater freedom to develop responses deemed appropriate from a professional as well as, or despite, an administrative perspective. The table shows that

nearly the highest percentage of sharing by them is from that context.

The results--in percentages, the gammas, and in mean tests statistics shown in the Tables 6.11-6.17, all grouped so to focus on the single variable, decision-making--suggest that it is associated with three other variables differently affecting administrators and practitioners. Here, the background and professional variables of sex, age and years of experience show the importance I earlier hypothesised.

For practitioners, whether at different levels of the organisation or of the profession, or from the field, males more than females share in the decision-making process as shown in Tables 6.11 and 6.14. The fact that Kenyans share to a slightly less degree is expected by the lower level of professional education noted in Chapter Four. About this one respondent notes:

Social work started out with officers whose backgrounds were weak, and therefore, their ability for technical argument and technical input was not adequate. They never got enough credibility from the headquarters' staff so that they were able to apply the profession in terms of basic knowledge and skills. And that is why we are hoping that this degree programme will put into the field a different calibre who can actually be given autonomy in terms of decision-making.

Moreover, combined with the subordinate status of women in the African context in general, female professionals are bypassed through arrangements that place women under the supervision of men. The rationale for this arrangement is that of

Table 6.11

Decision-Making at Different Levels:
As a Function of Sex of Practitioners

	Tanzania		Kenya	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Yes	50	20	32	16
No	50	80	68	84
N =	(44)	(15)	(44)	(50)
Gamma =	0.45		0.42	
t sign =	(0.2186) = 0.20			

Table 6.12

As a Function of Age of Administrators

	T	K	T	K	T	K	T	K
	Up to 29	30 - 39	40 - 49	50 - Over				
Yes	25	67	17	31	0	19	0	20
No	75	33	83	69	100	81	100	80
N =	(42)	(37)						
Gamma =	0.72	0.40						
t sign =	(1.603) = 0.10							

Table 6.13

As a Function of Years of Experience

	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A
	Mo.- 6 yr	7 - 12	13 - 18	19 - Over				
Tanzania								
Yes	40	20	27	14	50	0	100	0
No	60	80	73	86	50	100	0	100
N =	(60)	(40)						
Gamma =	-0.06	0.55						
t sign =	(3.429) = 0.005							

Kenya

Yes	31	22	22	40	30	21	0	33
No	69	78	78	60	70	79	100	67
N =	(94)	(37)						
Gamma =	0.16	-0.02						
t sign =	(1.454) = 0.10							

Table 6.14

Decision-Making from the Field:
as a Function of Sex of Practitioners

	Tanzania		Kenya	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	%		%	
Yes	51	33	58	39
No	49	67	42	61
N =	(47)	(15)	(45)	(41)
Gamma =	0.40		0.36	
t sign =	(1.372) = 0.10			

Table 6.15

as a Function of Age of Administrators

	T	K	T	K	T	K	T	K
	Up to 29		30 - 39		40 - 49		50 - Over	
	%		%		%		%	
Yes	13	67	39	8	17	13	0	25
No	67	33	61	92	83	87	100	75
N =	(42)	(37)						
Gamma =	0.25	0.21						
t sign =	(4.000) = 0.0005							

Table 6.16

as a Function of Years of Experience

	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A
	Mo. - 6		7 - 12		13 - 18		19 - over	
	%		%		%		%	
Tanzania								
Yes	62	25	25	17	45	31	0	0
No	38	75	75	83	55	69	100	100
N =	(63)	(40)						
Gamma =	0.55	0.16						
t sign =	(1.975) = 0.05							
Kenya								
Yes	65	22	45	10	40	23	14	0
No	35	78	55	90	60	77	86	100
N =	(86)	(34)						
Gamma =	0.35	0.04						
t sign =	(1.176) = 0.20							

Table 6.17

Decision-Making Reserved for the Chief:
as a Function of Age of Practitioners

	T	K	T	K	T	K	T	K
	Up to	29	30 -	39	40 -	49	50 -	Over
	%		%		%		%	
Yes	68	33	39	29	37	20	0	0
No	32	67	61	71	63	80	0	100

N = (61) (90)

Gamma = 0.44 0.14

t sign = (2.112) = 0.05

seniority within the organisation.¹⁵ While Stegert's viewpoint does apply more clearly to Kenyan than to Tanzanian males with respect to the different levels, they, slightly more than Tanzanians, say that they can make decisions from the field. The women of both countries appear to fare better away from the administrator as well. Furthermore being a woman is less important than being in the position of administrator. For the women who make it to the top share almost equally with men in decision-making. Forty-three and 44, and 71 and 63 percent of males against females in Keyna and Tanzania, respectively, say that they do participate in decision-making at different levels. But on the whole, sex is not a critical variable for administrators, there being very weak or negative gammas in respect to both the "levels" and "the field" for the two samples. For administrators, age and years of experience are the more important associations.

There tends to be a downward trend as the Tanzanian administrator gets older, with a peak period of involvement in decision-making from the field reached between the ages of 30 - 39, as Tables 6.12 and 6.15 show. After this time, participation even from the field gradually diminishes.

Although sharing of power through decision-making is highest for younger Kenyan administrators, this participation persists throughout at very much the same level, following a substantial drop, from 67 percent for both the "levels" and "the field", also revealed in Table 6.12 and 6.15. These administrators, i.e., the ages up to 29, are more likely than their older counterparts to be the products of both recent and higher education. Such recruits are assigned responsibilities for activities that require or imply taking decisions, such as policy formulation, planning, administering programmes.¹⁶ This possibility of participation corresponds to what one respondent describes as a "phenomenal opportunity to raise consciousness, for changing patterns of organisations."¹⁷ He declares, however, that the profession has not hitherto used this opportunity.

That there is a sharp drop for both groups suggest the existence of bureaucratic pressures to accept its requirements for conformity to its routines and goals. The pattern of participation in decision-making from the field varies in both samples. Only as older persons--50 and over--is the degree of

involvement again high for Kenyan administrators. This is thought to reflect the African cultural influence of respect for elders combined with bureaucratic regard for seniority. Under neither circumstance would the administrator be expected to be radical. And as reported in Chapter Four, 14 percent of all administrators of the Kenyan sample were 50 and over, in comparison to the 9 percent of that for Tanzania. Table 6.15 indicates how statistically significant is the difference between them also.

While the early years of experience of Tanzania practitioners are important, he/she sees himself/herself continuing actively to contribute to decision-making as long as he/she practices. This suggests recognition by the bureaucracy of the contribution of professionals at all levels through a decentralised administration. That this appears not to apply to Tanzanian administrator respondents, however, who see a sharp decrease in their decision-making with increasing years, is at least in part explained by the socialist policy of rationalising the use and deployment of qualified manpower. The better, and possibly the more recently educated administrator, could take precedence in decision-making--thus pushing aside the conventional bureaucratic tendency toward seniority.

That this is not the whole picture is suggested by Table 6.17 where 68 percent of young Tanzanian practitioners see the

top man making most decisions. Nevertheless, their own participation do not completely stop, however long they work. Thus, it is possible that the perception of decision-making as the prerogative of the chief is a reflection of the impact of the total bureaucratic administrative structure. It is explained also by a transfer into the practice situation the cultural attitudes--and thus answers--of respect for elders, and the deployment of professionals to rural areas where such attitudes and behavior would be (is) valued in African contexts.

In terms of years of experience of administrators and the practitioner's perception of the administrator's part in decision-making, Kenyans vary little. This is in contrast to the Tanzanians where the difference is statistically significant at $t = .05$ and $.0005$ for years of experience for the two points of decision-making. The results suggest that practitioners and younger administrators there do actually influence decisions made to a greater extent than do older administrators. The Kenyan practitioner response pattern shows almost a consistent, downward trend. One can conclude from Tables 6.13 and 6.16 that the more the years of experience, the less they participate; but they continue to do so to a higher degree than do administrators. This view is confirmed by Table 6.17 where from 67 to 100 percent of Kenyan practitioners for all ages do not perceive the top man as being the sole decision-maker.

From 61 to 100 percent of all administrators of Tanzania and Kenya say that they do not share in decision-making, neither from different levels nor from the field, after they are 30 to 39 years of age. This outcome comes about--no doubt quite unintended by the national leadership of developing countries--for two reasons. The first is that the civil service structure, or administration was set up initially as an instrument for implementing a colonial policy, and thus it denied succeeding lower ranks of administrators a real voice in decision-making. Such ranks were the first to be filled by Africans as independence approached; subsequent national African leaders have continued to concentrate power at the top. Top administrators in all of the departments of social welfare and community development of governments studied served in ministries under a permanent secretary, the highest level administrator, and under cabinet ministers through whom matters of social policy and social resources had to be channeled and by whom final decisions on such matters were made.

The second reason has to do with the locally held conception of the social work task. In the three countries studied, social service activity has been conceived historically as unifunctional--that supreme function being the mobilisation of people.¹⁸ According to one informant:

....where an administrator has worked (at provincial, district, regional, etc., level) in mobilising people and

resources for a particular task and goals and roles that are not necessarily professional, his appointment to head the administration of the social services is justifiable.

Under the circumstances a professional is not appointed because

...we are not quite sure that what we call 'professionalism' in our own context has been attained... This does not apply in other areas at all. When you look at the agriculture director's deputies, for example, all are professionals!

The consequence for such an administrator of social work practice in the long run is a steady diminishing of his/her own powers over decision-making. Especially is he/she less competent to do so, where he is called upon to perform tasks more complex than mobilising the people, i.e., tasks requiring higher levels of knowledge and skills. In these, the professionals may be better equipped.

With this striking revelation about administrator decision-making, the difficulty for the profession in reorienting its strategy becomes more evident. For not only is there little legitimization of professional authority but the organisations of practice appear to accord to administrators, as well, insufficient authority over decisions--during many of their working years--for them to steer the profession toward greater relevance to African problems and needs.

The power to gear social work more relevantly, I earlier maintained, relates not only to information sharing and decision-making, but also to the matter of resources. To consider

this thesis further I return to the questions put to all respondents: "What affects the success of practice?" Here I wish to examine one other variable suggested in addition to the "traditional set-up," i.e., that of the material support given for professional practice.

It is clear from Table 6.18 that professionals of the three countries hold quite similar perceptions about the effect of material support: the highest percentage of deviation from the perception of all other categories is found among Kenyan educators. It was earlier suggested that they have had the least experiential contact with the field of practice of all other respondents.

Table 6.18

Lack of Resources; Extent of Effect
on the Success of Practice

	Zambia*			Tanzania			Kenya		
	P	A	E	P	A	E	P	A	E
	Rank 1 - 2								
	%			%			%		
	79	79	71						
Great deal				81	78	73	77	73	67
Slight				15	18	20	18	16	33
None				4	4	7	5	11	-
N =	(57)	(28)	(14)	(69)	(45)	(15)	(123)	(37)	(15)
\bar{X}	4.2	7	3.5	2.76	2.73	2.66	2.72	2.62	2.66
Gammas	0.44	0.23	0.69	0.15	0.64	-0.63	0.20	0.25	0.26

*Zambians were asked to pick one only and their answers were then ranked.

The differing organisational settings account in part for this perception, with the gamma associations varying, but positive, for all but Tanzanian educators as shown above.²¹ A high level of agreement was found (Tables not presented here) among professionals across organisations. For example, taking the Tanzanian and Kenyan response alone, whereas respectively 81 and 82 percent of the Tanzanian practitioners and administrators in governmental settings say that lack of material resources affected success "a great deal," a comparable 81 and 73 percent of Kenyan practitioners and administrators were of the same viewpoint. Only a slight difference occurs between these and professionals of the voluntary sector. Sixty-eight and 67 percent of the Kenyans against 75 and 40 (N=5) percent of the Tanzania practitioners and administrators, respectively, see a "great deal of effect" also.

It is hardly surprising that lack of material resources is seen as being a major impediment to successful practice. Chapter Two spells out at some length those features of the context which would produce the results just presented. There I pointed to the steady erosion of the economies of the three countries during the decade of the research and on into the 80's. This trend has continued to intensify because of the forces of a world-wide inflation, high oil prices, natural causes, and the resistance of the externally-oriented ruling

elite to institute policies leading to actual redistribution of national wealth.

The subsequent dearth of material provisions, according to informants, impacts practice relevance at a variety of points. A lack of transport immobilises professionals and renders contact with the people and follow-up problematic. Feedback between headquarters and the field staff cannot be sustained, since postal, written communications are also affected. Without funds it is not possible to obtain the high degree of "change concentration" possible through saturating the rural areas in particular with professional staff.²² And without resources plus status, professionals do not put forth effort. In Tanzania, the ujamaa workers are said to have both.²³ The basic needs of categories requiring individualised services, such as the destitute child and families, orphans, etc., are unmet. The services are then curtailed or discontinued. One director, a professionally qualified social work administrator, has summarised the situation in these words:

A number of items of policy require specific projects and programmes that are highly relevant to needs of Zambians. A major problem is a lack of funds. As much as we would like to effect change with the existing structures, it cannot be done.²⁴

The findings and perspectives of the social work professionals imply that a social work for Africa must be cheap, i.e., require a minimum of input of resources from governments.

Baker's ²⁵ research shows that the provision of resources for the social services increases with the rise in the economic standard of living for the society as a whole. If this is a current assessment, then African countries, by virtue of being continually underdeveloped, may not be able to address the needs of professionals for adequate material resources in the foreseeable decades. The withholding bureaucracies, then, become the means of not legitimating professionals--by implication--not legitimating professional goals to enhance the capacity of people and communities to meet their basic needs fundamentally.

Influence: The Professional's Assessment.

To contrast the picture of professional power developed from interpretation of data, I turn in this chapter, lastly, to the social work professionals' own assessment of their ability to influence the organisations' administrative leadership. Here, influence is defined as power. Two things are of interest. The first is the professional's perception of the influence pertaining to his/her position, vis-a-vis the administration. The second is his/her perception and use of other forces within and beyond the organisation of practice to enhance his power to achieve professional goals. The underlining question to this discussion is whether the African social worker considers influence to be a vital or an indifferent link to professional relevance.

All respondents were asked to indicate the degree of influence the social work professional exerts on his/her organisation to introduce or to change social policies or programmes (see Appendix B: Z (P) = 23 (a,b), (A) 24a-25b, (E) 25a-26b); T-K (P) = 23 (a,b), (A) = 25a-26b, (E) = 14a-15b). Administrators and educators were asked to give their views about the

Table 6.19

Perceived Degrees of Influence Exerted

	P %	P by A %	A %	P by E %	E %
Zambia					
Great deal	21	52	62	7	14
Some	36	31	17	50	50
Very little	34	14	21	36	36
None	8	3	-	7	-
N =	(58)	(29)	(29)	(14)	(14)
Gamma =	0.37		-0.30		0.78
t sign = P + AP	(3.288) = .0005		AP + EP (3.517) = .0005		
Tanzanian					
Great deal	30	31	36	33	40
Some	45	31	43	40	40
Very little	20	38	18	27	13
None	4	-	3	-	7
N =	(69)	(45)	(44)	(15)	(15)
Gamma =	0.54		0.85		0.66
t sign = P + AP	(1.056) = .20		AP + EP (.0374) = .20		
Kenya					
Great deal	29	30	40	27	53
Some	34	39	54	46	13
Very little	29	8	3	27	27
None	8	3	3	-	7
N =	(121)	(37)	(37)	(15)	(15)
Gamma =	0.24		-0.12		0.38
t sign = P + AP	(9.542) = .0005		AP + EP (3.830) = .0005		

influence exerted both by practitioners and about themselves, i.e., practitioner by administrators (P by A) and by educators (P by E). The response is shown in Table 6.19 above.

The administrators all see professionals as having less power, or influence, in the organisation than they see themselves as having. This is borne out both by the respective percentages of practitioners and administrators who say they have a "great deal" of influence and those who say they have "very little" or "none". The differences between the Kenyan practitioners and administrators is particularly striking for these two last categories. In fact, given the lower levels of education the higher percentages of women, and the less likely it is that such practitioners are involved in decision-making, it is not remarkable that Kenyan practitioners say that they have very little or no influence at all.

Kenyan educators tend to see practitioners in a very different and much less powerful position than do administrators. As shown, the differences between the samples is statistically significant at the $t=.0005$ level. By comparison the majority of educators, more than either practitioners or administrators believe that they have a "great deal" of influence. Among the reasons given (which will be shown later in Table 20) is the opportunity they say they have to participate in decision-making through committees of the bureaucracies and institutions as

experts, advisors and planners.

On the other hand, there is little statistically significant difference in the perceptions of the Tanzanians administrators and practitioners. The Tanzanian sample shows similar perceptions as to the degree of influence of each professional category, and between educators and administrators about practitioners. Earlier in Chapter Two, attention was called to the institutionalised contacts existing between the institutions and practice organisations. This result suggests that indeed there is an awareness by each category of the relative power of the separate segments of the profession.

One other important aspect of the table might be singled out now for comment; I will return to this table again below. Administrators and educators confirm that Tanzanian practitioners have about as much influence, i.e., "great deal" plus "some" at 73 and 75 percent, as they say that, they themselves, have, i.e., at 62 and 80 percent, respectively. It was shown above that Tanzanian practitioners tend to participate to a high degree in decision-making. Given, in addition, their high levels of education--mostly diplomas and degrees in contrast to certificates for Kenyans, there possibly exists also a greater degree of legitimation to steer approaches more relevantly than hitherto utilised.

There is much less agreement between the practitioners

and administrators of Zambia about the influence professionals have within the practice framework. The difference between practitioners, educators and administrators is highly statistically significant, at the $t = .0005$ level as is the case in the Kenya sample. Such diversion of view in both instances would result from the patterns existing wherein educators have no ongoing, in-depth interaction with the bureaucracies of practice. I have also mentioned that in each situation the higher level institutions for social work education do not have continuing association with intermediate-level institutions. In the case of Zambia, these are departments of government, and as such, could provide relevant feedback to social work educators about the practice field. Moreover, a large proportion of Zambian and Kenyan educators, respectively, 36 and 27 percent, see practitioners as having 'very little influence'--the exact amounts they ascribe to themselves.

Of the Zambians, administrators perceive a high degree of influence attaining both to the professional and to themselves. This viewpoint corresponds nicely to the high level of education and position subsequently obtained by graduates outside traditional social work organisations in the modern sector of the economy. The considerable difference in the percentages between the assessment of the practitioner against that of the administrators and in the statistical significance of the

Table 6.20

Reasons for the Perception of Influence of Professionals

		Zambia			Tanzania			Kenya		
		P	A	E	P	A	E	P	A	E
		N			N			N		
Great Deal										
Demonstrated professional ability	"I show good professional insights into people's difficulties."	6	11	-	2	3	1	16	1	-
	"I am aware of field situations."									
	"I participate in decision-making."	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	1	2
	"My suggestions are taken."	2	4	2	3	4	3	6	3	3
	"The communication [between administrators and practitioners] is clear."	4	-	-	5	-	-	5	-	-
Innovative practice	"I present new ideas on solving problems." "I initiate programmes."	1	3	-	6	6	-	3	8	3
Total -		(13)	(18)	(2)	(16)	(16)	(4)	(30)	(13)	(8)
None										
Demonstrated professional ability	"I show awareness of and/or ability to handle problems."	-	-	-	4	-	-	6	-	-
	"The advice I give is implemented."	7	2	2	9	5	4	12	2	2
Access	"I can initiate." "I have access to policy-makers."	2	-	-	1	1	2	2	6	-
Problems of the bureaucracy	"Social workers lack recognition."	-	-	2	4	3	-	2	5	-
	"The bureaucracy is slow."	7	1	1	10	2	2	7	1	-
	"Little power is delegated."	4	2	2	4	8	-	9	6	-
Total -		(20)	(5)	(7)	(32)	(19)	(8)	(38)	(20)	(2)
Very little										
Problems of the bureaucracy	"We have to work in such rigid structures."	2	-	-	2	-	-	3	1	-
	"Decision-making is all at the top."	6	2	2	2	4	-	11	-	2
	"The top resists new ideas." "The supervisor is unresponsive."	6	-	-	6	-	1	9	-	2
	"Programmes are ready-made."	-	4	3	2	4	-	4	-	-
Problems as professionals	"Administrators are different from practitioners (e.g., in education, profession, interests)."	2	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-
	"Low status of social workers prevents social workers from influencing administrators."	5	-	-	-	-	1	5	-	-
Total -		(21)	(6)	(5)	(13)	(8)	(2)	(34)	(1)	(4)
None										
Problems of the bureaucracy	"Major decisions are reserved for the chief (the top, the boss, made elsewhere)." "The bureaucracy does not allow for much change."	3	-	-	3	-	-	9	1	1
Problems as professionals	"Administrators have no confidence in social workers." "Social workers can make no contribution."	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
Other		-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	-
Total -		(5)	(-)	(-)	(3)	(1)	(1)	(12)	(3)	(1)
Total Populations -		(59)	(29)	(14)	(64)	(44)	(15)	(114)	(37)	(15)

difference suggests that in Zambia, too, possibilities for legitimisation or sharing of power within the organisation may exist, but have not been fully recognised nor exploited by practitioners.

In Table 6.20 above, one sees the various reasons given by the respondents for their respective perceptions. The data has been grouped to show, first, the numbers of respondents indicating each degree of influence, since the frequencies for many categories are very small. Secondly, the presentation is designed to reveal the professionals' own assessment of the result of administrator/practitioner interaction. Verbatim quotes are provided to help to amplify the underlying ideas prompting this assessment. Not all respondents gave a reason for their judgements, and thus the differences in total frequencies between Table 6.19 and 6.20.

The responses provide some evidence in support of my position on relevance as pertains to the administrative structures; for in all three countries the social work professionals, too, equate power--or influence--with a context that permits them leeway to initiate and to demonstrate their professional knowledge and skills. But more important to my thesis is this finding: that wherever influence is perceived to be "very little" and "none", this is viewed as a consequence of a bureaucracy that constrains in some manners. Overtly, the organisations can

withhold status or recognition by various means, e.g., by its ranking processes, through the remunerations for work, etc. Covertly, limitations are seen in the rigidity of the administrative structure--i.e., its slowness to change, its lack of delegation, and its unresponsiveness to new ideas.

One highly conspicuous omission from the list of reasons is that of education as a factor in the respondent's perception of his/her influence. This observation is corroborated by the gamma scores done which showed that a relationship of education and influence between levels, exists for the administrator position alone (i.e., at Gammas 0.47 and 0.09 for administrators of Zambia and Kenya, respectively.)

A case can begin to be made for a hypothesis that the administrative structure is a more important variable for gearing practice more relevantly than is education, since, no matter what level of education the professional attains, the administration can still deny him/her the legitimation that relevance requires. For by contrast, the gammas already reported in Table 6.19 reveal that it is the organisation of practice that is most positively associated with the perception of influence. The relationship is particularly strong for all Tanzanians, and educators of Zambia, and moderately so for practitioners and educators of Kenya. The result reflects possibly a higher degree of influence accruing to professionals in the voluntary sector; for

whereas only 18, 29, and 26 percent of the practitioners in governmental settings say that they have a "great deal" of influence, 40, 50 and 38 percent in the voluntary settings of Zambia, Tanzania and Kenya, respectively, say that they do. Likewise, the percentage of practitioners in these same two settings who say they have "very little" influence or "none" differs considerably, except for Zambians, showing the following: 41, 26 and 42 percent for respondents in governmental settings against 40, 0 and 21 percent in the voluntary sectors of the three countries, respectively. Given the higher status and financial rewards attached to jobs in the modern economic sector in Zambia into which graduate social work professionals are also absorbed, any influence attained in governmental settings for traditional social work could appear, by comparison, to be "very little".

For social work educators of Zambia and Tanzania in universities, 100 percent say that they have "some" influence. Of Zambian educators in the training programmes for community development, who were less highly educated than those at university--i.e., having bachelors degrees or less while the latter held M.A. and Ph.D. degrees, only 7 percent say that they have a "great deal" of influence compared with 31 and 60 percent of Tanzanian and Kenyan educators in non-university settings. Influence for the Zambians, according to one respondent, comes about when their ideas are taken indirectly through the

performance of former students.

Kenyan educators in the university setting considered that they had less influence than those of the intermediate level institution--40 percent indicating a "great deal" against 60 percent who say that they have "very little." Ten percent at the intermediate level in Kenya thought that they had only "very little" influence. The fact that 67 and 40 percent of the university level educators in the Zambian and Kenyan samples, respectively, and none of the Tanzanian sample were expatriates could explain their perception of having little influence in the local situation. Moreover, the Kenyan educators relate influence to their contributions to decision-making and to the generation of new ideas. At the same time, for the reason that the bureaucracy is perceived as not welcoming such contributions, the majority of these educators would also see themselves as having little influence.

Earlier in this chapter attention was focused on the extent of contact occurring with reference to practice approaches. Concern here is with the ways of increasing professional influence. For I have hypothesised, specifically, that the influence of the practitioners is related to and increases with the frequency of their contact with administrators. I have also argued that use of others within the environment of practice enhances the power of professionals.

To test the first of these ideas, an analysis was made of the responses of all administrators as to the amount of influence they say the professionals exert by the frequency of their supervisory contact with them. The underlying assumption is that such contact provides an opportunity for the practitioner to structure his/her communications with his/her superiors in ways so as to both gain information and to persuade. It is thought that this end is more readily achieved through scheduled contact, i.e., daily, weekly, monthly or others, than through ad hoc meetings--the occasional contact when there is the pressure of an immediate need. Since most practitioners of the Kenya sample (i.e., 102 of 114) indicated an "occasional" contact, the data is examined from the perspective of administrators only in order to report on the total response to the question.

The Tanzanian administrator sample in Table 6.21 shows a slightly higher percentage of respondents who, meeting on a regular basis with their professionals, say that they have a great deal of influence. Yet, on the whole, there is no important difference seen in the results for Zambia and Tanzania. However, for the Kenyan administrators, over twice as high a percentage of them meeting regularly perceive their professionals as having a great deal of influence as those seeing practitioners only occasionally. Conversely, the administrators who see their practitioners as having "very little" influence are to a

considerably higher degree--17 as compared to 4 percent--those administrators who meet with their subordinates only occasionally. Although the differences between the two groups within the Zambian and Tanzanian samples are slight, the pattern is for the practitioner who is seen on a regular basis to appear to the administrator to be more influential. The value to the professional of this perception is that the administrator is more likely to allow himself/herself to be persuaded from below than is the administrator with whom the contact is ad hoc or irregular.

Table 6.21

Influence Exerted as a Function of Frequency
of Contact with Administrators

	Scheduled			Occasional as needed		
	Z	T	K	Z	T	K
	%			%		
Great deal	50	35	36	50	28	17
Some	30	26	56	33	36	66
Very little	10	39	4	17	36	17
None	10	-	4	-	-	-
N =	(10)	(23)	(25)	(18)	(22)	(12)

Although these findings are inconclusive evidence, they do provide some support for my thesis. Particularly the Kenyan differences are sufficiently large as to suggest the need for further research on the impact of administration/practitioner contact on practice outcomes. But for now, the data leads to a final question: does contact with and use of other sources of

power beyond the administrator enhance the professional's influence? (See Appendix B: Q Z(P) = 24, (A) = 26, (E) = 27; T-K (P) = 24, (A) = 27, (E) = 16.)

In answering this question as shown in Table 6.22, I have drawn only on the responses of the social work practitioners and administrators who, saying either that they exert a "great deal" or "very little" influence, also say that the use of other specific means was the "most effective" way to increase it. This procedure which considerably reduces the number of tables to be presented is adopted because my examination of all data revealed a pattern comparable to that reported here in Table 6.22.

Table 6.22

Sources Used to Increase the Influence of
Professionals by Degree of Influence Attained

	P Politicians		A Influential Persons/Groups		P Departmental machinery		A	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Zambia								
Great deal	27	(11)	45	(11)	19	(11)	66	(6)
Very little	25	(20)	27	(11)	15	(20)	-	(-)
Tanzania								
Great deal	48	(21)	62	(13)	47	(19)	54	(13)
Very little	65	(14)	53	(17)	21	(14)	62	(16)
Kenya								
Great deal	10	(31)	22	(9)	62	(32)	82	(11)
Very little	47	(30)	-	-	57	(30)	100	(3)

My assumption is that the politician, representative of the political arenas of society, is a key figure in both the

shaping of social policies and in dispensing public resources. To address the environment in its totality so that the needs of the majority of people are basically met, sanction from and involvement in that arena is thought to be important. Table 6.22 in part reflects this supposition.

For the Zambian, practitioner the use of departmental machinery makes the most important difference to increasing professional influence. But for the Tanzanian practitioner, even the use of departmental machinery and politicians still leave 29 and 65 percent of his/her group having "very little" influence. It was expected that in their context where the socialist policy stresses close collaboration between the politicians and professionals, relating to this source would be seen to enhance professional power. But of all Tanzanian practitioners who agree that association with politicians is "most effective", 65 percent of these declare that they nevertheless have "very little" influence.

Kenyan professionals tend to see influential persons as most useful--a view that no doubt takes into account the wealth that has accrued to the African elite from the capitalist connections of the state. But for the practitioners, fewer who use the departmental machinery say that they have only "very little" influence than those who find one of the other groups to be most effective. It is recalled that in the discussion on where

professionals were finding jobs, Kenyans more than either the Zambians or the Tanzanians were bound to the traditional practice departments, having fewer outlets to jobs in the organisations of the economic sector or to new fields beyond social work.

Table 6.22 indicates that all administrators, to a higher degree than do the practitioners, see themselves as gaining in influence through their connections, whatever the source. However, influential persons appear least beneficial to the Tanzanian and Kenyan administrators. A greater proportion of them using such persons also say, nevertheless, that they have "very little" rather than a "great deal" of influence. The gammas, too, for the degree of influence exerted by the sources used for all three samples are either negative or are quite weak. On the other hand, use of politicians and departmental machinery is seen by administrators to be helpful indeed.

There are a number of explanations for the differences in the perceptions held by the practitioners and the administrators. Given the recent introduction of the profession of social work into Africa, it is not surprising that qualified practitioners look more to their departments of practice for validation than to other spheres of influence not immediately connected with the profession, such as to politicians, for example. On the other hand, the expected little involvement of

practitioners with political power suggests a lack of appreciation of this force and its ramifications for the society as a whole. Such deficiency would reflect an educational content to be discussed in the next chapter that does not adequately prepare professionals to deal either with the bureaucracy or with political systems. Moreover, a perception that the bureaucracy constrains and that the professional lacks power to initiate moves within his/her own department or administration could hamper practitioner efforts to go beyond it to other sources of help. This viewpoint would particularly hinder involvement with politicians in contexts of underdevelopment in which the political systems hardly incorporate the masses in the process of political power, as was indicated to be the case in Zambia and Kenya. Thus, in the response to Case Problem VII (tables are not presented here), concerning professional intervention where a governmental decree is seen to adversely affect the people, 59 and 63 percent of Tanzanian and Kenyan practitioners, respectively, report that they do not handle the matter while 13 and 20, and 8 and 14 percent of the administrators and educators, respectively, say that indeed professionals should do nothing in such a situation.

But that contact with politicians is beneficial to the administrator is as expected. For this position, as in the colonial era, continues to serve maintenance functions for both

the political and the bureaucratic leadership. Being responsive to these two sources of power does get the desired outcome: that is, yet more influence for the man at the top. The issue is clearly one of sharing so that organisational, administrative and political power are combined to legitimate the professional contribution and to support the professional goal of making an efficacious response to the problems posed in the African contexts.

Conclusion

Chapter Six has focused on the administrative structuring of the administrator/practitioner professional relationship within the organisations for practice. It is held as a premise that if social work is to realise the development of more relevant approaches, then, the large complex organisations and the governmental settings in particular must be of a change-oriented type, characterised by greater openness to ideas, decentralised, and flexible. But when, as my data suggest, the administrative structures exert so powerful an influence on practitioners, then national leaders as well as social work experts must pay increased attention to the role the bureaucracy plays in shaping approaches to problems. If the structures are directed merely toward incorporating the social work professional into a routinised, bureaucratic response, then it is certain that most intervention strategies will remain basically small-scale,

individualised actions. Professionals in the main perceive that it is these bureaucratic structures that constrain them to unsuccessful outcomes.

As shown in Chapter Five, most social work approaches remain only moderately broad at best. Data in this chapter documents the degree of control the administrator exercises over aspects of practice such as policy formulation, planning and financial-control. On the other hand, the administrator through the various supervisory mechanisms, shares little power with other social work professionals: the administration retains knowledge about operations--communicating in a manner that hampers a feedback from professionals; participation in decision-making is circumscribed except where the administrator is at a distance; and practice is impoverished of resources. In these situations, professionalism--as a result of whatever level of social work education--can have but little impact.

Where administrative structures aim to enhance the contributions of professionals, more power is given to them--a power manifested in terms of the removal of obstacles to their participation and the reinforcement of those trends that legitimate professional goals. This is most evident in the voluntary sector. However, the proportion of the professionals in each country which is absorbed in this sector is small. And, as many of the voluntary agencies maintain close ties with external

interests, especially for resources, though less and less for professional expatriate manpower, developments in that sector may not automatically spill over to, nor be instructive of, possibilities within the governmental organisations.

The incongruence between what the national leaders expect of social work professionals--especially its practitioners--and the degree to which the administrative leadership legitimates their purpose and goals is a matter of great importance because in the African countries studied, governments provide the major force behind social work. If social work is to play a role in the task of developing people to be self-sustaining, they should not, then, remain second class citizens, as it were, within the structures administering their services. Moreover, the inability of the social work professional--whose situation only mirrors that of other professionals--to fully utilise his/her skills because of bureaucratic constraints calls attention to the incongruity between the African reality and the declared aims of the earlier described systems of development. Findings in Chapter Two suggest that the national leaders may not be as committed as claimed. Or they may themselves lack the power necessary to guarantee the needs of the majority of their people. In either case, the problem of relevance remains an issue both for and far beyond social work.

CHAPTER SEVEN

EDUCATING SOCIAL WORK PROFESSIONALS FOR CHANGE

Introduction

In the preceding two chapters, the approaches adopted by social work professionals and the administrative structures within which practice is being carried out were examined in considerable detail. Of the approaches, it was concluded that basically practice steers a "middle course" as in the developed countries,¹ and the tendency is weaker than that required by the theory proffered in this study. The shape of practice, I also concluded, is a function of an administrative leadership which does not legitimate professionals to an extent that rules out the possibility that organisational goals more than relevance is served by what social workers do as practice. By virtue of his/her power vis-a-vis the practitioner, the administrator is more the determinant of which of these two get priority. This being so, social work professionals could think that the profession is not recognised when in fact its potential threat to the status quo is all too clearly apprehended by the ruling elite--and thus the administration operates to keep the potential danger under control.

The criticism of national leaders of social work education can be understood from a similar perspective. It is

perceived as not being applicable to African conditions and the people's basic needs. The cause is said to be the gap, or difference in orientation, existing between the practice field and the educating institutions. But the incongruity lies, instead, between the purposes and goals implicit in the concept of social work relevance and the basic values inherent in situations of underdevelopment earlier described.

Given this assertion that reflects on the ideological context of this research, a number of issues are raised that are implicit in the analysis that follows. One of these is about what is taught. Another concern rests with the question already mentioned: how applicable is the education likely to be in the prevailing administrative frameworks? To what extent is it a response to experiences of African life and African problems? Do the teaching fields represented among educators account for emphases of social work education content? Or do some other factors have an equal or greater influence on the thrust of education in contemporary Africa?

The tasks set for this chapter, therefore, are first, to review the structuring of education designed for the formation of social work professionals in the three countries. It is intended, secondly, to examine the perceptions of social work educators about content as seen from differing institutional levels. This latter part of the analysis is built around the

knowledge base and skills component of education as outlined in the theoretical presentation--aspects believed to be at the centre of an education directed toward having fundamental developmental rather than palative effects.

Perhaps before proceeding to discuss the structures and content, however, a restatement of the ideas guiding this segment of the study is in order here. My position is that the less relevant orientation in social work education derives from a bias in curricula toward conservative inputs in knowledge and skills, respectively. This results in outcomes that provide inadequate support for initiation and change actions by professionals. Furthermore, the variations in the degree of relevance that are seen come about more from the structures and functions of institutions than from the differences in the teaching fields of social work educators. The underlying assumption is that the environment of practice will permit the social work system to facilitate a relevant, or change orientation in its education--as with its approaches and administrative structures, ". . . only so far as it wants to be changed,"² i.e., that its basic interests are served. Let the discussion begin, however, with an overview of what the system provides in Zambia, Tanzania, and Kenya.

Organising Social Work Education

Chapter Two documents the dominant features of the

institutions equipping professionals and from which my educator samples were drawn. Let me summarise from that data the similarities and differences in structuring and in the functions of social work education that are salient to an understanding of the analysis below.

Professional education is provided at intermediate and university level institutions in all three countries. But only in Zambia is training for the grassroots and intermediate levels of practice undertaken by institutions that are departments of organisations and administrations also responsible for service delivery. Both in Kenya and in Tanzania, the institutions training intermediate and "front-line" professionals are separate bodies from the ministries providing the social services, although, as in Zambia, these are also government institutions. Governmental affiliation is, however, the only similarity.

For in Kenya, the intermediate level structure is within the overall civil service framework and falls under the auspices of the President's Office. Governmental organisations do not have sole claim on the graduates. But this close tie of the social work education institution to the civil service, and thus to the administrations of practice has implications for the perpetuation of the administrator/professional hiatus discussed in the previous chapter.

In Tanzania, also, the institutions at the intermediate

level serve the needs of social service and cooperative development departments for manpower, especially so for the ujamaa worker. But the ministry for social services has a claim on the professionals trained only to the same extent as all other organisations and departments recruiting such manpower. The human service departments have no claims on the graduates of the social welfare programme at the University. This difference with Zambia and Kenya is important. By having an independent existence and with the graduates being available to all organisations seeking social work expertise, the institutions contribute to the wider spread of the profession. Such spread potentially increases the degree of legitimation of the professionals within organisations. This, in turn, helps as well toward gaining acceptance for the profession's goals in the whole society.

At the university level in all three countries, social work education exists as a sub-department or unit within the larger humanities or social science faculties. This kind of structuring exerts varying degrees and types of constraints. A recognition of the existence of these suffices for the purposes of this study. Tanzania's Unit for Social Welfare alone is not organised to produce a fully professional practitioner. Rather, it functions to build in an orientation, or an outlook, that is developmental--of people and of communities. The programmes of Zambia and Kenya are directly and/or indirectly structured to

serve the political-economy, Zambia requires manpower. In Kenya there is need to manage both the social services and the social problems that threaten capitalist stability.

Moreover, the universities in all three countries function to provide a "generic" education, suggesting the integrated approach and an intent to prepare professionals who are adaptable to, and able to cope with a changing context. This intent, however, does not find expression later in the practice of social work unless there is adequate support for such an objective coming from within the educational organisation as a whole, that is, from within the university.

It is recalled that in Chapter Four, Table 4.8, I present the different content areas covered by social work educators. These are grouped in three categories: social work, social work and social sciences, and the social sciences. Here I shall refer to the categories as teaching fields, meaning that these are the subjects to which the educator respondents say that they give most of their time. With this concept and that of the organisation--in this chapter indicated by the structures and functions of social work education institutions--attention is now turned to the teaching content. The purpose is to see whether and the extent to which it reflects the orientation toward change that I have postulated is indicative of relevance.

Becoming Relevant: The Knowledge Base of Practice

In the discussion of theory certain elements in the content of teaching were identified as being prerequisites to sustaining an initiating and change orientation in practice. This section looks first at the input of knowledge--here omitting the vital component, values--and at the outcomes in skills expected resulting from the professionalising experience. The aim is to measure the degree to which these inputs and outcomes tend toward greater relevance. Let me consider first the knowledge base for social work.

Social work knowledge that is known or needs to be known by social workers for their use in effective social work practice. It is essentially knowledge about the world, man, and society.⁴

The social work profession, internationally, agrees with Siporin's definition that there are two major divisions of content: foundation knowledge, consisting of personality theory, social theory, and social welfare system theory; and social work practice theory, which is concerned with "planned intervention and change activities in regard to personality and social systems."⁵ This latter division deals with what social workers do in interacting and helping. This breadth of knowledge, in other words, is to prepare professionals to be capable of intervention at all significant sectors in the life of man in society.

African social work education experts⁶ have identified

the knowledge content from the social sciences that would enable the student to understand his own culture and society, and which could reorient curricula toward development and change purposes. Among these are included: social planning and policy; social research and statistics; social/public/financial administration; rural sociology; and community/mental health.⁷ There is widespread agreement that such content should be integrated. Through this approach, knowledge from the two divisions are combined so as to undergird a holistic conception of practice that is designed to fully address the realities of the social, economic, political and cultural framework existing in the country concerned. The purpose of this effort is to allow the resultant teaching to relate to local needs and at the same time ensure the production of a well-rounded professional practitioner at his level of education.

An examination of selected curricula⁸ show that the foundation and social work content that the experts declare will provide an appropriate knowledge base is represented in varying mixtures in the educational design at both levels.

Table 7.1 suggests a much heavier emphasis in Zambia at the university level on social work theory and in Kenya at the intermediate level on the social sciences. But as shown in note #8 which outlines the programmes of six of the nine institutions visited, that is not the case. The examination of the sources

Table 7.1
Course Content by Institution and Number/Hours Yearly*

	Intermediate (I) Years			University (U) Years			
	1	2	3	1	2	3	4
Zambia**							
Social Science Foundation	3	-	-	1	1	1	1
Social Work/CD/ Welfare	5	-	-	1	3	3	2
Practicum Block (Weeks, Rural(R))	16(R)	-	-	-	-	12(R)	12(R)
Concurrent (Days, Urban(U))	-	-	-	-	1(U)	-	2(U)
Tanzania							
Social Science Foundation	320	330	270	8-----Units-----			
Social Work/CD/ Welfare	300	270	330	4-----Units-----			
Practicum Block (Weeks)		12(U,R)	12(R)	None-----			
Concurrent (Hours, Class- room (C))	60(C)	60(C)	-	Observation Visits--			
Kenya							
Social Science Foundation	7***	6***		90	225	120	-
Social Work/CD/ Welfare	2	1	-	90	180	270(+90 Opt- tional)	
Practicum Block (Weeks)	12(U)	12(R)	-	8	9	-	-
Concurrent (Half-days per week)	-	-	-	-	3	1	-

* Sources are listed on the following page.

** Sources are listed on the following page.

*** Sources are listed on the following page.

Sources: * Zambia--University of Zambia, School of Humanities and Social Sciences Handbook 1978/1979, p. 72: Ministry of Rural Development, Department of Community Development Training Syllabus. (Monze). Mimeographed, Undated. 13pp.

Tanzania--University of Dar-es-Salaam, Department of Sociology, Social Welfare Option Outline Syllabus 1978/1979 and interviews with Drs. C. K. Omari, Head, and Safari, Senior Lecturer; New Three Year Social Work Diploma Curriculum for Tanzania. National Institute of Social Work, 1977, 55pp.

Kenya--University of Nairobi, Department of Sociology, Programme of Studies for the Bachelor of Arts (Social Work) Degree, September 1978, 15pp; Report of the Curriculum Consultation Provided by the International Association of Schools of Social Development, Kenya, Institute of Administration, March 22 - May 14, 1976. Mimeographed, pp. 21-28. See note #8 for details of curricular content.

** Years 1-3 of graduates in Zambia are a diploma programme. The additional 4th year is for the degree. Four (4) courses are given in that year, the 4th course being selected from any subject. Although CD programmes at Kitwe and Mzumbe are not here presented, their educators are included. For information about these programmes see Training Syllabus for Urban Local Authority CD Staff, Mimeographed, and Institute of Development Management Mzumbe Prospectus, 1978/79, pp 53-62.

*** KIA Curriculum integrates fields. Please see note #8 for all the sequences followed.

reveals that in Zambia an attempt has been made to closely integrate the social science and social work knowledge, specifically giving most courses taught by social work educators a title that stresses that bias. This is not surprising when it is recalled

that Zambia, with one of the earliest university diploma/degree programmes in Black Africa, pioneered in the integrated approach.⁹ The educational design at the intermediate level in Kenya can be explained in this same manner, except that the titles of the social development policy and administration sequence are more easily fitted into the social science category. It was earlier mentioned that the University of Dar-es-Salaam offers only a social welfare "Option." This is reflected in the fact that a third of its content relates to social welfare concerns and that there is no practicum component. The University of Kenya's programme is nearly balanced between social science and social work content. However, its curriculum draws a sharp dichotomy, e.g., between social work and community development, and community development and social welfare revealing a conceptualisation of the profession that is not found in any of the other programmes. Moreover, this curriculum alone offers courses, such as counselling and deviation and rehabilitation, that tend to buttress the individualised approach in practice. On the other hand, such an emphasis does prepare professionals for dealing with social problems and with "victims" and is implied by the context created under African socialism.

Knowledge of other fields exists as a resource for change to the degree that it is transmitted in a form that the prospective practitioner can utilise it in practice. The social work

education experts mentioned above have suggested that this result requires an integrated content at all levels of learning. Thus, this inquiry sought to ascertain the extent to which this approach typifies educating in the three countries. Further, social work educators were asked to indicate just how, if at all, such integration was being accomplished. Tables 7.2 - 7.4 shows the varying experience perceived by all educators and at the intermediate and university levels.

Table 7.2

Extent to Which Social Work Education
Content is Integrated

	Zambia %	Tanzania %	Kenya %
Yes	86	93	53
No	14	7	47
N =	(14)	(15)	(15)

Table 7.3

Extent of Integration by Institution

	Zambia		Tanzania		Kenya	
	I	U	I	U	I	U
	%		%		%	
Yes	92	0	92	100	58	33
No	8	100	18	-	42	66
N =	(12)	(2)	(13)	(2)	(12)	(3)
Gamma	.00		-1.00		0.69	

The two tables show that Kenyans vary considerably from the other two groups in perception about integration. There is the possibility that the difference lies in the respective

definitions of integration. The preceding comments about the curricula of the Zambian university programme lead to an expectation that the educators would give an affirmative response to the question on integration. One social work educator in that setting makes the following qualification that may also explain the Kenyan reality:

Social work educators do consider integration in the social work courses, but the basic [social science] concepts are provided by those in the other disciplines.... There is no channel for cross-participation.¹⁰

In that social work educators in Zambia conceptualised such an approach and have attempted to operationalise it through the practicum, it is assumed that were the educational structures to encourage further integration, this would be adapted--as is reported to be the case at the intermediate levels there and in Tanzania, and to a lesser extent in Kenya. The results of Table 7.3 lead to the suggestion that attaining a more solid base of knowledge, one that is presented in a form that does not leave the student to carry the burden of making the content applicable to the context, is more problematic at the university than at the intermediate level of educating. Table 7.4 points to the methods by which integration is most commonly effected.

Table 7.4

Ways of Integrating Teaching Content

	Zambia %	Tanzania %	Kenya %
Team teaching	7	33	33
Joint Planning of curriculum	36	13	20
Interdisciplinary review of content	43	47	-
No integration	14	7	47
N =	(14)	(15)	(15)

There is less disparity in the methods used by the Zambians and Tanzanians in comparisons with the Kenyans than in the fact that this latter group makes much less use of this approach in education. In answer to an inquiry about integration see Appendix B: T-K (E) Q 8-9), in data not presented in full here, 43 percent of the Kenyan educators say that they do nothing about integrating their teaching with others because it is a "departmental requirement," by which is meant that the structuring of courses make no room for this activity. Another 43 percent say that the "requirements of the discipline (all of the content needed to cover the subject)" precludes other emphases. A final 14 percent report that their courses are combined in a total syllabus, but no integration takes place.

It is possible to suggest that the trend in the three countries is toward the integrated approach, but that at the

time of the study the results at the university level in particular does not strongly reflect this trend. Without effective integration, teaching content--especially the foundation knowledge base--remains, in Umbach's¹¹ words, "classical" as opposed to "developmental." It retains the conservative bias, i.e., content with knowledge that is derived essentially from and for the developed, industrialised context. In that form, which also has to do with the kind and source of teaching material, it is of questionable applicability to the contexts of underdevelopment.

On the other hand, integration is a tool that at best should spur further analysis of and attention to such contexts. This should be the result, if the social science and social work practice theory from whatever source were complemented by indigenous material, produced locally and of a quality equal to work originating outside Africa. Therefore, in the exploration of the knowledge base, all social work educators in Tanzania and Kenya were asked (see Appendix B, Q 22. a,b) to indicate how students are helped to become more analytical in their approach. (This is perceived by the researcher as a means to a more critical appraisal of problems with the end being to derive more accurate predictions and strategies of problem-solving.) Barkun's work, earlier mentioned in Chapter One, leads to an expectation that content geared toward enhancing the student's ability to

think analytically might pose particular difficulties, since as shown in the discussion of education in general, the aim is to prepare students to reproduce and professionals to implement rather than to innovate or to initiate. The results of this line of investigation is presented in Table 7.5.

Table 7.5

Degree of Relevance in Approaches for Enhancing
Students' Ability to Analyse by Teaching Fields*

	Tanzania			Kenya		
	SS	SW %	SW/SS	SS	SW %	SW/SS
Less	67	57	50	100	43	50
More or less	33	29	50	-	43	25
More	-	14	-	-	14	25
N =	(6)	(7)	(2)	(4)	(7)	(4)
Gamma		-0.28			-0.45	

* This question was not asked of Zambian educators.

In the analysis of responses, an attempt was made to ascertain the extent to which the approaches in educating portend ensuring greater ability to use the knowledge rather than merely to "know about" the "need for" or "the applications of" analysis. Thus, scores were given to the three categories--one for "less," two for "more or less," and three for "more." Where the educator tends to focus only on other studies, or to rely on the content of "theoretical" courses of social science and social work, or to admit according little attention to the matter, the

the score of one is given. A score of two is used to indicate that the educator uses both research methods and the practicum, or field learning, to teach analytical skills. The score, three, is allocated when the educator says that he/she relies on theoretical courses, research methods, and the practicum to ensure an ability to analyse.

In the effort to develop greater ability in students for analysis, Table 7.5 shows a rather clear tendency for the educators teaching in the field of social sciences to rely mainly on the theoretical/discussion approach. But the emphases of those whose speciality is social work or a combination of the two is only slightly less biased. The table also shows that only a small proportion of educators in either country tend to use the combination of approaches, i.e., research, the practicum, and theoretical courses with the specific intent of increasing the students' analytical abilities through these varying ways.

This data, admittedly, does not of itself represent strong or conclusive evidence of the retaining of a conservative bias, here meaning that there is an emphasis on an input of knowledge that is not tied in any way to the field, neither through practice nor through research. It is clear, however, that there is no association between the way this area of content is handled and the teaching field, as I supposed would be the case. Both samples show a negative gamma.

This result probably indicates an insufficient consciousness of the need to focus more rigorously on this fact of the knowledge base and skills. For weakness of students in this area has implications for what social work professionals will be able to do later to change situations that hinder professional relevance to African problems.

While there is but a negative association between the variables, analytical ability and the teaching field, there is a strong and positive association between the variable, difficulties in building such ability, and the structures for education. Table 7.6 reveals that the greatest impediment to inculcating this ability is the educational background with which the students are recruited into training.

Table 7.6

Difficulties in Developing Analytical Ability
by the Institutions Educating*

	Tanzania		Kenya	
	I	U	I	U
	%		%	
Deficient educational background	54	-	55	25
Resistance of students to this approach	23	-	-	-
Lack of resources/time/interest	8	100	36	50
Other	15	-	9	25
N =	(13)	(2)	(11)	(4)
Gamma	0.67		0.66	

* This question was not asked of Zambians

That educators meet such difficulties in the first place is explained by the approaches to socialisation in the former British colonies in Africa at the primary and secondary as well as at higher levels. This has not encouraged critical thinking so much as rote learning and memorisation with the objective of passing examinations. The deficient background, the resistance, and the lack of interest, in particular, can be seen as the accumulated result of that socialisation process that under the colonial administration would have fitted Africans into roles of implementers.¹² But such roles do not equip them to solve problems in contemporary society. What is implied by these difficulties is the need for a resocialisation that gears students to an orientation toward change. Indeed social work education in preparing professionals is a process from which such outcomes as new approaches to understanding and action are expected.

Table 7.6 further shows that the task for educators in overcoming the legacy of the conservative approaches in learning is greater at the intermediate than the university level. But at that level educators are hampered chiefly by a lack of such resources as funds for research and relevant teaching materials. That time-tables are too filled with subjects "required" for examinations suggests that the organisational context continues to hold to definite maintenance functions, despite the criticisms of national leaders and the expansion of facilities for

educating social work professionals.

It is argued, finally, that the knowledge base of social work practice should to an important degree be an outgrowth of life experience of people and of the communities served. This necessitates the production of teaching materials derived from that experience and by the individuals having shared that life. To the questions, what "indigenous materials" is used and how is it produced (see Appendix B, Q 23, 24), the response of social work educators is presented in Table 7.7 and 7.8, page 326.

A variety of types of materials growing out of the local situation is used. The percentages shown in the tables indicate a basically similar pattern in both what is used and how it is developed by the Tanzanian and Kenyan educators, respectively. There is also a positive and strong association of these with the variable, institution--showing Gammas of 0.33 and 0.56 for materials used, and Gammas of 0.18 and 0.46 for how these are developed in the two respective countries.

But there is an important difference between Tanzania and Kenya in the degree to which research figures into the use and production of teaching content. For both of these the Tanzanians show a higher degree of activity than do Kenyans. This is important, for some theorists recognise competence in research as a key factor and tool by which social work educators may gain influence as experts beyond the classroom.¹³

Table 7.7

Types of "Indigenous Material Used"

	Tanzania %	Kenya %
Case studies	7	33
Case studies and research	13	27
Research and other papers	27	-
Books of local scholars	6	-
Experience	27	33
Very little or none	20	7
N =	(15)	(15)

Table 7.8

Ways of Developing Materials

	Tanzania %	Kenya %
Student fieldwork	27	27
Research (2 and 3 above)	40	13
Observations		13
Fieldwork, research and experience	20	20
Other	13	
None	-	27
N =	(15)	(15)

The large number of Kenyans who say that they use none of these means, that is 27 percent, suggests one reality of the Third-World educators: a high degree of dependence for teaching

materials on the western, developed nations and a dearth of resources in the underdeveloped countries--of publishers, financial grants for research, etc.--to produce their own.

In summary, a base of knowledge that is in most essentials broadly based, but integrated unevenly across the levels of educating, has been adopted by the institutions for resocialising prospective African social work professionals. Although teaching content potentially sharpens the faculties of students to critically examine the context and practice, problems arising from previous experiences in learning impede progress in reversing approaches in learning--and therefore, in practice. This suggests that the profession, having broadened its base, might need now to concentrate on deepening its hold. This would be the outcome were education to develop a keen analytical ability in the minds of the students. The development of certain skills provides the means to accomplish this task. The last section of this discussion highlights the perceptions of social work professionals about this facet in education.

The Skills Component in Education

Earlier in Chapter One I argued that administrative legitimisation, or sharing of power between social work professionals, is justified on the basis of the practitioner's authority derived from specialised education. Having just shown that this education has an underpinning of both social science and social

work knowledge--the later growing out of practice experience as well as research--the concern of this last section is with the skills component. In particular, my thesis is that education must produce an outcome in skills that are adequate for effecting basic changes. Competence in a range of quite specific skills are indicated by this position: I have named three sets; the traditional relational skills, those called by the social work and social science theorists as "adaptive" or "organisational skills," and skills for the rural setting.

While social work professionals require some competence in all of these, the particular degree of expertise needed does depend on the problem(s) addressed by the organisation and by the nature of the task and functions of the particular professional.¹⁴ Findings in Chapter Five suggest that practitioners can be constrained to intervene in ways that in effect limit the skills used. In other words, the administrative leadership may not give sufficient support to those strategies for dealing with local problems that call into play the total range of professional expertise. Thus, the skills dimension is important in this research, both as an emphasis in the teaching content, but also for what it implies for relevance of practice approaches.

A list of specific skills was presented to all respondents (see Appendix B, Q (2) 10, 14; (T-K) 13, 20). Each was required to indicate on a scale from "high" or "great deal," to

"none," his/her particular situation. The degree of competence refers to how much of the specified skill social work educators anticipate that the students of their respective institutions have upon completion of the professional course.

As well as a concentration on outcomes, it seems in hindsight, that a useful question would have been to determine also the specific inputs in terms of the time spent or the numbers of courses that were actually directed toward the development of these specific skills. For this would have provided more precise data with which to explain the educators' expectations of outcomes. One can deduce from the discussion on developing abilities of students to analyse, that a combination of both the theoretical courses and time spent in fieldwork activity are vital to skills formation. Lacking the type of data that would have enabled the use of a more quantitative analysis, what the educator expects as the "degree of competence" students will have is here taken as a measure of the educator's input. That is, it signifies the extent to which education is concentrated toward producing that specific result. The use of skills is considered in relation to the seven case-problems in Section I of the questionnaire, three of which were discussed in Chapter Five.

Of the three samples, the Tanzanian response shows the highest degree of similar viewpoints on use of and expected

Table 7.9

Degree of Use of Skills and Level of Competence
Expected by Educators

Skills	Zambia			Tanzania			Kenya		
	P	A	E	P	A	E	P	A	E
	%			%			%		
Relational									
Individuals									
Great deal (High)	66	61	36	68	55	54	85	73	85
Some (Medium)	25	18	50	21	27	33	13	19	15
Very little (Low)	7	18	14	8	14	13	2	8	-
None (None)	2	3	-	3	4	-	-	-	-
N =	(55)	(28)	(14)	(62)	(44)	(15)	(111)	(37)	(13)
Groups									
Great deal	40	61	64	55	52	66	66	54	69
Some	54	32	36	26	23	27	26	30	31
Very little	2	7	-	18	23	-	8	16	-
None	4	-	-	1	2	7	-	-	-
N =	(54)	(28)	(14)	(62)	(44)	(15)	(102)	(37)	(13)
Communities									
Great deal	39	50	50	59	64	73	71	41	54
Some	37	36	43	15	7	20	15	35	38
Very little	18	14	7	17	18	7	12	24	8
None	6	-	-	9	11	-	-	-	-
N =	(54)	(28)	(14)	(59)	(45)	(15)	(107)	(37)	(13)
Organisational									
Administration									
Great deal	47	50	22	55	50	20	47	70	18
Some	41	39	64	34	39	73	36	24	55
Very little	12	11	-	10	11	7	10	6	27
None	-	-	14	-	-	-	6	-	-
N =	(58)	(28)	(14)	(67)	(44)	(15)	(99)	(37)	(11)
Programme									
Planning									
Great deal	63	79	36	50	55	53	59	38	61
Some	24	21	50	36	16	40	22	38	31
Very little	7	-	7	11	22	7	14	21	8
None	5	-	7	3	7	-	5	3	-
N =	(57)	(28)	(14)	(66)	(45)	(15)	(103)	(37)	(13)
Formulation of policy									
Great deal	47	53	14	24	35	40	19	16	33
Some	35	29	29	31	31	40	30	43	42
Very little	9	11	14	30	27	20	25	33	17
None	9	7	43	15	7	-	26	8	8
N =	(57)	(28)	(14)	(68)	(45)	(15)	(92)	(37)	(12)
Teamwork									
Great deal				52	62	53	60	58	54
Some				32	25	40	32	31	31
Very little				10	11	7	7	11	15
None				6	2	-	1	-	-
N =				(68)	(44)	(15)	(104)	(36)	(13)

levels of skills. Such difference as exists shows the educators perceiving that their product has a slightly higher degree of competence than practitioners and administrators say is demanded in the practice situation. The one exception relates to the variable, skill in administration. Here the differences with the category, "great deal" between educators and practitioners and administrators respectively is 35 and 30 percent. The fact that these latter two groups see such extensive use of this skill reflects the trend in African practice for the administrator to assign to the qualified practitioner the responsibility for administering services and/or supervision staff almost immediately upon completion of his/her professional studies. It is possible that the educators' perceptions--and thus their emphases--fail to take this trend into consideration.

In contrast to the Tanzanian sample, there is much less agreement among Zambian respondents. The disparity between the practitioner and educator perceptions with respect to the relational skills is particularly wide--with differences of 30, 24, and 11 percent for individual, group and community work skills, respectively. An explanation for this difference can be found in the fact that 11 of the 14 educators in the sample are community development specialists. Their teaching is focused on chiefly on work related to groups and communities. Two others at university level were concerned with development of skills

for work with individuals as well as groups and communities. A third educator in manpower development within a multinational training programme taught in programmes concerned with work at the three levels also.

What is apparent in Table 7.9 is that Zambian educators, too, fail to gauge accurately the educational needs of practitioners for specific emphases in their formation. In the Zambian case there is an apparent misperception of the extent to which the practitioner is constrained to handle the problems of the individual. Perhaps one reason is that this continued predominant use of relational skills contradicts the professional ideology that aims to move practice away from a concentration on individualised approaches to broad-based and integrated activity. That only 40 and 39 percent of the practitioners say that there is a "great deal" of use of group and community skills lend further support to the conclusion reached in the fifth chapter: that much of practice still centres on the more individualised, less relevant approaches. Indeed, this result fits the situation where, under humanising the political-economy gives priority to an export-oriented rather than an internally oriented development strategy that necessitates the mobilisation of rural as well as urban populations. Under this circumstance, the practitioner especially would have substantially greater opportunity to deal with the individual--whether as a destitute

mother, a party politician, or a village chief--than with whole communities.

Another more startling revelation in the response of Zambians, and one of significant import to this study, is the extent of difference in perceptions of practitioners and educators about the degree or level of organisational skills that is required. At the category, "great deal," for the "administration" and "formulation of policy" variables the differences are 47 to 22 percent and 47 to 14 percent for the two groups, respectively. This is a surprising result in light of the fact that the sample includes educators at university level who prepare graduates for the Zambianisation of the private and public organisations, and educators of the intermediate level institutions some of whose product ultimately get placed in charge of administrations of district--if not regional--community development programmes. It is possible that in Zambia and in Tanzania, ultimate use of skills, locally, plays too little a part in determining which ones are stressed in the educational process.

The Kenyan respondents show the least consistent pattern in use and expectations with respect to both relational and organisational skills.¹⁵ Between educators and practitioners, for example, the differences are as much as 29 percent for "administration," but only 2 percent for "planning." Students at the intermediate level institution, whose graduates make up the

bulk of the practice sample, have been exposed to a revised (1976) curriculum in which a balanced emphasis is given to both types of skill.¹⁶ But like the educators of Tanzania and Zambia, those of Kenya appear also to have judged inaccurately the extent to which practitioners are required to take on administrative duties. Only 18 percent of them expect their graduating class to have a high degree of skill in administration, whereas 47 percent of the practitioners say that the organisations demand much of them. The educators also see their product as having a considerably higher degree of skill in the formulation of policy than practitioners say that they use this type of expertise. Such disparity is an anticipated outcome because, as has been shown, the bureaucratic administrations restrict the participation of professions in policy decision-making. Such administrations in essence discount professional authority or expertise. It might be due in part, also, to the rudimentary level of some skills that educators send student away from institutions with--skills that would greatly enhance his/her capacity to make policy, such as planning and research if he/she were better equipped. Both explanations are valid in view of the conservative nature of both administrative structures and education in the underdeveloped context.

The Kenyan administrator response at the category "great deal" is even more surprising and difficult to explain, since it

shows such wide variations in percentages--from a high of 73 percent to a low of 16 percent, respectively, for "individual work" and "formulation of policy." More important: except for these two variables, few of their perceptions closely correspond with those of either the practitioners or the educators. The data suggest that the three groups do not hold to a common perception of what skills are required to do social work!

In fact, as pointed out in Chapter One, in large complex organisations administrators are primarily oriented toward the organisation, to achieve its purposes and goals. His/her professional affiliation is likely to be but one explanation of his/her occupancy of the administrator position. In Kenya, a differing orientation between the administrator and practitioner is further explained by their educational backgrounds, with the administrators showing both a higher level as well as more diversified educational experiences. The gamma tests for Kenyan administrators (see Table 7.10 below) indicate that indeed there is a strong and mostly positive association with education and position with all seven skills. But the association is positive throughout and mostly strong with respect to the organisation for all administrators.

As the primary focus is on education and educators no extensive discussion is offered on the interesting differences

Table 7.10 Gamma Associations: Skills by Education, Position and Organisation for Administrators

Skills	Zambia			Tanzania			Kenya		
	LED	POS	ORG	LED	POS	ORG	LED	POS	ORG
Relational:									
Individ-									
ual	-0.14	-0.05	0.77	-0.02	-0.32	0.48	0.13	-0.51	0.44
Commun-									
ity	-0.35	-0.08	0.08	-0.17	6.31	0.57	0.37	0.44	0.13
Organisa-									
tional									
Adminis-									
tration	-0.79	-0.23	0.20	0.17	0.32	0.51	0.23	-0.08	0.39
Planning	-0.34	0.04	0.46	0.09	0.58	0.66	0.14	0.07	0.41
Policy	-0.33	0.24	0.27	0.13	0.39	0.34	0.21	0.50	0.51
Teamwork*				0.13	0.35	0.18	0.25	0.17	0.04

* Teamwork did not appear on the Zambian list.

seen in the above presentation of gammas. Suffice it to note that in contrast to a basically strong and positive association between the use of skills in Zambia and Tanzania with the type of organisation, for the Kenyan administrator--as the profile led one to expect--the important explanatory variables are both the level of education reached and his/her position. This strong showing of the two is anticipated because of the meritocratic system in Kenya in which advancement up the ladder to higher positions is closely tied to attaining higher levels of training. Education is less a determinant of the administrator's position or function in the other two countries as we had

earlier intimated in Chapters Two and Four.

The results and relationships support the assumption that with an orientation basically toward fulfilling organisational goals,¹⁷ these administrators' interest would lie much less in the processes or strategies practitioners use in solving problems than with obtaining results satisfactory to the organisation. To the contrary, both educators and practitioners would be concerned with how or through what processes or skills results are achieved. Both the force of the administrative bureaucracy and the penetration of education is believed to be reflected in their responses. Clear communication would be needed to ensure mutual satisfaction of interests and goals. This would preclude the wide gap that some social work professionals perceive exists between the educational institutions and the practice field.¹⁸

In summary, the above differences in the use of and the expected outcomes in the two types of skills is not an inexplicable development. For in the preceding chapter it was noted that the administrative leadership tends to accord insufficient power to professionals, thus perpetuating the continued use of the relational skills that are inadequate, if not dysfunctional, for fundamental, broad-based problem-solving and changes beyond the individual case. Let me now focus on how educators prepare professionals for dealing with the "bureaucrats" of practice.

The tendency toward conservatism suggests that education must develop skills that can be put to use and that can bring about changes within the organisations of practice. The interest in this research, therefore, is to ascertain the extent to which educators do go beyond a focus on the separate skills discussed above to the process of sensitising the prospective professionals to the nature of bureaucracy--which, like education, also exercises a strong socialising influence on its members.¹⁹

The study asks all educators to indicate the ways by which they prepare the students to function as professionals with the bureaucratic framework. Their responses were categorised to show the degree to which the teaching content ranges from knowledge about to specific doings within the organisational context. The former, represents the conservative bias. Such knowledge provides an academic understanding of some bureaucratic processes. The need, however, is for concrete learning experiences in integrating such knowledge with tasks that lead to specific skills. Where the teaching content about the bureaucracy shows a doing, or a definite skills development aspect, it is judged to have a higher change potential or bias. It is more relevant. The idea of the continuum of the less to more relevant content emphasis is applied here as with other variables, with some of the responses falling between the two

extremes in teaching emphases. The educator is again grouped according to his/her teaching field so that the impact of that variable can be seen.

In Table 7.11 on the next page one sees an important difference between educators in the degree of relevant emphasis and their teaching fields. With respect to the types of institutions in which they teach (see Table 7.12) differences exist, but they are less remarkable. It should be recalled that my educator samples include all persons responsible for social work education at the time of the study. Therefore, from the data presented in Table 7.11 one can conclude that educators, whatever their teaching fields, tend to take an academic, or theoretical, approach to preparing students for the organisational context. These educators whose teaching field entails a perspective broader than social work knowledge and practice alone, i.e., the social scientist or a combination of the two, tend to show a higher degree of relevant emphasis overall than do educators teaching social work only.

It is also recalled that the connections between the institutions and the bureaucracies, and the previous work experiences of the educators in Zambia and in Kenya differ. However, there is a greater similarity between these respondents in their teaching emphases than there is with Tanzanian educators. In contrast to the highest overall emphasis being placed on

Table 7.11

Degree of Relevance in Emphasis on "Bureaucratic"
Skills by Teaching Fields

	Zambia			Tanzania			Kenya			
	SW	SS %	SW/SS	SW	SS %	SW/SS	SW	SS %	SW/SS	
Relevance										
Less	72	33	100	-	33	50	71	25	-	
Discuss history of/ Analysis of struc- tures and functions										
More or less	14	67	-	43	50	50	-	25	25	340
Discuss its problems/ Plan strategies for coping										
More	14	-	-	57	17	-	29	25	50	
Fieldwork/Analysis/ Research										
Not involved	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	25	
N =	(7)	(3)	(4)	(7)	(6)	(2)	(7)	(4)	(4)	
Gamma =		-0.33			-0.78			0.65		

Table 7.12

Emphasis on "Bureaucratic" Skills by Institution

	Zambia		Tanzania		Kenya	
	I	U	I	U	I	U
	%		%		%	
Less Discussion/Analysis	75	50	23	-	55	-
More or Less Discussion/Plan Strategies	25	-	39	100	9	25
More Fieldwork/Analysis/Research	0	50	38	-	27	50
Not involved	-	-	-	-	9	25
N =	(12)	(2)	(13)	(2)	(11)	(4)
Gamma =	0.60		-0.25		0.66	

knowledge chiefly through the lecture/discussion method, a larger percentage of Tanzanian educators in each of the three teaching fields stress both knowledge and development of strategies and skills for functioning in the bureaucratic context.

The emphases according to the types of institutions also bear greater similarity between Zambia and Kenya than either with Tanzania. While Table 7.12 reveals that 77 percent of all educators in the latter country at intermediate level institutions show a "more or less" or a "more" relevant emphasis, a much lower percentage--25 and 35 percent of the Zambian and Kenyan educators at the intermediate level show a similar emphasis. The tendency of Kenyan educators toward less than a rigorous examination of the bureaucracy is further indicated by the revelation that 34 percent in both types of institutions ignore this area altogether.

An explanation for these similarities and differences are possibly found first in the discussion on skills just concluded and in the previous chapters. Professionals say that they use more relational than organisational skills (see Table 7.9). Educators tend to expect a higher degree of competence in this area also. Bureaucracies support only narrow to moderately broad approaches. These directions in practice and in the administrative structures of practice being accommodated by an academic or conservative examination of the bureaucracy. Relating

to it primarily to obtain placements for fieldwork, or the practicum, and emphasising relational skills--especially the relationship between the worker and her/his clients--educators need not necessarily focus deeply on those other skills that equip for work in the organisation, or for initiating and sustaining change on a larger scale.

Secondly, the educational institutions in Zambia and in Kenya, designed to prepare social workers primarily for specific departmental jobs--more than is the case in Tanzania--are, too, bureaucracies of the government. With a slightly lesser degree of legitimation than is realised by Tanzanian social work professionals (the profession is not officially recognised in Zambia), there appears to be little incentive for the educator, from his/her educational sector of the bureaucracy, to use its service sector experimentally. Rather, the results indicate a tendency by the educators to routinely acquaint the students with the nature and requirements of the setting in which the prospective professionals are most likely to practice.

The gammas presented on Tables 7.11 and 7.12, show the predicted relationship in Zambia and Tanzania, i.e., that the organisational type is of greater impact to an understanding of teaching emphases than is the specific field of the educator. The Kenyan sample is the exception, where both variables show a strong and positive association with the means used to sensitise

students to the bureaucracy. Here, the teaching field is as important to the degree of relevant emphasis as is the institutional setting. The distribution of percentages in the Kenya samples is more evenly spread.

The outcome, nevertheless, suggests that the closer educators of the various disciplines are on what is to be developed as knowledge and skills, the stronger is the impact of the educational content that is taught.

Rural Practice and the Practicum

Most of the peoples and communities of the three countries studied are rural. Developing skills that ensure a demonstrated competence in practice in the rural areas, I earlier argued, is a requisite to relevance in education in the African situation. This is not to deny the relevance of social work to the urban environment and to its problems. In view of a concentration by the profession, historically, on the urban milieu, the need is for curricula that are balanced in terms of a locally-focused knowledge base and skills that are also applicable to rural conditions.

The difficulty in accomplishing this task in Africa is inherent in social work education itself. Mention has just been made of the dearth of indigenous, rigorously produced teaching materials. Seven of the nine institutions visited were sited in the capitals, or in one of the largest cities. Siting of

training has a potentially constraining influence on placements for, and the development of, the field practicum upon which much learning of skills depends, as is shown below.

There is yet a more subtle factor of importance to the priority given to an emphasis on rural practice. Some social work educators²⁰ do not expect their product as graduates to go to the rural areas; or that others, though with fewer qualifications—but as administrators who will be posted to rural towns—will hardly deal directly with rural populations. Nevertheless, Table 7.13 below shows that all but one educator of the Kenyan sample say that by one or another means their teaching content is geared directly toward development of skilled rural practice.

Where there is involvement or an emphasis at all, the responses are categorised and ordered to reflect the increasingly higher level of skills that is indicated by the means educators use to focus professional intervention in this context. That is, the level of relevant expertise is expected to be much higher where the student is exposed to theory, field work and research, than to any one of these approaches alone.

Table 7.13
Ways Educators Equip Students with Skills for Rural Practice*

	Tanzania		Kenya	
	I	U	I	U
	%		%	
Theoretical Courses (TC)	8	50	9	-
Rural Practicum (RP)	8	-	18	25
TC/RP	8	-	37	25
TC/RP/Research	7	50	18	-
"Total Orientation"	69	-	-	-
No specific emphasis	-	-	9	50
Not involved	-	-	9	-
N =	(13)	(2)	(11)	(4)
\bar{x} =	2.6	1.0	1.8	1.3

*This question was not asked in Zambia. ²¹

Two important thrusts can be identified from the data, including the reports of informants. The first is that some educators tend to make the distinction between skills appropriate to the rural and the urban areas. This is shown where educators attempt to develop no practice skills at all, e.g., in the case of the university-level content in Tanzania, and the lack of involvement of one intermediate level educator in Kenya. This is also evident in the reports of 50 percent of the university-level educators of Kenya. According to one such respondent:

We have not differentiated the skills. But attention is given according to the kinds of problems met in the rural area. We teach an approach to problem - solving that is applicable to any situation.

The second thrust is indicated in the continued reliance for skills by social work educators on the practicum, or a combination of fieldwork and theory and/or research. (The Table shows what the educators actually said that they do. It is possible that the educators who failed to itemise them also meant that these three kinds of content are used). The "The Total Orientation" is a term adopted from Tanzanian educators to describe a curriculum which in all essential details is directed toward equipping professionals to practice mainly in rural positions. Its rural block practicum aims toward the realisation of a body of knowledge and skills unique to the rural milieu.

Social work educators report:

We have decided to have a continued assessment of successes of social work practice in rural areas. Therefore, we have village programmes in which students have to stay right in the village and to deal with difficult projects. The village projects are geared toward the development of social work functional roles within the rural setting.

He (the student) is to learn how to coordinate the development of the village community.

This (placing students in the village) is to set in an orientation to a rural development effort, and (it is) not the traditional community development (that self-help, etc, introduced prior to ujamaa).

The school is increasing the amount of content placed on the rural areas, with students learning to value the rural area with a commitment to work there.

Given that the 69 percent of Tanzanians who report a "total orientation" are speaking also about the thrust in field work as well, it is clear that this facet of the curriculum is as crucial to relevance as I have supposed it to be. For, in comparing the percentage scores of the two larger groups of educators, i.e., those at the intermediate level, one sees that the higher percentages on Table 7.13 are concentrated on the combination or total emphasis in Tanzania. But mean scores reflect a higher degree of consensus among the Kenyans than among Tanzanians on what is done.

The use of "block placements" wherein two or more months are spent in a rural community, is a feature of curricula of all the institutions except the university in Tanzania, as seen in Table 7.1 above. Therefore, the quotations cited above of the two groups of educators indicate a quite important difference in perspective. This has a bearing on how the rural practicum is used to enforce skills. The particular setting is a more or less irrelevant factor, where no specific emphasis is given or no differentiation is made between skills appropriate to rural as to urban areas (see Note 14). It merely provides the context in which to acquire, and/or to master problem-solving skills and techniques. By implication, the institution (and the social work educator) is neutral as to the extent to which skills are biased toward the rural or the urban problem and

problem-solving. It is also neutral as to the ultimate deployment of its product. The perception of Kenyan educators, especially at the university level, is therefore an understandable result because of the economic thrust of rural development and the need of the institutions, consequently, to supply manpower for increased traditional, urban services and problems. This result is consistent with other features of African socialism that have been already examined.

The emphasis implicit in the second set of remarks by Tanzanians suggest a deliberate attempt to steer students toward values, professional roles, and skills specifically delineated for the rural context. Such an emphasis fits into Tanzania's manpower deployment policy. It also is explained by the existence of an ideology that provides an incentive for village development and village-based interventions, and not only urban centred activity. Such incentive is seen in terms of sanction from and collaboration with legitimating politicians and influential persons, as well as from the administrators of practice.

Whether either of these emphases results in the degree of expertise expected by educators would be a function of the support the institution provides for this component of the curriculum. To provide a measure of the extent to which the practicum is supported, educators were asked to identify the major difficulties affecting this aspect of the teaching programme (see

Table 7.14

Difficulties of the Practicum by Institution*

	Tanzania		Kenya	
	I	U	I	U
	%		%	
Bureaucracy: structures, supervision	46	--	45	25
Shortages: resources, staff of institutions	23	50	27	50
Student response	15	--	9	25
Not involved	8	--	18	--
No problems	8	--	--	--
Other	--	50	--	--
N =	(13)	(2)	(11)	(4)
* =	2.6	1.0	2.7	1.3

*This question was not asked in Zambia. ²³

Appendix B: T-K, Q 28).

Table 7.14 shows that there is but slight difference in perception between Tanzanian and Kenyan educators about the nature of the difficulties with the practicum. The higher proportion in each sample say that they meet problems within the bureaucracies, or that they face shortages within their own institutions that hamper development of this component of the educational process.

An analysis of the open-ended question reveals that both groups of educators see the major impediment within the

bureaucracy as its tendency to assign the responsibility of supervision of students to underqualified staff. Five and four of the Tanzanians and Kenyans, respectively, identified this as the problem in that context. The remaining educators felt that a lack of cooperation of other bureaucrats frustrates efforts to innovate or to promote new ideas through the use of students in that setting. Twenty-three and 27 percent of the Tanzanian and Kenyan educators, respectively, point to such problems as the insufficient size of the social work education staff to provide qualitative supervision of students placed in the field; inadequate stipends for student maintenance so that, actually, the availability of lodging becomes the determinant of placement; and finally, the "loss of control" of the learning experience when students leave the institutions. An inability to analyse the situations--and thus the earlier noted tendency to describe field conditions--and disappointment because of the disparity between theories of the classroom and the real situations faced in the practicum underly the inadequate student response.

Those "not involved" are in each case educators of social sciences having no responsibilities for field learning. The fact that all other social science teachers as well as the social work educators do find difficulties lend support to the proposition that the teaching field is a less important variable with respect to the content than is the institution. The one

educator who sees "no difficulties" is a participant in the education of ujamaa workers, to whom, informants report, priority is given in the allocation of resources for training as well as for their subsequent interventions for development.²⁴

The congruence of viewpoints about the nature of the difficulties faced is reflected also in the similarity of the mean scores shown on Table 7.13.

The result overall, in effect, shows a low degree of support for realisation of the purposes of the practicum. The types of difficulties experienced come as no surprise in view of the problem of legitimation that confronts social work professionals already in the bureaucracy. With bureaucratic type administrations, the supervisor would be appointed by the administration to their duties on the basis of his position or seniority in the hierarchy more than in light of his professional affiliation or expertise. Again, it should be remembered that only rarely does the contact between the administrator and the practitioner touch upon educational themes for enhancing the level of competence of the practitioner (see Chapter Six, Note #11).

As the practicum is designed to educate for changing situations as well as for conserving the useful cultural heritage, a lack of quantitative and qualitative institutional support for the practicum does have important ramifications for the

subsequent professional practice of graduates. The dearth of support underpins the well-known tendency of educational institutions in the underdeveloped contexts to maintain systems. For without systematic support to the fieldwork component, the radicalising, change impact that could be modeled through the practicum is diminished. The scale of change activity is kept small, or individualised, since students cannot be followed for supervision, even if conscientiously placed, where the majority of the population is in the rural area. Educators then must fall back onto the classroom learning situation and to theoretical content that is derived from foreign teaching materials. Their product, lacking an opportunity through fieldwork to deepen their knowledge and skills, cannot evolve professional strategies apt to African societies. Because of this they will come under continued criticism, therefore, for doing irrelevant things. The educators, too, will also be criticised.

Conclusions

This research was not designed to attempt a thorough analysis of curricula or of the organisational structures of the institutions visited. The intent was to obtain perceptions of a particular group of educators about the direction education is taking in particular African contexts. An understanding of what and why the specific emphases exist, it was hoped, would help to amplify my concept of relevance. It was kept in mind that

for this research, relevance in education means socialisation and learning that prepare social work professionals with capacities for initiating and sustaining broad-based change activity. Bearing these qualifications in mind, the foregoing results do lend implicit support to the argument that educating relevantly may be part of the problem for the social work profession in Africa.

The findings on what is taught confirm that social work educators expose students to content that portend a broad base of social science and social work knowledge. But as the use and especially the development of indigenous material are yet a weak trend, social work educators remain dependent for knowledge basically on foreign sources.

The "abstract" knowledge can provide, in Nyirenda's words, "foreign recipes" and "borrowed tools," that cannot prepare students for changing African conditions. Moreover, the data show a tendency for the social work educators to approach the study of the bureaucracy through a classroom, intellectualised treatment rather than through structured encounters with and within the organisation. This result suggests that few African social work professionals will enter the bureaucracy with clear ideas about how it operates. Few will have any well-formulated strategies and skills for functioning effectively there. Such outcomes from the educational process obviously provide

justification for the administrative leadership to withhold power from professionals.

Emphasising knowledge and skills that are appropriate to rural practice is a function not only of the educators' curricular design, but also of the intentions of national rural development policies in the respective ideological contexts. Thus, the results show that educators of Tanzania and Kenya have quite differing aims in mind when relating to the rural context and in use of the rural setting for building skills.

What hardly differs, however, is the difficulty that these African educators of social work meet in developing the practicum as a complement to the classroom experience. While Tanzanians purpose to use the practicum in a manner that would bring their product into the main stream of socialist, ujamaa activity, i.e., rural village development, the fieldwork aspect of educating, interestingly, receives no more positive support than does the practicum in Kenya. The conclusions to be drawn are these. Social work educators of the profession, internationally, hold that the practicum is indispensable to the integration of knowledge and skills. It provides the "laboratory" for testing new ideas and new functional roles. If social work education--for want of an adequately supported laboratory to ensure that students learn different and more appropriate strategies--then, follows a conservative bias, the foundation of the

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION: PRACTICE AND EDUCATION

A fundamental assumption of some national leaders in many of the developing nations in Africa is that the social work profession responds inappropriately to the problems and needs of the African peoples. Some critics have maintained that at fault is the failure of social work professionals to adapt their approaches to local conditions. Some others have contended that due attention has not been given to the cultural forms and traditional values so as to incorporate these into practice. The social work experts have maintained that a bias in approaches toward effecting an impact at the societal level and changes in educational content would ensure relevance.

In the absence of empirical data to sufficiently substantiate these views, and with doubt that the problems to doing social work differently were fully understood, this research has undertaken to examine critically three factors I hold to be central to the performance of social work: the approaches of practitioners; the administrative structures; and education for practice. Relevance was conceptualised as intervention addressing the totality of the environment for the development of people and communities to meet needs fundamentally. It was believed to be reflected by broad-based societal level

approaches, administrative structures that legitimate the professional contribution, and education oriented toward change. The study sought to discover whether and the extent to which these conditions were being met in nations affected by political-economic underdevelopment. By looking at practice and education under the ideologies of humanism in Zambia, socialism in Tanzania, and African socialism (capitalism in Kenya, it was thought that the limitations and potentialities inherent in the functioning of the profession and those that could be inferred as emanating from the context could be more easily distinguished.

The intent of the study was to focus on contemporary professional behavior as revealed by the perceptions of social work practitioners, administrators and educators, with emphasis on the differences and similarities in viewpoints among the categories and between the three countries.

While inferring a linkage between the political-economic contexts and practice and education, the research was concentrated on discovering relationships between the social work response and the personal and professional characteristics of the social work professionals operating in the particular country. The discussion has, therefore, centred around three main themes: (1) the practice patterns and degrees of relevance reflected in the approaches of social work professionals; (2) the

bureaucratic legitimation of professionals through the interactions of administrators and practitioners; and (3) the structuring and content emphases in the educational programmes of social work educators. The following pages summarise what has been reported in detail throughout the previous chapters and suggest some implications and next steps for the social work professionals in the African context.

Professional Intervention, Administration and Education

Social workers in Africa are faced with a range of problems that potentially affect the well-being of individuals, families and communities as a whole. Many of these problems grow out of conditions of underdevelopment which throw up inadequacies in resources for meeting basic human and social needs. Problems also arise due to inequalities and maldistribution of power within national boundaries. Political-economic policies resulting in the outflow of national wealth help to exacerbate the difficulty of finding permanent solutions which enhance life for the majority of Africans. Newly emergent social work is given the task of responding with efficacy to the problems spawned by such conditions.

Contrary to the criticisms lodged against the profession, practice approaches to an array of problems did not reflect a concentration on the "victims" or on individualised cases. But nor did the actions prescribed indicate a strong trend toward

broad-based, societal level approaches. Intervention strategies showed a weak tendency toward the middle of a scale categorising the "less," "more or less," and "more" relevant responses. Administrators and educators expected practitioners to intervene more relevantly than practitioners said that they did. Since administrators and educators undertake the function of directing practice, that the professional practitioner did not meet their expectations suggests that the support and reinforcement needed for practice from the bureaucracies and institutions, respectively, was inadequate. No strong and positive association was found between the approaches and all of the demographic variables examined. But the findings did reveal a consistent relationship between levels of education of practitioners with approaches to problems where organisational structural support was less a need, such as working to change attitudes the of people who resist new ideas. Higher levels of education appeared to increase the percentage of practitioner responses classified as "more" relevant. Conversely, where the appropriate response to the problem called for direct inputs by the organisational structures in terms of resources as well as personnel, i.e., with the problem of destitution, the association between the practice approach and the social work professional's organisational or agency setting was positive and strong. A higher proportion of practitioners were found to do "less" relevant

interventions, than were found to be practicing "more or less" or "more" relevantly. Although the results confirmed the expected relationships between some demographic characteristics and approaches to problems and involvement with the people, the variations in the degrees of relevance shown were not fully accounted for by these characteristics.

Changes within the bureaucracies of governments, the non-human service organisations, and the voluntary agencies affecting the profession were seen by a majority of social work professionals to show a trend toward greater receptivity. This process of legitimation was identified by them as "recognition" and "use" of professionals. Shifts in the direction of a wider scope for different intervention strategies were also seen as a positive response. About one-third, however, discerned no positive changes at all. Moreover, the bureaucracy was perceived by most of the professional population as affecting the success of outcomes, i.e., the attainment of the intended goals of practice. But differing administrative structures were not seen to exert the same degree of negative influence on success. Bureaucracies perceived to have the least effect, i.e., "No Effect," were those responsible for ujamaa and community development programmes. Others provided a parastatal or voluntary agency framework for practice. By contrast, those bureaucracies charged with the social welfare programmes contained the lowest

percentage of professionals who saw no effects on success as a result of their administrative situations. One would expect professionals holding such a view to have quite low expectations of what could be achieved through or accomplished by their administrations. Perceiving that the obstacles to success--where the concentration is focused basically on individualised strategies--lie within the social welfare framework itself, suggests that little attempt would be made there to bring about societal-level structural changes.

The administrative systems exposed practice situations that, in keeping with the Weberian model, placed the administrator at the top in hierarchical relationships. How limiting or facilitating the bureaucracy was perceived to be was associated with its type for him/her, but covaried with the level of education for the professional practitioner and the educator. Within their organisational framework, social work administrators had responsibility for some or all of the following functions: planning; supervision of staff; formulation of policy; financial management; and administration (implementation). The authority to formulate the objectives, set priorities and goals, and to advocate strategies that would address problems in the African context were intrinsic to the social work system in the position of the administrator.

The results did not indicate, however, that the

administrative structures were geared toward the sharing of power by distributing authority from the top downward to the professional practitioner. To the contrary, the hierarchical relationship was perpetuated through the arrangements for the administrator/professional contact and communication. Were the administrative authority to be shared, the administrator would need to be exposed to the ideas and models of professional behavior that could extend his/her perception of the possibilities of doing social work. The data showed a predominance of ad hoc or occasional meetings. Fewer than one-third of all practitioners had contact with administrators on a regular basis as a result of planned or structured exchanges. The findings also showed that the extent to which the administrator was informed or influenced by the professional was reduced where contact occurred in situations of immediate need for action or information. For administrators, seeing practitioners on a regular basis, tended to see them as exerting influence within the bureaucracy to a higher degree than did those in contact only occasionally. Practitioners seen systematically handled more of the problems. A larger porportion of them also adopted more relevant approaches, the percentages of which tended to increase more with the systematic than with the occasional contacts.

The primary mode of communication was found to be consistent with the pattern of centralising information at the top

and circumscribing its flow. That is, information was shared between the administrators and the professionals chiefly in written form. This result suggests that social work as a process must be synthesised and rationalised to conform to a bureaucratic system of communication. This amounts to the setting of limits as to what the professional is permitted to know. Because the flow of information is from the top downward, so also is the determination of the purposes and content of that communication. The sharing of information is thus facilitated, initiated, or followed through--but at the discretion of the administrator.

Professionals in the voluntary sector were more likely than those in governmental administrations to have face-to-face communication. However, few professionals operate from these structures and fewer still hold administrative positions.

Decision-making as an indicator of the extent to which administrative structures legitimate the professional's authority revealed no more positive outcomes than did contact or sharing of information. Both the level and the nature of participation in decision-making bear this conclusion out. In the first place, the written word is the means a large proportion of practitioners have to participate in that process. The administrators thought that they participated even less than the professionals said that they did. This perception strongly

suggests that the level of the practitioner's sharing is not a consequence of the considered efforts of administrators to bring them more decisively into the decision-making process within the bureaucracy. The data revealed that indeed the highest level of decision-making by practitioners is seen to be done from the field in situations slightly removed from administrators. This was reported earlier to vary with the level of education of the practitioner.

As anticipated, the age, sex, and years of experience were also associated with decision-making. The male more than female practitioners said that they shared in decision-making. But sex made no difference at the administrator level. The furtherance of an historical trend for women to be represented in large numbers in the profession, then, portends no particular disadvantage where this aspect of power-sharing is concerned. Younger administrators saw themselves as making decisions to a greater extent than did older administrators. The extent of the administrator's participation was shown to decrease with increasing years of service. Thus, over the long-run, the influence the social work administrator exerts over decision-making tends to diminish. This was not revealed to be the case for professional practitioners. Their involvement extended throughout their practice. But there was a sharp drop in the level of participation.

The result for both categories suggests that there are pressures within the organisation for conformity. That the practitioners remained, involved in decision-making over a longer period than the administrators does not deny the greater authority the administrator has over that process. Rather, the data suggests that the former does have the capacity to adapt and to sustain a level of professional functioning so to contribute toward achieving organisational as well as professional goals over a longer time span.

The lack of the material resources needed to deal effectively with problems was seen by most of the social work professionals--whatever the administrative or environmental context--to be a major impediment to dealing successfully with problems. The perception that resources were insufficiently supplied to enable the achievement of goals conformed to expectations, i.e., given that the countries studied were being underdeveloped. Social welfare would be perceived by the national leadership as being an activity the economic benefit of which could not be readily seen. A justification for money expended would need to be based on the economic returns to be realised by the ruling elite and the international interests. The lack of adequate resources to permit interventions at the societal level to ensure that needs are met fundamentally reflects a hesitation within the political-economic context to such a goal.

Considering the frequency and nature of contact, the limited access to information and resources, and that the forms of participation in decision-making involve written communication more than face-to-face contact, the administrative leadership tends not to legitimate professional authority. The implication is that the African social work practitioner, though in a position making him/her responsible for the welfare of people, nevertheless, has little authority or control--even over the content of his/her own work.

When the concern is to influence issues affecting the well-being of the majority of the people--the matter of interest to the search for social work relevance--the degree of influence that the social work professionals perceive that they can exert is an important consideration. It was believed to affect the choice of approaches--whether the small individualised efforts, or attempts to alter structures and institutions within the environment of practice. It was revealed that few practitioners of either country saw themselves as having a great deal of influence. The findings showed, to the contrary, that as high as one-third thought that they had very little or no influence at all on the administrative leadership. At the same time, an increase in the degree of his/her influence was thought to derive more from the bureaucracy than from an association with either politicians or with influential people. The practitioners'

perceptions about their relative influence was corroborated by the views of educators about them. Educators on the whole thought that they had slightly more influence, in their situation, than did practitioners and slightly less than administrators had in theirs. On the other hand, administrators all saw themselves as having a higher degree of influence in the organisation than the professional practitioners had. In addition, they saw themselves increasing their influence through associations with and use of politicians and departmental connections, respectively. In summary, the influence in the relationships, and thus over the processes of practice, are not perceived by the administrators nor practitioners to be equally shared.

The organisational variable was discovered to be closely associated with perceptions of influence, with professionals in voluntary agencies seeing themselves as more influential than those located in the governmental bureaucracies.

With respect to educating for relevance, it was observed that all of the institutions studied in the three countries were part of the government's educational apparatus. Their purposes and goals were derived from the wider political-economic contexts. It was suggested that conditions of underdevelopment dictated that schools socialise prospective professionals toward an orientation to reproduce or to implement, so to help maintain the status quo. The position advanced in the theoretical

presentation was that education for relevance, rather, would orientate students toward and equip them for change. The findings confirmed that social work educators were exposing students to the social science and social work content advocated for broad-based practice approaches. Some attempts were being made at integration of such content, with leeway more apparent at the intermediate than at the university level for doing so.

On the other hand, some key components of education showed less of an emphasis toward change than was projected as necessary. This was seen in the development of skills, in the development of indigenous materials, and in the use of the bureaucracy and the rural practicum. By way of the skills being produced, educators expected a high degree of competence in relational skills. Organisational skills were expected to be produced and, according to the observations of practitioners and administrators, to be used to a lesser extent. The data showed that what educators expected as the level of competence ultimately attained through the educational process differed to an important degree from the requirements of practice as perceived by practitioners and administrators. This was particularly so with respect to the skill basic to much of bureaucratic activity, i.e., administration.

Development and use of indigenous materials were facets of education. However, little activity in this area suggests that

social work educators were, basically, still dependent upon foreign sources for materials to teach locally about relevant practice.

Moreover, educators tended to approach the bureaucracy, the focal point of most of practice, through a classroom--and, thus abstract--treatment more than through structured encounters between the institution and the organisation. This response was due in part to a perception of the bureaucracy as providing too little scope for the sharing of ideas, or as not welcoming innovations through the activities of students. Rural practice was an emphasis in education at both the intermediate and university level. The extent to which the rural practicum served as a medium for extending the range of knowledge and skills needed for effective engagement with rural contexts and populations was also circumscribed by difficulties. Constraints were seen to emanate from the bureaucratic nature of administrations. Some also arose from the educational institutions. These constraints included an insufficient number of educators to do supervision and the lack of logistical support and funds to adequately develop the field learning component. Thus, while the practicum remains an integral component of social work education as in the developed nations, its development and use is fraught with a number of difficulties. Neither the administrations of practice nor the educational institutional structures

provide a sufficient level of support to educators to realise through the practicum the goals advocated by the national leadership--even when that goal is the development of rural peoples and communities.

Future Research

The task for this research was to amplify the concept of social work relevance, particularly exploring those factors thought to indicate and to be conducive to its attainment. For the social work professionals concerned with the impact of the profession in Africa, the task is to devise strategies and curricula that will enable them to realise a progressively higher degree of the goals for which the profession exists, despite the obstacles which exist within the political-economic situation. This study discloses, therefore, a number of problems which demand further research. Throughout this work a connection between the ideological context and the social work response was implied. There is need for research that is designed, specifically, to show the interaction of the political-economic context to problem-solving strategies, to the use of the administrative structures, and to the education of professionals. Certain variables other than those considered by this research are believed to intervene in the process of gearing social work appropriately. These should be examined by additional research. Among these are the people who interact with social work

professionals, i.e., politicians and other influential persons and the people served. Other influential persons and the people served. A consideration should also be given to the impact of the socio-economic status and ethnicity of professionals on their approaches. Because my research is exploratory, it is hoped that it will be replicated in other developing areas of the world. My examination of the professional social work literature revealed that no effectiveness studies were being done. The problems further highlighted in this search for relevance lead me to recommend that such studies be carried out on all three factors of the profession considered here. Finally, there is need for an assessment of the administrator role, i.e., of his/her contribution to the practice of the profession in Africa. The views which close this study were made in the belief that this particular assessment rates top priority.

Steps to Relevance: A Prescription

Much attention, internationally, has been given to defining appropriate practice approaches and educational models for the social work profession. In the Introduction to this research it was noted that the practitioners were most often singled out as the professionals who did irrelevant things. But contrary to what might be logically assumed, not all social work professionals are equal in their potential to change the reactions of national leaders, or to gear social work so that it has greater

impact in the specific ideological context. The data suggest, to the contrary, that it is the administrator who is the pivotal actor in social work practice in the contemporary African situation, whether or not he/she is a professional in social work. He/she exerts the highest degree of influence over mechanisms affecting the inputs and outcomes of practice. Moreover, he/she believes himself/herself to be in the position of greatest influence vis-a-vis the practitioner, and that that influence is increased through contact with the significant other national leaders, including the politicians. The administrator is, thus, in the most favourable position to influence other policy-makers and to alter those organisational structures affecting the way professional intervene. The professional system can capitalise on his/her centrality.

That this has not been done is indicated by the trend in the African context to base the selection of an administrator for practice on seniority and on a conception of social work as mobilisation of the people. Without mastery of the state of knowledge of the discipline, such responsibilities as planning, supervision, formulation of policy and financial management mentioned earlier can be carried by such administrators in name only.

The first step, then, is that the professional system, recognising the significance of the administrator position,

makes the administrator the target for change. This means ensuring that his allegiance is directed not to the organisation alone, but to the professional also. It further implies that social work professionals use whatever means are at their disposal to influence the determination of the administrative leadership of practice so as to enhance the degree to which orientations, competences, and goals are shared at all levels of the system.

This action would provide an advantage to the profession as a whole. The administrator would benefit as well. The accountability of the administrator to the organisation would not be invalidated by a rearrangement in the administrative/professional relationship. He would remain responsible for the decisions and actions of practitioners. But he would be more open to values held by professionals. He would also be more open to a participatory, as opposed to an arbitrary, management of practice. Maximising the potential of his subordinates to fully contribute their knowledge and skills would at the same time maximise his worth to the organisation and possibly his esteem among his peers.

Recall that social work educators did not expect practitioners to have the levels of competence in administration as was said to be required. Social work education contributes to the confusion when it does not clearly define and focus on those

areas of knowledge and skills that are identified as necessary to practice. Administrators wield greater influence in the context vis-a-vis the educator, also. However, through the educational process, the latter could help to remove administrators from their positions as technicians and implementors to make them genuinely professional in their operations. Yet, the relationships existing between the institutions and the bureaucracies are perceived to reflect some important impediments to achieving this end.

The second step, in my opinion, is that efforts be made by social work professionals to establish, or further extend, the amount of institutional exchanges that can take place between the educational institutions and the bureaucracies. Making inputs and getting the feedback from both segments of the system about what is needed to conceive and to effect appropriate responses would be facilitated by this means. The educators could take the lead in increasing the amount of dialogue, since there could be a number of immediate benefits. More exposure of administrators to their ideas should increase the degree of acceptance and opportunities for experimentation within the bureaucracies. It would give social work educators a share in shaping legitimating administrative structures, since they could build into the curriculum those courses which would equip the prospective administrators with the range of competences and

attitudes needed to better achieve organisational goals. He would be more oriented to affirming the professional authority of other professionals with whom he worked. Having administrators with a more secure base of knowledge and skills to administer social work practice would be useful to the national leadership as well. Whatever the resources allocated to social work, the man at the top would be better equipped to use them with greatest effect--whether to further the processes of underdevelopment adversely affecting the life of Africans despite the policies of humanism, socialism and African socialism in Zambia, Tanzania, and Kenya, respectively, or toward relevance as defined by this research. In the contexts described, the job of the social work professional is to maximise rationality in a highly political world. The administrator, more professionalised in social work, would be better equipped to contribute to that task.

APPENDIX I

The Council were invited to participate in the following...

It was the intention of the Council to...

APPENDICES

The Council were invited to participate in the following...

APPENDIX A

A BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The social work patterns in organisation and emphases that had emerged by the 1970's had the following historical foundations:

In Zambia the mining companies were the first to introduce modern social welfare services. In response to the needs and problems of European and African labour recruited to work in the mines, large personnel departments were set up, charged in part with the general welfare of the mining employees. The programmes largely offered recreation and amenities for Europeans and a range of social services for Africans. These aimed at helping them to adjust to urban life and a wage economy. With respect to the administration and financing of these early services, social welfare activities were first financed from the profits of beer halls for Africans, that were located in the community centers established in mining towns. But by 1949, responsibility for welfare work in a specific area was allocated to the respective local authorities. The government's share was confined to provision of a trained social welfare adviser, the training of welfare staff for the local authorities. Financial grants-in-aid and other services as were decided upon after negotiation between the two bodies.

By 1951 the three social welfare officers appointed for the capital and the Copperbelt were assigned to attend to needs of Europeans for casework, to build up the social services for them, and to consider the training of Africans for local authorities. This consideration of the needs of African communities led the Government to appoint a Social Welfare Adviser who became director of the Department for Welfare and Probation Services, established in 1952. Its primary objective was to organize and to co-ordinate the welfare activities of the Territory as well as provide facilities for carrying out the social work of Law Courts. In addition, the Department was to ensure greater care of children in urban areas. The Northern Rhodesia Council of Social Services was set up in 1954 to co-ordinate the social services. The subsequent expansion of welfare activities --first along the line of rails, and after independence throughout the country--led to a greater demand for African welfare and community workers. An in-service training scheme was started by the Department of Welfare in 1956 to prepare Zambians for welfare work in the local authorities and in the courts. By the

end of the 1950's welfare services had been extended to include the blind, the youth, increased child care services, case-work in urban areas, and the training of social workers. By that time the Department was incorporated into the Ministry of Local Government and Social Welfare. The Government maintained responsibility for statutory and remedial social services for all races, while local authorities concerned themselves with recreational facilities and group activities within municipal and township areas. Grants were given by the government to agencies through the Council for Social Services, established in 1964, and the Youth Council. The Oppenheimer College of Social Services opened its doors to students in 1961 and was in 1964 incorporated into the University of Zambia as the Department of Social Studies.

Rural area community development activities were by 1950 under the control of the Provincial Administration. The introduction of community development was a response to the depopulation of rural communities caused by the rapid expansion of the mining industry. The aim of the Administration was to ensure community betterment which included hospitals, roads, schools and dams by sensitising people to the need for their contributions toward this end. The post of Commissioner for Native Development was created by 1952 to coordinate plans and schemes for rural development. Provincial teams composed of government district officers, technical officers, and representatives of the local authorities and non-governmental community were responsible for planning and financial control. The Native authorities were responsible for stimulating self-help.

By 1960, community development was the responsibility of the Commissioner for Rural Development, the appointment of which led to the recognition of a Department of Community Development in 1961 within the Ministry of Native Affairs. The development area training centres serves as the base for preparing and improving staff and also for reaching out through community development extension workers to the surrounding rural areas. The main function of the department was to provide a supporting service to other ministries and departments in the execution of their development plans. Community development at that time was conceived as a technique, used to create understanding of the problems involved in bringing about development and to guide and stimulate communities to work toward their betterment with the assistance of the resources of the Department, such as funds. Provincial and local teams continued to provide for the planning and execution of policy.

Development Assistants, recruited in 1961-1962, joined

by trade instructors, formed the intake into the Staff Training Wing of the Department at Monze. Sixteen women were also selected for training in Home Economics. Also in 1962, local native authorities assumed responsibility for community development activities within their areas--that is, for planning, finances, and administration, with the Department of Community Development providing technical advice. From this period onward the Department and local authorities' staff were trained together at Monze.

Another significant departure in the work of the Department in 1962 was the introduction of extension workers to the communities indicating an interest in the community development approach. Local leaders and development committees were the channels through which the people were brought together for participation in various development projects by the Department's staff. Among such projects was the encouragement of self-help housing schemes for which departmental loans were available. Adult education formed part of Departments activity as of 1964 and by 1966 literacy work had been introduced in each of the Provinces in Zambia. In 1966 a policy was also agreed by which local authorities were to involve the people in their own affairs through community development activity--in rural communities and in the urban areas as well. This led to increased activity of both levels of government in the promotion of committee structures, such as wards in towns and village committees in rural areas, for a greater participation by the people. It also involved local authorities extensively in site and service schemes aimed toward tackling the problems of urban squatters and the rapid increase of an urban population.

The move toward providing services to the urban centres was evident in the Department of Social Welfare as well. Professionally trained social workers had been deployed from 1962 into all of the major towns. Their services continued to focus on the needs of children, the handicapped and the courts--the latter services then a part of the general welfare activities. The first comprehensive and coordinated departmental policy for social welfare was approved in 1970. It proposed the reorganisation of the welfare services into five systems to more greatly reflect Humanism, the philosophy guiding Zambia. These systems included training and research, corrections, family and child welfare, general welfare and public relations.

At independence Tanzania had few well developed social welfare or rural development services. The major governmental provisions were provided through the Community Development Division and the Social Welfare and Probation Division. Com-

Community development activity was taken over by the Rural Development Division of the Department of Regional Administration and Rural Development, and ultimately evolved into the Programme for Ujamaa Cooperative Development in the 1970's.

The earliest social welfare services began in 1946 through the provision of health, education and housing services. More formal social work was introduced when, in October 1950, the Probation of Offenders Ordinance of 1947 was declared applicable to the district courts of Dar-es-Salaam and Kasarawe. The probation service was first staffed by an expatriate trained in the United Kingdom and one local officer, seconded from the existing Social Development Department (the forerunner of the Rural Development Department). The first local assistants were sent to other districts by 1951. Other related services were added as the courts received referrals for matrimonial reconciliation, school truancy and problem children. By 1955 the local courts in such places as Morogoro, Arusha, and Moshi were also authorised to deal with such problems by enactment of the Local Courts Probation of Offenders Ordinance. Five years later in 1960 the Affiliation Ordinance which had, since its introduction in 1949, benefitted only Europeans, was applicable to African children born out-of-wedlock and to indigent persons.

The National Council of Social and Welfare Services was established in 1964 to plan, promote and administer social welfare activities of governmental and voluntary agencies at both the national and local levels. In the main, welfare activities focused on the following: rehabilitation or correction of offenders; family services in conjunction with local authorities; child welfare, including licensing of children's homes; and regulating standards of child care. By 1969 the newly established Social Welfare and Probation Division was also responsible for all day care activity, and for services to destitutes and to the handicapped. Private and voluntary welfare services for the needy were provided by the religious bodies and other charitable organisations. The present structure was inaugurated in 1972.

Before 1967 Tanzania depended largely on other countries for the training of social workers, or on short irregular courses organised within the programmes for social welfare. These few officers received training in the United Kingdom, Europe and North America and in Eastern Africa. But by 1967 senior welfare assistants were being trained at the Lumumba Adult Education University. This programme, using volunteer lecturers, preceded the Canadian Team of Experts who, with Tanzanians, began by 1968 the formation of the present National Social Welfare Training Institute.

Social welfare was introduced in Kenya in 1939 with the setting up of a Native Welfare Committee by the then Governor Sir Henry Moore to insure coordination of the workings of departments concerned with the social services.

By 1942 the interest in the work of the Committee had shifted to problems of African labourers about housing, feeding, educational and recreational facilities. The first staff assigned to welfare work was recruited in 1945 as district and welfare officers. They, like the Labour Family Remittance and Dispersal Officers, were initially concerned with demobilization and post-war activity. In the same year a woman welfare officer was appointed to undertake casework among Europeans and Asians. A social welfare unit was formed to oversee the development of this work.

Ex-askaris were trained at the Jeans School, Kabete, to undertake welfare work. Their employment by 1947 was taken over by the local Native Councils in their areas. By 1946 housewifery courses through the work of the women social welfare workers were introduced, first to wives of ex-askaris who were being trained as welfare workers. In addition to an emerging programme for women, community-wide activity began to be fostered when the African welfare workers of the local councils were encouraged to use local information rooms as community centres to educate the local people on government policy. Other homecraft courses were introduced in 1950, conducted at the Jeans School, for influential and progressive women who were returned to their areas to operate the homecraft centers of the local council. The Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Movement of Kenya grew from such activity.

The first Commissioner of Social Welfare was appointed in 1948. The title was changed in 1950 to Commissioner for Community Development, and the district welfare officers became district officers (community development).

The first formal ministry with an African head was established in 1954. Assistance from the United States Government through its then Foreign Operations Administration (subsequently, the Agency for International Development--AID) led to the expansion of posts for men and women community development workers. The Ministry for Housing, Health, and Local Government by the mid-fifties had been assigned these duties: coordination of voluntary agencies; relief of distress assistance to the poor or the indigent; protection of juveniles; and the adoption of children. A full ministry for Community Development was assigned the tasks of community development, juvenile delinquents,

approved schools, remand homes, the probation services and rehabilitation connected with the emergency.

The self-help emphasis in community development work began to be apparent by the end of that decade with the encouragement of traditional communal groupwork. By the end of the 1950's, too, requests were being made that the women's activity be extended from the provincial level, downward, within governmental organisations.

The training of professional social workers was introduced in 1962, a development that was followed between 1963-72 by a redefinition of social welfare and community development responsibilities with respect to national development. It also was accompanied by greater expansion of social welfare and community development activity, nationwide.

A more comprehensive historical treatment of the development of social work is contained in the following: Vukani G. Nyirenda (1972), "Zambia's Reponse to Human Needs: An Outline of Social Services in Zambia," *The Role of Social Welfare Services in Rural Development*, Lusaka, Zambia: ICSW, pp. 185-193; Saidi A. Hasan, *A Brief Outline of Development, Social Problems and Services in Tanzania*, Dar-es-Salaam: Government Printers, 1970; J.J.E. Duwe (1975), *Evaluative Research of Tanzania's Community Development Programme*. Mimeographed. University of Missouri at Columbia. The brief review on Kenya is based on a detailed documentation in the work of Roberta M. Mutiso (1974), "The Evolution of Social Welfare and Community Development Policy in Kenya: 1940-1973." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Nairobi, 1974.

APPENDIX B

Date: _____

SOCIAL WORKER

QUESTIONNAIRE*

Number of Respondent _____

Country _____

Type of Respondent _____

This is a study of SOCIAL WORK in some African countries. In this research we are interested in finding out what Social Work Practitioners, Administrators and Educators say is being done or should be done in practice and why. The term, "Social Work" in this study covers practice in a variety of fields, e.g., WELFARE, COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, YOUTH WORK, PERSONNEL, etc. The term, "Department," refers to the words, "office," "agency," and "organisation" as well. "Practitioner" refers to the trained person who works directly with people or who supervises other workers, or gives a direct service, e.g., administration. Your views will be kept strictly confidential since your name is NOT to be recorded.

Thank you for your cooperation.

X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X
We start with SEVEN (7) CASE-PROBLEMS.

Please TICK (), NUMBER ON THE LINE (), OR REPLY.

*Separate questionnaire or interview schedules were used for each category, i.e., practitioner, administrator and educator. Here, where the question was the same, but worded differently for a category, this is shown by the following: Tanzanian and Kenyan Respondents = (P), (A) and (E); Zambian Respondents = (ZP), (ZA) and (ZE). Questions asked only of educators or in Zambia are also identified. All respondents were requested to answer Sections I, the Case-Problems, and Section V, the personal data. For the former, Zambians were asked only to select alternatives and to give reasons, i.e., #3. While practitioners indicated what they do or did, administrators and educators said what practitioners should do.

I. CASE-PROBLEMS

1. More offices for social welfare and community development programmes are being set up to assist the people. However, people of these areas seem to resist new ideas for improvement in their standard of living. There is need for an attempt to break down such resistance.

(1) Do you or your co-workers have to deal with this type of problem? TICK ONE (Practitioners of T and K only).

(a) Yes _____ (b) No _____

Would you please tell me the WAY(s) you think social workers of this area should attempt to break down such resistance. (Administrators and educators of T and K only).

(2) If yes, very briefly write here the THING(s) you or your co-workers do or have done, (or should do)? _____

(3) Now CHOOSE and NUMBER what you consider the MOST IMPORTANT one or more ALTERNATIVE listed below which you or workers of your area also have used or should use to attempt to break down such resistance.
(All Respondents)

- a. Inform the people how the improvement will be for their good and how backward they will remain unless they change _____
- b. Investigate why people resist _____
- c. Plan for the community what the social worker considers best and persuade it to accept the plan _____
- d. Introduce ideas through adult education or other programmes and wait for people's attitude to change _____
- e. Any other, write in _____

For what reason(s) is this done?

(1) (Most important reason)

(2) (Second reason of importance)

2. An administrator with personal problems has developed an authoritarian approach in his dealings with his professional staff. This is adversely affecting the work and morale.

- (1) Do you or your co-workers have to deal with this type of problem? TICK ONE
 (a) Yes ___ (b) No ___
- (2) If yes, what THING(s) do you or your co-workers do or have done? _____

- (3) Please CHOOSE and NUMBER as before from the listed ALTERNATIVES the WAY(s) you or your co-workers ALSO have used or should use in such situation.

- a. Tolerate the administrator and try to organise your transfer ___
- b. Seek through a person of his rank to alert him to the effects of his behavior ___
- c. Respect him as an elder and wait for him to change ___
- d. Try to make him self-aware ___
- e. Any other, write in ___

Why handle the situation in this way(s)? (1) _____

(2) _____

3. What does the social worker do to help families when government permits activity of the Family Planning Association but does not itself have a national policy or programme.

- (1) Do you or your co-workers have to deal with this type of problem, i.e., lack of government policy for a needed service? TICK ONE

(a) Yes ___ (b) No ___

- (2) If yes, what THING(s) do you or your co-workers do or have done? _____

(3) Please CHOOSE and NUMBER from below the MOST IMPORTANT WAY(s) also used or should be used in your situation.

- a. Do nothing unless employed by the Family Planning Association or Ministry of Health _____
- b. Introduce information through family welfare activities, such as group meetings, seminars, and other contact with the people _____
- c. Mention the subject only when asked by individuals or groups _____
- d. Encourage the government to give full support to family planning activity _____
- e. Any other, write in _____

Why do that THING(s)? (1) _____

(2) _____

4. The lack of employment among youth, urban and rural, has become a major problem in some areas. The authorities are now very much concerned about the situation.

(1) Do you or your co-workers have to do anything about this problem facing youth in your area? TICK ONE

(a) Yes _____ (b) No _____

(2) If yes, what THING(s) do you or your co-workers do or have done? _____

(3) Please CHOOSE and NUMBER from below the MOST IMPORTANT WAY(s) also used or should be used to deal with this problem.

- a. Advise youth to go to the city or to the next larger place in search of employment _____
- b. Investigate the social-economic situation of the area for appropriate planning and action _____
- c. Engage youth in recreational programmes to keep them off the streets and out of trouble _____
- d. Work with national youth services or other agencies to involve youth in, e.g., rural development projects, polytechnics, etc. _____
- e. Any other, write in _____

For what reason(s) is this done? (1) _____

(2) _____

5. Thousands of people are coming into the city each year in search of employment. Shortage of housing and employment force many such persons to engage in illicit brewing in areas where they live as squatters, against the approval of city authorities. Social workers are called on to deal with such areas and activity.

(1) Is this type of problem one that you or your co-workers have to handle in this area? TICK ONE

(a) Yes _____ (b) No _____

(2) If yes, what THING(s) do you or your co-workers do or have done? _____

(3) Now CHOOSE and NUMBER of the following the MOST IMPORTANT WAY(s) also used or should be used to handle the problem.

- a. Do nothing as the city authorities normally destroy such squatter communities _____
- b. Encourage building of walls to hide the squatter houses from public view _____
- c. Set up an office to which individuals may come for interviews with the social worker about their problems _____
- d. In consultation with other city officials and the squatters organise services and other programmes to develop the area _____
- e. Any other, write in _____

Why take such action(s)? (1) _____

(2) _____

6. A mother separated from her husband and having a primary standard of education, but without a steady job, comes to the office of the social worker in the urban area asking for assistance for herself and children.

(1) Are you or your co-workers requested to handle this kind of problem? TICK ONE

(a) Yes _____ (b) No _____

(2) If yes, what THING(s) do you or your co-workers do or have done? _____

(3) Please CHOOSE and NUMBER from below the MOST IMPORTANT WAY(s) also used or should be used in dealing with such situation.

a. Give money from the public relief funds of the office _____

b. Investigate how common the problem is in order to plan action _____

c. Call in the husband to investigate the family problems _____

d. Seek to help through encouraging government and community action for problems such as hers _____

e. Any other, write in _____

Why do that? (1) _____

(2) _____

7. The National Government has been advised by international organisations that the only way for the nation out of economic difficulties is to grow a certain type of cash crop, e.g., a hybrid maize. The Government has subsequently issued a decree demanding all rural people to grow this crop. This decree would reduce land available for the families' other food requirements. Conflict develops as to whether the people should obey the decree.

(1) Are you or your co-workers requested to handle this kind of problem? TICK ONE

(a) Yes _____ (b) No _____

(2) If yes, what THING(s) do you or they do or have done? _____

(3) Please CHOOSE and NUMBER from below the MOST IMPORTANT WAY(s) also used or should be used in dealing with such situation.

- a. Side with those who protest because the people were not consulted ____
- b. Steer clear of involvement since the decree must be obeyed ____
- c. Initiate a meeting with government officials to suggest policy changes that would take into consideration the specific needs of the people ____
- d. Urge the people to obey while you approach the authorities for review of the decree ____
- e. Any other, write in ____

For what reason(s) is this done? (1) _____

(2) _____

8. Tanzania-Kenya (P) What do you think is the VIEW of top administrators and local leaders of your area about social work (community development) practice's contribution to solving such problems? TELL ME/TICK ONE which best describes your opinion.

(A8, E10) What do you think is the VIEW of other top administrators and local leaders of your area about social work (community development) practice's contribution to solving such problems? (How significant?)

- (1) Contribution is very significant ____
- (2) Contribution is significant, but not equal to other professions, e.g., in agriculture, health, education ____
- (3) Contribution is of little significance to solving local problems ____
- (4) Don't know ____

II.

9. (P) As a practitioner where in the LEVELS of PRACTICE do you think more emphasis should be put to increase social work's contribution to solving local problems? TICK each as appropriate.

(A9, E18) How much more EMPHASIS do you think should be put on the following LEVELS of PRACTICE in order to increase social work's contribution?

<u>LEVEL OF PRACTICE</u>	<u>A great</u> <u>deal more</u>	<u>Some</u> <u>little more</u>	<u>Enough</u> <u>being done</u>
--------------------------	------------------------------------	-----------------------------------	------------------------------------

- | | | | |
|----------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|
| (1) Grassroots (i.e., lowest, frontline) | — | — | — |
| (2) Intermediate (i.e., middle, supervisory, adm.) | — | — | — |
| (3) Highest (i.e., adm., policy, etc.) | — | — | — |

10. (P) What DECREE of INVOLVEMENT of local people is there in your work dealing with such problems? TICK EACH as appropriate.

(A10) What DEGREE of INVOLVEMENT of local people in the following is there in social work's dealing with local problems?

- | | <u>To</u>
<u>great</u>
<u>extent</u> | <u>Some</u> | <u>Very</u>
<u>little</u> | <u>None</u> |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|-------------|------------------------------|-------------|
| (1) Local leaders decide on activities followed in the work programme | — | — | — | — |
| (2) Centrally planned programmes are carried out with community-based groups | — | — | — | — |
| (3) Activities set by law, policy, decree, little room for people's ideas | — | — | — | — |
| (4) People's contributions essential to having adequate resources for programmes | — | — | — | — |
| (5) Some other, write in | — | — | — | — |

(E20) (ZE14) Taking into account differences in student's learning abilities, experiences, etc., what DEGREE of PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE of the following skills is expected of graduating students?

For EACH skill TICK ONE/TELL ME ONE that fits your work.

SKILLS	DEGREE OF USE			
	A great deal	Some	Very little	None
(1) Relating and working with				
i. individuals	—	—	—	—
ii. groups	—	—	—	—
iii. communities	—	—	—	—
(2) Gathering information for planning and action	—	—	—	—
(3) Teamwork	—	—	—	—
(4) Formulation of policy	—	—	—	—
(5) Programme planning, assessment, evaluation	—	—	—	—
(6) Administration	—	—	—	—
(7) Self-analysis	—	—	—	—
(8) Communication	—	—	—	—
(9) Problem identification	—	—	—	—
(10) Technical operations, e.g., building, home economics, etc.	—	—	—	—

14.a (P) (ZP11.a) How would you describe in general your LEVEL of SKILLS in relation to the above areas, i.e., Number 13? TICK ONE.

(A1.a) (ZA11.a) How would you describe in general the LEVEL of SKILLS of practitioners working under you in relation to the above, i.e., Number 13? TELL ME.

- (1) Very adequate _____
- (2) Adequate _____
- (3) Fairly adequate _____
- (4) Inadequate _____

14.b. (P) (A14.b) (ZP & ZA11.b) Why do you think this is so? _____

15. (A only ZA16) What is the approximate NUMBER of workers under your charge? _____

16. (A only) (ZA15) Could you please tell me what the RESPONSIBILITIES of your position for such workers entail --in order of IMPORTANCE.

- (1) recruitment of personnel _____
- (2) financial control _____
- (3) supervision of personnel _____
- (4) formulation of policy _____
- (5) planning _____
- (6) administration of programmes _____
- (7) any other _____

15. (P) What is the WAY you COMMUNICATE with your superiors or supervisor about your work? TICK each as appropriate.

(A17) What is the common WAY(s) you COMMUNICATE with them about their work?

	Most usual way	Occasional	Rarely
(1) Directly in individual conferences	_____	_____	_____
(2) Indirectly through another staff member	_____	_____	_____
(3) Staff conferences	_____	_____	_____

(4) Written communication, chiefly _____

16. (P) How frequently is your SUPERVISORY CONTACT concerned with the following: (TICK as appropriate)?

(A18) And what matters do such supervisory contact cover? TELL ME.

	<u>In each contact</u>	<u>In most contacts</u>	<u>Occasion- ally</u>	<u>Rarely</u>
(1) administrative matters	_____	_____	_____	_____
(2) general problems, plans of department	_____	_____	_____	_____
(3) consideration of local problems of area	_____	_____	_____	_____
(4) discussions reflecting failings of the worker	_____	_____	_____	_____
(5) education for improvement	_____	_____	_____	_____

17. (P) (ZP16.a) How FREQUENT is the SUPERVISORY CONTACT held with your supervisor?

(A19) (ZA18.a) How frequent do you have SUPERVISORY CONTACT with individual practitioners immediately under you?

- (1) once monthly _____
- (2) bi-monthly _____
- (3) once-weekly _____
- (4) occasionally, as the need arises _____
- (5) any other, write in _____

18. (P) With regard to administrative DECISION-MAKING in your department, which of the practices listed below happens in your own situation? TICK EACH as appropriate.

(A20) Concerning the worker's share in DECISION-MAKING, what happens in your department?

- | | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-----------|
| (1) Opportunity given to submit ideas in writing or decisions to be made | _____ | _____ |
| (2) Decisions are usually made by different levels of staff | _____ | _____ |
| (3) Decisions can be made in the field, or wherever problem occurs, without referring to higher levels, e.g., district, provincial, headquarters, before action | _____ | _____ |
| (4) Share in decision-making only in staff meetings | _____ | _____ |
| (5) Administration reserves most decisions for chief officer | _____ | _____ |
| (6) No share in decision-making | _____ | _____ |

19. (P) Were you consulted within the LAST 12 months by yours and other government and voluntary agencies? TICK ONE.

(A21.a; E29.a) As an Administrator (Educator), were you CONSULTED within the LAST 12 MONTHS by other governmental agencies on matters related to social work practice?

- (1) Yes,
- i. Very frequently (12 to 9 time) _____
 - ii. Frequently (8 to 5 times) _____
 - iii. Infrequently (4 to 1 times) _____

(2) No _____

20. (P, A21.b; E29.b) If you were consulted, please tell briefly on what matter(s) your advise was sought and what type(s) of agency consulted you.

- (1) Matter(s) _____
- (2) Type(s) _____

21. (P) Workers want their practice to be a SUCCESS. What effect do the followign THINGS, if any, have on the SUCCESS of your work? TICK EACH AS APPROPRIATE.

(A22, E11) Sometimes practitioners are not SUCCESSFUL because of many things. What effect do those THING(s) listed below have on practitioners' SUCCESS in this department (country)?

great deal slight none

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| (1) Lack of up-to-date policies | <u> </u> | <u> </u> | <u> </u> |
| (2) Lack of material to work with,
e.g., equipment, transport,
funds, etc | <u> </u> | <u> </u> | <u> </u> |
| (3) Traditional setp-up of depart-
ment and specialised services | <u> </u> | <u> </u> | <u> </u> |
| (4) Lack of suitable training | <u> </u> | <u> </u> | <u> </u> |

- 22.a. (P) In which way(s) of those below tell how the TRADI-
TIONAL SET-UP, e.g., for community development, social
welfare, probation, youth, etc., affect the success of
your work? TICK EACH AS APPROPRIATE.

great deal slight none

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| (1) Limits introduction of new
ideas and/or programmes | <u> </u> | <u> </u> | <u> </u> |
| (2) Limits oportunites for pro-
gress in one's career | <u> </u> | <u> </u> | <u> </u> |
| (3) Lowers status of practice
and the worker | <u> </u> | <u> </u> | <u> </u> |
| (4) Leads to rivalry, poor
cooperation | <u> </u> | <u> </u> | <u> </u> |
| (5) Brings frustration | <u> </u> | <u> </u> | <u> </u> |
| (6) If any other, write in | <u> </u> | <u> </u> | <u> </u> |

(A23.a; E12.a) (ZA22.a; ZE19.a) In what way(s), if any, do the traditional set-up and specialised practice affect changes in policies and programmes in this area (country)? _____

22.b. (P) No affect on the success of my work _____

(A23.b; E12,b) (ZA22.b; ZE19.b) No affect _____

23.a. (P) (ZP23.a) Can workers like yourself EXERT INFLUENCE on your department to bring about changes in programmes, policies, etc.? TICK ONE.

(A25.a; E14.a) (ZA24.a; ZE25.a) Can practitioners EXERT INFLUENCE on the department to introduce or change social policies or programmes, and if so, how much?

(1) A great deal _____

(2) Some _____

(3) Very little _____

(4) None _____

(P23.b; A25.b; E14.b) (ZP23.b; ZA24.b; ZE25.b) Why is this so? _____

(A26.a; E15.a) (ZA25.a; ZE26.a) And as an administrator (educator), can you EXERT INFLUENCE on your superior or higher authorities to introduce or to change policies or programmes?

(1) A great deal _____

(2) Some _____

(3) Very little _____

(4) None _____

(A26.b; E15.b) (ZA25.b; ZE26.b) Why is this so? _____

24. (P) When you or other workers try to exert influence on matters concerning the interests of social work, what are the effects of the following APPROACH? TICK EACH AS APPROPRIATE.

(A27, E16) When practitioners try to EXERT INFLUENCE on matters concerning the interests of social work, what is the effect of these groups?

	<u>Most effective</u>	<u>Limited effect</u>	<u>Hardly any at all</u>
(1) Use of politicians	___	___	___
(2) Use of pressure groups/ influential people	___	___	___
(3) Use of departmental machinery only	___	___	___
(4) Use of association of social workers	___	___	___
(5) If any other, write in	___	___	___

25. (P) (ZP22) What positive CHANGE(s) or TRENDS do you see in social work in your area despite limitations, e.g., more work in rural communities?

(A24, E17) (ZA23.a; ZE21) Are there positive TRENDS or CHANGES, e.g., the integrated approach, noticeable in practice despite limitations, and if so, what are these?

If any, write in: _____

- IV. We are interested in your views about the CONNECTIONS between social work education and practice in your area.
26. (P; A28) (ZP25, ZA27, ZE28) How FREQUENT is your formal CONTACT with social work (CD) education institutions on matters concerning practice and local problems? TICK ONE. TELL ME.
- (1) monthly or more _____
- (2) 2-3 times yearly _____
- (3) more than 3 times yearly, less than monthly _____
- (4) rarely _____
27. (P) (ZP26) Which of the following KINDS of contact occurred between you and such institutions? Please WRITE IN the NUMBER, and write in (0) if no CONTACT.

KINDS OF FORMAL CONTACT	NUMBER IN LAST 12 MONTHS
-------------------------	--------------------------

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------|-----|
| (1) research activity | ___ |
| (2) supervision of student fieldwork | ___ |
| (3) workshop, conferences, seminars | ___ |
| (4) development of new projects
or programmes | ___ |
| (5) preparation of teaching materials | ___ |
| (6) if any other, write in | ___ |

(A29; E30) (ZA28; ZE29) What have been the KIND(s) and NUMBER(s) of contacts you have had during the LAST 12 MONTHS?

- | |
|---------------------------------------------------------|
| (1) research activity, ___ times |
| (2) student placements (fieldwork), ___ times |
| (3) workshops, conferences, seminars, ___ times |
| (4) development of new projects or programmes, ___ time |
| (5) preparation of eaching material, ___ times |
| (6) refresher courses, ___ times |
| (7) any other, ___ times |

28. (P) (ZP28) Please tell which of the above contact(s) were ORGANISED or INITIATED by you or co-workers of your department.

(A30; E31) (ZA29; ZE30) Which of the above was INITIATED by your adminstration (instruction)?

29. (P) What, if any, are the difficulties you meet in practicing that you think closer contact between the practice field and social work education would help to solve?

- 29.b. No such difficulties _____

- 30.a. (P; A31.a; E32.a) Do you feel that social work education institutions have any responsibility for the continued development of relevant practice through such contacts beyond producing graduates?

(1) Yes _____ (2) No _____

- 30.b. (P; A31.b; E32.b) If yes, why do you think so? _____

31. (P; A32.a; E33.a) (ZP28.a; ZA30.a; ZE31.a) Would you say that there is, or is not, a GAP between what education emphasises and what practice in the local situation is requiring? TICK ONE.

(1) Yes, a gap exists which is

(i) very big _____

(ii) big _____

(iii) small _____

(2) No gap _____

- 32.a (P; A32.b; E33.b) (ZP28.b; ZA30.b; ZE31.b) If in your opinion there is a gap, what do you think is the cause of it? _____

- 32.b (P; A33; E33.c) (ZP28.c; ZA31; ZE31.c) Have you any SUGGESTION(s) as to how the gap might be narrowed? WRITE IN. _____

TANZANIA-KENYA EDUCATORS ONLY

8. Looking further at practice and practitioners, several problems suggested the need for use of an INTEGRATED APPROACH. How extensive is this approach used in practice in this area? TELL ME.
- (1) very extensively _____
 (2) little at present, but increasingly used _____
 (3) hardly used _____
 (4) don't know _____
9. What hampers or facilitates (depending on answer to No.8) its development in this area?
- _____
- _____
- 12.a. In what way(s) if any, do the historical set-up, effect changes in policies and programmes in this country?
- _____
- _____
- 12.b. No effect _____
13. How do you make STUDENTS AWARE and PREPARE them for difficulties met because of the historical set-up?
- _____
- _____
- 19.a. In providing the knowledge and skills students will need to deal with such problems, is SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE CONTENT integrated or combined in teaching with other disciplines, e.g., economics, political science, etc.?
- (1) Yes _____ (2) No _____
- 19.b. If yes, what method(s) are used in bringing such integration about?
- (1) Team-teaching _____
 (2) Joint-planning of the curriculum _____

- (3) Periodic interdisciplinary review of curriculum ____
- (4) All courses taught by social workers ____
- (5) Any other, specify ____

19.c If no attempt is made to integrate social work practice content and content from other disciplines, why is this so?

21. By what means is the development of professional SKILLS being directed toward RURAL PRACTICE, if any?

22.a. In terms of developing skills for ANALYSIS of situations, how is this done through your courses, if at all?

(If no particular way, ask Question No. 23)

22.b. What is the DIFFICULTY(s) in developing such skills, if any?

23. As to teaching content, what INDIGENOUS MATERIAL, if any, is used?

24. How is it (was it) developed?

25. Apart from traditional settings, e.g., social welfare, community development offices, could you briefly describe any INNOVATIONS in field placements developed by you or your colleagues.
-
-

26. Do you prepare students in any specific way for TEAMWORK?

(1) Yes _____ (2) No _____

27. If yes, in what way is this done?
-
-

28. What is the major DIFFICULTY(s) in the field aspect of this programme as you see it?
-
-

RESPONDENTS OF ZAMBIA ONLY

- 12.a. (P; A12.a; E15.a) As a practitioner (administrator, educator), what do you regard as the LEVEL of practice MOST REQUIRED in this country? TICK ONE. TELL ME.

(1) Grassroots (lowest) _____

(2) Intermediate (middle) _____

(3) Degree (highest) _____

- 12.b. (P; A12.b; E15.b) Why? _____
-

14. (P, A14, E17) Do any of the following REASONS explain why this is so? TICK/TELL ME the MOST IMPORTANT ONE.

(1) National manpower policy _____

(2) Type of training received _____

(3) Traditional jobs available _____

(4) Expanding new fields attracting workers _____

(5) Any other, write in _____

15. (P) What is the MOST TYPICAL WAY you communicate with your superiors or supervisor about your work? TICK ONE.
- (A17) Would you indicate in terms of MOST TYPICAL the way practitioners COMMUNICATE with you about their work.
- (1) Directly in individual conferences _____
 (2) Indirectly through an immediate supervisor _____
 (3) Staff conferences _____
 (4) Written communications chiefly _____
 (5) Any other, specify _____
17. (P; A18.b) If occasionally, are there regularly held staff meetings?
- (1) Yes _____ (2) No _____
18. (P) Do you generally share in administrative decision-making in your department, and if so, how? TICK the MOST TYPICAL CASE.
- (A19) Do practitioners generally share in administrative decision-making in your department, and if so, which of the following is the MOST IMPORTANT WAY?
- (1) Yes, through
 a. Individual consultations _____
 b. Submitted memoranda and other written communication _____
 c. Staff conference proposals and comments _____
 d. Any other, specify _____
- (2) No _____
19. (P, A20) If CONSULTED by your superiors, does the consultations cover any of the following? TICK EACH (i.e., 1 to 6) as appropriate.

CONSULTATION	NUMBER OF TIMES CONSULTED within the LAST 12 MONTHS			
	12 to 9 V.Freq. GOV.NGO.	8 to 5 Frequent GOV.NGO.	4 to 1 Infreq. GOV.NGO.	0 Never GOV.NGO.
(1) Personnel matters	_____	_____	_____	_____
(2) Implementation of programmes	_____	_____	_____	_____
(3) Policy formulation	_____	_____	_____	_____
(4) Planning of new programmes	_____	_____	_____	_____
(5) Administrative decisions	_____	_____	_____	_____
(6) Any other	_____	_____	_____	_____

* GOV. = Government, i.e., central, local and parastatals
NGO. = Non-Government Organisation, e.g. voluntary
agency, church, etc.

20. (P) Workers want their practice to be a success. Which of the following THINGS, If any, affect the success of your work? RENUMBER (i.e., from 1 to 5) ALL the statements, starting with the MOST IMPORTANT ONE for you.

(A21, E18) Sometimes practitioners are not successful because of many things. Please NUMBER in ORDER of MOST IMPORTANT the THING noted below affecting practitioners in this country.

- (1) Lack of clear and relevant policy _____
- (2) Lack of material resources, e.g., funds, transport _____
- (3) Lack of limitation on innovations and change because of historical ways practice departments are set up _____
- (4) Lack of relevant training _____
- (5) Any other, specify _____

- 21.a. (P) In what MOST IMPORTANT way, if any, does the TRADITIONAL SET-UP and/or SPECIALISED SERVICES, e.g., separate departments for community development, for social welfare, probation, youth, etc., affect the success of your work? TICK ONE.

- (1) Limits introduction of new ideas and/or programmes ___
- (2) Limits opportunities for progress in one's career ___
- (3) Lowers status of practice and the worker ___
- (4) Leads to rivalry, poor cooperation ___
- (5) Brings frustration ___
- (6) If any other, write in ___

24. (P, A26, E27) When you or workers (practitioners) try to EXERT INFLUENCE on matters concerning the interests of social work, what APPROACH gets the desired result? TICK ONE. TELL ME.

- (1) Use of politicians ___
- (2) Use of pressure groups ___
- (3) Use of departmental machinery only ___
- (4) Use of influential people ___
- (5) Use of association of social workers ___
- (6) If any other, write in ___

ZAMBIA EDUCATORS ONLY

10.a. In providing the knowledge and skills students will need to deal with such problems, is SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE CONTENT integrated or combined in teaching with other disciplines, e.g., economics, political science, etc.?

- (1) Yes ___ (2) No ___

10.b. If yes, please list the following methods in ORDER OF MOST TYPICAL.

- (1) Team-teaching ___
- (2) Joint-planning of the curriculum ___
- (3) Periodic interdisciplinary review of curriculum ___
- (4) All courses taught by social workers ___
- (5) Any other, specify ___

10.c. If no attempt is made to integrate social work practice content and content from other disciplines, why is this so?

11. Are any of the following METHODS OF TEACHING used to cover such problems? Please list them in order of MOST USED.

- (1) Audio visual aids _____
- (2) Field visits, placements _____
- (3) Simulation exercises _____
- (4) Role play _____
- (5) Seminars, tutorials _____
- (6) Lectures _____
- (7) Any other, specify _____

12.a Considering FIELDWORK, are students placed in situations that involve direct action programmes or projects with people in their own environment?

- (1) Yes _____ (2) No _____

12.b. If yes, what NUMBER of students were involved in such programmes during your last field placement? _____

12.c. Please give ONE example of such a programme. _____

II.

13. What SKILLS in order of MOST IMPORTANT are emphasised in your teaching and in fieldwork?

- (1) _____
- (2) _____
- (3) _____
- (4) _____

20. How do you make STUDENTS AWARE and PREPARE them for difficulties met because of the historical set-up?

22. As a social work educator, are you CONSULTED by Administrators of social work practice, and if so, which of the following apply in your situation?

CONSULTATION	NUMBER OF TIMES CONSULTED within the LAST 12 MONTHS			
	12 to 9	8 to 5	4 to 1	0
	V. Freq.	Frequent	Infreq.	Never
	GOV.NGO.	GOV.NGO.	GOV.NGO.	GOV.NGO.

- (1) Personnel matters _____
- (2) Implementation of programmes _____
- (3) Policy formulation _____
- (4) Planning of new programmes _____
- (5) Administrative decisions _____
- (6) Any other, specify _____

* GOV. Governmental Organisation
NGO. Non-Government Organisation

23. When you are consulted, what FORM(s) do such consultations generally take? Please answer Yes or No about the following:

- (1) Participation on committees _____
- (2) Service as advisor or expert _____
- (3) Written communication _____
- (4) Any other, specify _____

24. What other KINDS of ACTIVITIES, e.g., research, participation on commissions, etc., have you been engaged in in the community in the last 12 months that directly or indirectly affect practice?

- (1) _____
- (2) _____

- V. Could we now end with a bit of information about you, please (Ask of all Respondents, Zambian question numbers listed.)

34. (ZP29, ZA32, E32) Of what COUNTRY are you a citizen?

- (1) Kenya _____
- (2) Tanzania _____
- (3) Zambia _____
- (4) Any other African country, specify _____
- (5) Non-African country, specify _____

35. (ZP30) Are you MALE or FEMALE?
 (1) Male _____ (2) Female _____
36. (ZP31, A, E34) What is your AGE? _____
37. Where did you grow to adulthood?
 (1) rural _____ (2) rural and urban _____ (3) urban _____
38. (ZP32, A35) In what field(s) is your PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION?
 (1) Social work _____
 (2) Social work and some other field, specify _____
 (3) Any other field, specify _____
39. (ZP33, A, E36) In what country(s) did you do your professional study? _____
40. (ZP34, A, E37) What highest LEVEL of professional education did you complete?
 (1) pre-university _____
 (2) graduate _____
 (3) post graduate _____
41. (ZP35, A, E38) Which highest AWARD(s) do you have?
 (1) Certificate _____
 (2) Diploma _____
 (3) Degree, i.e., B.A. _____, B.Sc. _____, Masters _____, PhD DSW _____
 (4) Any other, specify _____
42. Are you an active member of the Association of Social Workers?
 (1) Yes _____ (2) No _____
43. (ZP36, A, E39) Please tell us the following:
 (1) Your POSITION within the department _____
 (2) NAME of the department _____
 (3) TYPE _____
 (4) LOCATION i.e., rural _____, urban _____

44. (ZE40) WHAT did you do before teaching?

45. (ZE4) For what NUMBER of years did you do so?

46. (ZP37, A40) For how many YEARS have you practiced,
(administered)?

(P44) (ZP38) If you are a student, how many years did
you practice before coming (or returning) to study?

47. (ZE43) If you taught somewhere else, WHERE before this
institution?

48. (ZP39, A41, E44) Are there any OTHER COMMENTS you would
like to make about the questions asked or any other ideas
raised by the questions?

YOUR COOPERATION IS MUCH APPRECIATED

THANK YOU VERY MUCH

APPENDIX C

(Correspondence)

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

MRS. E. MAXINE ANKRAH

This is to certify that the above-named, who is a registered Ph.D. Student with the University of Nairobi, is officially affiliated to the University of Zambia for purpose of carrying out a research in Zambia. Her affiliate status has already been cleared with appropriate authorities.

I have looked at the aims and purposes of the study and in my opinion, it should produce valuable results for social work practitioners as well as educators. Hence the importance of your co-operation.

Any assistance given her will be greatly appreciated.

Vukani G. Nyirenda (Dr.)

R E G I S T R A R

UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA

VGN/en.

4th October, 1978.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
 P.O. BOX RW81
 RIDGEWAY
 LUSAKA

15th September, 1978

Dear _____

re: RESEARCH ON SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION
 AND PRACTICE.

The Ministry of Labour and Social Services has been asked to assist in part of a study of social work education and practice being conducted in Zambia, Tanzania, and Kenya. We feel that the research will result in important findings for the work of our Department. We are, therefore, participating fully.

You have been chosen as one of the members of staff whose views on some aspects of practice and social work education would contribute much to this exercise.

Would you, therefore, complete the enclosed questionnaire and return it to this office, and addressed to me, not later than the 30th September, 1978. Please give this request your personal attention as a matter of priority.

The research is being conducted by Mrs. E. Maxine Ankrah, a Researcher affiliated to the University of Zambia and working in close collaboration with the Departments of Social Welfare and Community Development.

If you do not receive a questionnaire, and especially if you are serving in an administrative capacity, you may still make your contribution to this important exercise through personal interview from Mrs. Ankrah. You will be informed of the date of such interview.

In whichever way you will be involved, your assistance and co-operation will be greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

E.P. Katati,
ACTING DIRECTOR OF SOCIAL WELFARE.*

c.c. The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Labour and Social Services, P.O. Box 2186, LUSAKA.

EPK/MN.

*An additional letter sent by the Commissioner for Community Development of the same Ministry, Mr. I. Mukunda, was not available at the time of the binding of the thesis.

MINISTRY OF HOUSING AND SOCIAL SERVICES

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SERVICES

P.O. BOX 30276,

NAIROBI.

14th March, 1979.

Provincial Directors for Social Services
 Western Province,
 Nyanza Province,
 Rift Valley Province,
 Central Province,
 Eastern Province,
 North-Eastern Province,
 Coast Province,
 C.D.O. - Nairobi Area.
 Respondents.

RESEARCH BY MRS. M. ANKRAH

The above named who previously worked with this department has been permitted by the President's Office to carry out a research on Social work, Education and Practice in Kenya.

The questionnaire forwarded to a selected number of officers in your Province are therefore for this purpose. It is important for us as a Ministry to participate in this research. We consider that the results of this research may help us improve our programme.

The questionnaire is addressed to a few administrators who cannot be reached and some practitioners within the Department. Officers employed by the local authorities and seconded to us will also be expected to assist in this assignment if requested.

Please ensure that all the questionnaires are returned to us by 15 May, 1979. These should be addressed to Mr. G.W. MAHINDA to avoid their going astray.

We will in due course be informed, unless this is already done, when Mrs. Ankrah is visiting your Province to interview some of the officers.

G.W. MAHINDA
FOR THE COMMISSIONER FOR SOCIAL SERVICES

THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND SOCIAL WELFARE

Social Welfare Division,
P.O. Box 1949,
Dar es Salaam.

22nd January, 1979

Ref. WKUJ/UJ/V/1/97/4

Nd.....
Regional Welfare Officer

RE:- RESEARCH ON SOCIAL WORK
EDUCATION and PRACTICE

Social Welfare Division has agreed to assist Mrs. E. Maxine Ankrah as far as possible in the study of social Work Education and Practice in Tanzania. Her research concerns also Kenya and Zambia, with the intention of producing findings that may aid all the three countries in the particular field.

Due to limited time and other constraints she could not visit the whole country. This is why she has prepared a covering letter and a questionnaire which I am attaching to this letter so that it may be completed by all Regional Officers and thus be a source of useful information in her field of research.

Please treat this questionnaire with the importance it bears and completed forms should reach me not later than 10th February, 1979.

S.A.Hassan
COMMISSIONER FOR SOCIAL WELFARE

JAMHURI YA MUUNGANO WA TANZANIA

Anwani ya Simu: "WAZIRIMKUU",
DODOMA.

OFISI YA WAZIRI MKUU

Simu Nambari: 20511

S.L.P. 980

Unapojibu tafadhali taja:

DODOMA

Kumbukumbu Nambari CCU/S/190/2

9 February, 1979

TO WHOM IT MAY CONERN

1. I would like to introduce to you Mrs. E. Maxine Ankrah who is doing Research on Social Work Education and Practice in Tanzania. Other countries covered in her programme are Kenya and Zambia.
2. You are please requested to assist her by completing the Questionnaire that is being sent to you.
3. Her research work in this country has the approval of the Tanzania National Scientific Research Council.

(S. Kahewanga)
for PRINCIPAL SECRETARY

c.c. Mrs. E. M. Ankrah

TAASISI YA USTAWI WA JAMIIDAR ES SALAAM.wa yeyote anayehusikaBIBI E. MAXINE ANKRAH

Tunathibitisha kwamba aliyetajwa hape juu ni
Mkurufunzi wa Shahada ya Ph.D. Chue Kikuu cha Nairobi,
Kenya, ambaye amekuja Tanzania kwa shughuli za Utafiti,
ambae ni sehemu muhimu ya mafunzo yake.

Bibi Ankrah amepata kibali maalumu kutoka Baraza la
Taifa la Utafiti Tanzania kumruhusu afanye utafiti huo no
pia ameshirikishwa na Chuo Kikuu cha Dar es Salaam. Utafiti
wake unahusu "Mafunzo na Utendaji was Mbinu za Ustawi wa Jamii"
no tuna imani kwamba ni wa manufaa kwa shughuli za Ustawi wa
Jamii hapa nchini kwa ujumla.

Tunategemea kwamba Bibi Ankrah atapewa msaade kadri
inavyowezekana.

Asante kwa ushirikiano wako,

C.C. Njimba
MKURUGENZI
TAASISI YA USTAWI
WA JAMII

Director
National Social Welfare Training Institute
DAR ES SALAAM

P.O. Box 3375,
DAR ES SALAAM.

Telephone No. 44381

Appendix D

% Mr. _____

P.O. Box _____

Dated _____

Dear Colleague,

RESEARCH

SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION AND PRACTICE IN THREE AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Would you please help me by participating in research that I am conducting in _____ during several weeks in _____ and _____, _____.

The relevance of education and practice to the problems of our African countries is no doubt a matter of concern to all professionals educated to work with people. This research addresses itself to this problem as it pertains to social work in Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia. I hope to examine responses to a variety of practice and education situations to see how oriented practice and education are to the African context and how administration and education are facilitating this orientation. By examining what practice and education are, I hope to derive suggestions that will strengthen both.

Your name has been brought to my attention as an administrator, or practitioner, or educator in social or community work. Others of you are professionally qualified in social work, but are working in some other field. You still have very much to contribute toward our knowledge about such social workers.

Most of you who are in administration and education will be contacted for an interview. The cooperation of those many, practitioners who will fill in the enclosed questionnaire is very much appreciated. It should take no more than 55-60 minutes of your time. Enclosed is a statement of introduction. Please return the completed form not later than _____, _____, to the address noted in the letter of introduction.

The Department of _____ and _____
_____ are coordinating my field study, having
together facilitated my being able to carry out my work here. I
am a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Sociology, University
of Nairobi.

Please accept my sincere appreciation in advance for your kind
assistance.

Yours sincerely,

E. MAXINE ANKRAH (MRS.), M.S.W.

Appendix E

Alternative Approaches*

Case Problem I: Resistance of People to Change (a)

	Zambia			Tanzania			Kenya		
	P	A	E	P	A	E	P	A	E
Inform them about benefits and their need for change	10	7	-	12	14	33	10	3	-
Investigate why they resist	70	62	64	66	65	53	77	70	80
Plan for what community needs and persuade it to accept	2	-	-	8	2	-	2	3	7
Introduce ideas and wait for change in attitudes	16	24	36	14	19	14	9	11	14
Others	2	7	-	-	-	-	2	13	-
N=	(60)	(29)	(14)	(65)	(43)	(15)	(124)	(37)	(15)

Case Problem III: Population and Family Planning (b)

	Zambia			Tanzania			Kenya		
	P	A	E	P	A	E	P	A	E
Do nothing unless employed by Ministry of Health	-	7	-	3	-	-	3	-	-
Inform through family welfare activities	77	75	50	64	63	73	84	53	87
Mention the subject only when asked	10	3	21	8	5	20	4	2	-
Encourage government to give full support to FP activities	10	14	29	21	28	-	10	29	7
Other	3	-	-	3	4	7	1	16	6
N=	(60)	(28)	(14)	(68)	(43)	(15)	(115)	(36)	(15)

Case Problem VI: Destitute Mother with Children (c)

	Zambia			Tanzania			Kenya		
	P	A	E	P	A	E	P	A	E
Provide public relief funds	7	-	7	3	-	-	12	17	13
Investigate how common the problem is to plan action	14	22	14	30	21	34	43	31	27
Call in husband to examine family problem	69	64	65	61	53	40	33	36	20
Encourage government/community action for problem	8	14	7	3	14	13	12	6	20
Other	2	-	7	3	12	13	0	11	20
N=	(59)	(28)	(14)	(61)	(43)	(15)	(122)	(37)	(15)

* The totals (N) exclude those respondents who did not choose an alternative because they had indicated earlier that they did not handle the problem.

INTRODUCTION

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CHAPTER ONE

1. In this thesis the term, "national leadership," refers to persons in the three countries holding key positions affecting the political-economic and social policies that have implications for how social work is conceived and done. "Social work professionals" is defined operationally in Chapter 3. Here "social science and social work experts" refer to those whose works are pertinent to the theoretical framework presented in this chapter.
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CHAPTER TWO

1. In this examination no exhaustive treatment of the ideologies of the three countries is intended. Synopses which allow deductions relevant to discovering implications for social work are attempted. For a comprehensive presentation of political-economic development of these countries, additional referenced are given. The definitions of 'development' and underdevelopment are those of Brett, who defines the former as "... a change process characterised by increased productivity, equality in the distribution of the social product, and emergence of indigenous institutions whose relations with the outside world, and particularly with the developed countries of the international centres are characterised by equality rather than dependence or subordination ... Underdevelopment ... related to a condition of dependence--one in which the activities of a given society are subject to the overriding control of an external power over which it can exert little direct influence." E.A. Brett, Colonialism and Under-development in East Africa: The Politics of Economic Change 1919-1939, London: Heineman, 1973, p.18.

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95. Roberta M. Mutiso, "The Evolution of Social Welfare and Community Development Policy in Kenya: 1940-1973," Nairobi: University of Nairobi. Ph.D. Dissertation. pp. 370-375. She presents a synopsis of the historical development of social welfare and community development programmes. Other references below, e.g., Hasan, Duwe, and Nyirenda report parallel developments in Tanzania and Zambia.
96. Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Social Services, Department of Social Welfare, Annual Report

- 1975, Lusaka: Government Printer, 1976. The Church in particular has played a leading role in voluntary social welfare work. Most agencies are affiliated with the Zambia Council for Social Development which was established in its present form in 1974. In addition to co-ordination, it focuses attention on the self-help movement, channeling funds from local and overseas sources to rural communities.
97. Interview with E. P. Katati, Acting Director, Department of Social Welfare, Ministry of Labour and Social Services, Lusaka, 10/78. See also Republic of Zambia, Second National Development Plan, January 1972-December 1976, Lusaka: Government Printer, 1971, p. 154, for a discussion of what is involvement at the community level.
 98. Second National Development Plan, *ibid.*, p. 156.
 99. Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Labour and Social Services, Department of Community Development, Annual Report 1976, Lusaka: Government Printer, 1977. See also, Vukani G. Nyirenda, *op.cit.*
 100. A housing project funded in part by the World Bank adopted an approach that focused on the use of a multi-disciplinary team, including engineers, social scientists and social workers. The scheme also had a heavy involvement of squatters in planning and implementation. For these developments in settings of urban squatters see Lusaka Housing Project Unit, "It will be better tomorrow." Pamphlet (Undated).
 101. Nyirenda, *op.cit.*, pp. 194-201.
 102. Arusha Declaration, *op.cit.*, p. 3.
 103. Saidi A. Hasan, A Brief Outline of Development: Social Problems and Services in Tanzania, Dar-es-Salam: Government Printer, 1970, pp. 30-42.
 104. Interview with Saidi A. Hasan, Commissioner for Social Welfare, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, Dar-es-Salam 3/79. A one-year certificate launched by the National Social Welfare Training Institute (NSWTI) in 1979 will provide a generic worker for the district level to ease the manpower problems within the Division.

105. International Conference on Social Welfare. "Tanzania Country Report." Integrated Rural Development and Participation: The Role of Social Welfare Agencies, First All African Regional Seminar on Social Welfare, Lagos, Nigeria, December 8-14, Nairobi: ICSW, 1973, p. 5. Mimeographed.
106. J. J. E. Duwe, Ujamaa Villages as a Vehicle for Rural Development in Tanzania: A Case Study. Columbia: University of Missouri, 1974; Mimeographed.
J. H. Proctor, Building Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania, Dar-es-Salam: Tanzania Publishing House. 1975; Thoden van Velsen, "Staff, Kulaks and peasants: a study of a political field," in Lionel Cliffe and John Saul, eds., Socialism in Tanzania: Interdisciplinary Reader, Vol. 2, Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1973, pp. 153-179.
107. Interview with R. Linjewile, Commissioner, op.cit.
108. Mutiso, op.cit., pp. 307-330.
109. Development Plan, 1979-1983, op.cit., p. 184-186.
110. Ibid., p. 182.
111. Republic of Kenya, Policy on National Social Welfare Sessional Paper No. 7 (1971), Nairobi: Government Printer, p. 6.
112. Kenya National Council of Social Services Publications.
113. Annette Mogwanja, The Concept of Indigenisation of Social Welfare with Reference to Voluntary Social Welfare Programmes in Kenya. Seminar Paper No. 36., Nairobi: University of Nairobi, 1979. Mimeographed.
114. A number of writers have examined the impact of the colonial period on education. Those whose works informed this synopsis included David B. Abernethy, The Political Dilemma of Popular Education: An African Case, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1969; H. F. Makulu, Education, Development and Nation-Building in Independent Africa, London: SCM Press, 1971; Philip Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965; Brett. op.cit.; Resnick, op.cit.
115. Foster, op.cit., pp. 7, 163-165; Makulu, op.cit., pp. 20-34.

116. Foster, op.cit., pp. 104-106.
117. Kaunda (1973), op.cit., p. 26.
118. UNDP , A Profile of the Zambian Economy, op.cit., pp. 6, 39-40, 79.
119. Ibid., pp. 77-79.
120. Ibid., p. 78.
121. Ibid., p. 76.
122. Julius K. Nyerere, Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism, op.cit.
123. S. N. Bogonko, "East African Exams: Can They Be Compared?" Daily Nation, March 25, 1980.
124. David Court, and Kabiru Kinyanjui, Development Policy and Educational Opportunity: The Experience of Kenya and Tanzania. Document prepared for International Institute for Educational Planning, Paris, 1978, pp. 89-91. Mimeographed; David Court, "The education system as a response to inequality in Tanzania and Kenya," Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 14, No. 4, 1976, 661-90.
125. David Court and Dharam Ghai, Education, Society and Development: New Perspectives for Kenya, Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1974, pp. 5-6.
126. Development Plan, 1978-1983, op.cit., p. 165, 152-153.
127. Ibid., p. 152.
128. Ghai (1974), pp. 327-328.
129. Court and Ghai, op.cit., pp. 8-9.
130. Court and Kinyanjui, op.cit., pp. 37-38.
131. S. N. Bogonko, "The Need for a Language Policy," Nairobi Times, March 30, 1980.
132. "Kenya and Education," Editorial, Nairobi Times, March 23, 1980.
133. For example, the Israeli and German governments assisted Kenya in the establishment of its programmes at both

intermediate and graduate levels, respectively. The British and Canadians assisted Tanzania. Americans, Canadians, English and Indians have staffed Zambia's programme at one time or another. The Economic Commission for Africa, the O.A.U, the International Association of Schools of Social Work and the Association for Social Work Education in Africa have all been sources of ideas and have stimulated thought about relevant orientations in Africa. That international input into social work education being provided at the university level, also, undoubtedly affected developments in Africa.

134. Interview with Miss Elizabeth Brooks, then Head of the Department for Social Work, University of Zambia, 10/78. For an historical account, see Oppenheimer College of Social Services, Zambiana Section, University of Zambia (undated). Mimeographed.
135. University of Zambia, School of Humanities and Social Sciences. Handbook, 1977-1978, p. 19. Mimeographed.
136. President's Citizenship College at Ndola, e.g., runs in-service programmes for qualified staff and awards certificates after courses of varying lengths. The Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation at Kitwe provides, for the Africa region, special programmes for qualified development workers in, e.g., youth, leadership, women's programmes.
137. Training for rural and urban programmes is conducted at the Community Development Staff Training College, Monze, and the Urban CDST, Kitwe, respectively. There was no immediate plan to integrate the training of CD staff. This almost total division between training for the rural and the urban worker is a division reflected throughout the structure of social welfare services.
138. Interview with Miss Brooks, op.cit.
139. Interview with Prof. C. K. Omari, Head, Department of Sociology, University of Dar-es-Salaam, Dar-es-Salaam, 3/79.
140. Interview with Dr. Safari, Department of Sociology (Social Welfare Option), University of Dar-es-Salaam, Dar-es-Salaam, 3/79.
141. National Institute for Social Welfare Training, New Three Year Social Work Diploma Curriculum for Tanzania,

- January 1977, Dar-es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1977. See especially pp. 43-46. The earlier beginnings of social work training are covered in Hasan, op.cit., pp. 49-50.
142. Ibid., pp. 7-8.
143. Interview with Claude Njimba, Director, NISWT, 3/79.
144. Interview with J. J. E. Duwe, Assistant Commissioner, Prime Ministers' Office, Dodoma, 2/79.
145. KIA, Report of the Curriculum Consultation provided by the International Association of Schools of Social Work to the Department of Social Development, Kenya Institute of Administration, March 22-May 14, 1976. Mimeographed.
146. For a full description of the programme, see Programmes of Studies for the Bachelor of Arts (Social Work) Degree, University of Nairobi (1978/1979). Mimeographed.
147. Ibid., p. 9.
148. New Three Year Social Work Diploma Curriculum for Tanzania, op.cit.

CHAPTER THREE

1. Henry J. Meyer and Sheldon Siegel, "Profession of social work: contemporary characteristics," p. 1069, in John B. Turner, et al, eds., Encyclopedia of Social Work, Vol. II, Washington, D.C.: National Association of Social Workers, 1977.
2. Meyer and Siegel, *ibid.*
3. The issue is not whether the individuals are "professionals," i.e., qualified professionals in some discipline, but rather what role is played. Moreover, recognition by governments for categorising social work, occupationally, is seen as a different issue from its begin a profession. On the concept of the 'semi-professional' by which social work has been characterised, see Amitai Etzioni:, ed., The Semi-professionals and Their Organisation (New York: Free Press, 1969).

4. This corresponds in part to Meyer's and Siegel's application of the term, "social worker." See Meyer and Siegel, loc.cit.
5. Student finalists who had practiced as social workers prior to entering training were included in the 'practitioner' category. At the Universities of Zambia and (8 of the 13 who cooperated had been approached through their employers) and Dar-es-Salaam, and at the KIA and NISWT.
6. See International Association of Schools of Social Work, IASSW Directory, January, 1975. New York: IASSW, 1975.
7. Heads of Departments of Sociology at the Universities of Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam were informally interviewed for historical and policy related data. The Registrar of the University of Zambia who is qualified in social work, was also interviewed.
8. Martin Rein, "Social work in search of a radical profession," in Neil Gilbert and Harry Specht eds., The Emergence of Social Welfare and Social Work, Itasca, Illinois: E. E. Peacock Publishers, 1976, pp. 459-484.
9. These field familiarisation visits did not include Tanzania because of the closure of the Kenya-Tanzania border and costs of travel direct from Lusaka to Dar-es-Salaam and back to Kampala.
10. See C.A. Moser and G. Kalton, Survey Methods in Social Investigation, London: Heinemann Educational Books, Ltd., 1971, pp. 53-60; and Bernard S. Phillips, Social Research: Strategy and Tactics, Second Edition, New York: Macmillan, 1971, pp. 94-96, 313-314. See Claire Selltiz, Lawrence S. Wrightsman, Stuart W. Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations. Third Edition, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976, p. 535. They note that some researchers use non-probability sampling, arguing that some investigators who reject this approach do not always adhere strictly to procedures of probability sampling.
11. Selltiz, et al, *ibid.*, p. 536.
12. Phillips, op.cit., p. 273.
13. Selltiz, et al, p. 538.

14. University of Zambia Ninth Graduation Ceremony, 22 October, 1978, Lusaka, Zambia. This source provides the total number of awards of diplomas and degrees in social work from 1969 to 1977. Names were obtained from the respective years' graduation programmes. Lists for 1965 and 1967 were compiled from Graduation Ceremonies of Oppenheimer College, Graduates for 1964 were reported by professionals. There were no ceremonies in 1966 and 1968.
15. Information was obtained from the following governmental files: United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of National Education: Overseas Placements as of December 1976, Ministry of National Education: Student's List Sorted by Country and Field of Study; Ministry of National Education: Post-secondary Students.
16. Interview with S. Kahewanga, Acting Commissioner, Ujamaa and Cooperative Development Division, Prime Minister's Office, Dodoma, 2/79.
17. Sources include the following groups of files: Republic of Kenya, Ministry of Education, Higher Education Section, Overseas Student List (by year and country in which studies are done); Makerere University College, Nominal Role of Students; University of East Africa-Statistics; Makerere University.
18. Moser and Kalton, op.cit., p. 54. The survey is 'incomplete' since a substantial number of units in the target population are arbitrarily excluded.
19. Selltiz, et. al., op.cit., p. 536.
20. Andargatchew Tesfaye, "Social work education in Africa: trends and prospects in relation to national development," in ASWEA, Relationship Between Social Work Education and National Social Development Planning, Addis Ababa: Association of Social Work Education in Africa, 1974, pp. 14-39. See also United Nations Economic and Social Council, Second Conference of Ministers Responsible for Social Affairs, Alexandria, Egypt, January, 1977, New York: UNECA, Draft, 1977.
21. A. Shawky, "Social work education in Africa," International Social Work, Vol. 15, 1972, 3-16.

22. A.N. Oppenheim, Questionnaire, Design and Attitude Measurement, London: Heinemann, 1966, pp. 31-37; Johan Galtung, "Data collection," in Kenneth Thompson and Jeremy Tunstall, eds., Sociological Perspectives, Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Education, 1971; Moser and Kalton, op.cit., pp. 256-350; Bryant Kears, ed., Field Data Collection in the Social Sciences: Experiences in Africa and the Middle East, New York: Agricultural Development Council, Inc., 1976, p. 59.
23. Moser and Kalton, op.cit., pp. 47-51; Kears, op.cit., p. 75.
24. The three countries were excluded because of the plan to cover the universe of social work professionals in each.
25. Kears, op.cit., p. 159.
26. A.W. Southall, "The concept of elites and their formation in Uganda," in P.C. Lloyd, ed., The New Elites in Tropical Africa, London: Oxford University Press, 1966, p. 343.
27. Phillips, op.cit., pp. 96-97.
28. See Il Sub Choi, "Microscopic Versus Macroscopic Orientations of Korean Social Workers Regarding the Problem of Poverty: A Descriptive Study." Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University, Ph.D. Dissertation, 1977.

Choi's scale, designed to reflect the ideological orientation of Korean social workers, was used to guide the coding of responses to the case problems analysed in Chapter Five. For example, a "strongly microscopic" position conveys the ideas held by the researcher of a "less relevant" approach to the specific problem the social worker is attempting to deal with, there than the positions farther down on his continuum. The farther down on the scale, the more the actions of professionals correspond to the conception held in this study of the "more relevant" response. This usage is justified on the grounds that the categories of this exploratory study were drawn up to point to trends or tendencies rather than for the purpose primarily of testing hypotheses.

Mean range

- 1.00-2.59 "strongly microscopic"--providing individualised and clinical service to help clients;
- 2.60-3.59 "moderately microscopic"--making contact with or referrals to outside resources to help clients;
- 3.60-4.59 "micro-macroscopic"--working with community leaders to solve their problems;
- 4.60-5.59 "moderately macroscopic"--offering consultation to governments in formulating policies and programmes;
- 5.60-7.00 "strongly macroscopic"--participating in a social reform effort to change the social structure.

As I used open-ended questions, rather than the precoded ones as did Choi, I arbitrarily assigned the numbers, one to five, for each category of his scale. The analysis of the association between the professionals' perceptions and other research variables lead to the modification of his classification scheme because of the intention to compute percentages, means and gamma tests rather than Chi Squares (χ^2) as he had done. For my purposes, categories of response were dichotomised as "less relevant" for the first and second categories; "more or less relevant" for the third; and "more relevant" for the fourth and fifth categories.

29. Choi, *ibid.*

CHAPTER FOUR

1. Issachar Ilan and Mariam Hoffert, "Training social workers for East Africa: a personal account," KIDMA Israel Journal of Development, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1973, 25.
2. Interview with Saidi A. Hasan, Commissioner, Department of Social Welfare, Dar-es-Salaam, 3/79.
3. Joel D. Barkun, "The political socialization of university students in Ghana, Tanzania, and Uganda," Development Digest, Vol. 10, No. 4, October 1972, 60-66. He argues that the educational system of the post-independence former British colonies rather avoid radical positions.

4. Ilan and Hoffert, *op.cit.*
5. Roberta M. Mutiso, "The Evolution of Social Welfare and Community Development Policy in Kenya," Nairobi: University of Nairobi. Ph.D. Dissertaion, 1974, pp. 318-322.
6. University of Zambia, Ninth Graduation Ceremony, 22 October, 1977. This programme contained data concerning the numbers of diplomas, degrees, and certificates awarded since 1966. See also Republic of Zambia, A Record of Zambian Graduates in Government Service, the Private Sector and Quasi-governmental Institutions as of September, 1974. Directorate of Civil Service Training.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. Reference was made to these case-problems in Chapter Three. Let me reiterate here how these were obtained. The seven case problems presented to respondents were selected from a compilation of 22 cases. This list had been drawn from a number of sources: the extensive practice experience of the researcher; the discussions held and observations made during the familiarisation visits to Zambia and Kenya; the professional literature; and the pretest in Uganda. It was this latter exercise that resulted in the elimination of all but the seven presented. The three discussed in the text best fit all criteria set for analysing the responses.
2. For example, the most controversial of these concerns family planning as one response to problems associated with rapid population increase. The population problem began to attract the attention of social workers--notably through the efforts of the pilot project of the International Association of Schools of Social Work--by 1970. Interest intensified in the 1970's, leading to reorganisation of curricula in many schools of social work in countries throughout the world. The subject was treated as an aspect of development, its inclusion in curricular content of professionals having the purpose of equipping them for entirely new roles in a field perceived as a developmental service.
3. This type of response is anticipated because the practitioner was asked whether or not the problem is handled by herself or others. Educators and administrators were

also asked to comment on the work of others, i.e., the practitioners.

4. Recalling that one criterion for selecting a problem was the potential of professionals to intervene at the individual to the societal level, and taking into account the complex issues each raises, asking whether practitioners choose to handle the problem seemed a justifiable point of departure. Given the contexts, it was conceivable that some would not deal with the problem at all. This did prove to be the case.

This approach had not been the intended direction of the research, initially. I assumed that practice in the three countries would at least touch upon all seven of the problems chosen. Professionals in Zambia were, therefore, presented solely with each problem and a set of five alternatives from which to choose the most important way or ways by which to intervene. While the responses in interviews suggested that the assumption was a correct one, these also encouraged an inquiry beyond the alternatives that I had provided. The other possibilities could be revealed through open-ended questions. Consequently, two additional questions were added to the instruments used in Tanzania and Kenya: practitioner respondents were asked, firstly, whether they or their colleagues do handle the problem. Secondly, all were asked to describe what is or should be done.

I foresaw that by examining what was actually handled, greater confidence could be placed in the choice of alternatives, i.e., that these, too, actually or nearly measured what was being done. To test this idea, CPVII, the "political" problem that deals with the issue of governmental decrees, was also analysed. Even if professionals felt that the people should be assisted, the theory had led to the expectation that social workers would avoid playing potentially highly politicised roles. The following Table 1 shows that less than 40% of both samples of practitioners did indeed handle the problem. This consistency led to the belief that what would be described as the approach would be closer to the real situation of practice than would be the selections of alternatives. I therefore chose to base my assessment of the degree of relevance on the descriptions given to an open-ended question, although this meant excluding the Zambians from this part of the analysis.

Table 1

Case Problem VII: Governmental Decrees

Degree of Handling by Practitioner

	Tanzania	Kenya
	%	%
Yes	39	38
No	61	62
N =	(69)	(123)

5. Philip M. Mbithi and Roberta M. Mutiso, "Integrated rural development and popular participation," Education for Social Change: Human Development and National Progress. Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Schools of Social Work, Nairobi, July 6-9, 1974. New York: International Association of Schools of Social Work, 1974, pp. 46-47.
6. Interviews with J.J.E. Duwe, Assistant Commissioner, Prime Minister's Office, Department of Ujamaa and Cooperative Development, Dodoma, 2/79. Also, see Note #12 below for staffing of the ministries.
7. These reports covered the following provinces: Central; Western; Eastern; Rift Valley; and Coast. Reports for North-eastern and Nyanza Provinces were not available, neither had the compilation been made for the whole department. See Ministry of Housing and Social Services, Department of Social Services, Annual Report for 1977, Nairobi: Government Printer, 1979, p. 8.
8. Kenya, Ministry of Housing and Social Services, Department of Social Services. Annual Report for 1977--Western Province, Nairobi: Government Printer, 1979, p. 8.
9. Interview with J.J.E. Duwe, op.cit.
10. Kenneth Prewitt, Introductory Research Methodology, Institute for Development Studies, Occasional Paper No. 10, 1974, Nairobi: University of Nairobi, 1975, pp. 106-108. The formula for the Kendall Coefficient of Concordance used is as follows:

$$W = \frac{S}{\left(\frac{1}{12} K^2\right) \times (N^3 - N)}$$

11. Interview with Dr. C.K. Omari, Head, Department of Sociology, University of Dar-es-Salaam, 3/79; Saidi A. Hasan, Commissioner for Social Welfare, Dar-es-Salaam, 3/79, op.cit.
12. I have included in the definition, social worker, the professionals working in ujamaa and community development as well as those in social welfare programmes. An examination of the staffing of the largest organisation using these professionals, i.e., the ministries for social service programmes in the three countries, yields the following results shown in Table ii.

The numbers shown in Table ii refer to the programme staff at the time of the research, and not to the total manpower or establishment. It excludes those officers not directly involved with programmes such as clerical staff. It does include the low, i.e., assistant level manpower, where statistics were made available. None of this last group, nor all persons in the "high" category were covered by the research.

Table ii

CD and SW Personnel in Ministries
for Social Services 1978-1979

	Zambia*		Tanzania**		Kenya***	
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
Community Development	120	341	1500		177	12
			(approx.)			
Social Welfare	36	--	71	208	77	6

*Sources - Zambia: Departments of Community Development and Social Welfare, Ministry of Labour and Social Services, Lusaka, Zambia, September 1978. Statistics for social welfare assistants were not supplied.

**Sources - Tanzania: Social Welfare and Probation Division, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, Dar-es-Salaam, February, 1979. The Prime Minister's Office, Dodoma, reported a major reorganisation of manpower that resulted in 814 officers being deployed to village management. This decreased the staff of the Ujamaa and Cooperative Development Department from 2056 in 1977 to about 1500 in February, 1979. The precise numbers and levels of manpower were not immediately available to the

Commissioner's Office at the time of the study.

- ***Sources - Kenya: Ministry of Housing and Social Services, Department of Community Development: Complete Control and Kenyanisation Returns, March, 1979. The local authorities and voluntary agencies employ the bulk of community development and social welfare assistants who are supervised by the higher level staff of the Ministry. There were no consolidated statistics on this group.
13. See the explanation for this procedure above in Note #4. Respondents made similar choices for each of the other case-problems. The complete tables appear as Appendix E (a) (b) and (c). As more than 70 percent settled on one of two items as their first choice, only this first choice is discussed in detail. Although it is conceded that answers of practitioners could have been prompted by the alternatives listed in the mail questionnaire, administrators and educators had no prior information on possible choices before the options were put to them in the interview situation.
 14. Interview with Philip Mbithi, Head, Department of Sociology, University of Nairobi, Kenya, 5/79.
 15. Joel D. Barkum, An African Dilemma--University Students, Development and Politics in Ghana, Tanzania, and Uganda, Eastern Africa: Oxford University Press, 1974, pp. 92-96.
 16. Population Reference Bureau. World Population Growth and Response, Washington: PRB, 1976, pp. 57-58, 63-64. See also Zambia. Ministry of Labour and Social Services, The National Tripartite Seminar on Humanism and Workers' Family Welfare Progress, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare in collaboration with ILO, 1-6 September, 1975, Kabwe, Zambia. Dr. Kaunda it declared, states that Zambia's population poses no problem and that the worry is to make the people more productive in view of Zambia's low population figures vis-a-vis its area. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1976, p. 5.
 17. See Katherine A. Kendall, Reflections on Social Work Education, New York: International Association of Schools of Social Work, 1978, pp. 185-191.
 18. Interviews with Mrs. Nancy Mwomodo and Mrs. Elizabeth Hannington, Family Planning Association of Kenya, 3/79; see also Kenya: Ministry of Housing and Social Service,

Western Province. Annual Report for 1977, op.cit., p. 40.

19. The local courts of Kitwe District, Kitwe, Zambia.
20. See Department of Social Services, Annual Reports, op. cit.
21. Interview with Mrs. Makundi, Director of Lutheran Church Social Service, 28th February, 1979.
22. Ibid.
23. Interview with social worker, Mrs. Grace Kanyiri, Murang'a County Council, Murang'a, Kenya, 3/79.
24. Prewitt, op.cit., p. 167. The formular being used is the following:

$$t = \frac{\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2}{\sqrt{\frac{s. d. 1^2}{N^1} + \frac{s. d. 2^2}{N^2}}}$$

25. Vukani G. Nyirenda, "Social Change and Social Policy in a Developing Country: the Zambian Case." Berkeley, California: University of California at Berkeley. Ph. D. Dissertation. 1975.

CHAPTER SIX

1. Interview with J.P.I. Bonyo, Commissioner, Department of Social Services, Ministry for Housing and Social Services, Nairobi, 5/79.
2. Interview with Saidi A. Hasan, Commissioner, Social Welfare Division, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, Dar-es-Salaam, 3/79.
3. Kenya, Republic of. Planning for Progress: Our Fourth Development Plan (A Short Version of the Development Plan 1979-1983). Nairobi: Government Printer, 1979, p.28.
4. Interview with E.P. Katati, Director of Social Welfare, Ministry of Labour and Social Services, Lusaka, 10/78.

5. Interview with Philip Mbithi, Head, Department of Sociology, University of Nairobi, Kenya, 5/79.
6. See Chapter One for a discussion of how the concept, sharing of power, is being used in this research.
7. Interview with Bonyo, op.cit.
8. Interview with J.A. Gethinji, Director, Directorate of Personnel, Nairobi, Kenya, 5/79.
9. Ibid.
10. To a question about the content of contact, 34 (N=67) and 49 (N=103) percent of the practitioners of Tanzania and Kenya, respectively, report that only "rarely" is the concern of such meetings with education for further professional development. Only 17 and 18 percent, respectively, say that it is the "most usual" concern. See Appendix B, (P)16 and (A)18.
11. To the same question above the following results is obtained:

Table 1

Most Usual Matters Covered in
Supervisory Contact*

	Kenya		Tanzania	
	P	A	P	A
		%		%
Administrative	38	46	41	41
N =	(115)		(69)	
General Departmental plans, problems	42	40	37	59
N =	(118)		(70)	
Problems of local area	36	37	41	36
N =	(103)	(35)	(68)	(44)

*This question was not asked in Zambia.

12. Frank X. Steggert. "Organisation theory: bureaucratic influence and social welfare task," in Harry A. Schatz, ed., Social Work Administration: A Resource Book, New York: Council on Social Work Education, 1970, pp. 48-56.

13. Zambian respondents were asked to indicate the most typical way of sharing in administrative decision-making, with the following outcomes that, because of the quite different variables presented to them, preclude a comparison with the Tanzanian and Kenyan samples.

Table 11

The Most Typical Way of Sharing in Decision-making		
	P	A
	%	
Yes		
Individual consultation	20	36
Written communication	17	21
Staff conference suggestions	40	25
Others	3	18
No sharing	20	--
N =	(60)	(28)
t sign = 2.181 = .01		

As with the response from the other two countries, Zambian administrators and practitioners tend to differ widely. The test of means shows that the difference is also statistically significant at the .01 level.

14. Interview with Philip Mbithi, op.cit.
15. Interview with Bonyo, op.cit. In Kenya the supervision of professional social workers, the majority of whom are women, is often the responsibility of male officers of the oldest unit of the Department of Social Services, Community Development. The current trend, however, is to assign the responsibility to the most qualified staff, irrespective of his/her unit or specialisation.
16. Interview with Bonyo, ibid.; Gethingi, op.cit.
17. Interview with Gethingi, op.cit.
18. Interviews with Gethingi, op.cit.; Hassan, op.cit.; J.J.E. Duwe, Assistant Commissioner, Ujamaa Cooperative Development Department, Office of Prime Minister, Dodoma, Tanzania, 2/79; I. Mukunda, Commissioner for Community Development, Ministry for Labour and Social Services, Lusaka, Zambia, 10/78.

19. Interview with Gethingi, op.cit.
20. Interview with Gethingi, op.cit.
21. Since I do not wish to argue the need for the administrator to share power with educators, this category is omitted from this latter comparison.
22. Interview with Mbithi, op.cit.
23. Interview with P. Claver, Tanzania, 2/79.
24. Interview with Katati, op.cit.
25. Bayer, "Economic conditions and social services in Europe, 1970-1975 in Social Realities and Social Work Response: The Role of Schools of Social Work. Proceedings: XVIIIth International Congress of School of Social Work, San Juan, Puerto Rico, July 13-17, 1976, pp. 6-7.
26. Interview with Dorcas Luseno, Head, Department for Social Development, Kenya Institute of Administration, Nairobi, Kenya, 5/79.
27. Interviews with Bonyo, op.cit.; Mbithi, op.cit.; Dorcas Luseno, op.cit.

CHAPTER SEVEN

1. Il Sub Choi, "Microscopic vs. Macroscopic Orientations of Korean Social Workers Regarding the Problem of Poverty: A Descriptive Study," Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 1977.
2. Robert E. Herriott and Benjamin J. Hodgkins, "Social context and the school: an open-system analysis of social and educational change," in Yehekel Hasenfeld and Richard A. English, eds., Human Service Organizations, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1974, p. 131; Joel D. Barkun, An African Dilemma: University Students, Development and Politics in Ghana, Tanzania, and Uganda, Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1975, p. 142.
3. Interview with Claude Njimba, Director, National Institute for Social Welfare Training, Dar-es-Salaam, 3/79.

4. Max Siporin, Introduction to Social Work Practice, New York: Macmillan, 1975, p. 93.
5. Ibid., pp. 93-116.
6. Andargatchew Tesfaye, "Social work education in Africa: trends and prospects in relation to national development," in Relationship between Social Work Education and National Social Development Planning. Report of the Second Association of Social Work Education in Africa Conference, Lome, Togo, 3-12 December, 1973, Addis Ababa: ASWEA, 1974, pp. 19-35; Muktar I.M. Agouba, "Social realities in Africa," in Social Realities and the Social Work Response: The Role of Schools of Social Work, Proceedings: XVIIIth International Congress of Schools of Social Work, San Juan, Puerto Rico, July 13-17, 1976, New York: IASSW, 1977, pp. 48-55.
7. United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Report of the Expert Group Meeting on Social Welfare Training and Administration, UNECA Publications, March, 1971, p. 19; UNECA, Social Work Training in a Changing Africa, UNECA Publications, June, 1965, pp. 8-9.
8. Course Contents Zambia--University of Zambia, Department of Social Work: Quantitative Methods in the Social Sciences; Strategies of Social Work Intervention; Social Policy Planning and Evaluation; Analysis of Methods of Intervention; Social Welfare Policy and Administration; Introduction to Social Work Methods; Social Welfare Policy Analysis; Introduction to Social Welfare and Social Work; and Social Sciences of choice. Monze: Understanding the Community (Sociology); Social, Economic and Cultural Barriers to Change and Methods to Overcoming Them; Human Relations; Understanding Community Development; Understanding the Role and Functions of the CD Worker; Administration; Skills; and Programme Planning.

Tanzania--University of Dar es Salaam: Social Administration and Social Welfare; Social Welfare in Pre-Colonial Africa; Social Welfare in Colonial Africa; Social Administration and Social Welfare in Context; The Role of Voluntary Agencies; Social Welfare in Post-Independent Africa; Social Policy Planning; Social Psychology; Sociology (of Crime); and Research. National Institute for Social Welfare Training: Sequences in Social Work Practice, Human Behavior and Social Environment, Social Welfare Services and Policies; Social (Work) Research.

Kenya--University of Nairobi Sociology Department:: Introduction to Sociology and Anthropology; Introduction to Principles and Methods of Social Work and Community Development; Methods of Social Investigation; Community Development and Social Welfare; Social Psychology and Human Growth and Development; Methods of Social Work and Community Development; Social Change and Development; Optional Courses--Family Welfare and Counselling, Deviation and Rehabilitation, Community Leadership and Social Action, Social Policy. Kenya Institute of Administration Sequences of Social Development Policy and Administration (Social Development Organisation, SD Policy and Programmes I and II, Social Legislation I and II, Social Survey Methods I and II, SD Administration I and II); Human Ecology Sequence (Psychology, Sociology, Social Psychology, Human Growth and Development, Psychology of Dysfunction); Sociology (Social Change and Community Health); Social Work Theory and Methods Sequence (Generic Social Work Theory, Social Work Theory and Methods I and II). As Table 1 shows, the field practicum is included in each design except that of the University of Dar es Salaam.

9. Peter T. Brown, "Social Work education in Zambia: an integrated approach," International Social Work Vol. 14, No. 1, 1971, 42-47.
10. Interview with Betty Brooks, then Head of the Social Work Department. She explained that while all social work methods, theory, policy and fieldwork were handled by the Department's educators, sociology, social development and research lectures were taught by non-social work educators.
11. See Ralph Umbach's research on what he terms the "classical" and the "developmental" curricula in social work education, in Social Work Education in Africa: A Comparative Study. Addis Ababa: ASWEA, March, 1976. Mimeo-graphed.
12. Barkun, op.cit.
13. K. Bayer, "Economic conditions and social services in Europe--1970-1975, in Social Realities and Social Work Responses: The Role of Schools of Social Work, Proceedings: XVIIIth International Congress of Schools of Social Work, San Juan, Puerto Rico, July 13-17, 1976, New York: IASSW, 1977, p. 4.

14. John Haines, Skills and Methods in Social Work, London: Constable, 1975, p. 206. He includes among the "basics" relational, transactional and organisational skills. The problem appears to be that for the African context a failure to particularise skills, i.e., identifying them clearly with specific situations and settings, as I shall suggest in the discussion on rural practice as dealt with in Tanzania and in Kenya, practitioners may be ill-equipped for the ensuing problems, although having acquired some "basic" skills.
15. Note is taken again of the proportionally higher numbers of Kenyan practitioners (N=126) who do not respond to this question as a whole, or to some section of the list of skills. For example, as many as 34 respondents of the sample failed to indicate any involvement in the formulation of policy. There is, on the other hand, a consistent and high response rate among Zambian (N=61) and Tanzanian (N=70) practitioners. This difference in the level of participation in the research experience is understandable, given the considerably lower level of professional education of the Kenyan respondents, and therefore possibly less experience with research tools. The fact that 71 percent of the Kenyan social work professionals who were approached agreed to participate in the research suggests that educational differences more than any lack of interest could explain the incomplete practitioner response.
16. Stan Weisner, Professional Social Work in Kenya: Training and Performance, Nairobi: Afropress, 1970, p. 8. The "method" approach in the 1960's and early 1970's dominated the curricular emphasis at the KIA, equipping practitioners with apparently more skill in casework than that needed for larger problems of the context.
17. I found in further analysis of the data presented less demand for use of organisational skills in all but the Zambian administrator sample. The percentages were 52, 45 and 46 for Zambian, Tanzanian and Kenyan practitioners, respectively. They were 61, 51 and 45 percent for the administrators of the three countries, respectively. The higher degree of use in Zambia would be a reflection of the tendency of organisations to employ graduates for positions that give them scope to demonstrate professional expertise. In fact, their gamma tests of association showed a consistently positive relationship to the organisation with all of the skills. It is however,

predictably strongest, a Gamma of 0.77, for use of skills with individuals.

In contrast, the responses of Kenya's practitioners showed a high degree of use--at the level of "great deal,"-- of the three relational skills listed. Although the overall percentages were highest for this particular sample, from 66 to 85 percent, they were also considerably high for administrators, with percentages ranging from a low of 41 to a high of 73. The average for all administrators is 57 percent. For the Zambian and Tanzanian practitioners the average percentage of use of relational skills at the level, "great deal," is 55 percent.

18. Asked whether there is a gap between what the practice situation requires, i.e., what the social work professionals in practice can do, and the content that is emphasised by social work educators, the response in Table i was obtained.

Table i

	Perception of the Size of the Gap								
	Zambia			Tanzania			Kenya		
	P	A	E	P	A	E	P	A	E
	%			%			%		
Big	66	59	28	63	42	60	67	62	66
Small	22	24	50	17	36	40	22	32	27
No gap	12	27	22	20	22	--	11	6	7
N =	(58)	(29)	(14)	(70)	(45)	(15)	(116)	(37)	(15)

19. This material is not covered as part of the chapter because of a decision to exclude from the main text a detailed analysis or parts of Section IV of the questionnaire. That section relates more to the interdependence in relationship between practice and education than to the concept of relevance. Only the data reported above is, therefore, immediately pertinent to this study.
20. For further development of this theme, i.e., the force of the organisation as an instrument in the process of modernisation, see Alex Inkeles and David Horton Smith, Becoming Modern: Individual Change in Six Developing Countries. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard, 1974.
21. Interview with Betty Brooks.

22. Ibid. In anticipation of raising the question in Tanzania and in Kenya, this social work educator in Zambia was asked, and disclosed that fieldwork was the primary method for dealing with rural practice.
23. Ibid. Brooks suggested that a similar perspective underlies education at the University level in Zambia. There, a problem-solving model has characterised education in that country since the late 1960's.
24. Ibid. This informant identified agency supervision as a major problem area in Zambia, also..
25. Interviews with R. Linjewele, and J.J.E. Duwe, the Prime Minister, Dodoma, 2/79.

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