SOCIAL WORK INTERVENTION

A SEARCH FOR RELEVANCE IN THE ZAMBIAN CONTEXT

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To the people of Zambia

and

their social welfare

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M A P S

buted their own understanding of Luvale custom and made suggestions as to how data collection could be improved. Various Government and Party officials smoothed the way for my introduction to the areas of study. These included Chief, District Governor and District Secretary in Kabompo and, in Lusaka, the District Governor, Regional Secretary, Women's Regional Secretary and Branch Officials. In Lusaka special mention should be made of Mama Chama and Mr. Kasonso who spent considerable time with personal introductions. My brother's family provided accommodation and encouragement when I was in Kabompo as did the nurses at Loloma Mission Hospital in Manyinga.

The maps included in this thesis are the result of the fine work of Mr. G.D.N. Shevwanti.

The typing of this thesis was the unenviable task of Ilse Mwanza. Her patience and industry was much appreciated. Finally, I want to say thank you to all my friends and colleagues who cheered me up when I needed it and urged me on when I was slackening.

Elizabeth Brooks

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ABSTRACT

Relevance has always been a concern of social work but recent-
ly there has been a rekindling of this concern as evidenced in the
programme for 'social animation', 'indigenous leadership', 'client
participation', and 'social indicators'. In the western world this
concern has developed in relation to those sub-cultures of the
community whose values and social behaviour patterns are significant-
ly different from those of the dominant culture. However, if this is
a valid concern for the West, how much more of a concern should
there be for social work practised in developing countries. The
imported social welfare systems operative in these countries were
developed in social contexts so vastly different from those pertain-
ing in developing countries as to nullify their possible relevance
in these new situations.

Zambia is presently experiencing such a phenomenon. The impli-
cations of the importation of a foreign welfare system have been
explored in an earlier work at the level of social welfare policy.
This thesis explores the implications for social work methodology
at the level of interpersonal problems.

Here, the relevance of an action is interpreted as a function
of its relationship to the social context. Given that an indigenous
helping process is completely integrated with the social context as
a result of its spontaneous origins in response to the defined needs
of the community and homogeneity of its participants as to values
and life experience, a clear understanding of the indigenous process
was considered essential to the development of a relevant problem
solving process. Therefore, for Zambia, using a case study approach,

the Luvale indigenous problem solving process was explored in detail. The problem, person, process and solution were each identified. Some attempt was also made to establish possible effects of modernisation and urbanisation on this process.

A comparison of this indigenous process with the Zambian social work problem solving process showed the indigenous pattern to be by far the most successful. The western bias of classical social work was verified. Despite the unconscious attempts of Zambian social workers to render their services more relevant to the social context, large areas of discrepancy were shown to remain and the frustrating failure of Zambian social work was attributed to this discrepancy. Out of this analysis spring guidelines that are for use in the development of a relevant social work model. Considering the lessons learned from the Zambian indigenous helping model, typical aspects of each stage of a truly relevant Zambian social work problem solving process are identified.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

*Wavingila masangu echikunoka wavingila vatu
kechikunokako.*

*The one who chases birds from millet fields
does rest, but the one who advises people
does not rest.*

In every place and every society there has been and
remains an expectation that there will be some persons who need
help and others who have the means and the obligation to help.
The Moslem is forbidden to sleep in peace if one hungry person
is in range of his vision. The Christian is exhorted to "do good
to all men especially to those of the household of faith." [1] The
Luvale of Zambia, as evidenced in the proverb quoted above,
recognise the recurring need to provide advice to those in
difficulty. Each example postulates both the existence of the
helper and the helpee and also the requirement of a positive
helping action. A helping action is judged not only from its out-
come but also according to the method used to achieve that out-
come.

Social work represents an attempt by society in some
kind of formal structure to meet this requirement of a positive
and deliberate helping action particularly when the informal or
natural systems have failed to do this. It may be involved
directly in being the helper and providing the service. Or it
may be involved indirectly by ensuring the occurrence of a
positive helping action from a service already available. Because

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[1]   Galatians, 6:10

of social work's commitment to the provision of 'positive' help
throughout its history it has regularly been concerned as to whether
its action is in fact 'positive' in nature and of such consequences
as to be labelled 'help'. A major step in the social work process
is evaluation. This includes not only a judgement of the effective-
ness of a particular set of activities for a particular situation,
but also provides a more generalised assessment of an approach to
human problem settlement. This built-in feedback system is expected
to provide enough material for the adequate regulation of the help-
ing system but this unfortunately has not always been the case.

Galper, in his book The Politics of the Social Services delin-
eates in very clear terms how the social services "support the
values, institutions and human behaviour" on which the present
order rests.[2] He describes their kind of help in terms similar
to this writer's definition of a 'negative' action. As a substitute
he calls for social services that "struggle for the creation of a
fundamentally changed society ... a society organized on socialist
principles."[3]

Andrew Billingsley and Jeanne M. Giovannoni make a strong
case for the inadequacy of American child welfare services for black
children. Racism is seen to have affected "organization, distribution
and delivery of services to black children." They challenge the under-
lying philosophy of a child welfare system that has ignored the life

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[2] Jeffrey Galper, The Politics of the Social Services (Englewood
Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall Inc., 1975). Preface ix.

[3] Galper, back cover.

experience of the black child that is unique as a result of "poverty, discrimination and distinctive history."[4] This lack of consideration is evident in the underlying assumptions that are made about family life. It is also evident in the design of solutions to meet the problem. In other words, the service designed for the care of children is inappropriate.

The work of these authors is an example of the growing concern regarding the relevance of American social services for the variety of sub-cultures that exist within that society. However, the concern is even greater when a completely foreign service has been imposed upon a society. This has been the case in many developing countries. Generally these countries were, at some point, under colonial rule and welfare services are often a mere carbon-copy of those in the mother country. These foreign systems have been imported 'in toto' and are obviously unsuitable for the developing countries, largely because they were never framed with the intention of their application in such an environment. For example, in Zambia (then Northern Rhodesia) the Juvenile Act of 1953 was an exact replica of that pertaining in England at the time with the minor difference that in Zambia it was only to apply to the urban areas and not the rural areas. The justification for this importation seems to have been the assumption that an urban area in one part of the world is the same as an urban area in another part of the world. But this ignores the fact

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[4] Andrew Billingsley and Jeanne M. Giovannoni, Children of the Storm (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich Inc., 1972), Preface.vii.

that the economic development in the developing country is at a very different stage and more importantly that the people involved are very different in their historical experience, their patterns of social relationships and in their value systems.

The YWCA in Lusaka, the capital of Zambia, makes a similar assumption when it depends on female volunteers for the running of its various programmes. It, thereby, assumes that there is a body of educated, unemployed women who share the voluntary spirit enough to donate their time and energy to this service. However, such women do not exist in sufficient numbers among the Zambian nationals because they are needed full-time in occupations to further the development of the country. Indeed, most of them would regard a cash income as a necessity for their own economic advantage. Expatriate women are presently donating their services but this is undesirable because the service becomes identified as a foreign concern and the programme is further alienated from the very people it is supposed to benefit.

Evidently, where faulty assumptions are made or major facts are ignored the resultant services are rendered irrelevant or even inoperable. Furthermore, in developing countries the situation is even more serious because the 'formal' social services are developing at a later stage and thus the 'importing' phenomenon is more of a temptation. Importing something already worked out is much easier than developing something unique. Developing countries are also under greater pressures of time because the speed of development must be accelerated in order to compete successfully in the world scene. At the same time the fast-growing youth-dominated population must be serviced from the limited supply of resources. These resources cannot be wasted on irrelevant services.

Having established that services should be relevant, the reader
might well ask, "Relevant to what?" Relevance to the value system
is implied in the earlier reference to Billingsley and Giovannoni.
The child welfare services described were based on assumptions which
were different from those expressed in the life styles of the client
system. The result is, in fact, a disservice to those they had in-
tended to help.

Values are closely connected to and arise out of the social
context. Nyirenda, in his thesis Social Change and Urban Social Policy:
the Zambian Case, refers to the need for 'soil analysis' as a first
step in developing relevant social policy.[5] A similar idea is ex-
pressed by Dorothy Jones when she refers to the 'culture gap' seen by
clients to exist between themselves and the architects of services as
well as service delivery personnel.[6] Mukundarao, evaluating the
social work situation in India, calls for the identification of Indian
cultural components and the evaluation of their compatibility with
theories of change.[7] She goes on to identify two of these components
as the ancient legacy of thought and vision and the common codes and

[5] Vukani G. Nyirenda, "Social Change and Urban Social Policy: the
Zambian Case" (University of California, Los Angeles, 1975), DSW
dissertation.

[6] Dorothy Jones, "Child Welfare Problems in an Alaskan Native Village"
Social Service Review, 43 (3):297-309, Sept. 1969.

[7] K. Mukundarao, "Social Work in India: Indigenous Cultural Bases
and the Process of Modernisation". International Social Work, 12
(3):29-39, 1969.

modes. Values considered basic the Indian social system are D'harma, the concept of duty, and ma, the concept of fate. She discusses these in terms of their positive application to problem solving.

Evaluation of the relevancy of a service includes the evaluation of need. In other words, it is necessary to establish whether the service is directed towards identified needs and whether these needs are being met. [The recent interest in the development of 'social indicators' represents a concern to do this type of measurement accurately. Of course, if the value base is irrelevant and the culture base ignored, then the chance of meeting the real need is very small. That is the argument in the Children of the Storm: that the services as developed in the American society do not take into account the specific situation of black children.[8] Their needs are not being met. Thus the consideration of needs themselves and even needs in relation to available resources must be done in the context of the prevailing value system and cultural milieu if relevance is to be achieved.]

When such consideration takes place the results can be applied at various levels in the social welfare system. Nyirenda's thesis makes a well reasoned plea for relevancy at the policy level. He calls for a consideration of social organisation if "relevant and human social services for Zambia's urban dwellers" are to be provided.[9] He sees the institutions of tribe and kinship as forming the basis for this in urban areas. Therefore, relevance is important at the

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[8] Billingsley and Giovannoni

[9] Nyirenda, p. 8

foundation level - the social welfare policy - since policy directs activities in the social welfare system and as such must be relevant if the total system is to be relevant.

But this is not enough. The structure built upon this foundation must also be relevant because the structure through which a service is delivered is largely responsible for the type of response to the service. When social service systems are structurally out of synchronisation with the social context, people's needs remain unmet and the services underutilised. This problem was discussed in Reaching People, and the suggestion made that the most appropriate structures for social service delivery were ones "that reflect the already existing organismic structure of the people." [10] The potential of such structures is seen to lie not only in the delivery of services but also in the planning and evaluation of such services. The rationale for the use of such structures is that they are known to the general populace, they are presently used successfully by them, and they are functional in getting the job done.

In many ways the structures used for the service delivery will dictate the method of operation or intervention. A bureaucratic structure is identified by its bureaucratic methods of operation. Alternately, a primary group structure is identified by its informal methods of operation and its face-to-face handling of problem situations. If a structure is irrelevant in the aspects just described

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[10] Elizabeth Brooks and Vukani G. Nyirenda, "Social Service Delivery in Zambia: the primary group." In Reaching People: The Structure of Neighbourhood Services, eds. D. Thursz and J.L. Vigilante (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications Inc., 1978), p. 153.

then the methods used by this structure in giving service will also
be irrelevant. De Jongh asserts that such methods will be "more up-
rooting than helpful, more alienating and isolating than integrat-
ing." [11]

This is not to suggest that there should never be any modifi-
cation of structures or methods in service delivery. Relevance
should never be equated with stagnation. In fact, the activities of
service delivery, planning and evaluation assigned to an already
established group may introduce new functions that will force the
change of the structure. But one must start with the known structure
and method and allow the change to happen in response to the new
situation. This appeal for starting with the known structure and
method is not a nostalgic return to a well loved but long forgotten
tradition, but rather a deliberate seeking of reality. The alter-
native is an imposition of new structures or methods that will be
perceived as irrelevant and thus likely to be completely rejected.

Relevance of method has been a concern of social work through-
out its history. Various techniques have been applied to achieve this.
Mary Richmond in the early 1900s in her elucidation of the process
of social diagnosis required the collection of "any and all facts
(regarding) personal and family history which taken together indicate
the nature of a given client's social difficulties and the means of
their satisfaction." [12] Subsequent leaders in the profession further
developed this idea implying that 'complete' knowledge at the stage

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[11] J. de Jongh, "Western Social Work and Afro-Asian Values."
International Social Work, 12 (4):52.

[12] Mary E. Richmond, Social Diagnosis (New York: Free Press, 1965),
p. 43.

of study and diagnosis guaranteed the relevance of the treatment thereby evolved. However, it was slowly recognised that 'facts' perceived and interpreted through the rose-tinted spectacles of the social worker might not be considered facts at all by the client.

The answer to this problem was seen to lie with the clients themselves. The users of a service were seen to be the key factor in making the service relevant or judging its relevance. Participation became the mode. The Seventeenth International Council on Social Welfare, 1974, adopted as its theme "Development and Participation". Sugata Dasgupta in his keynote address reiterated the importance of participation at the level of planning and service delivery. He warned of the dangers of using participation merely as a slogan in the development process while maintaining an elite group at the level of decision making. It is recognition of this same danger that has promoted the use of 'indigenous leadership' and popularised the use of 'social animation'. [13] These approaches recognise the potential for self-determination, one at the level of leadership and the other at the level of the general populace. But they also recognise the need for training if participation is to be a reality in the planning, delivery and evaluation of services.

Such involvement of clients in the social welfare system has implications for the methodology used. Clients are not trained to be social workers; rather they are being assisted to be themselves in a new situation. Their own indigenous problem solving pattern still has validity but they need help in applying it to the new

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[13] See James A. Draper, Citizen Participation: Canada: A Book of Readings (Toronto: New Press, 1961) for examples of these two programmes.

situation. Social workers used as trainers in these programmes need to be reminded of this validity so that they can strengthen the pattern rather than ignoring or degrading it. Also, social workers who will eventually work with these new partners need to tailor their own methods in order to be complimentary to those of the indigenous system.

Perlman recognised the relationship between social work and the indigenous pattern in her discussion of the problem solving process used in casework. She comments, "there is a striking parallel between the normal operations of the ego in its problem solving efforts and the systematised work in which the caseworker engages his client." [14] Thus, the methods used should build upon and develop the indigenous problem solving processes. Certainly, they should not discard or challenge them.

Research into various aspects of the helping process has revealed that in the past social work has tended to take for granted some of the most basic ingredients necessary for 'positive' help. The stress on professional training and techniques has led to help that is sometimes not 'positive'. Carkhuff and Berenson's research into the effectiveness of various helping professions questions the usefulness of training in·the absence of appropriate personal characteristics. [15] A personality displaying warmth, understanding

[14] Helen Harris Perlman, Social Casework (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 85.

[15] R. Carkhuff and B.G. Berenson, Beyond Counselling and Therapy (New York: Holt, Rhinehart & Winston, 1967).

and genuineness was identified as more conducive to true helping than any particular professional training that the helper might have received.

A similar return to the basic methods of help is evident in community work. The problems of "loneliness, anxiety, depression and neurosis" typical in the industrialised urbanised world are recognised by Ross as the result of the loss of community as a meaninful form of social and moral association. [16] Using the "old forms of group life" as typifying the paradise lost, he speaks of the formation of "meaningful functional communities" to give individuals a "new sense of neighbourhood in the large metropolitan areas through creation of citizens' councils" as paradise regained. [17] The traditional or indigenous helping systems are again seen as ideal.

What makes the indigenous helping system ideal is not just that it is traditional and that a nostalgic feeling for the past makes it desirable. Nor is it that in the midst of a fast moving and ever changing society it provides the one enduring security blanket. Rather its appeal lies in the nature of its origins, the history of its growth and the results of its activity. The indigenous helping system arose spontaneously within a particular society. It was not imposed from the outside but rather developed from within, exposed to and answering to the positives and negatives of that society. It did not appear on the scene in full blown maturity but rather developed step by step, moulding and being moulded by the community it was serving. Youth were socialised into its use. As they gained

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[16] Murray G. Ross, Community Organization (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1955), pp. 4, 5.

[17] Ross, p. 6.

adulthood, they in turn strengthened the system by using it and promoting its use with others. The helper and the helpee were both from the same community and thus their viewpoint, values and life experience were essentially the same. Thus, the help given in the indigenous helping system is relevant to needs. The system, by virtue of its informality and proximity to the problem situation, is flexible enough to adapt to the relatively minor changes necessary at the level of needs and resources.

The value of the indigenous system in terms of social welfare was recognised back in 1945. When a suggestion was made that the benefits of the Beveridge Plan should be extended to all British colonies, a special correspondent to the Crown Colonist noted the disastrous effects of such an action. He stated that the Beveridge Plan was a social insurance scheme that was the product of about fifty years' experience of social insurance and some three centuries of poor law administration and thus it was "adapted by natural growth to the peculiar needs of Great Britain," to the "social and economic structure," to the "way of thinking" and even to the climate. In keeping with his view of "adaptation by natural growth" he referred to the "family group" and "the village community or clan" as the first line of defence for problem solving in the colonies. He warned against the use of the scheme because it was based on the British pattern and had not arisen naturally in the situation. [18]

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[18] Special Correspondent, "Social Insurance Schemes in the Colonies" The Crown Colonist, April 1945, pp. 231-2.

The indigenous helping processes, then, have validity in their own right but they also have a function in respect to those working in the more formal helping situations. They elucidate the foundation on which the formal services need to build. Further, they give clues to the operating principles that need to be maintained to keep the services relevant. This viewpoint was supported by Mukundarao when she recognised the "lack of continuity between the indigenous tradition of social services and the new professional modes."[19] Her solution involved an examination of the indigenous system to identify its cultural components and evaluate its compatibility with the theory of change and the possibility of eventual incorporation into professional practice.

In calling for an examination and even an increased use of the indigenous problem solving process, this thesis is not ignoring the strong forces of social change prevailing in the modern world. Rather, social change is accepted within the general perspective of a structural-functional view of society in which all social behaviour is considered as understandable only within its own social context. A group's activity is assumed to be functional to that group's survival and reflective of its values and life principles. Furthermore, social change is interpreted in terms of three processes of human interaction:

1. the patterns that are resistant to change;

2. the 'readjustments' within a social system that are not calculated to change the structure;

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[19] Mukundarao, p. 32.

3. the crisis situations that lead to structural change and are usually accompanied by discontinuity. [20/]

The first process is generally associated with traditional patterns of behaviour and thus is likely to be characteristic of an indigenous pattern of problem solving. The conditions attending its successful persistence should be of interest to anyone proposing a substitute. The third process is generally associated with modernisation. The discontinuity experienced in this process can be interpreted in part as a result of the 'lack of fit' of the new structures with the rest of the social context. This is a distressing situation for the participants. But a clue to how such distress can be avoided is found in the second process - that of readjustment. Although no structural change is envisaged in this second process, it is quite possible for this gradual change to lead into a structural change, thereby avoiding the 'lack of fit' problem. One could even postulate that such readjustments in the indigenous system have kept it operative in the modern world.

Examination of these readjustments provides some clues for the healthy maintenance of any system of problem solving. An earlier study referred to already has suggested that two principles are operative in this process of readjustment - 'minimum conflict' and 'maximum functionality'. [21] There is a tendency to minimise the rate of change

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[20] For this definition of 'social change' the writer is indebted to Robert Nisbet. See R. Nisbet (ed.), Social Change (New York: Harper Torchbooks, Harper & Row Publishers, 1972), pp. 17-21.

[21] Brooks and Nyirenda, p. 153.

generally, especially if it conflicts with a deeply held value. However, this maintaining principle is balanced by the acceptance of change when the goals thereby achieved are considered beneficial.

There may also be lessons to be learnt from the readjustment process regarding the synchronisation of divergent systems of problem solving. There is a conflict between modern and traditional, the formal and informal systems of problem solving. The discussion of relevance earlier in this chapter established that such conflict can be minimised when each system is applied in the appropriate context. This could be called cultural syncretism. But there are also situations where two different systems coexist. In this case they must be purposefully synchronised not only to the culture but also to each other.

✻ The aim, then, of this thesis is to examine an indigenous problem solving process for the purpose of establishing guidelines for relevance in the more modern formal helping process known as social work. Social work is a helping profession, although by no means the only one, that has its theory base primarily in the behavioural sciences. One of most basic tools of this profession is the relationship between client and worker. This relationship is seen as potentially the greatest power for change in any client situation. Thus, the profession's knowledge of, and skill in regard to, human relationships are the primary bases for its claim to the helping role in the context of interpersonal problems.

Further, social work is a formal helping process; that is, it operates in a formal organised structure. This structure influences the methods used and, in some cases, is the root cause for irrelevant service. However, methods are also influenced by the particular theory

of human behaviour to which the worker or his agency prescribe.

For the purposes of this study the social work model chosen is the generic problem solving model. Generic social work was chosen for two reasons: firstly, it represents a basic or an all-inclusive method of social work and, secondly, it is the method of social work that Zambia endorses both at the policy and the training levels. [22] Within the generic umbrella the problem solving model is seen to have several advantages both in itself as a model and in its usefulness in the context of this study as a basis for comparison with the indigenous problem solving model.

The problem solving model has wide acceptance as the most suitable model for generic social work. [23] Its open framework allows for the application of most theories of human behaviour thus increasing its usefulness in cross-cultural situations. Furthermore, the model builds on the indigenous problem solving system. As already noted that the model's problem solving process is not unlike that of the human ego in any informal problem solving situation; [24] therefore a

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[22] See Zambia. The Second National Development Plan (1971) and the curriculum of the Social Work programme at the University of Zambia, 1969-1979.

[23] See Beulah Roberts Compton and Burt Galaway, Social Work Process (Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1975).
Alan Pincus and Anne Minahan, Social Work Practice: Model and Method (Itasca, Ill.: F.E. Peacock Publishers, 1973).
Howard Goldstein, "Theory Development and the Unitary Approach to Social Work Practice". The Social Worker, 42 (34):181-8; Fall/Winter 1974; and
Elliot Studt, "Social Work Theory and Implications for Practice of Methods". Social Work Education Reporter, 41 (2):23, June 1965.

[24] Perlman; see reference (14).

comparison between the two systems is encouraged.

This study attempts to compare the two systems within one particular social context; namely, Zambia.

Zambia was established as an independent nation on 24 October 1964. [25] Located in Central Africa, it has played a key role in the politics of Africa with its highly respected leader President K.D. Kaunda being conspicuous at most conferences for the settlement of conflict. Leadership has also been shown in the field of development. It is one of the most industrialised countries in Africa [26] and has maintained a very commendable record in the provision of health and education services despite severe economic pressures. [27] The Zambian Provident Fund has been a success as a system of social insurance, and the social work programme at the University of Zambia has provided a model for social work education in independent Africa. [28]

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[25] See Map 1.

[26] Elliott, C. (ed.), Constraints on the Economic Development of Zambia (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 299. And: Economic Report (Zambia: Ministry of Planning and Finance, January 1974), p. 245.

[27] In the period 1964-1971 there was a 52% increase in hospitals and a 54% increase in hospital beds (Zambia: Statistical Yearbook, 1971. Lusaka: Central Statistical Office, p. 11). In the same period secondary school enrolment quadrupled and primary school enrolment doubled (Zambia: Statistical Yearbook, 1971, pp. 25-7). The pressures referred to are the falling copper prices, rising oil prices, and closure of the southern route to sea.

[28] The programme started under the auspices of the Oppenheimer College of Social Service in 1961 and was subsequently incorporated into the University of Zambia.

MAP 1

REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

International boundary
Provincial boundary
Roads
Railways
Kabompo District

NORTH WESTERN PROVINCE

Mongu
Kabompo
Mwinilunga
Solwezi
Livingstone
L. Kariba
Zambezi
Kafue
Kafue
Kabwe
LUSAKA
Zambezi
Ndola
Mansa
L. Bangweulu
Luapula
L. Mweru
Kasama
Chambeshi
Mbala
L. Tanganyika
Chipata
Luangwa

KILOMETRES
100 0 100 200 300 400

GNS/geog/UNZA
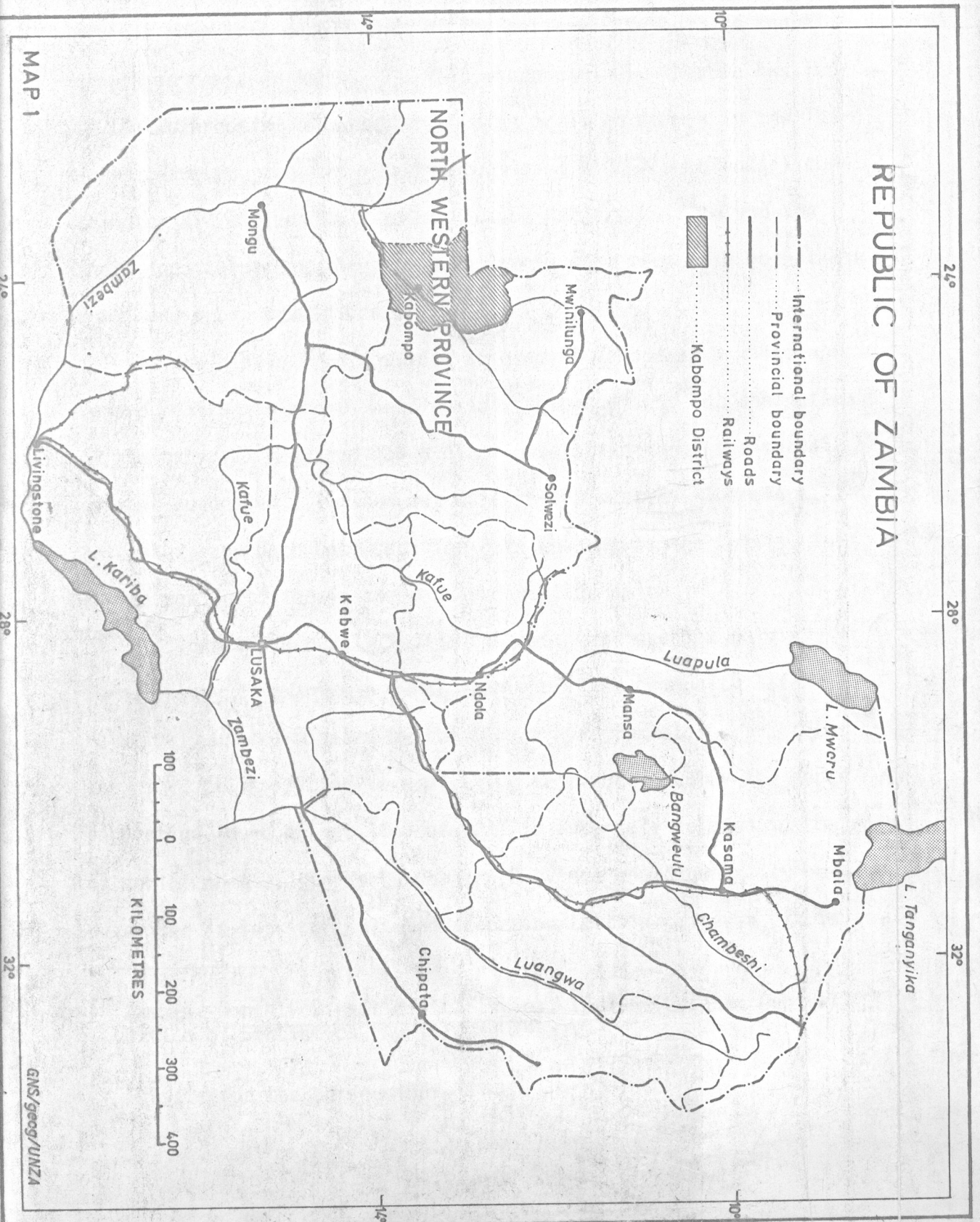
Zambia's population of approximately five and a half million is still primarily a rural one (60%). [29] However, in line with the rapid rate of industrialisation just mentioned, the urban growth rate is more than double that of the national average: 7% annual growth as compared to 3%. [30] This phenomenal growth rate has led to the mushrooming of squatter housing areas so common in the Third World. However, the World Bank recognising Zambia's potential contributed K12 million in a joint Housing Project Unit to upgrade these squatter areas. Any study in Zambia must recognise both these rural and urban conditions of life.

It would have been possible to examine Zambia as a whole in regard to its indigenous problem solving processes, but the nature of the material required for a clear understanding of the social context suggested a limited but more in-depth study. Therefore, a case study approach was used. The case chosen was the Luvale. This choice was justified in the manner described below.

To identify a purely indigenous system of problem solving, it is necessary to examine a rural area where the community life is relatively uncontaminated by the modern more formalised practices of the city. It is assumed that distance from the industry and dense population found on the line-of-rail is inversely related to the rate of social change. The North-Western Province could generally be described as less contaminated according to this criteria. It is an

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[29] Zambia, Monthly Digest of Statistics, 15:4-6 (Lusaka: Central Office of Statistics, April/June 1979).

[30] This is for the period 1969-1974.

entirely rural province, its centre being approximately 300 miles
from the nearest large town, and it has a very low population density.[31]
The Province is divided into five districts: Zambezi, Kabompo,
Mwinilunga, Kasempa and Solwezi, of which Kabompo has the smallest
population (33,000).[32] This population is mainly concentrated around
the Kabompo Boma itself and between the Kabompo and Manyinga rivers.[33]
This is likely due to the fact that the soil in these valley areas
is suitable for agricultural activities such as the production of
maize, virginia tobacco and groundnuts.

The official vernacular for this populated area is Luvale. Both
the Luchazi and Chokwe people found in this same area commonly use
this language and choose it as their language if they become literate.
The dominance of the Luvale people in this area is further shown by
the fact that of the forty-eight registered villages around Kabompo-
Manyinga, the largest group, thirteen, had Luvale headmen, indicating
that they follow Luvale custom and have a majority of Luvale people
as inhabitants.[34] The researcher had personal contacts in this area
and in particular with the Luvale people. This made access to the
area and the respondents much easier. Thus the choice of the Luvale

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[31] Two inhabitants per square kilometre, according to the German
Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ). "Integrated Rural
Development, North-Western Province: Kabompo District. January
1978", p. 23.

[32] Computed from the 1969 Census (Central Office of Statistics).

[33] Boma denotes the District headquarters and government offices.
See Map 2 showing population density.

[34] Information supplied by court messengers, Kabompo Boma.

in the Kabompo-Manyinga area for this study seemed to be justified
in terms of its geographical location and accessibility to the
researcher.

The Luvale tribe originated from the Lunda Empire in the Upper
Congo Basin. They are considered to be descendents of Chisengo, the
sister of Mwata Yamvwa. In the 1700s they moved into their present
area in Zambia. They are also found in Angola and Zaire and have
direct historical connections with the Lwena, Kasai, Mbalanga and
Vaka Sonjo. [35]

Today, the Luvale have three chiefs in Zambia: Ndungo, the
senior chief, Kucheka and Chinyama Litapi. However, the Luvale chiefs
never did establish a state structure and even today more Luvale live
outside the area of the Luvale chiefs than within them. In the
Kabompo-Manyinga area Chief Sikufele presides. He is Mbunda/Lozi. He
succeeded his uncle who probably owed his position to the Royal
Commission of 1941 which separated Balovale District (currently known
as Zambezi) from Barotseland and attempted to settle the long-standing
feud between the Luvale and the Lozi.

The Luvale are a matrilineal tribe practising virilocal marriage.
The village structure is unilinear, made up of matrilineally related
kin. Each family village is headed by a *cilolo*, the recognised family
elder. For government purposes a number of family villages in an area
group under one mutually acceptable headman, the *nduna*. The numbers
in such a village may vary from twenty-five to over 200, depending
on the reputation of the headman for good leadership. There are strong

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[35] Robert J. Papstein, "The Upper Zambezi: The History of the
Luvale People, 1000-1900." Ph.D. dissertation (University of
California, Los Angeles, 1978).

KABOMPO DISTRICT POPULATION DENSITY 1969

REFERENCE

········· Main Gravel Road
········· District Road
········· International Boundary
········· Provincial Boundary
········· Disrict Boundary
········· Census Boundary

PERSONS PER KM²

········· 0 – 1
········· 1 – 2
········· 2 – 3
········· 3 – 4
········· 7 – 8
········· Over 8

10   0   10   20   30   40   50
KILOMETRES

23° 30'   24° 00'   24° 30'

12° 30'

Chiyengele

Lusongwa

Pumpala

West Lunga

13° 00'

Kalunga

Kasalya

Mumbeji

MANYINGA

Kalwila

KABOMPO

13° 30'

Nkulwashi

Kabompo

14° 00'

GNS/Geog/UNZA
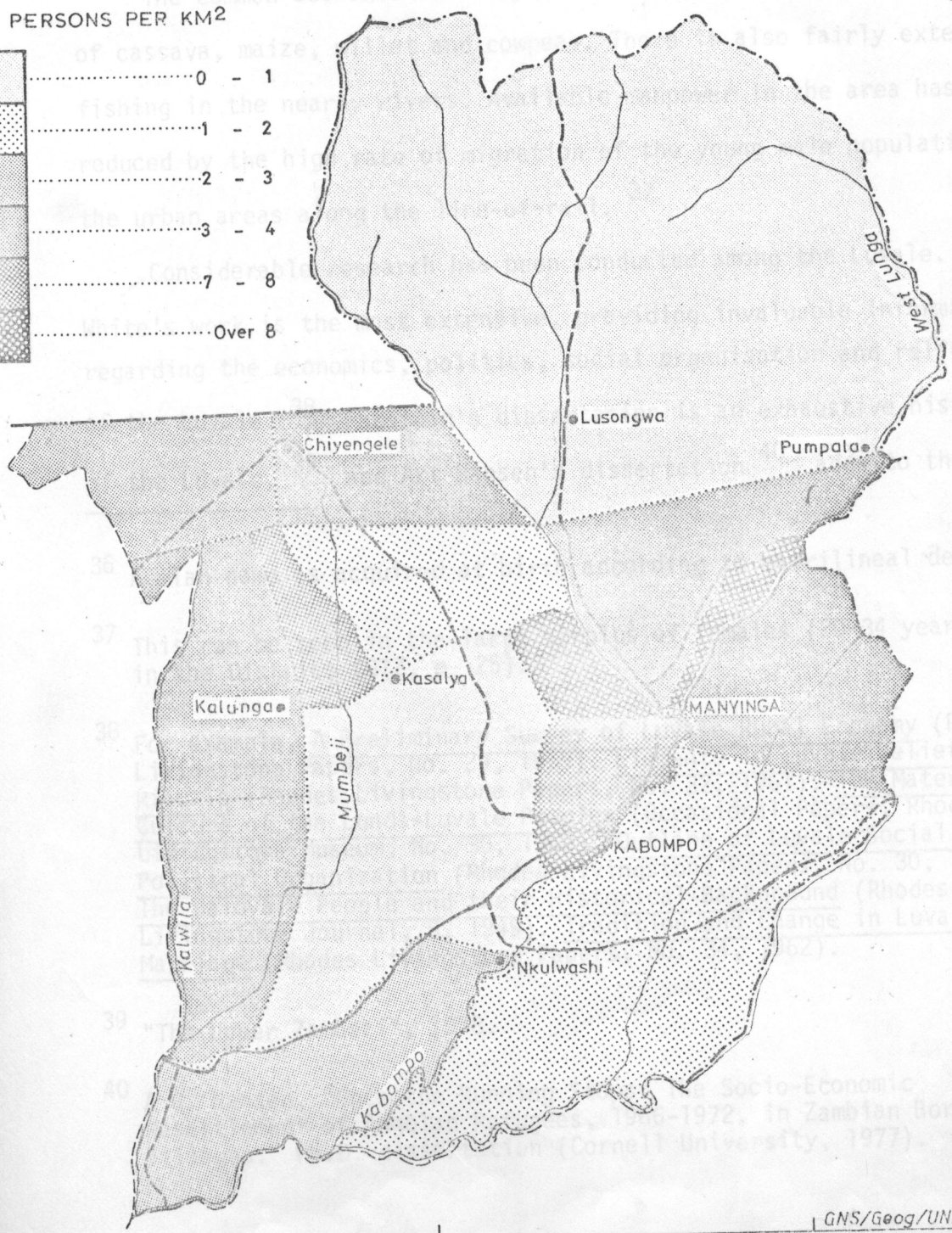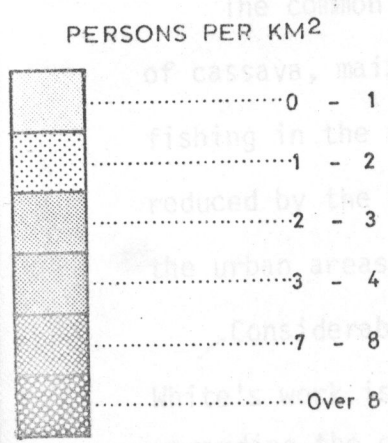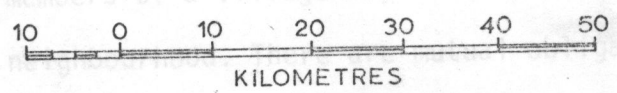
communal ties between members of a village but ties also exist far beyond the geographic neighbourhood. There are mutual obligations between various lineage members. Clanship also presupposes strong obligations of mutual hospitality and aid. [36]

The common economic activity of the Luvale is subsistence farming of cassava, maize, millet and cowpeas. There is also fairly extensive fishing in the nearby rivers. Available manpower in the area has been reduced by the high rate of migration of the young male population to the urban areas along the line-of-rail. [37]

Considerable research has been conducted among the Luvale. C.M.N. White's work is the most extensive, providing invaluable information regarding the economics, politics, social organisation and religion of the Luvale. [38] Papstein's dissertation is an exhaustive history of the Luvale, [39] and Art Hansen's dissertation [40] adds to the

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[36] A clan name is acquired at birth according to matrilineal descent.

[37] This can be seen in the large surplus of females (20-34 years) in the District (GTZ, p. 25).

[38] For example, A Preliminary Survey of Luvale Rural Economy (Rhodes Livingstone Papers, No. 29, 1959). Elements in Luvale Beliefs and Rituals (Rhodes Livingstone Papers, No. 32, 1961). The Material Culture of the Lunda-Luvale Peoples (Occasional Papers, Rhodes Livingstone Museum, No. 30, 1960). Outline of Luvale Social and Political Organization (Rhodes Livingstone Papers, No. 30, 1960). The Balovale People and their Historical Background (Rhodes Livingstone Journal, 8, 1949). Tradition and Change in Luvale Marriage (Rhodes Livingstone Papers, No. 34, 1962).

[39] "The Upper Zambezi", 1978.

[40] A.G. Hansen, "Once the Running Stops: The Socio-Economic Resettlement of Angolan Refugees, 1966-1972, in Zambian Border Villages." Ph.D. dissertation (Cornell University, 1977).

understanding of the contemporary political scene. Any attempt to probe the mysteries of the ritual life of the Luvale will be enhanced by the works of A. Spring [41] and W.M. Mwondela. [42] The recent surveys under the Intensive Development Zone scheme in the Kabompo District have already been documented under the title, "Integrated Rural Development North-Western Province: Kabompo District". Although this document is not available to the general public, the German Agency for Technical Cooperation responsible for the project in that area kindly made it available to the writer. It presents an excellent coverage of the district, particularly from the agricultural and economic point of view.

This wealth of information provided the necessary framework for the research described in this thesis. The Luvale problem solving process could not be understood without some understanding of its social, economic, political and religious context. Furthermore, this information provided guidelines for the choice of appropriate questions for the investigation of the problem solving process itself.

In recognition of the value of studying the processes of adaptation within the indigenous system as already reiterated, it was decided to take two steps to identify these processes. First, special note was taken of any comments made by the Kabompo participants regarding any deviations from the traditional pattern of

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[41] A. Spring, "Women's Rituals and Natality among the Luvale of Zambia." Ph.D. dissertation (Cornell University, 1976).

[42] W.M. Mwondela, Mukanda and Makishi (Lusaka: Neczam, 1972).

problem solving. Secondly, a comparative sample of an urban variation of the indigenous system was sought from an urban Luvale community. This community was located in Lusaka, the capital of Zambia.

The majority of Lusaka's residents live in squatter compounds or illegal settlement areas. These areas might be called Lusaka's original self-help housing projects in that the residents built their own houses and provided their own services. Prior to the activity of the Housing Project Unit, the City Council considered all these areas as outside its responsibility for service provision. As a result, the ruling party, the United National Independence Party (UNIP), became their custodian. It allocated plots, provided police services through its special constables and generally considered itself responsible for these areas. Many people are born, grow up, and die, in a squatter compound. However, several researchers have viewed the squatter compounds as the stepping stone between the village and town life. This is largely because the social structure and the manner of life in these settlements closely parallels that in the village despite the proximity to the city centre. Thus, because of their representativeness of the total urban population and because their adaptation of the problem solving process could be seen as a direct adaptation of the village model, it was decided that the urban sample should come from one of these squatter areas; namely Old Kanyama, identified on Map 3.

There is no formal allocation of people to these areas on a tribal basis; however, it is generally accepted that there are tribal groupings. Presumably, this phenomenon was the result of new residents joining their relatives for the benefits of a reciprocal community

LUSAKA HOUSING AREAS

REFERENCE

.... Main Housing Areas
.... Improved Settlements
.... Unimproved Settlements
.... Central Business Area
.... Roads
.... Railway

CBA

City Airport

Govt. offices

Industrial Area

NEW KANYAMA

OLD KANYAMA

CBA

0 1 2 3 4 5

KM

GNS/Geog/UNZA
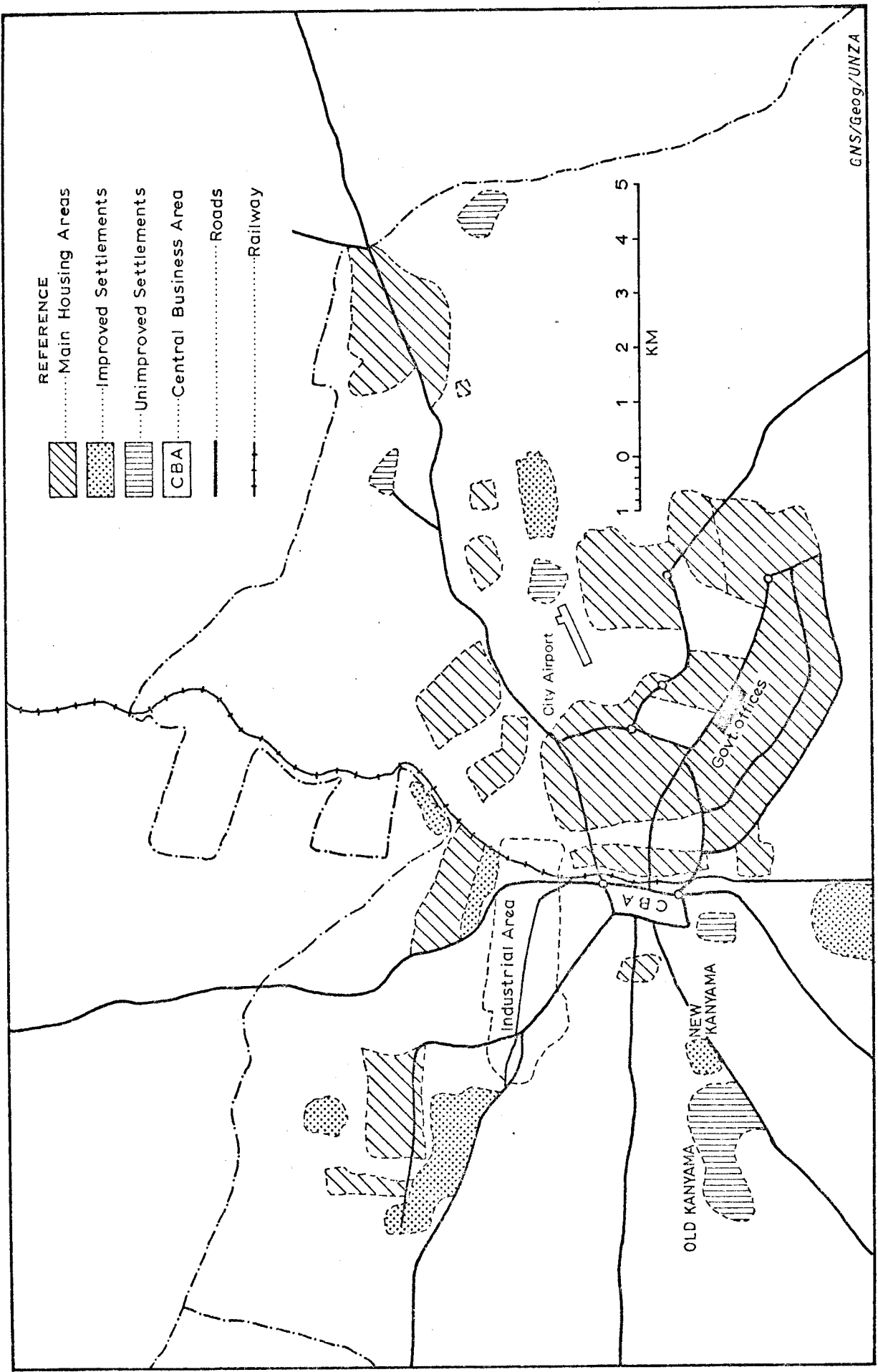
MAP 3.

life. Since Zambia has no lingua franca, residence in a community speaking the same language would make life more comfortable, particularly in the early stages of urbanisation. Community Development Officers, when approached regarding the identification of Luvale communities in Lusaka, without exception referred to Old Kanyama.

Old Kanyama was established as a Luvale village in pre-independence days under the leadership of Headman Kanyama. Subsequently, in the process already explained above, it came under the control of UNIP. It has remained an unimproved area; although the adjacent City Council site-and-service housing scheme, New Kanyama, has brought services such as a market, clinic, community centre and bus service much nearer. UNIP officials were helpful in directing the researcher to an area of Luvale concentration - Nakatindi and Sakubita Branches. Here the Luvale urban sample was collected.

To complete the intention of this study, the data hereby collected regarding the Luvale indigenous problem solving process in its rural and urban forms needed to be compared to the chosen social work model - generic social work. However, no practice situation is ever an exact replica of the theoretical model; therefore, social work as practised in Zambia had to be considered. This decision becomes especially valid when viewed in the light of the earlier reference to the fact that theoretical social work is often defined in terms of a classical western model with all the burden of a western value system and social context. Therefore, it was decided to select a small sample of the Zambian social work problem solving process as practised at a district level.

Social work in Zambia has generally been agency-based and that agency has generally been a public or government body. History witnessed a programme division into those for community development and those for social welfare. Community development emphasised education, recreation, and self-help, but it did not engage itself with inter-personal or inter-group problem solving nor did it face the challenge of tapping the potential of various community structures for real community problem solving.

On the other hand, the Department of Social Welfare has since its inception in 1952 maintained its identification with professional social work both in its programme and in the training of its staff. Its area of concern has centred directly on interpersonal problems. Like community development it has ignored the potentials of community action but it has, both under statutory acts and through non-statutory activities, maintained a service to individuals and families for the alleviation of various social problems. Where the extended family has for one reason or another failed to cope with a problem, social welfare has found its role. However, there is no intention of purposefully expanding that role. In fact, referrals are often made back to the client's own family for help.

This consideration of the intention and practice of social work within the Department of Social Welfare led to its choice as an example of Zambian professional social work. The Department has eighteen district offices of which ten are located along the line-of-rail and eight are in the main towns of the rural areas. All these districts operate under the same regulations and therefore it was assumed that the methods of operation in one area would not be

significantly different from those in another. With this in mind one district office along the line-of-rail was used to obtain the sample.

Thus, this thesis identifies the Zambian indigenous helping process through a case study of the Luvale problem solving process. The basic principles thereby revealed are compared to those of the formal helping process used by the social work profession. Throughout the comparison due recognition is given to the influence of social change. The whole study is undertaken with the intention of establishing some guidelines for the practice of social work in Zambia that will ensure its relevance to the situation in which it operates.

CHAPTER 2

Method of Study

Likishi lyawu soko kumukina muusoko kumuzamba muusoko.

If you dance in a relative's mask make sure that you display a good dance to please him and the owner of the mask will pay you a pleasing price.

Dancing in Luvale custom is an entertainment but it is also a serious part of the way of life. In this context the symbolic meaning of the costume and role of the dancer are taken seriously. Consequently the wearing of costumes and performance of particular dances carry with them not only rewards but also responsibilities as shown in the proverb above.

Similarly, the task undertaken by this study was characterised by both responsibilities and rewards. The rewards were all those things alluded to in chapter one that would accompany relevant social work: services well used, problems solved, social workers satisfied, and people's well-being assured. But the responsibilities seemed overwhelming. Could an outsider to both a country and a tribal group ever grasp the underlying principles and processes of problem solving that are so deeply woven into the fabric of everyday life? Furthermore, was the time adequate for such a study? However, like the Luvale relative of this proverb the researcher was inspired by her 'relationship' to the situation. A commitment to the profession of social work and indeed to the social welfare of the Zambian people demanded that a search be initiated and done well in the context of the Zambian society.

Early discussion of the idea elicited favourable reaction at

the official level and in the academic world. The Director of Social Welfare promised free access to his staff and files. The District Secretary in Kabompo expressed keen interest and offered every assistance to facilitate the introduction to his area. Colleagues at the University of Zambia were most encouraging and information was received that similar lines of investigation were going on at other sister universities like the University of Dar es Salaam and the University of Nairobi. Even the School of Social Work at the University of Toronto, Canada, was embarking on a school-wide project to describe 'natural helping systems'. And so the search began.

The first problem to be faced was the choice of an appropriate method for collection of the required data. The exploration of the relevance issue had underlined the importance of the social context in which any process takes place. Thus, any method used for the identification of the problem solving process had to allow for the free interplay of the process with its social context. Such a method was found in the qualitative research or 'grounded theory' approach as advanced by Glaser and Strauss. [1] "One goes out and studies an area with a particular sociological perspective, with a focus, a general question or a problem in mind" the authors observe in one of their primary statements, but there is no "preconceived theory that dictates prior to research." [2] However, the results of the

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[1] Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1967).

[2] Glaser and Strauss, p. 32.

study were expected to stop short of the formal theory that Glaser and Strauss postulate in order to concentrate on the needs of the Zambian social context.

This phenomenological approach was being used in its commonality with the natural sociological approach. [3] The writer was aware of the specific details of the Luvale pattern already researched. This knowledge enabled the focusing of the questions about the problem solving process. However, it was considered important to allow for Merton's 'serendipity pattern' [4] which Filstead has described as the "insight produced unintentionally through the researcher's unconscious encounters with the symbolic nuances of the data."[5] In this sense the study relied mostly on qualitative methodology.

An interview schedule [6] was used to ensure that comparative aspects of the problem solving process were elicited from each participant. These aspects included the problem identified, the persons involved in the process, the actual problem solving process used and the solutions reached. However, in addition to these concrete details of the process, it was considered just as important to understand the

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[3] Derek L. Phillips, Abandoning Method: Sociological Studies in Methodology (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1973).

[4] Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (New York: The Free Press, 1949).

[5] William Filstead (ed.), Qualitative Methodology: Firsthand Involvement with the Social World (Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1970), p. 285.

[6] See Appendix 1 for copy of schedule.

motivation behind any particular action. To this end the question
'why?' or the Luvale equivalent, "What is the goodness of this?" or
"What is the badness of that?" was often used. It was assumed that
usually the participant's own explanation of his behaviour was the
most valid. Such explanations were considered just as much part of
the data as the observations of the researcher. In fact, there was an
attempt to link the two together in the manner suggested by Frake in
his discussion of cognitive anthropology. He continually stressed
the need to test interpretations of behaviour and suggested one way
to do this was by linking 'informant observations' with those of the
investigator. [7] There was no prescribed way for asking any of the
questions. Answers that went beyond the specifics of the questions
were recorded in the margin for later consideration in the continuing
attempt to interpret the meaning behind the activity.

It should be noted here that the discussion of problem solving
was somewhat arbitrarily limited to that used in the settlement of
interpersonal problems. This limitation was necessary to focus the
study and was justified from two perspectives. Firstly, village life
is cemented by personal relationships which are vital to its existence.
Its leaders normally deal with such problems on their own. Other types
of problems would involve more formal bodies such as government depart-
ments. This involvement would confuse the issue, for the study was
focused on the indigenous pattern. Secondly, social work is involved

[7] Charles Frake, "Plying Frames can be Dangerous: Reflections on
Methodology in Cognitive Anthropology". Quarterly Newsletter, 1:3
(Institute for Comparative Human Development, The Rockefeller
University, June 1977).

in areas other than interpersonal problems but its basic tool is the human relationship. Further, the facilitation of the human relationship especially in the solving of interpersonal problems is its basic interest. Thus, the comparison between the two types of problem solving processes would be facilitated by a concentration on interpersonal problems alone.

The interview schedule was pretested in Zambezi District of the North-Western Province. The responses of the thirty Luvale people in this area served to identify the best approach to the interviewing situation generally and more specifically to the various conceptualisations being explored. The enthusiasm of their responses confirmed the view that the proposed research was possible and that cooperation would be forthcoming. The pretesting also gave the researcher some experience with working through an interpreter.

Interviewing through an interpreter is not the most desirable way to conduct any research; particularly when one is striving for a deep understanding of a total situation. However, the requirement for this depth was one of the factors in the decision to use an interpreter. To acquire any facility in speaking Luvale would take at least a year of learning, and a year was not available. Even if it had been, the abstractness of the idiom with which values, norms and life principles are discussed was beyond the grasp of a neonate in the language.

As it turned out, the presence of the interpreter was beneficial in several ways. Each of the four interpreters participating in the study developed, early on, the skill for direct translation even when they personally disagreed with the validity of the answer being given.

There was equal adeptness in interpretation whether it was from English to Luvale or vice versa. Two were older men who were able to provide background information during the expeditions to the village sites. Their knowledge of Luvale custom was helpful in the general understanding of the social context as well as in the specific interpretation of the problem solving process. The other two were younger men with higher academic education. This may explain why they had an easier task in understanding the researcher's way of thinking. Perhaps, because of this advantage, they quickly grasped the idea of the research and contributed to it with helpful suggestions regarding how best to pose a question or explore an idea. The long hours spent interacting with each of these four men also provided an insight into Luvale life.

Another positive aspect of the use of the interpreters was the added time it gave to the researcher for observation. During a long, drawn-out explanation there was a chance to observe the respondents. Their replies could then be put in the context of their own non-verbal responses. Frake supports this idea in his suggestion that cues for the interpretation of verbal communication could be found in the "sound, appearance, expression, body stance and movement" of the informant. [8] Non-verbal communication is not new to the field of social work. The writer's own experience in client interviewing was helpful in its application to this research situation.

Obviously, the stilted interview where only a restricted number of questions are allowed was not the style. As already indicated, a variety of matters were dealt with in any one interview. The word got

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[8] Frake, "Plying Frames ..."

around that the researcher was interested in 'anything Luvale'. This
led to a host of enlightening experiences. Verbally there was the
recitation of numerous proverbs, long explanations of various rituals
and ceremonies, and an interesting discussion with a former divining
doctor. As well, the researcher was included in the audience when an
old musician displayed his skill, when a traditional doctor executed
a curing rite on a mentally ill girl, when a local headman held a
cihande [9] to settle a marital dispute and later when a *wali* [10] was
held in the urban township. Pictures were taken and interest was shown
in all aspects of village life. When roads were impassable, the
approach to the village was made on foot. A two hour walk or the
navigation of the Kabompo River in a dug-out canoe seemed to verify
the researcher's seriousness in pursuing her interest. The Luvale
responded in kind.

An attempt was made to be as accessible as possible. Interviews
were always held in the open, usually under a tree and usually with
an audience, since an audience during any discussion is typical of
Luvale village life. This made the common research patterns of indivi-
dual interviews impossible. An effort was made to control the conta-
mination of one respondent's answers by those of the predecessor. No
respondent was allowed to speak regarding the problem they had already
heard discussed. There was an expectation that only the identified

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[9] *ci (vi) - hande* = speech used to denote the discussion of a
problem when it is being solved in the village.

[10] *wali* = girls' puberty ceremony. See C.M.N. White, "Conservatism
and Modern Adaptation in Luvale Puberty Ritual", Africa, 23 (1):
15-23, 1953, for description of ritual and modern adaptations.

respondent could answer a specific question but the audience was allowed to advise him before he answered. Such group advising was deemed to be more beneficial than harmful especially regarding matters of traditional practice. Ogot seems to have made a similar conclusion in his study of the oral history of the Luo. He deliberately chose groups of 'expert historians' in the tribe and together they worked out a history of the Luo. [11]

The choice of the Luvale of Kabompo has already been explained in terms of geographic position and in terms of the researcher's personal access to the area. However, the use of the Luvale as a case study representative of the Zambian indigenous system might be questioned. Granted, the Luvale do have a number of unique characteristics. However, the focus of the study was to identify the generalities of the system of problem solving rather than the specifics. In this it was assumed that the indigenous process of other tribal groups in Zambia would be similar. Evidence of this similarity is found in the urban courts as studied by Epstein. Here, although numerous tribes are dealt with by the same judges, they were able to function "because there is an underlying consensus about the norms of behaviour associated with particular forms of social relationship. In the main, though not entirely, these norms form part of an ancient tribal heritage and appear to be common to most of the indigenous people ..." [12] Specifically, Epstein refers to the common mode of

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[11] Bethwell A. Ogot, History of the Southern Luo (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967), pp. 23-30.

[12] A.L. Epstein, Politics in an Urban African Community (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958), p. 223.

hearing cases and of the agreement regarding the supreme values of mutual respect and cooperation. [13] The study of the Luvale would be useful in itself but its potential as a representative case broadens its usefulness to the full Zambian context.

Thus, the baseline data for this study came from the Luvale of Kabompo District. Despite the free and easy approach to be used in data collection every inhabitant of the area could not be seen let alone interviewed. Some sampling procedure was required, first of the villages and then of the individual respondents within these villages. The choice was made to use a stratified sample of one hundred respond-ents chosen from ten villages, as detailed below. [14]

All the registered villages in the immediate vicinity of Kabompo township area were listed. It was recognised that very few villages were tribally homogeneous but it was commonly understood that villages with Luvale headmen would have a majority of Luvale people and the customs adhered to would be identifiably Luvale. The messengers at the Boma were able to name the headman and his tribal origin for each village. Out of the twenty-seven villages around Kabompo three were considered too small for sampling. [15] Of the remaining twenty-four, six (Makayi, Ngonga, Ndungo, Mingeli, Mukuma, and Sefu) were identified as having Luvale headmen. This fell short of the required ten villages and so a similar list was made of the villages in the adjacent Manyinga area. Of the twenty-one villages in this area, one was too small and

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[13] Epstein, pp. 213-5.

[14] See Map 4 for details of area and location of selected villages.

[15] They had fewer than 25 inhabitants.

SELECTED VILLAGES OF KABOMPO-MANYINGA AREA

24°

Chikasa

Chimbonde

Kangoji   Ngoma

MANYINGA

Chikankwelo

Kabompo

13°30'

Mutendwa

Mingeli   Mukuma

Makayi

KABOMPO

Ngonga

Ndungo

Sefu

```
5        0        5        10
|_____|_____|_____|
            KM
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GNS/Geog/UNZA

24°

· · · · · · · · Main Road
– – – – – · · · District Road
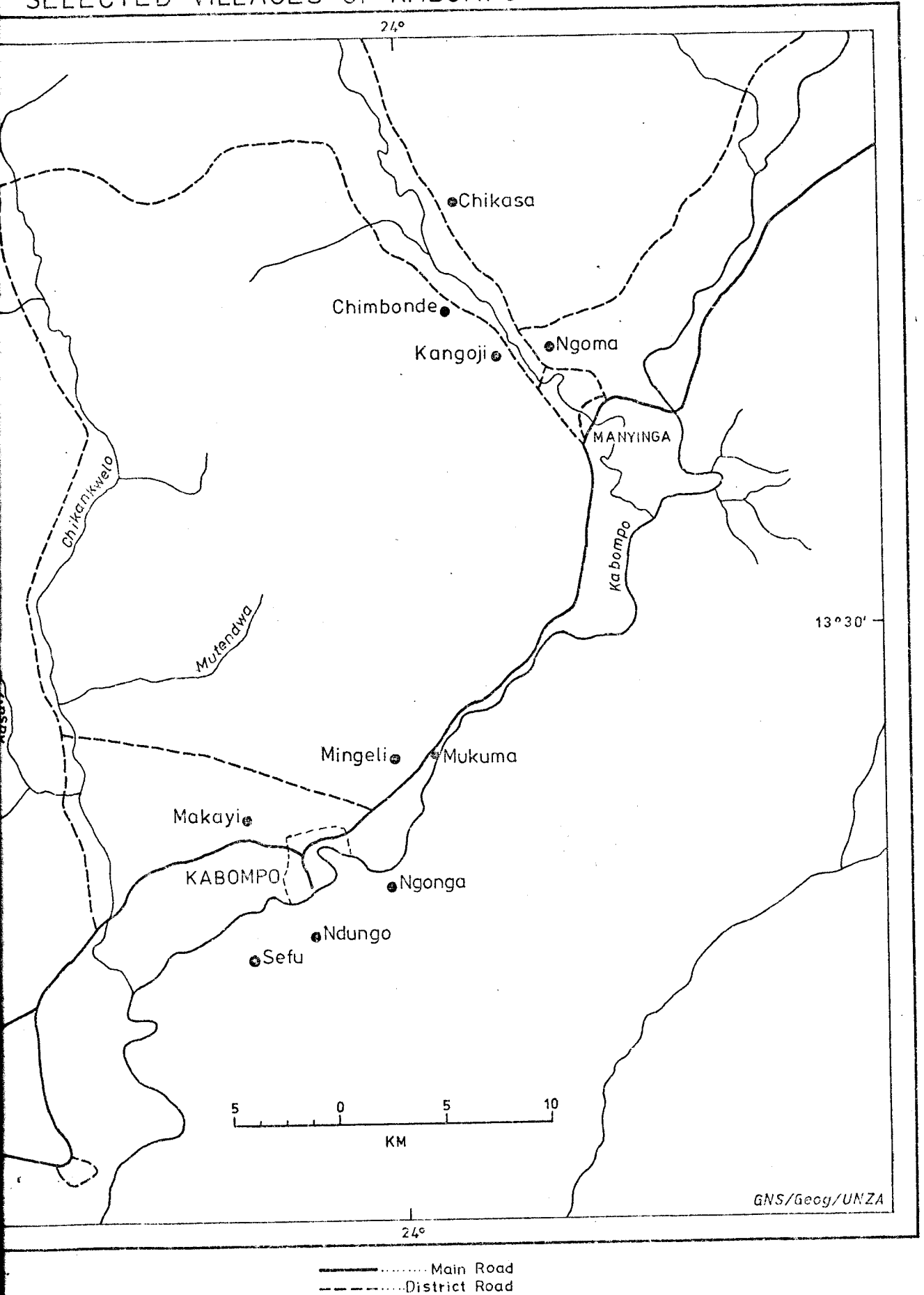
seven were identified as Luvale. Four of these were chosen in such
a way that there was one from each of the size-categories 101-150,
75-100, 51-75 and 25-50. Where there were two villages in a category
the first in a random list was chosen. The four were Chikasa, Musoji,
Chimbonde and Kangoji. Subsequently, Ngoma had to be substituted for
Musoji because deep sand made the road to Musoji impassable.

Permission for the study was first sought at the District
Office and then the chief and the Party officials were informed.
Approach to the selected villages was made either in the company of
the Chief's retainer, as was done in the Manyinga area, or a court
messenger, as was the case in the Kabompo area. At this point it was
discovered that some of the villages did not have a pure Luvale
leadership. Chikasa had a headman that was considered Lunda [16] and
Mingeli's headman was Luchazi. However, in both cases the majority
of the people in the village were Luvale and the headman identified
strongly with Luvale custom. This likely explains why they were recog-
nised from outside as Luvale villages. It would have been politically
unwise to withdraw these villages from the sample after their selec-
tion had already been made public.

The initial visit to a village was used to explain the project,
identify what numbers and categories of people were to be interviewed,
and state the dates for the actual interviewing to take place. Ten
interviews were to be conducted in each village. The interviewees were
chosen according to the following categories: the headman, three older
men usually considered elders or members of the Village Productivity

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[16] His mother was Lunda and by matrilineal descent he was a Lunda
although his father was Luvale.

Committee, three women - old, middle aged and young, two men - middle aged and young, and a tenth person who could be anyone available and willing. These categories were chosen deliberately with the knowledge that the headman and the older men generally play the largest role in village problem solving. Their greater experience qualifies them for a larger representation in the sample. The others are included primarily for their role as recipients of the judgements of the older men.

The actual choice of interviewees within these categories was left to the headmen. This seemed, in practice, the best method. Although most people were interested enough in what was happening and curious about the purpose of the visit, many were willing only to listen and not to be personally interviewed. The headman was deemed most suitable for finding the most willing respondents as well as for encouraging those who were hesitant. After one day of interviewing there were usually more willing candidates than could be included. Here the researcher had to make some arbitrary decisions as to who was interviewed.

When the first one hundred interviews had been completed in Kabompo-Manyinga, another smaller sample was selected from the same population. This group was to be used in comparison with a similar group selected in the urban area. Fifteen respondents - five women and ten men (not interviewed in the first sample) - were interviewed specifically regarding the solving of marital problems. These fifteen were chosen in groups of three from each of five villages randomly selected from the original ten villages. The villages used were Ndungo, Ngoma, Makayi, Kangoji and Mingeli. The restriction in this

sample to a discussion of only one problem was made to highlight the differences in the process itself rather than the differences that might be spawned by various types of problems. The desire to examine the urban adaptation of the rural process prompted the choice of marital disputes as that one problem. Various aspects of traditional society, when exposed to the influences of modernisation, change at different rates. Customs regarding marriage are understood to be among the most resistant. Thus, the amount of adaptation expected here was small and thereby amenable to analysis regarding direction and type of change.

The urban comparative sample was collected in Old Kanyama, Lusaka. Here the access to the community was more difficult to obtain. This was basically because of political circumstances. General elections were being held and any stranger in the area was suspected of trying to raise dissident voices against UNIP. The situation was further exacerbated by the Rhodesian air raids on Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) camps close to Kanyama. There was suspicion that foreigners had infiltrated the area in order to direct these raids. In this situation the police were reluctant to allow any stranger into the area. This was as much for the protection of the researcher as for the maintenance of peace in the area.

However, after a month or so the situation had returned to normal. The approach to the area was made through the offices of the District Governor and the Regional Secretary. The Women's Regional Secretary organised a meeting of the women of Kanyama to introduce 'Mama Betty' and her project. Then a further meeting was held for the residents of Nakatindi and Sakubita Branches. Here some dissatisfaction was voiced

regarding the singling out of the Luvale. Some saw this as discrimina-
tion. However, they accepted the explanation made about earlier con-
tacts in Kabompo and the difficulty of including all the Zambian
tribes in one study. The Party officials were the contact used to
organise the fifteen interviews here. Again, ten Luvale men and five
women were interviewed regarding marital problems. They were self-
selected in the sense that they had to be available and willing to
participate. No one was forced to be interviewed.

With the data available for an analysis of the indigenous
problem solving process of the Luvale both in the village and in
town, the researcher now turned to the collection of the data regard-
ing the more formal process, that of social work. The choice of the
District Social Welfare Office has already been described in chapter
one. In this office there were four welfare officers, one being the
officer-in-charge. Each of these officers was interviewed regarding
five of his most recent cases. With each respondent the five cases
were representative (i.e. one each) of the types of problems with
which he dealt. These included public assistance, court reports,
probation, child care, marital problems, location of relatives and
parent-child disputes. This gave, in all, twenty reports of the
officers' views of the work done by the agency. In addition, some
informal discussion was held. This discussion identified many problems
that affect service delivery such as inadequate resources, lack of
transport and inequalities in the legal system.

The openness of the welfare workers seemed to arise out of some
recognition of a common professional bond with the researcher. But
this openness was not limited to the district office. The respondents

of every kind were on the whole most cooperative. They were generous with their time and free with their knowledge and experience. This was especially true of the village headmen who often sat through all ten interviews in their respective villages. One old man commented, "This is interesting. If we had known that you wanted to talk of interesting things, we would not have hesitated." It was true that the official approval of the project had been a major key to acceptance but this man was raising another issue. There is a contemporary revival of national interest in tradition and custom. This study provided an opportunity to fan this interest into a brighter flame. The rural people took special pleasure in stating, with pride, what they were sure their urbanised cousins knew nothing about.

Also, the Luvale have been looked upon with suspicion in the past because of some of their customs such as the *mukanda*. [17] In the early days of urbanisation Epstein reports that the Luvale were looked down upon because they were willing to do menial tasks. He also adds that their compound was regarded by others as the "haunt of sorcerers and ghouls". [18] With this kind of background, it is not surprising to find Luvale wanting to explain their customs and rituals to a sympathetic listener who might be able to set them down in print in a way that would validate them to the outside world. The urban group was very friendly. Even a marriage proposal was forthcoming!

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[17] *mu (mi) - kanda* = puberty or circumcision camp (for males). The Luvale are known to circumcise any male who even inadvertently enters a camp.

[18] J. Clyde Mitchell (ed.), Social Networks in Urban Situations: Analysis of Personal Relationship in Central African Towns (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969), p. 102.

In the rural area the mission connection assured the 'trustworthy' label but the academic tag 'from the University of Zambia' freed the respondents from hiding material that was considered non-Christian. The non-Zambian status opened some doors and the approval from the appropriate authorities opened others.

Thus the data was collected thereby opening up a whole new vista in the understanding of problem solving. However, the immediate reaction is to the human personal element which remains a glowing warmth: the feeling of sisterhood with the woman who wanted to know how marriage was arranged in a foreign country, the girl who enquired how many boyfriends the researcher had, the headman who requested direction from an educated person on how to hold a *cihande*, and the man who needed guidance in submitting his application for his claim from the Zambian Provident Fund. Each one was reacting to the human part of the researcher with which he could identify.

CHAPTER 3

Social-Philosophical Aspects of Luvale Life

The Luvale problem solving process is presented in detail in chapter four. However, that presentation can only be understood when it is considered in the context of the basic principles governing that particular society. It is not the purpose of this chapter to record the total Luvale philosophical structure. Instead, only the four basic principles that seem to be most relevant to the problem solving process are dealt with. Each principle is described generally and examples are given of its application to the problem solving process. This elucidation of these four principles of human behaviour witnessed among the Luvale is a step towards understanding the metaphysics operative in the group. Such an understanding is necessary, according to Placide Tempels, if "valid scientific conclusions" are to be achieved in any study of an indigenous system. [1]

STRUCTURE, ORDER AND ROLE

> *Uta wenu natata ukwechi noku wasavala.*
>
> *Our bow and my fathers have a particular place to lie down.*

Luvale society, like most traditional societies, has always been concerned that each person has an identified role and status in the community. These roles and statuses so defined through the years have become important entities of the Luvale society. The structure that they form when viewed together is very resistant to change because it is supported by the total Luvale way of life, their speech

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[1] Placide Tempels (Rev.), Bantu Philosophy (Paris: Presence Africaine, 1952), pp. 14-16.

patterns, their customs and their beliefs. Before getting into a dis-
cussion on its lasting quality it is necessary to establish first
exactly what this structure is and how it is manifest in the society.

In Luvale society the ultimate authority and the apex of the
structure is God reached through the spirit world of the ancestors
and those in society who have access to the ancestors such as divin-
ing doctors, witchdoctors and elders. God, *Kalunga*, is the ultimate
cause. He is capable of both blessing and cursing. Although he
dispenses practical and material help, in many ways he is an unknown
entity who is far off and not accessible directly. Therefore, worship
requires the service of intermediaries who are the ancestors. These
are the 'living-dead' who can communicate with men, with the spirit
world and with God. [2]

Approach to the 'living-dead' can be accomplished in a number
of ways: a blood sacrifice such as a goat, an offering such as beer
or meal, praying, singing, or remembering such as in the naming of
a child or the planting of the *miyombo* trees. [3] The family elder, the
cilolo, because of his more personal knowledge of those who have died
in the past, is usually the one to perform these ceremonies. However,
if there are signs of anger on the part of the ancestors such as poor
crops or sickness a divining doctor is called to determine what needs
to be done to placate the ancestors.

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[2] The 'living-dead' are defined by Mbiti as the dead of the last
four or five generations. See John S. Mbiti, Concepts of God in
Africa (London: SPCK, 1970), p. 230.

[3] *mu (mi)* - *yombo* = a planted tree for a fetish.

This then is the ultimate authority structure. Here lies the power over the ultimates in human experience - life and death. Anyone who questions this hierarchy or its decrees must be prepared to face the possibility of sickness or even death.

Such a structural order is maintained not only at the level of the total group; it is also operative at the level of the family. The man is dominant over the woman and the elder is dominant over the younger. Furthermore, this lower level of authority is sanctified by its connection to the ultimate level through the *cilolo* who is operative in both. He is head of his own family and has access to the spirit world. If God's position is considered sacrosanct and unassailable then so is the father's because what God is to the total group the father is to the family. He is the law maker for his wife and children.

It might be questioned how a matrilineal society where inheritance and identification is through the mother can practise male dominance. This is done by using the maternal uncle, the mother's brother, as the representative, spokesman and decision maker for the matrikin. The mother does have authority in matters of a domestic nature but the lower level of her authority is aptly expressed in the Luvale proverb:

> *Mama Kalunga wamuchivali.*
>
> *The mother is the second God.*

Similarly, the grandmother gains respect for her more senior place in the genealogy as verbalised in another proverb:

> *Kaputa kambango kuvangila lihunda.*
>
> *The basket starts with a knot.*

But even she does not advise men openly.

The structure presented thus far has many characteristics that suggest autocratic functioning. But it is saved from this by the operation of a strong moral principle, that of reciprocity. Reciprocity is the result of the obligations that are required of the relationships or positions within the clan or kinship group.

How then is this structure manifest in the problem solving process? It is evident in at least two ways. Firstly, there is a hierarchy of problem solving settings. Initially participants attempt to settle a problem themselves, then they go to the family, then to the village, and finally to the non-relatives at the court, Party, or church, depending on the allegiances of the participants. Serious cases may not begin at the bottom of the hierarchy but once they are in the system they proceed from one level to the next until they are eventually settled.

Secondly, at each level there are identified authority figures who take the problem solver role. In the family this is the father or, for more serious matters, the *cilolo*. In the village the responsibility belongs to the *nduna* and his committee of advisors. [4] The court has its justices, the Party has its Section and Branch chairmen with their respective committees, and the church has its elders. There are some variations made in this system to accommodate persons with special medical or spiritual powers.

The operation of the principle of reciprocity is also evident in two ways: in the witnesses called to a *cihande* [5] and in the

[4] See chapter four for a description of the merger of the traditional advisors with the Village Productivity Committee.

[5] *ci (vi) - hande* = speech, subject of conversation.

description of the behaviour being judged. *No man is an island in a village community. Someone is his superior responsible to look out for his interests and someone is his responsibility.* Thus, participating at almost every *cihande* will be an uncle, father, mother, elder or headman in his or her capacity as 'guardian' of the participant. [6] It is the part of his reciprocal duty according to his position in the hierarchy to act in this capacity. Similarly, *when judgement is passed, behaviour is identified as appropriate or not* by whether it accords with the position occupied or with the responsibilities assigned to that position. This same standard of the "reasonable and customary man" "in various social positions" was described by Gluckman in his study of the judicial system of the Barotse and by Epstein in his analysis of the Ndola urban courts. [7] Thus the structural order with its corresponding role allocation is evident in the problem solving process - where it is held, who presides, who attends and even what standards are used for judgement.

When these principles of structure, order and role were introduced reference was made to their lasting quality. Just how does this come about? The use of proverbs such as the one quoted at the beginning of this section is one method. Proverbs are used in general conversation, in problem solving sessions and during special ceremonies. They both teach and reinforce community social values and norms of behaviour.

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[6] This might be the offender or offended.

[7] Max Gluckman, Judicial Process among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1955), p. 358. A.L. Epstein, Politics in an Urban African Community (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958), p. 216.

Similarly, every ritual observance confirms the positions of
the various authority figures because of the place that they take
in the observance. Some rituals are directed primarily towards the
maintenance of authority and status structures in the community.
White [8] interprets the *mukanda* [9] in this light. The *wali*, the
female puberty rite, shows the same characteristics.

Even the everyday life is a confirmation of the structure. The
woman proceeds slowly towards her seated husband. She bows decorous-
ly before him and from a kneeling position presents his evening meal.
The youth, seeing an elder approaching, rises to his feet and offers
the most comfortable seat to him. Failure to maintain these symbols
of respect will be censored by anyone who sees the oversight. In
fact, this is one responsibility the community shares, that of pre-
serving the order of their own village. The pressure to do this is
strengthened by the sanctioning of the system by God and the spirit
world. In Gluckman's words:

> Myths, dogmas, ritual beliefs and activities endow the
> social system with mystical values which evoke acceptance
> of the social order on a plane that secular force and
> sanction cannot attain. [10]

Finally, in light of the examples given, it is evident that the
enactment of each problem solving session is a reinforcement of these

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[8] C.M.N. White, Elements in Luvale Beliefs and Ritual (Rhodes
  Livingstone Papers, No. 32, 1961).

[9] *mu (mi) - kanda* = circumcision camp

[10] Max Gluckman, Politics, Law and Ritual in Tribal Society
  (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1967), p. 245.

very principles of structure, order and role.

SOCIALISATION

> *Muzulu wacombo wakutambula kuli ise nanaye.*
>
> *If the child is bad it is because his parents are bad.*

Luvale society places the responsibility for training a child on his parents to such an extent that if the child's behaviour does not meet the community's expectation then the parents are blamed. Therefore, parents take their responsibility for socialising their children very seriously, as can be seen in the following ritual witnessed in Lusaka:

The Urban *wali*

Here was a man born and brought up in the capital city with a secondary education, employed as a wage clerk in a government office and living in city council housing. He was well dressed in fashionably heeled shoes, good trousers, shirt and tie. In every way he seemed to represent the modern urbanite and yet he had uprooted his family to travel to his father's home in the capital city some 400 kilometres away from where he was currently settled to have his daughter participate in the traditional coming-of-age ceremony, the *wali* of the Luvale tribe. As I talked to him in a shaded area at his father's home, there was every evidence of a man of understanding and capability. He quickly grasped the implications of my questions and replied in flawless English, although the rest of the time he conversed easily in Luvale with his friends and relatives.

Soon he rose from his chair to greet his daughter coming out of seclusion. His one part in the drama was to use an axe to lift the blanket from his daughter as she sat on a mat. Then he faded into the background again to sing with the others. 11/ This is really grandmother's

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11 The father uses an axe and the mother a hoe to symbolise the traditional division of labour.

day rather than father's. Members of the family had
arrived two days earlier and immediately the girl had
been secluded in a room separate from the main house.
Then the grandmother began her advising. These in-
structions included the necessity of respecting your
husband, how to prepare good meals and warm baths for
him, how to clean the house and cooking utensils, and
how to make a bed. Then there were instructions on the
care to be taken during and after a menstrual period.

In the traditional ceremony 12/ the girl would
also be taught how to be sexually pleasing to her hus-
band and how to ensure her own fertility. At the end
of the ceremony she would be considered ready for
immediate marriage. If she was not already betrothed,
this would soon follow and the marriage would be
quickly consummated. However, this girl was in school
and so marriage was not contemplated in the near future.
Also, the paternal grandmother was a Christian and as
such did not think it appropriate to pass on information
of a sexual nature until a time closer to her actual
marriage.

On the day of the ceremony the girl was taken to the
bath house where the paternal and maternal grandmothers
and other older women bathed her, plaited her hair in
typical Luvale fashion and dressed her. Throughout this
procedure advice continued in both spoken and musical
form. The younger women of the audience encircled the
bath house commenting on the procedure and joining in
the singing. Finally the girl was ready and she was led
under a grass mat by the singers out of the bath house
and into the centre of the compound. There the singing
rose to a crescendo led by the grandmothers. The parents
came and lifted the blanket off their daughter and she
was presented to the group. She was then seated on a
mat in the midst of the group with a bowl for the
collection of money for her instructresses. Hymn sing-
ing followed interspersed with either coke or *munkoyo* 13/
to drink. If this had been a non-Christian ceremony
there would have been dancing and beer both during the
ceremony and as a climax to it. Some of the men made
comments quite openly about the absence of beer but
evidently still felt obligated to attend. It was a
valued corporate action.

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12 See C.M.N. White, "Conservatism and Modern Adaptation in Luvale
    Puberty Ritual". Africa, 23 (1):15-23, 1953, for a full des-
    cription of the ritual.

13 a sweet beer

The wali ceremony just described is an example of the formal aspect of Luvale socialisation. The high value placed on this cere- mony as a method of socialisation can be seen in its survival despite all the pressures of urban life and the inroads made by the major philosophical change that accompanies the adoption of Christianity. However, there are some modifications. The teepee-shaped hut for accommodating the initiate found in most Luvale villages is sub- stituted for by a kitchen or separate room. (There is fear that non- Luvale tribesmen might violate the sanctity of such a hut.) Similarly, dances and songs connoting ancestral worship are replaced by Christian hymns. Also, the period is shortened to facilitate the girl's school attendance. But the ceremony is still held at the time of the first menstrual period and is not put off to a school holiday.

The parts of the ceremony that are seemingly inviolate are its use for identification as a Luvale and as a woman, its emphasis on teaching the appropriate female role, and the corporate nature of the event. Parallel statements could be made about the *mukanda*, the male puberty rite. Luvale parents deem it their solemn responsibility to see that their children are thus introduced to the adult role ex- pected of them.

Even children recognise the importance of these lessons. They themselves take the initiative to provide their own opportunities for practice as can be seen in the following vignette:

The *mangongo* [14]

There it was - partially shaded by the overhanging branches of a *mukula* tree - the *mangongo*. Here I was - a modern-day Gulliver viewing a Luvale village in microcosm. Was I dreaming? No, I could feel the hot August sun beating on my back as I viewed the scene. Indeed, my imagination had not gotten me here. Rather I had squatted in a dug-out canoe while a muscular river boatman paddled me across the Kabompo river. After a ten minute walk up the ridge I had met Sombu and Kafunia who had promised me a visit to their 'children's village'. Now they led me with shy faces, obviously fascinated that the *cindele* [15] had agreed to come and see their play village, especially when most of the adults in the village tended to ignore them, but not really quite sure how they should deal with this unusual guest. Sombu and Kafunia were both fourteen years and in the last year of primary school. They had informed me that they made a 'village' each school vacation.

As we made our way down the hill to the 'village' the children there broke into a song, an exact copy of those used to commemorate the coming-of-age of a young girl. An eight year old had been chosen as the initiate and the singing was taking place around her at a small distance from the 'village'. She was then accompanied into the 'village' under a blanket and deposited without anyone seeing her face into the teepee-shaped hut set up in the middle of the 'village'. The drama continued as the various male members of her 'family' came to eat food at the hut. In the manner typical of all children's play, weeks became minutes and the seclusion period which normally lasts several months soon ended. The 'bride' was taken off to be properly attired in a new bright pink cloth around her torso and was then brought back into the 'village' accompanied by a large group of singing 'women'. She and her young attendant walked sedately protected by the shade of a grass mat with their eyes averted from the audience. She met her 'husband', an eight year old boy from the group, and they shared a drink. The female attendant sat between them. The 'husband' smiled broadly but the 'bride' continued to avoid any eye contact with the onlookers. Throughout the whole procedure there had been a lot of singing and dancing which continued.

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[14] A game of children which consists of making little grass huts and there imitating domestic activity.

[15] *ci (vi) - ndelo* = 'civilised' person, European

My eyes now strayed around the 'village' itself. Four huts had been built about four feet high with a framework of sturdy poles covered over with grass. The grass was not very carefully woven and a good wind could probably have flattened the lot but they did look very real. Outside the front door of each hut was the typical village kitchen - a high table-like affair made of four poles stuck vertically into the ground at the four corners of a square and then joined at head level. On this structure sat the various pots, pans and foodstuffs. Close by a pot boiled away on the fire and a calabash full of water sat in the shade.

This was a game which the children participated in with gay abandon and yet at least the older children in the group recognised its educational value. Here the boys actually practised house construction. No prefabricated 'Wendy houses' from a department store for them! The girls gathered and prepared food. *Nshima* 16/ made from cassava meal was cooked while I was there and the actions involved were exact replicas of what I had seen older women do in the village. They had fish and leaves as relish for their *nshima*. This day because of my visit the adults from the village came to see what was happening and seemed to take delight in seeing their children depict so realistically the *wali* ceremony.

Activity in the 'village' displayed more than physical skills. Family structure and patterns of behaviour were re-enacted. Each hut had a 'family'. The small children chose 'mothers' from the older girls and then these 'mothers' chose their 'husbands'. If there was a surplus of children they might be identified as chickens or goats in the 'village'. Sombu informed me that they often re-enacted disputes between a husband and wife which could result in settlement or divorce. In the average Luvale village children do witness the settlement of numerous problems and so again their play was quite realistic. The ritual which they performed was, as already indicated, a faithful replica of the public aspects of one of the most important Luvale ceremonies. They all knew the songs connected with each stage and sang them with gusto. They may not have had full comprehension of the meaning of the ritual, particularly the private parts, but I did notice that, when the couple had shared their drink, the 'husband' rose to take his 'bride' into a nearby hut (this would be the time by custom when the marriage would be consummated) and the audience responded with knowing smiles.

16 a thick porridge, the staple food in Zambia

The fact that they did know what it all meant is
perhaps best seen in their choice of a girl who was
much too young for the ceremony. For her, the reality
was still a long way off and thus she could play the
role with abandon.

The Luvale *mangongo*, like the Lamba *amashanshi*, the Tonga
mantombwa, the Cewa *manyengo* and the Bemba *manyenwe* shares many
characteristics of children's play found in every country in which
children copy the activities of the adult world. [17] But, as already
mentioned, these children are seriously aware of the need to prepare
themselves for their future roles. This recognition coupled with the
natural props makes the drama much more realistic. This realism in-
cludes the physical parts as well as the sociological or philosophical
aspects of Luvale life that are so clearly depicted.

The formal aspect of socialisation exemplified by the *wali* and
the *mangongo* is not the only aspect practised by the Luvale. In fact,
the principle of 'preparation for life's roles' is so important that
every activity is used as an opportunity for its operation. Every
activity then becomes a reinforcement of the lessons learned in the
more formal settings.

Even problem solving sessions are used for this type of sociali-
sation. Every *cihande* is a corporate matter. This means that the
village elders have a captive audience for the exposition of the

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[17] See: Margaret Read, Children of their Fathers (London: Methuen &
Co. Ltd., 1959), p. 82;
E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Raymond Firth, B. Malinowski and J. Schapera
(eds.), Essays Presented to C.G. Seligman (London: Kegan Paul,
Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., 1934), p. 328;
Elizabeth Colson, Marriage and Family among the Plateau Tonga of
Northern Rhodesia (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958),
p. 285;
for references to play-villages among other Zambian tribes.

norms of society. These master dramatists know how to 'play to the gallery' and succeed in teaching the younger members of the group in a manner that appears to be only a slightly elongated comment on the problem at hand. In this way the village members are introduced to and confirmed in the Luvale value system. Also, the potential village elders of the future learn the secrets of problem solving by watching the process hundreds of times before they are ever called upon to demonstrate their own wisdom.

The participants in the problem solving process are undergoing what might be called a re-socialisation process. Inasmuch as the elders are attempting to restore good relations between participants they work towards a readjustment of their social behaviour. By means of a verbal session in which the elders analyse the case, the offender is reminded of his appropriate social role – that to which he was socialised. This serves as an appeal to him to readjust his behaviour and also underscores the standard expected of that position.

The part played by each person in the *cihande* is in conformity with the role to which he has been socialised. In this sense the enactment of the *cihande* reinforces the roles themselves. Even the judgement passed is basically a decision as to whether the partici- pants have fulfilled their assigned roles - those to which they have been socialised. Failure to fulfill an assigned role defrauds those living in interdependence with that person. But it is also a 'crime' because, as an older member of the community, he has a responsibility to be an example to the younger members. Youth following his poor example could negate the whole society and what it stands for. In this way every person has a responsibility for the socialisation of those younger than himself by exemplary behaviour.

Thus the Luvale socialisation process is basically a preparation for life roles. It is all-important to a Luvale way of life as witnessed by the tenacity of its hold despite modern influences. It is all-pervasive in that every activity is used as an opportunity for its confirmation. And it is all-encompassing since every person participates in it both as a learner and as a teacher.

COMMUNICATION

Mazu ali navikuma mumicima yavatu.

Words have their destinations in people's hearts.

Communication, as already explained in this chapter, plays an important part in both the processes of socialisation and the maintenance of structure, order and role. The words used in such communication are indeed powerful and reach to the deep recesses of a man's being. They shape his behaviour and his thinking.

In the world view of African philosophical thought the word is "a spiritual force" in a human with the power of giving "life and efficacy". [18] Therefore, words must be used with care and the misuse of words is a serious crime against society. Such a magical attitude towards the spoken word is common to all illiterate societies and the Luvale are no exception. [19]

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[18] Janheinz Jahn, Muntu: Outline of Neo-African Culture (London: Faber & Faber Ltd., 1961), p. 106.

[19] The rate of illiteracy is 66% for males and 82% for females, according to the 1969 census. The rate includes persons over five years with no schooling in Kabompo District.

The Luvale reverence for the power of words is exemplified in the problem solving process. It is essentially a verbal process, although non-verbal symbolic behaviour such as sacrifices or gestures is usually part of it. Generally it consists of statements, questions and answers, discussion and advice giving. Much of the talk is didactic in nature with a view to introducing and reinforcing communally held values. It is reckoned that words presented in the form of advice are the best means of controlling human behaviour. Men of 'wisdom' will always respond to them.

Advice thus given may vary in strength; however, 'strong words' or what a Westerner might call a 'severe reprimand' are reserved for situations where the offence is considered serious or the offender has had a history of similar offences. The respondents in the village sample were very reluctant to admit using anything as negative as a 'reprimand' or 'threat'. They preferred to identify these interactions as using simply educative words. They expressed reluctance to using 'strong words' because of the danger of harming the person rather than merely educating or influencing him towards appropriate behaviour.

Words are not only the medium of the problem solving process, they are also subjects for discussion within it. The nature of verbal communication between two persons is for every society an indication of the nature of the relationship between them. In Luvale society it is an indication of the relationship between the two persons. But it goes further in that it can actually alter the personalities of those involved. Also, it indicates the acceptance or rejection of their respective positions in the structure of the society. For example, insulting is taken very seriously, particularly if it is towards someone in an

authority position by reason of age, status or responsibility. This
disrespect is not only a sign of a poor relationship but it is also a
crime against the individual's own person. His spirit may be diminished.
Furthermore, it is a crime against his position. A son's disrespect for
his father is a questioning of his authority and of the whole system.
In the interests of the maintenance of the society and its values this
conduct cannot be allowed.

One of the most common types of cases in the Luvale problem
solving process was regarding the issue of verbal fight. Compensation
was often paid to atone for the injury done to a person by unwise words.
Thus, the Luvale confirmed their view that words have potential for both
destruction as well as creation. As such words play a very vital role in
the total Luvale way of life.

The extent of this role is displayed in the richness of the
variety of verbal forms available. Songs, proverbs, legends, history
and genealogies are but a few of these forms. Each of these forms has
a part to play in the problem solving process. Songs are used as an ex-
pression of social value and as a method of social control. Witness the
use of songs in the *wali* described earlier in this chapter. During the
washing and subsequent coming-out ceremony the women's songs were directed
towards the initiate - teaching her how to treat her husband, how to
please her mother-in-law and how to be a good woman.

Proverbs are pithy concise statements of moral truth. As such
they are widely accepted and used in traditional societies. This, accord-
ing to Nyembezi, can be attributed to the fact that:

They reveal what it is that people adore and what it is

they hate; what they respect and what they despise. [20]

They are commonly heard in the everyday speech of a Luvale village but they have a special role to play in the discussion part of the problem solving process. Elders quote proverbs to validate their own particular analysis of the problem situation. They are also used to justify the suggested solution. In this way proverbs are used to instruct youth in, and remind the older generation of, the norms of society and their own particular responsibilities in that society.

Legends perform a similar function of promoting the values of the society. In conjunction with the known history of the group they also provide identification or even legitimacy to the group. The Luvale are known for their long genealogies especially in regard to the clan. [21] When such a genealogy, history or legend is used in the problem solving process it legitimises the social order and confirms the responsibilities connected with that order. [22]

For the Luvale, verbal communication not only reflects the social order but also reinforces it. Since words have this heavy responsibility in the affairs of men they must be weighed most carefully and used with caution. They have a potential for both good and evil and penetrate not only to the heart of individuals but also to the core of society.

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[20] C.L. Sibusiso Nyembezi, Zulu Proverbs (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1963), p. xii.

[21] C.M.N. White, An Outline of Luvale Social and Political Organisation (Rhodes Livingstone Papers, No. 30, 1960), p. 18.

[22] See Hugh Dalziel Duncan, Symbols in Society (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968) for further propositions regarding the relationship between communication and the social order.

THE MEANING OF PERSONS

> *Kwavumina Kalunga kavexi kutukanako vatu valiko.*
>
> *How can you speak evil of those whom God blesses.*

This Luvale proverb underscores not only the unthinkable con-
sequences just explained of speaking evil of a person but also the
value of a person because of his positive relationship with God.
In Luvale thinking man is a creature of God - Samutu and Nyamutu
being reckoned as the first humans on earth. [23] While man is regarded
as distinct from the animal world, his physical being is given primary
attention while he is alive. [24] Thus he is described as "two eyes,
two legs, two arms and two ears of normal size". This explains the
Luvale concern about any physical injury. There is even a special
category for all people whose males are circumcised.

The *mwono* is the 'life' or 'soul' and is considered responsible
for movement and talk while the person is alive. At death it takes
on its major role in the spirit world. As a spirit it has access to
God on behalf of its descendants. Also, it exists in a continued
stream of life from its ancestors and will continue to exist in its
descendants. This is why childlessness is considered, in Kangame's
words, "a fate worse than death". [25] It puts a man, at the point of
his death, in a state of annihilation. In this deep philosophical
and spiritual sense no Luvale is an island; ultimately he cannot live
or die unto himself. The same holds true for most African societies.

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[23] White, Elements in Beliefs, p. 32.

[24] Cf. to general African view in Jahn, pp. 106-9.

[25] Alexis Kangame, La Philosophie Bantu-Rwandaise de l'Etre
(Bruxelles, 1956), p. 377.

This principle of human interdependence is also true in both practical and social terms. A man's importance comes from his relationships with others in his group because the humanity of any person is enhanced by the role he takes in society and by his acceptance of the reciprocal roles of those around him. This point can perhaps be best understood by the examination of the following report of a problem solving session witnessed in a North-Western Province village:

The Alcoholic Wife .

The whole village was already gathered when my interpreter led me to the clearing. The elders were sitting in the shade of the overhanging roof of a substantially-sized house. Other men were seated under a large leafy tree and the women had taken their partly-hidden place in the shade of a nearby house. As a *cindele* I was invited to sit on a chair with the elders. My interpreter, being one of them, sat there too.

The *cihande* began with the offended woman coming into the centre of the group to detail the reprehensible behaviour of her sister-in-law. The latter had been drunk and had spoken very insulting words to her. The matter had been shelved to await the return of her brother, the offender's husband. Now he had come and the matter was being presented to him as the authority for both his sister and his wife. Due to the seriousness of the case and the fact that the insulting had been very public, shouting so that all the neighbours could hear, the matter required a public hearing by the headman and his advisers.

When she was finished, the offender gave her statement. She was evidently trying to defend herself saying that she got along well with her sister-in-law and the words for which she was accused were only spoken in jest. The reaction of the audience indicated that no one was very convinced of her defense. The later questioning of the elders to her husband revealed that she was a woman with a bad reputation. She had been divorced seven times for drunkenness. Her own family doubted the stability of any marriage and, therefore, did not demand the *mwivwi*. 26/ They reckoned that it was not worth getting it as they would just have to pay it back.

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26 brideprice

Her present husband had married her very much against the advice of his village. He had already had many quarrels with her over her continual craving for alcohol.

When both women had finished presenting their statements the elders began their discussions. Occasionally they directed a question to one of the women but mostly the comments were directed towards the husband. The line of reasoning that they tried to get him to adopt was that his relationship with his sister was of long standing and positive in nature: she had always been a good sister and when his first wife died she had cared for him. On the other hand, this new wife had only given him trouble. One of the younger advisors was even bold enough to remind him that it was only old age that had prevented him from securing a younger and more desirable wife. In light of all this it would be in everyone's interest if he would just divorce his wife.

The husband was clearly trying to avoid coming to the 'obvious' conclusion, although he had to admit to the validity of many of their statements. He did not want to divorce his wife but he also did not want to antagonise his fellow villagers. He appeared to be stalling for time to make this difficult decision, when his wife recognising that the tide was going against her called for a referral of the matter to the local court. She evidently felt that the judgement by the court justice would be less biased than that of the village elders. Before even this matter was considered a heavy rain came down and everyone scattered for shelter.

I was not called for the continuation of this *cihande* but I assume that the matter would be referred to the local court. A divorce might not be granted immediately but with the continuing pressure of the group the divorce would eventually be effected.

Analysis of this case shows how the value of a person is enhanced by his appropriate interaction in group life. The man's sister had, over the years, played an appropriate role in this community and, as such, was a valued member. The man was also a valued member. Although he had gone against village opinion in marrying this second wife he was not ostracised for that. Instead there was sympathy for his apparent difficulty in finding an appropriate wife and an attempt was made to help

him amend his ways by reasoning with him.

On the other hand, the wife had not been considered a suitable member at the time of her marriage. Her subsequent behaviour did nothing to improve this earlier opinion on the part of the community. The fact that she had a severe alcoholism problem was not considered at all from an individual point of view but only as it affected her ability to perform her appropriate roles as wife, sister-in-law and productive member of the community.

Thus the community good is an ultimate standard. Persons must be cared for and protected because of their place in and contribution towards this community. But even where a person has in some way failed the visible physical community care must be taken in how he is treated because of his relationship to the spirit world and to God himself.

CHAPTER 4

Problem Solving among the Luvale:
Findings

*Watachikiza lupa lwanyakamiji kulufula hamwiji-
hamwiji.*

*The person who knows Nyakaji's cassava digs it
root by root.*

The Luvale are aware that unsettled problems are detrimental
to the intimate relations of village life. Chapter three has shown
how the problem solving process reflects the basic principles of
Luvale culture and thinking. It also reveals the high value placed
on problem solving as a means of maintaining the unity of the Luvale
village. A process of such importance in village life requires the
activity of experts - problem solvers whose knowledge is recognised
by the whole community.

This point will be further developed in the more minute exam-
ination of the process, undertaken in this chapter. (Exact figures
for each of the questions in the interview schedule can be found in
Tables 1 to 11 in Appendix 2.) The process will be discussed under
four headings: The Problem (referring to identification and definition);
The Person (referring to the problem solver); The Process (referring
to the actual procedures followed); and The Solution (referring to
choice and enforcement). The chapter ends with a section on the change
and modification in the process found in the rural and urban settings.

THE PROBLEM SOLVING PROCESS

The Problem

Social work deals with macro as well as micro problems, but it
has a primary concern for the social relationship aspect of such

problems. Therefore, for ease of comparison, it was decided to limit this study to problems that could be described as 'interpersonal'. In the village interviews, these problems were defined as those that took place between people for which a *cihande* [1] was appropriate. This definition presented no difficulty to the respondents. In fact, the idea of 'interpersonal' seemed to be quite familiar.

Problems were identified first in terms of participants. Over half of the respondents made their own selection independently or after the suggestion that they choose the most common or most recent problem occurring in the village. Others needed help or were asked specifically to comment on a situation (known to the researcher) from their own personal experience, such as widowhood or headmanship. The cases identified were distributed in terms of participants in the following way:

neighbours	29
husband-wife	27
parent-child	29
other relatives	11
other tribe	1
Party	3

Descriptions of the problems followed the identification of the participants. Again the respondents took the lead in the choice of problem to be described but where several possible problem situations were identified the researcher made a selection of one for clarity of discussion. This description of problems occasionally revealed a classification system that was quite different from a western model. For

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[1] *ci (vi) - hande* = speech, subject of conversation

example, adultery was not usually interpreted as a problem between husband and wife but rather between 'the owner of the wife' and the accused. In these instances the researcher had to adjust her own under-standing of the case as well as the coding on the interview schedule.

A categorisation of the nature of problems identified was attempted. (See Table 2 in Appendix 2 for results.) This proved a very difficult exercise in that many problems were of dual nature and the assignment of priority proved equally difficult. Also, the process of categorisation itself required an interpretation by the researcher of what the respondents meant in their description. Such interpretation cannot avoid being culturally biased.

Perhaps the most important lesson learned from this exercise was that the categories themselves: property damage, physical damage, psychological damage, social responsibility, merged in Luvale thinking. Fighting, the problem most often mentioned, was psychological in the sense of it being an insult; it was physical in terms of the resulting personal injury; and it was a failure in social responsibility in the sense that the behaviour was unsuitable to the position held by the participant. Similarly, property issues emphasised what a person in a certain position 'should' provide. Even the cases of physical damage while they encouraged curative measures whenever possible also emphasised the responsibility to take certain actions to prevent worse problems. For example, in the case of death there was concern to prove the innocence of the partner, to protect the community from disturbance by the spirit, and to ensure the satisfactory entry of the spirit into the world of the ancestors.

If there was one overruling concern it was with failure to fulfill

one's social responsibilities or to adequately perform one's assigned. role. One third of the respondents mentioned this as a concern directly and it was implied in the values suggested by many others. [2] 'Good relations' was the most popular value but further investigation revealed that satisfaction at this level was based on adequate performance of social responsibility. Likewise, fulfillment of social responsibility could be seen as basic to the demands of the 'peace' and 'kinship' values.

This concern about social responsibilities is very similar to the principles identified by Epstein in his description of the proceedings of an urban court on the Copperbelt. [3] He states:

> Judgement of an African court is never simply a finding
> in terms of specific legal rights and duties: it is also
> a process in which judges and litigants alike work to-
> wards the reaffirmation of norms and values commonly
> recognised throughout the community. [4]/

His analysis reveals a concern for maintenance of social relationship and conformity to moral values. This is not to indicate that the standard is perfection. Rather any appeal is based on what a 'reasonable man' would have been expected to do in that situation, given the social responsibilities connected with the various positions of the people in the dispute.

The roles to which people are assigned in this allocation of social responsibility vary according to their position in the social

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[2] See Table 3, Appendix 2, for the full results on 'Values evident in Problem Identification'.

[3] A.L. Epstein, Politics in an Urban African Community (Manchester University Press, 1958).

[4] Epstein, p. 211.

structure and the authority thereby granted to them. It is the role to which they are socialised and which others confirm to them in both their verbal and non-verbal communication patterns. It is also the role by which they relate to the other members of society and even reach personal self-identity.

The Person

One of the specific roles ascribed by Luvale society is that of problem solver. The proverb at the beginning of this chapter required that such a person be one "with knowledge". But who is thus identified? Data collected in this study shows that family and village elders are normally chosen as problem solvers.[5] This need to call elders for the settlement of a case was also identified by Epstein.[6]

The most important elder in a village was the headman - the *nduna*. He was involved in over half the cases sampled. The involvement of the headman usually also meant the involvement of the Village Productivity Committee (VPC). These elders, although designated as part of this relatively modern structure, were men who had fulfilled the role of village elders in the past and had been appointed to this Committee to carry on virtually the same work of advising. Very seldom did they operate without the *nduna*.

As was mentioned in the introduction to the Luvale in chapter one, each village under the jurisdiction of an *nduna* is in fact made up of several family villages. Each of these has a recognised head - the

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[5] For full details regarding the involvement of authority figures see Table 4 in Appendix 2.

[6] Epstein, Politics, p. 209.

family elder - the *cilolo*. A family village consists of man, his wife,
his young children and his nephews plus their wives and families.
Therefore, the *cilolo* in a particular case may be an uncle, father,
brother, or grandfather to the participant. In a very small percentage
of the cases discussed, the *cilolo* was the problem solver chosen. These
cases were generally the smaller or more private cases such as minor
marital quarrels.

From within the immediate family three authority figures: father,
mother and uncle [7] were each involved in approximately two-thirds of
the cases. However, there were differences in the nature of their in-
volvement. The uncle and father were prominent in decision making,
participating in this way in about half of the cases they attended,
while the mother took this part only in one third of the cases she at-
tended. The father had more responsibility for requesting a *cihande*
and giving information than either the uncle or mother. But all three
shared equally in the implementation of decisions. This was seemingly
a private act often involving reprimand or reminder of the decision
made at the *cihande*.

The involvement of these family authority figures and the division
as to their various responsibilities exemplified the operation of the
social structure described in chapter three. Parents have authority over
even their adult children. Male dominance is expressed in the activities
of the father and uncle. The father may be the ultimate authority in the
family but, in recognition of matrilineality, the mother's authority is
expressed through the uncle.

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[7] 'Uncle' in Luvale terminology always denotes the maternal uncle. A
paternal uncle is called 'father'.

In nearly half the cases attended by the mother she remained silent. This was also true in approximately one third of the cases attended by the uncle and a quarter of those attended by the father. *Such witnessing of a decision implies acceptance of its validity and of the responsibility to ensure its fulfillment.* But witnessing a case goes beyond this endorsement of the authority of individuals or society as a whole. For the full *cihande* heard by a headman and his VPC, all the close relatives attended. Even villagers who were unrelated to the participants came to witness the proceedings. Their presence is prompted by a concern identified by Gluckman in his study of the Lozi in which he asserted thus:

> In tribal societies where people are linked with one another in many ways through the same institutions, a law case or a dispute does not involve only the immediate participants to it. If the dispute is not quickly settled, it may ramify and spread friction throughout the whole group. 8/

The presence of such a large group all eager for settlement of the problem provides the elements for strong social pressure as demonstrated in the case of 'The Alcoholic Wife' discussed in chapter three. It also provides an opportunity for the socialisation practices described in the same chapter. A ready-made audience is available to the village elders for inculcating and reinforcing community norms of behaviour. Even the problem solving process itself can be taught generally to its future users, especially those with the potential to be chosen as problem solvers.

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8 Max Gluckman, Judicial Process among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia (Manchester University Press, 1955), p. 16.

This presentation of persons involved in problem solving might give the impression of a haphazard process of selection. However, this was not the case. Chapter three has already introduced the idea of a hierarchy of problem solving settings. It is this hierarchy that directed the method and process of selection of the problem solvers. Of course, at each level in the hierarchy there is also a possibility of introducing persons with special medical or spiritual powers, such as a grandmother or a traditional healer.

The Process

The hierarchy of the Luvale social structure is evident not only in who is involved in problem solving but also in the role they play in the actual process. Thus the link between position in the social structure and behaviour in the problem solving process is confirmed. The general sequence of a *cihande* was: statements given by the participants followed by discussion and judgement by the authority figures. [9] Epstein identifies this sequence as "common to all the tribal legal systems in the Territory" (Northern Rhodesia) and suggests this commonality is due to "the common features in the social structure of these tribes." [10]

Chapter three introduced the standard of judgement as that of the 'reasonable customary man'. This is not the standard of an ideal perfect man but rather refers to how one would expect an ordinary man of sense to behave given his particular position in the context of the

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[9] See Table 7, Appendix 2, for exact details.

[10] Epstein, Politics, p. 213.

social relationships, and values and beliefs acknowledged by the community. This standard is very evident even in the initial statements given by the participants. Each takes pains to describe his behaviour in a manner that will make evident its conformity to this standard.

Usually the aggrieved party speaks first, presenting his view of the situation without interruption from either the offender or any of the others. Any attempt to dispute or question what is being said is stopped by the chief authority present. The offender then presents his statement under similar conditions of non-interruption. Any witnesses to the case are called to give statements thereafter.

When all the statements have been taken the elders proceed to discuss the case. Questions may be posed to the participants but generally the time is spent presenting various analyses of the actions, motives and speech of the persons involved in the problem. Evident here again is the standard of the 'reasonable customary man'. Proverbs, myths and general custom are quoted to justify the particular analysis being presented. The relatively easy-going pace of the *cihande* means that this discussion period takes considerable time. Certainly there is ample time for the 'slightly elongated comment' mentioned in chapter three as one of the methods of socialisation. Proverbs are often quoted primarily for this educative purpose. For example, a child's responsibility for his parents is taught in the proverb:

Kusema kulikula pembe alikulele mwanenyi.

The mother goat is not taken for meat if the son is present.

When all the elders have had their say and seem to have reached some level of consensus, the chief authority present summarises the

situation and gives the final judgement. Lambert refers to this process

as judgement by agreement rather than by decree and Maquet's phrase

"the unanimity rule of African democracy" describes the same phenomenon.[11]

The extensive use of this method of reaching a decision is confirmed

by the fact that half of the sampled cases were decided by consensus

while less than one-tenth were concluded by a majority decision.

Consensus was certainly the practice when a VPC was involved. Never-

theless, the prominence given the chief authority even in these situa-

tions was shown by the fact that he stated the final decision for more

than three-quarters of the VPC-judged cases. In the total sample an

authority figure made the final decision for eighty per cent of the

cases.

When the respondents were asked to give their opinion about

this process, they expressed surprise. Seemingly they took the process

as a given without possible alternative. However, when pressed they did

express some values regarding this method of problem solving.[12] They

referred to the suitability of the problem solvers in terms of experience

and authority position. The process itself was valued because it gave

"everyone an opportunity to speak". This was couched in terms of

'democracy' or 'justice' or 'human rights'. Others referred to its

success in educating and restoring peace.

In the observed *cihande* participation was demanded from everyone

at the level of statement giving. However, decision making was perceived

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[11] A.L. Epstein, Judicial Techniques and the Judicial Process (Rhodes
Livingstone Papers, No. 23, 1954), p. 1; and
Jacques Maquet, The Cultural Unity of Black Africa (New York:
Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 57.

[12] See Table 8, Appendix 2, for exact figures.

as the domain of elders. No contradiction was recognised in this ex-
pectation. Respondents justified their view by pointing out that the
participants had tried to settle the problem but failed, thereby dis-
qualifying themselves from future attempts. It did not seem reasonable
to refer a matter to an authority figure and then ask him to share the
decision making with the participants.

Such a problem solving model appears to be very autocratic on
the face of it. Certainly the words of a headman or family elder are
final. But this must be considered in the context of the total situation.
The principle of decision by consensus is never violated. The *nduna*
does not ignore the views of his VPC. The *cilolo* does not ignore the
views of the other elderly males in the family. Also, authority can
only be exercised within the bounds of popular consent. The effect of
community pressure that supported a headman's decision was demonstrated
in the case of the 'Alcoholic Wife' in chapter three. In any *cihande*
the opinion of the audience is quite evident from sounds of approval or
disapproval that regularly emanate from it. There was even some evidence
in the sampled cases of manipulation on the part of authorities to
maintain this support. For example, several VPCs met privately for
discussion of a case before they expressed themselves openly. This
further confirms that judgement in the problem solving process is not
autocratic. Rather it must be 'by agreement'.

Even the participants, although not involved in the actual decision
making, are consulted about some matters. There is recognition that if
the problem solving process is to be successful it has to be fully
accepted by the participants. Hence, it is not uncommon to ask partici-
pants if they are satisfied with the decision and the solution suggested.

Also, in the cases sampled, if a fine was prescribed as compensation it was usually up to the offended to set the amount. The VPC did act as an arbitrator in the decision, objecting if the amount was too high or reminding the participants of their obligations to each other. The result of such a reminder meant that although the offended demanded compensation, in the interests of the relationship he usually returned part or all of it to the defendant. If the compensation were a fowl or an animal, he cooked it and shared it with the defendant in a meal.

Procedures of African customary law have been accused of using "irrational modes of proof and decision" and applying common sense rather than legislation. [13] However, this accusation is seemingly based on a false comparison of this system with that operating in a western court dealing with commercial matters between non-related persons. The indigenous problem solver is always aware of his social context and his main concern is for social relationships. The data collected in this study supports Gluckman's suggestion that a more appropriate comparison would be with the activity of marriage guidance councillors, works councils or industrial conciliation tribunals. [14]

The Solution

Clearly, the behaviour of the elders involved in the indigenous problem solving process just described embraces much more than merely judging a case. The respondents identified a concern for restoring good

[13] Max Gluckman (ed.), <u>Ideas and Procedures in African Customary Law</u> (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 22.

[14] Gluckman, <u>Politics and Ritual in Tribal Society</u> (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1967), p. 187.

relations, controlling behaviour and eliminating conflict.. [15] Censor-
ship of 'bad' behaviour was implied in this second area and also in
the less frequent reference to maintaining tradition. But the establish-
ment of guilt was seldom recognised as a purpose of the intervention,
since it was not an end in itself. It always had to be followed by an
attempt to effect a change in the guilty person's behaviour.

Similar types of concern have been identified in other African
indigenous problem solving processes. Epstein's analysis revealing a
concern for maintenance of social relationships and conformity to moral
values has already been mentioned in this chapter. Phillips, in his
description of Native Tribunals in Kenya, saw the judicial process as
an attempt to restore the social balance. [16] Likewise, the purpose
of the Lozi judicial process was described by Gluckman as "restoration
of the social equilibrium". [17]

Before proceeding further with a description of the solutions
used in problem solving, it should be noted that the ideal solution was
the prevention of the problem. Over one quarter of the respondents re-
ferred to such prevention situations. These included eighteen rites of
passage, [18] five choices of new authorities, [19] and four varieties

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[15] See Table 6, Appendix 2, for exact figures.

[16] Epstein, Judicial Techniques, p. 1.

[17] Gluckman, Judicial Process, p. 357.

[18] These include marriage (10), birth (3), puberty (5). There were also
10 references to death rites, but as death is also considered as a
problem in itself it is included under 'negative' problems.

[19] These include family elder, chief, UNIP Branch member, and parents
for children.

of celebrations. [20]   When 'rites of passage' were first presented as examples of problem solving, there was a concern that they were merely a response to the researcher's recognised interest in Luvale custom. However, the respondents were readily able to identify what problems were prevented by these rites. For example, marriage rites for a son were seen to prevent disputes between single men and married men over their wives. Thus, the inclusion of these rites as 'positive' problem solving processes seemed justified.

Even those situations dealing with already existent problems were considered in preventive terms. Physical fighting requires a settlement because of the worse possibility of injury. Bad feelings between people necessitates some reversal because of the possibility of hatred and village fission. Marital disputes if not settled could lead to divorce. In this context solutions answer the needs of the present conflict and also prevent even more serious conflict.

This emphasis on prevention of problems fits in with the total Luvale way of life where each individual is trained for his life roles.[21] A traditional society is an interdependent society. It has vested interest in the maintenance of the present order. The deviation of one member will have an effect on all the others. It was recognised too by the respondents: nearly half [22] of whom saw the 'avoidance of negative consequences' as important in problem solving.

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[20] These include harvest and hunting celebrations, choice of village site, and use of music.

[21] See 'Socialisation' in chapter three.

[22] 41 out of 100.

Whether the concern was to restore good relations or to prevent the deterioration of good relations, advice giving featured prominently among the solutions. [23] This is as it should be in a social context where words are considered to play a powerful role. Nearly half of the cases sampled listed 'advice' as a major part of the solution and two-thirds used advice for enforcing the solution.

In regard to the verbalisation used in enforcement there was an attempt on the part of the researcher to distinguish various levels of persuasion by the use of 'discuss', 'advise', 'persuade', 'reprimand', 'threaten', 'remind', and 'punish'. However, this exercise proved unsuccessful. The tendency of the respondents to categorise everything as 'advice' can be explained in terms of a tendency to avoid the use of words that have destructive powers as explained in the earlier description of the communication pattern of the Luvale. This may be more an indication of the Luvale's dislike of 'strong words' than their actual avoidance of them. Nevertheless, the use of words to effect behaviour change was confirmed by the study.

In answer to the question about the value of 'advice' in this situation the most common reference was to its success. [24] Frequently this success was attributed to its usefulness for educating 'the wise'. In Luvale society a 'wise man' is expected to learn from advice and so change his behaviour. For those lacking wisdom the only alternative was a more authoritarian measure such as punishment in the form of a beating. However, such measures are said to be undesirable because they are less likely to bring peace, which is valued, as evidenced in its

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[23] See Tables 5 and 9 in Appendix 2 for exact figures.

[24] See Table 10 in Appendix 2 for exact figures.

choice by approximately one quarter of the respondents, because it does indicate a restoration of good relations and elimination of conflict.

'Compensation' was used as a solution in half of the cases. A small amount of money (K1 - K20) or a fowl given by the offender to the offended was not only a compensation but was also considered a tangible expression of his good will. Acceptance on the part of the offended indicated his willingness to reciprocate those good feelings. He might, especially if he is a relative, return some or all of the compensation to indicate the strength of his willingness. As already stated in the discussion on the involvement of the participants, the form and size of the compensation was generally left up to the offended to decide. However, one area where compensation was demanded by the elders was in the case of personal injury. In chapter three mention was made of the value placed on the physical man. Epstein interprets physical injury as a spoiling of the wealth given a man by God. [25]

Compensations and the physical body are valued primarily because of their symbolic representation of the spiritual. Certainly, compensations have symbolic value when they are used in the various Luvale rituals. They might be called gifts or sacrifices, but in either case they symbolise new social entities, such as a new relationship or new responsibilities. Gluckman defines gifts "given at all changes of relationship" as symbols that both create and define the new relationship. [26] The same phenomenon was evident in Luvale customary behaviour. At marriage the husband provided a bride-price which symbolised his

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[25] Gluckman (ed.), Ideas and Procedures, p. 298.

[26] Gluckman, p. 263.

acceptance of his new obligations as 'husband' and 'owner of the wife'. Similarly, at birth a child took the name of an ancestor. In the sacrifice poured out at the *miyombo* [27] the parents symbolised their willingness to raise this child in a way that would honour the name he has taken.

Thus, the indigenous pattern did make frequent use of compensations but it seldom used punishment and never fines. On the other hand, the local courts in Kabompo District did use punishment and fines and in this respect they were considered an undesirable means of problem solving. Gluckman noted this disapproval of punishment, because "nothing accrues to those wronged", among other African tribes. [28] Most of the villagers sampled regarded a court hearing as resulting in more enmity than peace. Thus they assumed that court justices were not concerned about the restoration of good relations. However, this assumption was not shared by the justices themselves. They saw themselves as sort of senior headmen with the task of applying customary law. But it is true that their actions take place in a more formal setting outside the village community with no supporting group pressure as is normally exerted by a *cihande* audience. Also, the cases that come to the local court are those which the village has failed to handle. Thus one would expect some different solutions. The villagers' disapproval of the local court procedures and solutions may have been primarily an extension of their disappointment that the village system had not provided the expected solution in accordance with village norms.

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[27] *mu (mi) - yombo* = a planted tree for fetish purposes.

[28] Gluckman, Politics, p. 69.

While only three per cent of the respondents mentioned 'court referral' as a solution, one quarter mentioned 'referral to a higher authority' as a possible follow-up. [29] In the case of a failure of a full *cihande* this meant a court referral. Of course, this total number of referrals also included referrals up from any point on the authority ladder described in chapter three: from father to *cilolo*, from *cilolo* to *nduna*, from *nduna* alone to *nduna* plus VPC. The fact that the respondents did expect village solutions to be successful is exemplified in the fact that one quarter expected no follow-up and another one third expected only the prescribed ritual ending. Even references to reminders were very minimal.

A Typical *cihande*

The points made in this analysis of the indigenous problem solving process can now be identified in this typical *cihande*. It portrays in a graphic way the definition of a problem in terms of one's social responsibility, as well as the part played by the various authority figures, in this case the headman, the VPC, the father and the uncle, in the problem solving process. Of particular interest are the attempts at persuasion and the place of compensations in settlements.

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[29] For full details of 'follow-up measures' see Table 10 in Appendix 2.

The Run-away Wife

Hearing that a *cihande* was to be held in his own village, one of my interpreters requested permission from the headman for me to attend. This was granted quite readily. When we arrived in the village the *cihande* was beginning. All the older males in attendance were seated together in the *zango*.30/ The women and young people were seated in the shade of a nearby tree. As we took our place with the latter, the man who had requested the hearing was presenting his statement. He was requesting arbitration in regard to his daughter's marriage. Word had come to him that her father-in-law was demanding the return of the bride price, the *mwivwi*.

The daughter, an 18 year old, now resident in the village was asked by the headman to make her statement. She was asked to comment specifically on why she had left her father-in-law's village. The girl explained that she had not been the first to leave. Her husband left to find work; then her father-in-law left for a trip. This meant that she was alone and receiving no food. When she got sick she proceeded to her grandmother's home. From there she returned to her parents' home. She added that another reason for leaving her father-in-law was that they had accused her of being a drunkard. This particular comment elicited loud clapping from the audience indicating that the girl's drinking was well known to them. She quickly defended herself by saying that while she did drink she was not a drunkard.

Before proceeding to hear the statement of the father-in-law, the headman asked the father whether he had instructed his daughter to return to her father-in-law's village to have the case settled. He answered in the negative and explained that he preferred the case to be heard in his own village.

The father-in-law first denied that he had ever asked for the *mwivwi* to be returned. To support his claim that adequate care had been extended to his daughter-in-law, he had a young man read a recent letter from his son. The son's first query was regarding the welfare of his wife. His two months' stay in town had not resulted in any job but he was still hopeful. As soon as a job was secured he planned to come for his wife. In the meantime he asked his father to provide for her. The father-in-law completed his statement by reprimanding the girl's father for not calling him sooner so that the matter could be solved before it became serious.

Now the headman and his VPC proceeded to discuss the case. The following points were established. Before marriage the daughter had been impregnated by her present husband when she

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30 -- *(ji)* - *zango* = palaver place or shed in centre of village.

was still very young. Her uncle had demanded K 100 for damanges. Her father only very reluctantly agreed to a marriage in 1975 after K 40 had been paid. No more of the money was ever collected. It was also pointed out that once a woman had moved to her husband's village all the cases regarding her marital problems should be heard in that village. Much was made of the supporting letter from the husband and the absence of any support for the wife's claim.

The general trend of the discussion was obviously in favour of the father-in-law. When the girl's mother stated that a message had come requesting the return of the *mwivwi*, she was silenced by the headman and accused of listening to mere rumour and causing confusion. Even the maternal uncle supported the trend by stating that he did not have the K 40 to return. He added further that he would not return anything until the remaining K 60 damages were paid.

In a somewhat more conciliatory tone he then appealed to his niece. He suggested that she would be glad to go if her husband came for her. But the girl very firmly refused to consider this and requested that the K 40 be returned.

When this effort at conciliation failed the elders became more forceful and directive. The daughter was reminded of her original desire to marry this man even when this was against parental advice. The impropriety of this method of settling her marital dispute was pointed out. And she was informed that such action could only lead to herself being made the laughing stock of the village. The girl sat with her head bowed through these lectures. She made no verbal response.

Now the uncle as senior member of the family in marriage arrangements was asked by the headman to make the final judgement on the case. He began by indicating that there had been failures on both sides. However, he went on to say that the full K 100 was still required despite the fact that the child resulting from this illicit relationship had subsequently died. Therefore his niece must return to her husband's village until the remaining K 60 was paid. After that if her father still wanted a divorce the husband could be called from town. The father and father-in-law both indicated their agreement to this decision. The girl was not consulted.

This then is the indigenous problem solving process as it now exists in Kabompo District among the Luvale. But this process has not

always been as just described. In fact, in the living memory of the
respondents there have been many changes, some of which will now be
explored.

CHANGE AND MODIFICATION

Rural Setting

As stated in chapter three, the fact of change in the modern
world is accepted as a given in this thesis. But it is also accepted
that there are social patterns that are resistant to change. Herein
lies the potential for conflict.

The Luvale community of Kabompo District was chosen for this
thesis as one of the 'most traditional' communities in Zambia. This
description was justified on the basis of its remoteness from the
line-of-rail and from the influence of urbanisation and industrialisa-
tion. However, there is evidence of it being influenced by many "exo-
geneous factors, particularly since the beginning of the colonial
period." [31] There has been a significant out-migration of youth and
older males to the line-of-rail towns. [32] The 1969 census reflects
this in the 2,500 male deficit for the 20-49 year age group. This,
coupled with the introduction of a wide-spread education system and
much improved transport facilities, has led to 'modernist expectations'
among the villagers. [33]

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[31] German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ), "Integrated Rural
Development, North-Western Province, Kabompo District, January
1978", p. 100.

[32] GTZ, pp. 24 a and 25.

[33] GTZ, p. 100.

Despite these influences "the traditional agrarian structure remained more or less unchanged up to independence" and an increased resistance to economic change is now recognised. [34] It has been speculated that this is related to the "fear that secure social institutions and relationships would be destroyed without alternative."[35] In fact, the transfer of modern standards of values or patterns of behaviour has been very limited suggesting that any change has been primarily external rather than internal. [36]

Some changes have been accepted into the indigenous system and the necessary accommodation made for them. When this happens successfully it is seemingly the result of balancing the two principles introduced in chapter one: 'maximum functionality' and 'minimum conflict'. This balancing is evident in the situation described below.

The modern economy supplies material goods on a cash basis only. But a cash income is only available from paid employment which, in turn, is only available to the educated person. Therefore, the Luvale, like all Zambians, regard education as highly functional. On the other hand, the *mukanda* [37] is the most important Luvale ritual. It symbolises maleness and identification with the Luvale society. It is valued and practised today even in urban settings. Traditionally it took place over several months in an area removed from the village. However, adaptation has taken place so that it is now held in the school holidays at a nearby location. Thus, 'maximum functionality' is practised

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[34] GTZ, p. 100.

[35] GTZ, p. 105.

[36] GTZ, p. 105.

[37] *mu (mi) - kanda* = puberty or circumcision camp

in that school boys are allowed to pursue their education. At the same time 'minimum conflict' is followed in that the rite can be held without interference.

Some examples of such attempts to adapt are found in the Luvale problem solving process with varying degrees of success. Four new structures have been introduced into the system in the recent past: the VPC, the local court, UNIP and the education system. They have each been accommodated in the system to fulfill certain revised functions but in some cases the repercussions are still being dealt with.

In 1971 the Registration and Development of Village Act was instituted. It provided for the establishment of a Village Productivity Committee (VPC) for each village of twenty households or more. Traditional authority figures were recognised by the Act in that the chief was responsible for calling together the inhabitants of the village for the first elections and the headman of the village was to be the first chairman. However, a VPC's responsibilities were very wide including all aspects of village development: i.e. social, cultural, economic and political. Its deliberations were to direct the self-help action of the villagers and, where this was not sufficient to complete the project, to forward a request up to the Ward Development Committee or to the District Development Committee for the required help.

Luvale villages traditionally had groups of elders who advised the headman on all major decisions. When asked for nominations to the new committees the names of the already established groups were given. Seemingly this variation from the rule of how a VPC was to be set up was acceptable to the government authorities. The groups continued to

operate as before or maybe even with more confidence under their new 'official' title.

Kabompo is not the only area where this adaptation has been made. Social work students assigned to Chief Bunda Bunda's area in Lusaka Rural in 1974 found similarly constituted VPCs. These VPCs saw their principal task as hearing and settling interpersonal problems. The larger concerns of development were considered beyond their scope.

In taking this line of action these villages preserved for themselves their valued problem solving process. In particular, men of wisdom, deemed the only persons suitable for the task, continued to fulfill their functions. This minimisation of change in terms of persons involved and their functions means that the possibility of conflict is minimised. At the same time functionality is maximised in that problems continue to be solved successfully. Also, government is satisfied that the legal requirement of the functioning VPCs has been met.

The accommodation of local courts by the indigenous problem solving system occurred much earlier than that of VPCs. Native courts were introduced into Northern Rhodesia in 1929 by the Native Court Ordinance. [38] This ordinance recognised the activities of the "chief, headman, elder or council of elders" as valid dispensers of law. The 1936 revision of the ordinance clarified the limits of jurisdiction and introduced presiding justices who were appointed by chiefs with the approval of district officers. Local courts, as they are presently known, were instituted by the Local Courts Act of 1966. A local court

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[38] Francis O. Spaulding, John C. Piper, Earl L. Hoover, "One Nation, One Judiciary". Zambian Law Journal, 2 (1 and 2):11, 1970.

justice(s) were appointed for each court taking cognizance of the mixed tribal situation that was pertaining in most places. [39]

In the area under study there are two local courts, one at Manyinga and one at Kabompo. A typical pattern for a hearing is for one justice to preside and another one or two to listen to the case. When all the statements have been taken the three justices retire to their private chamber for discussion. When they return to the court room the presiding justice gives the verdict. The court has all the trappings of a formal magistrate court. Court messengers show the litigants, relatives and general public to their appropriate seats. They ensure that everyone stands when the recording clerk calls the court to order on the arrival of the justice in the court room. All statements are given under oath. The recording clerk minutes the proceedings and a hearing charge is made against the participants. Some use is evidently made of fines. The formality, non-related presiding justice, use of records and the application of fines mentioned earlier add together to explain why the Luvale regard a court referral as undesirable and to be used only as a last resort. This view seems to be even supported by government in the practice of the justices that does not allow anyone to bring a matter to court that has not previously been dealt with by local elders. Typically, a case might go from the family, to the headman, and then to the court. Another possible route is from the parents, to the branch, to the local court.

Although the local court is deemed an undesirable way to settle

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[39] Spaulding, Piper, Hoover, "One Nation, One Judiciary", p. 22.

interpersonal problems, even the respondents recognised that the few
cases not solved at the village level do require some arbitration.
In the past the chief fulfilled this function, but now he has been
replaced by the court justices. [40] In order to maintain functionality,
i.e. the settlement of cases, the justices' arbitration is sought.
However, it is interesting to note how conflict is minimised by the
adaptation of this new structure. Although it does bear some resemb-
lance to a magistrate court, as just indicated, there are many simi-
larities between a local court hearing and a village *cihande*.

In the first place, the process is almost identical with each
litigant giving his statement in an uninterrupted fashion, followed
by a discussion by the authorities assigned to the case, followed
finally by the chief authority giving his judgement on the case.
Although the justices have been appointed by the government, they are
in fact older mature men. They represent the various tribal groups in
the community and have the prerogative to consult various elders on
matters of custom of which they are unsure. Relatives usually attend
the court hearing and justices often call on them as witnesses to the
facts of the case and also to confirm what steps have been taken at
the local level to solve the problem.

Justices are entrusted with the job of applying customary law.
In this respect their concerns in settling a case are similar to those
of a headman, namely the restoration of good relations and the main-
tenance of appropriate social roles. For example, the request for
divorce that was heard at the Manyinga court in July 1978 ended in

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[40] The chief's only part in the appointment of justices is to
choose one from a possible three that have been put forward by
the magistrate.

the two parties being sent home again. The woman was advised to obey

her husband and the man was advised to keep his wife properly. [41]

In explaining his decision, the justice maintained he was trying to

uphold tradition. He described the restoration of peace between the

participants as a goal of his judgement as well as the encouragement

of social responsibility according to the various positions of the

kinship group - in this case of the husband and wife. These are cer-

tainly values supported by the indigenous system.

The introduction of UNIP, the official political party, into

the indigenous setting has no doubt brought many changes. However, up

to the present the Party has had a relatively minor part to play in

the problem solving process. Only five per cent of the respondents

referred to its involvement in the process and these cases were pri-

marily over Party matters such as disputes in leadership. But UNIP does

give women a place that goes far beyond that accorded them in the in-

digenous system. Instead of being restricted to the home and rearing

of children, through the activities of the Women's Brigade [42] they

have access to decision making regarding their own communities and also

for those more distant.

Some of the older men in the study saw this involvement as the

chief source for women becoming more vocal in all aspects of village

life including problem solving. Also, the respondents were able to

identify some examples of problem solving by the Women's Brigade. One

was to settle a dispute within the Brigade itself and the other was to

advise one of its members regarding her dispute with her husband. But

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[41] This was interpreted in terms of adequate food and money.

[42] The women's wing of the Party.

the limitations of this exercise of female authority was seen in the fact that *failure at Brigade level meant a referral to the appropriate* male authority - the Branch chairman or the village headman.

Indeed, male dominance is a very deeply held value of Luvale life, as explained in chapter three. Husbands are usually called to settle quarrels between their wives. When queried about this practice one old granny commented:

"Women are just like children. They cannot solve any problems." Women are not even consulted about the choice of a new village site. The researcher's question about this elicited the following proverb:

> *Mapwevo vapwa nge tuwa twavinyana.*
>
> *Women follow their men as dogs follow the hunter.*

In this context the acceptance of equal female participation advocated by UNIP is likely to take a very long time to achieve. At this point in time the conflict with traditional values is too great. For a woman to take the dominant place of a problem solver, authority would have to be granted on the basis of achievement rather than ascribed according to sex.

The preamble in this section on change mentioned the introduction of the education system and its subsequent acceptance by the Luvale for its functional benefits. However, its accommodation within the total system is not always as readily achieved as that achieved between the system itself and the *mukanda*.

Entrance into an educational institution interrupts the socialisation process and sometimes even reverses it. Primary school introduces new authorities and secondary school in the rural area means

boarding school and thus a removal from the village influence for long periods of the year. As a result the youths' allegiance to authority must be spread over several different people. And a new value system starts to permeate the society.

One way this new value system is seen is in the value placed on youth itself. The problem solving process reflects this change. In the past youth were seldom heard in a *cihande*. If there was a quarrel between a young person and an elder, it was settled without a hearing on the assumption that a youth had no right to quarrel with an older person, no matter what the situation. But now a *cihande* is held and the possibilities of the youth's behaviour being justified are considered. In the case of marriage, youths are permitted to make their own choice of a marriage partner. Traditionally parents did all the choosing but now they are merely involved in making the arrangements.

A youth's personal value is enhanced by his academic success. He has access to the material rewards already mentioned but his skills are also useful in the village setting. The minutes of a VPC, referrals to court and the general reports required from the modern headman presuppose a skill in writing available in the community. A literate youth can thereby gain respect from his headman and from the village at large. Age has not been overthrown as a value but new avenues to respect are being accommodated in the system.

Education has also contributed to a change in the social structure among the Luvale. Specifically this change is evident in a new emphasis on fathers' rights as opposed to uncles' rights. Education is a costly affair despite the 'free education' system in Zambia. School uniforms, transport money and incidental fees add up to a considerable amount.

Furthermore, a child's guardian must also reckon with the fact that the child will be out of the labour market for anything from seven to twelve years. He will not work in the fields nor contribute anything to the family income. Any Luvale uncle (maternal) who accepts this kind of responsibility for his nephew wants to be assured of his own reward of service from the youth in the future.

However, such an assurance seems less and less likely. A move from matrilineal to patrilineal customs is now an identified trend in Zambia as a whole. [43] And this trend has taken a codified form in the government's requirement that in the birth registration a child bear the name of the father. This use of the father's name increases the son's obligation to the father.

The decreasing responsibility of uncles for their nephews is accommodated in the problem solving process. In deference to tradition uncles perform ritually as before. For example, they pay the bride-price and make sacrifices. But they no longer have full responsibility for decision making. As was seen in the discussion of the indigenous process, parents now share decision making. If anything, the father's role is more prominent. Thus the modern father's right is also catered for: conflict is minimised and functionality is maintained.

Urban Setting

The change pattern described so far relates to a change over time with the influence for change coming primarily from the outside. But

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[43] Mphanza P. Mvunga, "Land Law and Policy in Zambia". Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1977, p. 197.

what happens when a group moves into the very setting which is considered the source of this influence, namely the urban area? Basically the same process of change is operative. Perhaps the process is more advanced but the phenomenon of accommodation and the same principles of change are evident. Functionality is maximised - interpersonal problems must be solved. But conflict is minimised - underlying values are maintained as far as possible.

The results of the comparative samples taken in Kabompo and Old Kanyama are presented in Tables 12 to 22 in Appendix 2. It should be noted that the sample size in each case was only fifteen. This is hardly large enough to elicit statistically significant results. Therefore, these results should be considered as suggestive rather than conclusive.

Perhaps the most noteworthy variation in the urban problem solving pattern from that of the rural area was that of the substitution of the Party officials for the village headman. As was explained in chapter three, UNIP officials through a process of history became responsible for almost all aspects of life in Old Kanyama. Headman Kanyama of pre-Independence days does have a third successor still resident in the area, but he has no official recognition. On the other hand, UNIP officials are recognised by government and have had over fifteen years (since Independence) to consolidate their authority.

A city is a much more mixed situation tribally. Kabompo District has a number of tribes but they are grouped by tribe in villages or at least all the members of a village are willing to accept the customary rule of a headman with one tribal allegiance. On the other hand, in the squatter areas, while there may be some family or tribal grouping, there are no officially identified tribal areas. In such a situation only a

non-tribal leader can command the allegiance of all.

Like a village headman, the Kanyama Party official was used in problem solving when the family elders could not deal with a case. (In the urban setting this included situations where the family elders were not available as well as where they were unsuccessful.) This occurred in forty per cent of the cases sampled. The Party official used might be the Section or Branch chairman, according to the personal choice of the participant. [44] This use of Party officials in problem solving was justified by the respondents in terms of official sanction and popular recognition. UNIP officials have the approval of government generally as representatives of the Party and specifically as problem solvers, as seen in the practice of local courts that requires their involvement before a court referral is made. Their suitability for leadership and their successful experience in problem solving is verified by their popular election to their posts.

Some urban respondents recognised the possibility of the use of the headman as a consultant. But only one respondent, himself a claimant to the headmanship, mentioned the use of the headman as the chief problem solver. The complete reversal of the urban situation vis-a-vis the rural situation regarding the use of headmen and Party officials is seen in Table 14 in Appendix 2.

Party officials normally acted in consultation with their respective committees. It was the general opinion that the varied tribal groups represented within these committees were sufficient to meet the needs

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[44] Each of the 24 wards in the city of Lusaka is divided into branches and they in turn are divided into sections for political organisation. A section is approximately 25 houses.

of the tribally mixed community. But some section chairmen did see the advantage of using advisors from the appropriate tribe. In fact, this was the role most often attributed to the Luvale headman. Interestingly, the pre-test area for this study, although a rural area, had significant tribal mixing and they called 'intercessors' to represent the views of the other tribe.

The use of Party officials did not obviate the use of the family. As in the village, the help of the family was first sought in the settlement of a marital dispute. There is also a hierarchical structure, as discussed in chapter three. Parents still play a significant role and age is an important factor in the choice of a problem solver. A father, uncle, grandfather, older brother or older cousin are all possibilities. Choice often depends on the proximity of the desired authority. However, some respondents were even prepared to travel to the Copperbelt or all the way to their home village in order to secure the services of their desired helper. One older man was of the opinion that marriage was entirely a family affair and refused to consider the involvement of the Party at all. He claimed he would go directly to court if the family had failed to settle the matter. However, this was a minority opinion.

Perhaps as a function of distance but certainly as a consequence of tribal mixing the urban problem solving process loses some of its corporate nature. All the various relatives and neighbours are not present to witness the procedure. The absence of the *zango* means that there is no designated place for the *cihande*. Without the audience the position of the authority figure is not reinforced. His decisions no longer bear the weight of the agreement of the whole community. As a

result his decisions can be ignored by the participants without fear of community censorship. The potential audience also loses out because they are not exposed to the accepted group norms. Norms soon become identified as family norms rather than community norms.

As for the process of problem solving itself, the urban pattern was almost identical to the rural one. The offended gave his statement with no interruption allowed, followed by the offender giving his statement in a similar way. Questioning and comments were made at this stage by the authority figures. In the case of the Party this was the section or branch chairman and his committee. [45] Then the chief authority, the elder or the chairman, gave the final decision.

When queried about the 'goodness' of this process, respondents in both areas made similar responses: they mentioned the authority and experience of the decision makers and referred to the peace and justice resulting from their deliberations. A new setting and new authority figures has not changed the Luvale view of what is important in problem solving. Giving offender and offended sufficient opportunity to explain their behaviour is necessary if justice is to be achieved. In any marital dispute where arbitration is necessary, the arbitrator is chosen with due consideration to his abilities and wisdom in this area. As such he is expected to proceed with the judgement without involving the participants further.

Advice was considered the essential ingredient to effect every solution in both the urban and the rural settings. [46] Words remain

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[45] Occasionally the chairman alone dealt with the case if ne deemed it to be a relatively simple matter.

[46] See Table 15, Appendix 2, for exact figures.

the 'best' way of promoting good relations between Luvale couples in the urban setting. But these words must be words of wisdom from a 'wise' man. Note that the ultimate goal of the solutions in these urban cases was expressed by most respondents as a restoration of good relations. [47]

This fits in with the definition of the problems as primarily failures in social responsibilities. [48] The emphasis on social responsibility was less than that in the rural area. Nevertheless, the concern is verified in the expression of values regarding problem identification. One quarter referred to responsibility and another two-thirds mentioned negative consequences which included both the deterioration of good relations and the breakdown in the reciprocation of social responsibilities. [49]

The urban problem solving pattern viewed its function as the more positive restoration of good relations rather than the more negative control of behaviour that is prevalent in the village setting. [50] This may reflect the lower level of communalism in urban living. Certainly individualism is stronger in the city. On the other hand, it may be a corollary of the more organised formal structure of the control agencies such as the police and magistrate court.

Compensations were not imposed by Party officials. It is not legally their prerogative to impose fines of any kind. This might be

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[47] See Table 17, Appendix 2, for exact figures.

[48] See Table 12, Appendix 2, for exact figures.

[49] See Table 13, Appendix 2, for exact figures.

[50] See Table 17, Appendix 2, for exact figures.

done by the family themselves following the same pattern they would use
in the village. [51] Of course, if a referral is made to court then
fines may be used.

The urban system shared the reluctance of the rural system for
immediate referral to court. [52] But it did show more acceptance of
a referral to a higher authority as a follow-up to unsuccessful solu-
tions. [53] These referrals followed the accepted hierarchy of senior
family member, to Party official, to local court. A court referral was
not always considered a 'good' procedure. The problems of strain of
relationships were recognised. But there seemed to be a process of
rationalisation where the 'legality' of the procedure became the basis
for acceptance. One can see how, in a tribally mixed situation, 'lega-
lity' becomes an important guiding principle for interaction. There
must be some direction given in such a diverse situation. However, the
upholding of this principle does not seem to bring the same satisfaction
to the participants. One could speculate that this is because the up-
holding of this principle has meant a weakening of support for other
principles or perhaps it is merely a function of being a newly adopted
principle with no tradition of acceptance and not fitting into the
unity of the rest of the Luvale society.

Thus it was established that there is a viable Luvale indigenous
problem solving process that has survived the inroads of modern life.
It can even accommodate itself to an urban setting. This process has

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[51] See Tables 15 and 16, Appendix 2, for exact figures.

[52] See Table 15, Appendix 2, for exact figures.

[53] See Table 21, Appendix 2, for exact figures.

been successful in maintaining most of its basic elements and yet has continued to be successful in fulfilling its assigned function even in a changing environment. This can hardly be a unique Luvale phenomenon since the process just described is so amazingly similar to the indigenous problem solving processes identified for other African tribal groups.

Problem Solving in a Zambian Social Work Agency

Muli mwangila wayena wawa owo lyaveno.

*You pour out your own sweetness yourself
(because you have offended the source of
the sweetness).*

In Luvale mythology these words come from the mouth of a flying
beetle. The story is told that a village had no salt for seasoning its
food. One woman soon finished all her stock and was beaten by her
husband for the vapid relishes she was producing. She prayed to the
ancestors who promptly answered by sending a flying beetle to urinate
into the relish to render it savoury. Her husband was very pleased
with the new flavour and decided to raid the beetle's nest. He followed
the beetle home but when he reached in for the 'bags of salt' only the
beetle flew out, saying as he went, "Now you pour out your own sweet-
ness yourself." The moral of this story is that if one follows any
foreign innovation too intently one is liable to lose more than one
every gains from it.

Such a situation is evident in the practice of social work in
Zambia as well as in many other developing countries. It suffers from
a colonial beginning to which it has stuck religiously. This has re-
sulted in a considerable negative effect. In chapter one reference was
made to the inappropriate suggestion of 1945 that the Beveridge Plan
be extended to all the British colonies. Fortunately, someone had enough
wisdom to stop this wholesale importation into Zambia. However,
separate aspects of the British welfare system were imported and the
establishment of the Department of Social Welfare was one of these. It
is perhaps understandable that British officers assigned to set up a

welfare programme in Zambia used their own work experience in Britain
as their model for this new programme. However, in post-independence
Zambia the validity of such models must be reconsidered.

Analysis of the service as it now exists reveals a situation in
which dedication and frustration compete in the daily round of trying
to help people solve the complicated problems of modern social life.
Social workers strive and agonise to find solutions but time and again
the client walks out of the agency dissatisfied and the worker chalks
up 'another failure' or, at best, comments "I'm not sure if that was
a solution or not." These social workers are lacking the tools to deal
with the situation. They do not have the tools required for the adap-
tation of the western model of social work to suit a Zambian situation.
At times workers show evidence of some recognition of the dilemma as
seen in the statement: "They want me to be a headman and tell them
what to do. But I am a social worker and cannot act like that." Unfor-
tunately, even this recognition does not lead to an answer. It might
be easier if it was only the client who was caught in the bind. The
worker too is in a similar bind both as a person and as a profes-
sional.

The conflict and concern that is inevitably part of such a system
is graphically portrayed in the following typical case.

The Dissatisfied Husband [1]

Mr. Banda journeys to the town centre and approaches the
brick wall enclosing the District Welfare Office. He turns
in at the front entrance and proceeds up the path to the
verandah. One door immediately opposite the path stands ajar
and after deliberating a few moments Mr. Banda knocks on that

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[1] The names in this narrative are fictional but the case is authentic.

door. He is *immediately greeted by the office orderly who* directs him back outside to the bench on the verandah. As Mr. Banda awaits his appointment with the social worker on duty many curious faces peer over the wall and stare through the entrance but he scarcely notices them. He is deep in thought about the interview he is about to have. Will these people solve the problem in his home? Why does his wife have to be so difficult anyway?

His thoughts are interrupted by the orderly, this time instructing him to proceed to Room 7. It does not register with Mr. Banda that the social worker is a woman until he enters her office. His initial reaction is to withdraw. After all, women are not people of wisdom suitable for solving problems! However, Mrs. Zimba greets him pleasantly in his own vernacular and invites him to take a seat. Reluctantly he sits down and the conversation progresses very slowly.

Finally, his story comes out. Mr. Banda is a married man with four small children. He is very dissatisfied with his wife's behaviour. Recently she has taken a job as a marketeer and as a result she has almost no time to do the household chores. The children are left virtually to care for themselves. Mr. Banda wants someone to speak to his wife to point out the error of her ways.

Mrs. Zimba, recognising that there must be a serious problem between the Bandas to bring Mr. Banda to her office, asks further questions about their relationship. Finally, she asks him if Mrs. Banda 'does meet him'. Mr. Banda is somewhat surprised by this direct question about their sexual relationship but he admits that this aspect of their relationship is poor. However, he maintains that his major concern is the care of the children and if Mrs. Zimba will just instruct his wife in that respect he will be happy. It is established that the couple has no relatives in or around Lusaka who could be called to settle this case. Nevertheless, Mrs. Zimba agrees to see Mrs. Banda to hear her side of the story with the understanding that she will then expect to see both Mr. and Mrs. Banda together. Mr. Banda provides the location of the market where his wife works and eventually Mrs. Zimba is able to contact her to set up an appointment.

Mrs. Banda's story differs significantly from her husband's. Apparently he has taken a second wife despite her protests. The financial problems created by his need to support a second wife left Mrs. Banda very poorly supported. This forced her to take up marketeering. She agrees that the relationship between herself and her husband is very poor but sees this as a direct result of her husband's decision to take a second wife. She denies that

the children are lacking care. She interprets her
husband's complaint as merely a confirmation of the lack
of love between them. However, Mrs. Banda is willing to
discuss these issues with her husband and the worker
together. But Mrs. Zimba's subsequent attempts to bring
the couple together for an interview are unsuccessful.
Mr. Banda refuses to participate any further with the
worker. The case is closed. The problem remains unsolved.

In commenting on this case the worker recognised the difference
in expectations between the client and herself with regard to her role.
The husband expected her to call his wife and give instructions rela-
tive to appropriate wifely behaviour. On the other hand, the worker
saw her task as the achievement of reconciliation between the couple
through discussion and mutual decision making. In her frustration she
told the researcher, "I cannot take the role of a judge!" At the same
time she was ready to concede that had relatives been available they
could have been called upon to take that role. But they were not
available and the worker had to live with yet another failure.

A comparison of the Zambian social work method of problem solving
with the indigenous method reveals significant differences. [2] If the
indigenous method is the most valid model on which to build a modern
Zambian social work approach, as is contended by this thesis, then
these differences are a key to understanding the frustrating lack of
success that the social worker experienced in over half the cases
identified in this research. In this chapter, therefore, a comparison
will be made using the presented case as representative of the cases
researched in the agency. For ease of comparison, the format followed
will be that used in chapter four in describing the indigenous pattern

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[2] See Tables 1 to 11 in Appendix 2 for exact comparative figures.

where such elements as the problem, the person, the process and the
solution were examined.

The Problem

In the sampling of cases from the Department of Social Welfare
no restrictions were placed on the type of cases selected; the assump-
tion being that the nature of the agency precluded anything other than
interpersonal problems. As such this material could be validly compared
with the data collected for the indigenous system. Generally, this
assumption has been justified in the sense that the types of problems
eventually selected in the sample were those of individuals or families
faced with interpersonal problems. They included all the various types
of cases dealt with by the agency: public assistance, court reports,
probation, child care, marital problems, location of relatives and
parent-child disputes.

These cases were distributed in terms of participants in the
following way:

husband-wife	5
parent-child	3
other relative	1
government	13

This distribution shows that for the majority of cases the second party
to the case was the anonymous 'state'. Twelve of these represent the
public assistance and probation cases and they have been categorised
for this study as the 'depersonalised' cases because of the impersonal
way in which they are handled. The indigenous system is an insular
system and as such has no counterpart to a case between a person and a

'non-person' existing outside the system.

On the other hand, a comparison between the remaining cases, the 'genuine interpersonal' ones and the indigenous system reveals a number of commonalities. In the definition of the problem both expressed concern about failure to fulfill social roles. Kin were urged to care for children, the aged and the sick. Husbands and wives were expected to fulfill their sexually-defined and culturally identified responsibilities.

It is perhaps most significant to note that the social workers themselves did not separate the two categories of cases defined here, as 'depersonalised' and 'genuine interpersonal'. Any discussion of cases by the workers referred to them by problem type: i.e. public assistance, child care, etc. Nevertheless, subsequent discussion revealed distinctive approaches to and expectations from the two categories.

The Person

In the Zambian social work setting the problem solver was primarily the social worker. His characteristics are quite different from the problem solvers found in the indigenous system. The social worker had no informal contacts with his clients. His only contact was by virtue of his position in the agency.

This is a definite contrast to the indigenous pattern where the problem solver was a member of the community with whom there had been continuous and close contact. In the village scene he might even have been a relative. Thus the social worker was an unknown entity to the client.

As a consequence, the worker's authority had not been ratified by the community through earlier approval or frequent use as was the case for a headman. A position in a government agency does ensure some authority primarily because of the power to enforce government regulations. But this is not the same as the respect and authority that is granted to the headman in the indigenous system whose experience and wisdom is recognised by the community. Furthermore, the social worker was not part of a structure that grants authority to certain positions because of the prominence of the role to be played by the person in that position.

No doubt within the social work profession there is an assumption that authority arises from the education, training and professional experience of each worker. Most educated and literate communities would grant authority on such bases. The majority of Zambian clients respect educated people for their economic success but do not necessarily attribute particular wisdom to them. Thus, even if education and training were recognised by the sampled community, the authority thereby granted would still be very limited. This limitation would be intensified by the fact that in the sampled agency, although all four workers had completed secondary education, only one had professional social work training. Additionally, two of the three workers without professional training had less than one year of work experience. The seeming irrelevance of these factors to the clientele is evidenced in the case presented above by the fact that Mr. Banda was not informed of, nor did he show any particular interest in, Mrs. Zimba's education or professional experience.

However, the one aspect that Mr. Banda did notice was that Mrs.

Zimba was a woman. In the indigenous pattern the phenomenon of a woman problem solver never occurred. Rather, men predominate in problem solving. A grandmother might advise her grandchildren on the intimate details of marital life but otherwise a woman did not advise a man publicly. To the traditional mind, the fact that Mrs. Zimba was married and in her mid-thirties gave her a higher status than a secondary school graduate. Probably, had Mr. Banda been faced with a social worker that was a young female he would have left the agency without any interview at all.

The agency staff did give some consideration to the traditional requirement of age and experience but they ignored the sexually-based one. The two inexperienced workers were young men, in their early twenties, with no professional training. They indicated that they would be very hesitant to take on any type of marital counselling mostly because of their own lack of personal experience in marriage and the likelihood of the client's rejection of the service on this basis. However, they did not see any problem in exercising authority in the areas of probation, public assistance and child care. The help being dispensed in these cases was either material or custodial which did not require any particular counselling skill. Furthermore, the rules of the agency were very specific for these cases and the extent of the agency's legal authority was very definite. In this context the workers could fulfill their defined roles in confidence.

An area where the social workers' thinking was very different from that of the indigenous problem solver was the efficacy of indepen-dent decision making. In the case presented, Mrs. Zimba did not seek consultation on how to proceed with the case. She did attempt to involve

the clients in the decision making. However, there was no equivalent of the council of elders or the VPC. Mrs. Zimba did consider involving relatives but this was not as co-counsellors, as in the case of the headman and his elders, but rather as alternate resources. The pattern of the agency workers was as follows. If a case was deemed to centre upon a conflict that was primarily a question of custom they referred the matter back to the family elders. In such cases there was no further role for the worker either in collaboration or in follow-up. In all other cases the workers acted as individuals and independent problem solvers guided by social work methods and agency procedures.

The only exception to this rule of individual decision making on the part of the worker was in the case of children or juveniles when parents were recognised as the appropriate persons to be consulted. However, even here the parents' authority was more limited than in the indigenous system. Parents had no authority over their adult children and as children approached their puberty they were recognised as more and more deserving of a hearing. This was seen in a case of child custody between divorced parents. Two children, nine and twelve years of age, had been granted to the custody of their father but they were unhappy with the treatment from their stepmother and when they visited their own mother they refused to return to their father's home. The worker was of the opinion that children of this age should have the opportunity to express their preference and should not be forced to live in a home atmosphere to which they objected, especially when there was a choice.

The Process

In the context of the described problem definition and individual operation of the social worker, how did the process compare to that of the indigenous system? There were obvious differences arising out of the requirements of an institutionalised formal setting. [3] For example, meetings were by appointment, relatively short and in an office with no audience of fellow community members. However, the two processes had a common emphasis on verbal communication. In both it was obviously assumed that the best way to find a solution to a problem is by a verbal process in which the facts of the situation are verified and those responsible can find a basis for making their decision. Interviews, discussions and decision making formed part of this process in both systems. [4]

But within this similarity there was a difference. The teaching aspect which is the hallmark of the indigenous process was less emphasised in the social work system. The legal requirements for written reports for the court and the agency about people and family situations with which the worker had no personal knowledge meant that considerable time went into the mere completion of these documents. Establishment of facts even became an end in itself. It also meant that the worker regularly interrupted the statement of the client to ask him to come more directly to the point or even to direct the discussion completely. As a result, rather than giving a statement, as happens in the indigenous process, the client was merely answering the worker's questions.

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[3] The usual pattern of social change is from the informal to the formal and this, in itself, requires accommodation.

[4] See Table 7 in Appendix 2 for exact figures.

While this aspect of the client's communication with the problem
solver was more controlled than that in the indigenous system, the
interchange between the antagonists was less controlled. In the in-
digenous pattern the offender and the offended never talked directly
to each other but always addressed the headman and his councillors. If
anyone broke this rule he was immediately silenced. However, the social
workers' view was that involved parties should discuss matters between
themselves and come to some agreement. Unfortunately, although such
discussion was initiated, the workers seemed uncertain as to how to
control it and were quite upset when some others got angry or shouted
insults. The workers' reactions reflect the traditional view of the
damaging potential of words. Both the workers and the clients missed
the services of an audience to monitor the verbal exchanges during the
discussion and to implement the decisions afterwards. Actually, when
two different cultures interact, as in this case, there is no agreed-
upon code of behaviour.

When it came to decision making, the social work process varied
according to the type of problem under consideration. For cases of
probation and public assistance the social worker was the representative
of the state. As such he was responsible to make all the necessary
decisions such as whether or not the client was eligible for public
assistance or the juvenile's behaviour while on probation was acceptable.
Of course, there were fairly detailed rules to guide his decision but
the decision was basically his alone and required very little real
interaction with the client. Also, in the case of court reports on
young offenders the worker made fairly unilateral decisions as to their
recommendations to court, but here the final decisions rested with the

judge. He followed the recommendations or completely ignored them according to his view of the case.

On the other hand, for 'genuine interpersonal' problems there was an expectation that some consensus would be reached as to the best solution. This usually involved the adult participants in the case along with the social worker. This was the model being followed in 'The Dissatisfied Husband'. Here it met with no success at all. Mr. Banda did not expect this type of problem solving and refused to take part in it. His requests revealed his expectation of a more traditional and authoritarian approach. While in this case the worker seemed committed to a mutual decision making approach, even to the point of losing the case over it, there was some evidence that not only the clients but also the workers were ambivalent about the model. This ambivalence is exemplified by the following statements made by workers regarding clients, their expectations and their abilities:

> "He (the client) can't decide anything; he is just like
> a patient with an illness."

Here the implication was that the worker was justified in making all the decisions in a unilateral way. But, alternately, when another client was demanding that the worker tell the family what to do the worker commented:

> "I couldn't do that. The client comes to me expecting
> medicine as if I were a doctor."

It is interesting to note that neither the unilateral decision making by the social worker nor the mutual decision making involving the social worker and the client approximate the process in the indigenous mode which is communal and authoritarian at the same time. In fact, the dichotomy between the two processes represents a conflict for

Zambian social work. Both the client and the worker have grown up under the influence of the indigenous pattern. But the social worker is trained for, or at least exposed to, agency procedures that presuppose the operation of the classical social work model. This creates problems for both the worker and the client as they try to solve problems in the midst of this conflict. Conflicts are inevitable for the Zambian social work process because it is taking place in the midst of rapid social change. Alvin Toffler, in his book Future Shock, presents a systematic exploration of the "acceleration of change in our time" with its "personal and psychological as well as sociological consequences".[5] He predicts:

> Unless man quickly learns to control the rate of change in his personal affairs as well as in society at large, we are doomed to a massive adaptational breakdown. [6]

Toffler sees this "fire storm of change" as having engulfed western society for the past 300 years and predicts that rather than abating this storm is gathering force.[7]

If this is true for the industrialised western world, what of those parts of the world that have moved from the stone age to an urbanised industrialised age in one generation or less? Countries like Zambia must adapt to the general rapid change common to the whole world but, at the same time, must deal with profound economic changes brought about in one generation by the mining industry. Perhaps even more difficult to deal with are the social and psychological changes that come

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[5] Alvin Toffler, Future Shock: A Study of Mass Bewilderment in the Face of Accelerating Change (London: The Bodley Head, 1970), p. 4.

[6] Toffler, p. 5.

[7] Toffler, p. 11.

about as a result of these economic changes. This situation spawns changing social structures, diverse normative patterns and uncertainty as to future life patterns for each individual. Not surprisingly, stress and concern haunt those trying to operate within the system.

The Solution

It is hardly surprising that when social workers have to deal with complicated interpersonal problems in the midst of a system that in itself causes stress and concern they are often unsuccessful in solving the problems. The failure to find satisfactory solutions was all too evident from the workers' reports.[8] This was especially true for the cases like the Bandas, where mutual decision making was required. In such cases the workers perceived their goal as the re-establishment of good relations and the prevention of further negative consequences. As in the indigenous system, this goal seemed to be shared by both the worker and the client. For example, in the case of 'The Dissatisfied Husband' Mrs. Zimba's aim was to see Mr. and Mrs. Banda in a happy marital relationship. Indeed, Mr. and Mrs. Banda also saw this as desirable although their perceptions of how it could be achieved were different.

Generally, the workers were satisfied with the outcome of the 'depersonalised' cases. They saw their role as merely following the prescribed rules and in this they were reasonably successful and thus satisfied. In these cases of probation and public assistance, rules replaced any concern for the relationship between the client and his

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[8] See Table 11 in Appendix 2.

world or even the client and the worker. There was more concern for justice and legality than prevention or restoration of good relations.

When questioned further about the final outcome of even these 'successful' cases, the workers admitted to some concern. For example, in one of the five public assistance cases described the worker questioned the adequacy of his own solution - a travel warrant for a very disabled man. [9] Similarly, the probation period was recognised as having the potential for a significant learning experience but it was acknowledged that this was seldom achieved. When a court report went before a judge for his disposition, the worker often questioned if adequate consideration had been given to the report. If the judge did follow the recommendation of the worker there still might be concern as to whether the solution would be a lasting one.

Comparison of the details of the actual solutions adopted in the social work agency with those of the indigenous system reveals both similarity and difference. [10] A verbal decision regarding a change of behaviour in respect to another person or persons was common to both systems but this was the extent of their similarity. Their dissimilarity underlines the different social environments within which the two systems have developed. The aforementioned changing social system of

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[9] This man was unable to walk and only barely able to talk. He had been deposited on the front lawn of the agency by some unknown person(s). The social worker gave him a travel warrant to his home area but was unsure of the reception awaiting him at the other end. He then organised a ride to the bus station and an escort to get him onto the bus.

[10] See Tables 5 and 9 in Appendix 2 for exact figures.

modern urban Zambia has spawned a variety of norms and standards of
behaviour. This is a far cry from the relatively familiar and stable
norms of the traditional society into which a child is socialised
with the assurance that what he has learnt is adequate for his total
functioning in society. For example, in modern Zambia the norm of legal
marriage is monogamy but it is recognised that traditional marriage
practices allow polygamy. Mrs. Banda's rejection of her husband's
second wife was probably a reflection of her adoption of this new norm.
Mrs. Zimba as a modern educated woman no doubt personally supported the
idea of monogamy but had no guidelines as to which norm should operate
for the Bandas. Even if she had such a guideline, she had no authority
to influence either Mr. or Mrs. Banda to change their viewpoint. A
mutual decision regarding appropriate behaviour is very difficult to
make when, as in this case, the normative behaviour for that position
is not agreed upon. Mrs. Banda supported monogamy and Mr. Banda
supported polygamy.

Then, too, the worker did not perceive her role as one of education.
In 'The Dissatisfied Husband' Mrs. Zimba did not see the best solution
as one which would teach Mr. Banda that monogamy was better than poly-
gamy or vice versa for Mrs. Banda. In contrast, the problem solving
process in the indigenous setting would have stressed this goal. There
solutions that taught appropriate behaviour were considered the best
solutions.

Perhaps the greatest difference between the indigenous and social
work solutions was the result of the isolation of the social work process
from the community. This isolation was evident in its beginning stages
in the urban indigenous pattern where the problem solving process had

lost its corporate nature. [11] As a result there was no general community
pressure to enforce the decision. Some pressure might come from the
immediate family members or from the section leaders who were also
neighbours and, therefore, in a position to remind the offenders of
the expected behaviour. But this could in no way approximate the kind
of pressure exerted in a community of kins.

In the social work process this isolation from the community went
even further. The welfare office was located in the town centre away
from any major housing areas and interviews were normally conducted in
the offices located there. The worker had no geographical or social
connection with his clients. Thus, Mrs. Zimba was neither a relative
nor a neighbour of the Bandas. If it did happen that a neighbour or
relative became a client the case would likely be transferred to a
more 'unbiased' worker lest the relationship become non-professional!

The 'depersonalisation' of the clients on probation or those
seeking public assistance has already been discussed. In such cases
reciprocity was impossible. The client did not perceive his responsi-
bility to the community: it was not even visible. Similarly, the com-
munity did not feel its responsibility to the client. It has no access
to even the knowledge of his existence as a client. In 'genuine inter-
personal' cases where reciprocity might be demanded between the two
participants there was no wider community to provide a structure and
thus a wider societal meaning to the interaction between these two.
The isolated nature of the social work problem solving process thus
removed the possibility of community pressure as a means to ensure the

[11] See chapter four, part two, for the full discussion of this
isolation in the urban indigenous pattern.

application of the chosen solution.

This then is the model of social work presently being practised in Zambia. What remains to be examined is the classical model of social work which provided the prototype for the Zambian model. This will be done in chapter six. Chapter seven will suggest guidelines for the development of a relevant social work model for Zambia. Whatever the future of Zambian social work, care must be taken in adopting any new formula. Every new 'beetle' with a seeming promise of good things cannot be followed lest the present 'sweetness of life' be lost.

CHAPTER 6

Problem Solving in Classical Social Work

Kajila waku songo ya uta akwashilayo mukwenu.

*The bird sitting on your gun must be shot by
your fellow hunter.*

This proverb reveals that in Luvale thinking problems are ac-
cepted as common to the human experience. Furthermore, it is not a
sign of weakness but rather a normal expectation that one should seek
the help of another to solve those problems. In chapter four the role
of the problem solver was described in detail and references were made
to other studies indicating the commonality of the problem solving
pattern with the majority of other Zambian tribal groups. However,
chapter five revealed the frustration and conflicts of the Zambian
social workers trying to be problem solvers.

One identified source of this frustration was the foreignness
of the classical social work model. This model can be described as
foreign only in its application to a non-western situation. In other
words, it has a western bias. It is not foreign in its application to
the major populations of the United States and Britain and other
western countries. But it is foreign in the Zambian context. Some
western authors have even expressed their awareness of this bias.
Boehm[1] states:

> The (social work) values listed here are thought to be
> compatible with those held in the culture of the United
> States and Canada. They express more specifically such
> widely held values of democratic society as the worth of

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[1] Werner W. Boehm, Objectives of the Social Work Curriculum of the
Future, Vol. 1 (New York: Council on Social Work Education, 1959)
p. 43.

the individual, the inherent dignity of the human person,
society's responsibility for individual welfare and the
individual's responsibility for contributing to the
common good. (Emphasis added)

Similarly, Eileen Younghusband sets the context for her social work

model firmly in the western world:

The present volume includes articles which are directly
concerned with cultural and ethical values, or with in-
creased understanding of people whose behaviour is
pathological in relation to western value systems. 2/
(Emphasis added)

There is no claim intended here that these values are unique to the

western world. In fact, due recognition has been given to the middle-

eastern values (Hebrew, Roman, Greek and Christian) that have been

adopted by social work. [3] But most writers insist that social work

must sufficiently reflect the values of the society in which it works

in order to maintain the support of the general public and to facili-

tate contact and understanding with its client population. In this

light it is correct for western social work to have a western bias.

But by the same token Zambian social work should have a Zambian bias.

However, no unique Zambian model of social work has yet been identified.

Nor, for that matter, has any Third World country in Africa or outside

taken such initiative.

The Zambian social work practice is the result of an historical

process whereby a western model of social work was presented without

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[2] Eileen Younghusband, Social Work and Social Values: Readings in
Social Work, Vol. III (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1967),
preface.

[3] Gordon Hamilton, Theory and Practice of Social Casework, 2nd
edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), p. 7.

an alternative. It was eventually applied with minor adaptations.
These adaptations seem to have been made unconsciously. Certainly, no
effort has been made to delineate what they are. The sources of the
adopted model were two-fold. Britain was the colonial power at the
time of the establishment of most of the present-day social services.
As such it influenced not only the general philosophical view about
social welfare but also the structure and programmes of the various
agencies. America has had its influence in a more indirect, but never-
theless significant, way through various educational programmes, con-
sultancy services and direct voluntary service agencies. With this
history in mind the characteristics of classical social work are
verified in this thesis from the professional social work literature
of Britain and United States.

The parameters of this examination of classical social work
remain those set out in chapter one; namely, assumptions, values and
practices tenable with a generic problem solving model of social work.
For ease of comparison, the format used will follow that used for the
indigenous pattern and Zambian social work model: The Problem, The
Person, The Process and The Solution. However, some background and
general introduction will first be presented, assumptions and context,
to add depth to the understanding of the classical pattern.

Assumptions

Social work intervention, like all human action, is basically
influenced by the view of man held by the profession. Social work
views man as being intrinsically valuable in and of himself apart from

any particular achievement or position that might be his. Biestek
refers to the client's "innate dignity and personal worth" and this
theme remains constant throughout social work literature. [4] However,
generally in this literature man's value is expressed in terms that
stress individuality. Compton and Galaway identify the social work
relationship as including knowing, individualisation and trust. They
define individualisation as follows:

> Individualization means the capacity to see the person
> as a unique human being with distinctive feeling, thoughts
> and experiences. The individual must be differentiated
> from all others, including ourselves. We must not make
> assumptions about others based on generalized notions
> about a group, a class, or a race, although there is need
> to appreciate and understand the manner in which race, class
> and sex influence client transactions. [5]

However, in Zambian terms such individualisation isolates man from his
ancestors, descendants and even his immediate social circle. He is
defined only in his common life with the whole human race and therein
lies his value.

Another assumption that social work makes about the nature of man
is that he is capable of change or action in a positive direction. A
corollary to this is that society can agree to some extent on what is,
in fact, a positive direction. Social work's acceptance of society's
valuation fulfils the general requirement that social work reflects
society's values but it also postulates the possibility that these

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[4] Felix P. Biestek, The Casework Relationship (Chicago: Loyola
University Press, 1957), p. 72.

[5] Beulah Roberts Compton and Burt Galaway, Social Work Process
(Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1975), p. 154.

standards may change from one situation to another. As for man's
capacity to change, social work accepts a variety of explanations of
the basis for this capacity. There are the extremes of the unconscious
basis and the environmental basis. [6] But the problem solving model
puts emphasis on the capacity of man's own conscious decision making
to elicit change, especially when supported by the social, political
and economic environment.

Social work enjoins a moral responsibility on every man and on
society as a whole to intervene in problem situations on behalf of
those persons who for one reason or another are unable to act on their
own behalf. This injunction can be seen to have its basis in the
Hebraic-Christian tradition. Although the resultant helping behaviour
can be rationalised in terms of need theory, [7] it does seem true that,
in Brammer's words, "the love motive in the Greek *agape* sense of non-
erotic personal caring, is strong in helpers." [8] This particular in-
junction is perhaps one way to produce community as a balance to the
isolating effect of individualisation but this is difficult to achieve
in the bureaucratic setting which will be described shortly.

Muriel Pumphrey identifies the potential of social work inter-
vention as including both the speeding up of change in a positive dir-
ection and the preventing of change in a negative direction. She

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[6] See psychoanalytic theory and systems theory.

[7] This theory suggested that a helper's basic motivation is his own
need which can only be filled by taking that role.

[8] Lawrence M. Brammer, The Helping Relationship: Process and Skills
(Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1973), p. 23.

summarises her view with the following statement:

> In other words, 'helping' is a process of demonstrated
> validity and is a value to be respected in its own right. 9/

The characteristics of social work intervention can be identified as
basically two-fold. First, it is a rational human action based on
scientific knowledge and understanding. Indeed, social work's claim
to professional status is, in part, dependent on this well-established
knowledge base. This knowledge is admittedly largely borrowed from the
various social sciences, in particular psychology and sociology, but
it also includes a considerable amount of what might be called practice
wisdom. This wisdom has evolved in the context of social work practice
and, although not always carefully validated, it nevertheless plays a
significant role in guiding social work activity.

The rationality of social work intervention is especially em-
phasised in the problem solving model where both the client and the
worker are expected to substantiate their actions from a rational
point of view. Such an expectation tends to ignore the mystical and
spiritual aspects of life. They are considered non-scientific and,
therefore, have no place in a rational thought pattern. [10]

However, as is evident in the second characteristic of social
work intervention, rationality and scientific investigation are not
the only values. The second characteristic lays special emphasis on
the art of interpersonal relating which includes responding to the

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[9] Muriel W. Pumphrey, The Teaching of Values and Ethics in Social
Work Education, Vol. XIII (New York: Council on Social Work
Education, 1959), p. 44.

[10] This view may soon change with the popularising of the field of
para-psychology but mainline social work has as yet not been very
much influenced.

intuitive and feeling aspects of the relationship. This response is not necessarily dependent on knowledge of the behavioural sciences or specific skills training. A social work relationship is, in fact, seen to involve both rational and irrational elements.[11] As such it is the chief medium through which all social work intervention takes place. Relationships with other human beings have been identified as vital to human existence. In social work they are regarded as the major tool for effecting change or learning required in a problem situation. As Perlman says.

> the climate for the growth of human personality, the
> nutrient for its development, and the stimulus for its
> subtle adaptations are emotion-charged relationships
> with other human beings ... And throughout his life each
> person seeks (and feels secure only when he has found) a
> relationship with one or more human beings from which he
> can draw the nourishment of love or sustainment and the
> stimulus of interaction. This is why the casework
> process, like every other process intended to promote
> growth, must use relationships as its basic means. [12]/

A social work relationship is a professional relationship developed specifically for the purpose of the problem solving exercise. When the problem is solved the relationship ceases. In such a relationship there is no room for the social contact such as exists between kin, neighbours, or workmates. In fact, these more personal contacts would be considered an encouragement to bias and as such a hindrance to professionalism. The emphasis is on the psychological nature of the relationship - warmth, empathy, openness, regard and concreteness - rather

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[11] See Compton and Galaway, pp. 162-3, for an expansion of this idea.

[12] Helen Harris Perlman, Social Casework: A Problem Solving Process (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 64-5.

than on the physical or social nature of the relationship. [13]   It is

assumed that such positive characteristics can be achieved through

the skills of the worker in the context of the problem solving ex-

perience.

Context

There is also a physical context for the social work relation-

ship. It is not the village, community or family estate. Instead it

is the office, with its wider connections to the agency, institution

or even government. This context determines not only the nature of the

relationship but also the type of action that can be taken in the

problem solving process. As Compton and Galaway explain:

> Most social workers practice their profession within some
> sort of bureaucratic structure, and this structure in-
> evitably affects the work they do. [14]

Bureaucracy is an undeniable part of the modern world. No doubt it has

brought efficiency and fairness to many aspects of modern life, but it

has also brought severe limitations. These limitations arise out of

the nature of the bureaucratic structure itself. Some of these, taken

from Max Weber's definition of bureaucracy, are listed here for

illustrative purposes:

1. Clearly defined hierarchy of offices or positions
   each of which carries particular responsibilities
   and authority.

2. Selection of candidates on the basis of technical
   qualification.

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[13] See Brammer, pp. 29-35, for definitions of these characteristics.

[14] Compton and Galaway, Social Work Process, p. 472.

3. Existence of a body of rules and regulations which
   govern the performance of official roles.

4. A career structure which involves security of
   tenure provided these roles are performed efficiently. 15/

Social work performed in this context is impersonal with no room
for reciprocity. It is isolated with no direct involvement with the
total social order or even with a particular community. It is in-
flexible, with major emphasis being placed on following the rules and
maintaining efficiency. Justice and legality are the overruling prin-
ciples guiding the practice.

A very clear example of the limitations of bureaucratic structure
on social work endeavour was the treatment given to public assistance
cases described in chapter five. Impersonality, isolation and in-
flexibility were all evident. Rules were followed and the requirement
of the agency were met. Although the workers did not express concern
about this experience in relation to public assistance cases, they did
express concern when they tried to deal with other types of cases that
they regarded as requiring more personalisation, involvement and
flexibility in the treatment plan.

The Problem

Classical social work deals with all types of problems where social
functioning is in some way deficient. Such deficiency usually makes it-
self evident in interpersonal conflict. Broadly speaking, social work's
goal is to reinstate adequate functioning. Schwartz describes this as

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15 Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, English
   translation (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 333-4.

mediating "the process through which the individual and his society
reach out for each other through a mutual need for self-fulfillment."[16]
This goal is not specific because in a modern society with a wide
spectrum of accepted norms even society's expectations have to be
determined individually. Furthermore, social work stresses the client's
right to interpret his own situation and choose his own goals.

The social worker does have the mediating role just mentioned.
His more objective view of the problem and of the client struggling
with the problem can provide the necessary information to facilitate
the acquisition of insight on the part of the client. Such insight is
deemed but one step from the solution. Therefore, the establishment
of facts and their subsequent interpretation takes precedence over
other goals.

Social work has recognised the possibility of conflict between
the client and society. Schwartz speaks of the need to find 'common
ground' between them.[17] There is also recognition of possible dis-
agreement between the worker and the client as to the identification
of problems. This is often presented in the literature as the difference
between the 'presenting problem' and the 'actual problem'. But again
'common ground' is necessary if there is to be progress made towards
a solution. This 'common ground' is considered obtainable for both
client and worker from the clarification of the facts of the situation.

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[16] William Schwartz, "The Social Worker in the Group" in Compton
and Galaway, p. 24.

[17] Schwartz, p. 10.

The Person

A social worker is assigned the role of enabling the problem
solving process in classical social work. The social context of his
operation is western-world view with its values of individual achieve-
ment (in education, wealth, position and power). Here there is little
room for consideration of age, sex or even ascribed position. In
theory, the social worker's authority is considered to vary according
to his professional competence. However, it is recognised that, in
the bureaucratic structure, authority varies according to the office
held and a promotion to a higher position is not always prompted by
an increase in professional competence. Thus, there are situations in
which authority is more related to position than competence. Ideally
the worker's authority is a direct result of his knowledge and skill
in human relations because these factors are believed to increase
competence. In the words of Harleigh Trecker:

> The way in which the worker gives help to the group
> is all important. The quality of his work is influenced
> by what he brings to the group situation in the way of
> experience, knowledge, understanding and skill. [18]

This emphasis on achievement rather than ascription caters for
the modern phenomena of mobility and urbanisation. Authority based on
ascribed characteristics is incongruous to the assumptions of classical
social work that the problem solver will be a stranger to the client,
unkown and unrelated. He takes his position vis-a-vis the client as a

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[18] Harleigh B. Trecker, Social Group Work: Principles and Practices
(New York: Association Press, 1955), p. 27.

representative of the impersonal community or state. Mrs. Zimba of
chapter five fulfilled this requirement in regard to the Bandas.
However, it is notable that she did see relatives as potential problem
solvers albeit outside the social work profession.

The Process

The classical social work process is essentially a verbal ex-
change interspersed with rational thought between client and worker.
It is directed towards clarification of the problem situation with a
view to finding an appropriate solution. The problem solving model of
social work presents the opportunity for client's learning or perhaps
for re-learning of behaviour patterns. But within this opportunity
social work is committed to ensuring that the client "does participate
in his own socialization."[19]   Client self-determination is thus a
major principle of the process. Compton and Galaway have so beautifully
and succinctly stated:

> The expertise of the social worker lies less in the
> substantive areas of knowing what is best for the client
> and more in the process area of assisting clients in
> developing alternatives for themselves, making a decision
> among the alternatives and implementing the decision. [20]/

This does not mean that the worker has no influence on the deci-
sions made. In fact, this assistance rendered by the social worker may
take the form of education or even direct guidance. As such it reflects
the didactic aspects of the indigenous problem solving process where

[19] Hamilton, p. 8.

[20] Compton and Galaway, p. 110.

the problem solver out of his own knowledge and experience advises
the participants. Social workers do have, in Charlotte Towle's terms,
"a valid concern with directing people's attention to the most desir-
able alternatives." [21] But, on the other hand, when the goal of
assistance is client self-determination, as just stated, there is a
dilemma unknown in the indigenous system of balancing the goal with
the means. Eileen Younghusband even refers to client self-determination
as a very 'troublesome principle' and comments as follows:

> There are few things harder to do than to restrain one-
> self from subtly dominating other people, particularly
> so when it seems so obvious to us that we could lead their
> lives so much better than they can themselves! [22]

This particular principle was evident in the Zambian social work
sample, especially in the cases of 'genuine interpersonal' problems.
In fact, it was the application of this principle that upset Mr. Banda
in 'The Dissatisfied Husband'. He wanted the worker to determine the
solution as a husband would. However, in the more 'depersonalised'
cases this principle was not followed. The worker merely applied the
rules laid down by the agency. But even here the worker did not deny the
individual's responsibility for his behaviour. There was evidently an
underlying expectation that persons accept the responsibility assigned
to them by society. The phenomenon witnessed in the socialisation of
the traditional society [23] in which both the individual and his authority
figures accept joint responsiblity for the 'education for living', could

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[21] Charlotte Towle, Common Human Needs (New York: National Association
of Social Workers, 1965), p. 26.

[22] Younghusband, p. 25.

[23] See chapter three.

be seen as basic to the thinking of the Zambian social worker. By

comparison, the classical model of social work is somewhat different.

Joint responsibility is given to the client (as seen in the preceding

discussion of client self-determination) and also to the worker, but

not to the worker this time as an individual but rather more impersonally

as a representative of the profession.

An interview situation involving the social worker and the client

is the primary medium for problem solving in classical social work. It

is within such interviews that the relationship is established, facts

regarding the problem are identified and a decision is reached as to

how to deal with the problem. There is a heavy responsibility placed on

the social worker to listen and observe, as well as to formulate clear

questions, and control the communication.[24] This assumes a high level

of competence as well as self-confidence on the part of the worker. But

perhaps the load for the client is even more formidable, particularly

considering the fact that the client is already suffering from the

burden of an unsolved problem. This burden may inhibit the client's

ability to think clearly. He may not even have sufficient psychic energy

left to apply to the problem solving process. Problems of long standing

can sap not only the energy to engage in the process but also the

motivation to do so.

Even the clients that are able and ready to participate in the

process may have difficulty in accepting another social work assumption

- that individual decision making is an acceptable ideal. Rennison calls

[24] G.A. Rennison, We Live Among Strangers: A Sociology of the Welfare State (Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1970), p. 30.

this assumption into question for various sub-cultures in western society. But, George Foster, in his book Traditional Societies and Technological Change, raises a similar question in regard to many non-western communities of the developing world. He states:

> Individual decision making is such a part of American culture that it is hard to realize that this is not a world-wide culture pattern. 25/

In the sample of Zambian social work, interviews were used in all cases but the client decision making (individual or otherwise) was only encouraged for the 'genuine interpersonal' cases. This limitation on client decision making was made, therefore, on the basis of the nature of the solution, that is whether there was an agency rule to follow. The nature of the client, such as his ability to participate or even his expectation, was seemingly ignored. In the 'depersonalised' cases the absence of client participation meant that the relationship between the worker and the client was shallow and thus the demand for effective communication was limited. However, in the 'genuine interpersonal' cases client participation was desired; therefore, a deep relationship and effective communication was required. But such a relationship or communication was not achieved as evidenced by the workers' own descriptions of the interviews and their unsuccessful outcomes.

Classical social work describes the client-worker relationship with the following words and phrases: open, accepting, non-condemnatory, genuine and congruent. It is seen to involve frank discussion as well as free expression of feelings. This freedom of exchange is viewed as a

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25 George Foster, Traditional Societies and Technological Change (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1973), p. 118.

two-way process. Lawrence Brammer emphasises the mutuality of this
process in the following statement:

> One of the principal goals in the beginning of the
> helping relationship is to encourage the helpee to dis-
> close his thoughts and feelings freely to the helper.
> This self-disclosure is related to the helper's open-
> ness, since he must be willing to reveal where he is in
> reference to the helpee in an honest way. 26/

This same feature of openness and mutual disclosure is encouraged not
only between worker and client but also between clients sharing mutual
problems.

However, as indicated, this freedom of communication was not
achieved in the Zambian practice. A traditional society is very circum-
scribed in terms of what one is allowed to express. This resistance to
open communication may be a reflection of this traditional pattern.
On the other hand, both worker and client were personally dealing with
considerable psychological conflict from their very involvement in this
'foreign' process. That may have sapped the high level of psychic
energy required in a relationship characterised by open communication.

The Solution

The lack of circumscription in the society in which classical
social work is expected to operate is evident in the solutions that
are possible. Social work operating in such a heterogeneous society is
open to a variety of definitions of a problem, sees its role as under-
standing rather than condemning, and allows for a wide spectrum of
solutions. Because so few of the 'genuine interpersonal' cases were

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26 Brammer, p.32.

solved in the Zambian social work setting, it is difficult to assess
how open the system was to a variety of solutions. However, the workers
did at least recognise the difference between traditional and modern
life styles. An example of this was Mrs. Zimba's acceptance of either
monogamy or polygamy as possible for the Bandas. But in the 'depersona-
lised' cases the solutions were by agency rule very limited. For
example, either an allowance was paid or not, according to whether
the worker perceived the client as truly destitute or not.

Social work's major interest in social functioning is seen in its
ultimate goal of the restoration of good social relationships. Kenneth
Pray has been quoted as saying:

> Social work is never primarily concerned with the
> separate, inner personal life or development of the in-
> dividual as such, but always with his relation to the
> outer social realities in which he is involved. Even in
> social casework - and still more obviously in social
> group work or community work - the criterion of effective-
> ness of its service is not what kind of person this indi-
> vidual in himself has come to be but how he is relating
> himself to the values and responsibilities these relation-
> ships hold for him. 27/

The Zambian social workers evidently shared this goal. They defined their
failures with the 'genuine' cases as ones in which people were in dis-
agreement, unhappy with each other, and not fulfilling each others' ex-
pectations. Even in the 'depersonalised' cases they recognised a better
job could have been done if there had been positive growth in personal
relationships rather than simply the rather negative prevention of crime
and destitution.

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27 Helen A. Phillips, Essentials of Social Group Work Skill (New
York: Association Press, 1967), p. 143.

The restoration of good social relationships in classical social work is a function of the insight gained or the decisions made in the problem solving process and of the experience of the process itself. In other words, the restoration may result from 'content' or from a 'process'. Usually both are involved to some degree but one may be more emphasised than another in a particular situation. This is evident in Spergel's definition of the goals pertaining to various types of community workers:

1. The enabler, by definition, is concerned with achieving goals of maintenance and social growth ... He may at times be so much concerned with his process mission that the tasks of community problem solving are given secondary importance.

2. The advocate is concerned with goals of social change, through the legitimized challenge of established institutional patterns ... rather than with general task or process goals.

3. The organizer proposes social change goals which must be achieved as soon as possible ... but grass-roots participation, often on a mass conflict basis, may be a major instrument.

4. The developer aims mainly at a series of specific process objectives directed to social stability. The achievement of the specific task goal may be less important than simply getting people to work together effectively on very limited projects. 28/

It is difficult to analyse solutions that never occurred in the sampled cases. However, the social workers did value the social work mutual decision making process as a means to achieve good social relationships. (Admittedly, they did not think it was the only means as they were willing to hand over to the traditional problem solvers for

28 Irving A. Spergel, Community Problem Solving: The Delinquency Example (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 77-88.

matters regarded as traditionally determined.) But from general impressions they valued the process as a means to the desired goal rather than as a goal itself. This valuation on their part does not eliminate their practice from being professional social work. From Spergel's work just quoted it is evident that such emphasis is justified. But one might question if an agency is too inflexible if it maintains the same emphasis for all types of cases. Again, Spergel's work suggests that different types of cases require different emphases.

This then is the classical social work pattern for problem solving, interspersed with references to its application in the Zambian social work scene. No profession ever succeeds in following its ideals completely but the rather major adaptations made in the Zambian context suggest something more than the minor adjustments required in the move from theory to practice. In fact, the Zambian social workers were trying to cope with the foreign bias of classical social work mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Despite their efforts, failure and frustrations were experienced. Adaptations observed in the practice were not conscious, codified or consistent. In many cases they were not successfully meshed with the social context in which they had to operate.

An old social work maxim states: "Begin where the client is."[29] In Zambia the client is a traditional man or one in the midst of a change from traditional to modern. His social background must be recognised including the problem solving pattern to which he is

[29] Annette Garrett, Interviewing: Its Principles and Methods (New York: Family Service Association of America, 1942), p. 36.

accustomed, such as the one presented in chapters three and four.
Starting where the client is in problem solving means starting with
this indigenous model and building the social work model on it.
Classical social work has validity as well where it reflects the
modern technological world inasmuch as that is the age into which
Zambia is moving. But those aspects of classical social work that
uniquely reflect western values should not be considered as automa-
tically valid for the Zambian situation. Chapter seven presents the
changes required in a classical model of social work if it is to be
a true development from the indigenous model. The result is con-
sidered a significant step towards a unique model of Zambian social
work.

CHAPTER 7

Toward Relevant Zambian Social Work:

Guidelines for Adaptation

Tuka lutwa kenda mutwke nyima.

Rebuke the future, not the past.

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Likinda lyapwile kusongo lila mukachi.

*The fishing trap which was at the end
is now in the middle.*

When Luvale villagers were questioned about their traditional
view of the future they always quoted this first proverb. In the
context of traditional thinking already analysed, this proverb ex-
presses the idea that the past is the valued and known reality while
the future is unknown and of doubtful or, at least, debatable value.
However, the proverb acknowledges the existence of the future and
recognises the possibility that the future can be influenced by human
activities.

The second proverb goes beyond this recognition of change to
an acceptance that change can and does take place in the course of
everyday life. A fishing trap placed at the edge of a river, with the
onset of the rains and the subsequent flooding of the river, may
soon be found in the middle of the river. Thus, there is a basis for
acceptance of change even in a traditional society such as the Luvale.
However, this does not deny that any change will meet with initial
scepticism until its value can be proven and its potential for harm
can be shown to be negligible. This acceptance of the possibility of
change should act as a basis for engaging the indigenous problem

solving process in an exercise of adaptation to meet the demands of modern social problems. This openness to adaptation was established for classical social work in the last chapter from the maxim "begin where the client is", although the practice situation was recognised to often be inflexible and insensitive.

Before proceeding to a discussion of the guidelines for such adaptation, one area needs to be touched on briefly: that of the social change situation in which the whole adaptation process must take place. This has been elaborated on in terms of the psychological and social effects for individuals caught in this process without the cushioning of a model of social change to follow or even from which to gain some experience in how to deal with the process. However, the speed of change in the modern world is accelerating so fast that even the adjustments that various societies have made to cope with the new situation are usually in the nature of a reparation rather than a preparation. The ability to predict even the major trends of change is as yet a neonatal science. Therefore, one must caution that any adaptations that are suggested in this thesis will probably be deficient because the situation for which they are intended is always changing.

Deficiency will also be experienced because of the problem of 'lack of fit'. This problem, as explained in chapter one, occurs when a new process or structure is introduced into a situation in which it did not develop and for which it was never intended. It will also occur when one part of a system changes but another remains unchanged. As a result the two parts no longer fit one another and thus fail to produce a complete pattern. This problem of 'lack of fit' is not a new

one. It was recognized back in pre-industrial England by Francis

Bacon when he said:

> It is true that what is settled by custom though it
> be not good yet at least it is a fit; and those things
> which have long gone together are, as it were, con-
> federate with themselves; whereas new things piece not
> so well; but though they help by their utility, yet
> they trouble by their inconformity; besides, they are
> like strangers, more admired, and less favoured. 1/

If 'lack of fit' was a problem of the sixteenth century in

England, how much more a problem is it in 1980 for a developing

country! The adaptations suggested will be no panacea. There is no

illusion about the fact that the odds against a smooth pathway for

the ever-changing human condition in the world are very great. Never-

theless, a start must be made in the direction of developing workable

and worthwhile adaptations.

PRINCIPLES OF ADAPTATION

What are suitable guidelines for the adaptation of the social

work problem solving system that would render its intervention more

relevant and thus more helpful?

Professionally Valid

First, it must make itself professionally valid and acceptable

in new settings. As was demonstrated in an earlier chapter, social

work has developed credentials based on its accepted knowledge base

and its long experience in the business of helping. These credentials

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1 Richard Whately, Bacon's Essays with Annotations (New York: C.S.
  Francis & Co., 1857), p. 225.

must be created to fit new settings.

A step in the direction of such creation can be seen in the publication of the Association for Social Work Education in Africa (ASWEA). The Case Study of Social Development in Africa (1973) was an attempt to provide indigenous teaching material to meet the particular problem of African social work as here explained:

> This problem of transferability of western social work to the African social setting has in many instances resulted in producing a quality of manpower that does not adequately handle the development problems of the region which are not always in tune with the African countries because of their social, cultural as well as political history. 2/

The cases produced in this document are representative of African social work and their analysis is a beginning step towards the codification of new 'practice wisdom' suited to these settings. More of this needs to be done and scientific analysis of the emerging patterns needs to be carried to greater depths to create a basis for the development of not only substantive, but also formal, theory.

In this search for new and more fitting patterns, accepted social work practice should not be totally discarded. Within its wide spectrum it includes principles of practice evidently suited to an African setting. Strangely enough, these tend to be ignored when social work is exported to African countries. For instance, the family is of major importance to every African. This value finds a response in social work's support of the family as the chief socialising agent, in its

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2 Association for Social Work Education in Africa, The Case Study of Social Development in Africa (Addis Ababa, 1973), Introduction, p. 1.

growing preference for family therapy despite individuals being presented
as the problem, and even in a very recent suggestion that parents should
be included in the therapy of their adult children. [3] And yet African
social workers continue to practise as if neither their own cultural
expectations nor the wider spectrum of social work recognised the im-
portance of the family.

Socially Relevant

Secondly, any adaptation considered must be socially relevant.
The long accepted educational maxim "Start with the known and move to
the unknown" is based on the observed phenomenon that new material
presented in terms of already known material is more likely to be
grasped than new material presented as a separate entity. Some educa-
tionalists go even further, stating that learning has taken place when
new material has not only been understood but also 'processed' in the
sense of linking these new insights with problems under consideration
at the time. [4] This is a good maxim to follow in the engineering of
the learning required for the behaviour changes typical to social work
practice.

This idea of the introduction of change in the context of the
known also finds support in Toffler's futurology. In his analysis the
known is a means for maintaining sanity in the midst of rapid social
change. He explains:

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[3] Lee Headley, Adults and Their Parents in Family Therapy: A New
Direction in Treatment (New York: Plenum Publishing Corp., 1977).

[4] For many of these ideas on education, I am indebted to Virginia
Griffen, Lecturer, OISE, University of Toronto, whose course in
Adult Education I took in 1976.

> Given an elaborate ideology, Catholicism, Marxism, or
> whatever, we quickly recognize (or think we recognize)
> familiar elements in otherwise novel stimuli, and this
> puts us at ease. Indeed, ideologies may be regarded as
> large mental filing cabinets with vacant drawers or slots
> waiting to accept new data. For this reason, ideologies
> serve to reduce the intensity or frequency of the O.R.
> (orientation response). 5/

To ideologies he adds habits, environment and values as other ways
of maintaining contact with the past and the known and thereby creat-
ing a basis for dealing with the present and unknown.[6]

This same idea has been confirmed by the processes of change
documented in this thesis. The two principles, 'minimum conflict'
and 'maximum functionality', may be essentially parts of one prin-
ciple which might be labelled 'natural' change. In this process of
'natural' change the operation is not so much minimising the conflict
that is inherent in the many changes required for functional purposes.
Rather it is attempting to maintain a hold on the known as a means of
providing a cushion of self-confidence for dealing with the problems
inherent in accepting the new. Evidence gathered in this study suggests
that Zambian social work has not taken adequate measures to provide
this cushion. This deficiency seems even greater when Zambian social
work is viewed in juxtaposition to the indigenous system which appears
to provide means for adaptation 'naturally'.

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[5] Alvin Toffler, Future Shock: A Study of Mass Bewilderment in
the Face of Accelerating Change (London: The Bodley Head, 1970),
p. 299.

[6] Toffler, pp. 297-350.

Flexible and Adaptable

The third principle of adaptation is that, whatever system, model, or set of practices being applied in the new setting must, in itself, be flexible and adaptable. This principle is especially important because the standardised procedures common to bureaucratic settings (where social work is usually practised) have a tendency to very quickly become ossified and inflexible.

The social worker in a developing country has an obligation in term of ensuring flexibility, much heavier than that of his counterpart in the developed world. The latter deals with human problems resulting from industrialisation and urbanisation in the context of social change that has been taking place over a long period of time. But the former must add to the problem of rapid social change a consideration of the traditional social context which is at least recent history if not present reality for most of his clients. The degree of flexibility demanded by this added dimension is enormous, especially as uneven social change creates a 'lack of fit' problem in the life pattern of those affected. This 'lack of fit' problem complicates each attempt at adaptation but if continuous relevance is a priority for social work than continuous adaptation is a necessity. This demands models of social work that are flexible and adaptable, both in the day-to-day routine and in the principles and methods that govern their practice.

EXAMPLES OF ADAPTATION

Applying these three principles as guidelines for the adaptation of classical social work would produce a whole range of changes in every aspect of the problem solving process. The list and range of interpersonal problems which affect people is endless: so would be the list of adaptations. However, for the purpose of this study selection will be made of those adaptations that seem most obvious, in terms of failure or success in either the indigenous or social work pattern, and also those that are supported by the principles mentioned above. In discussing examples of adaptations, all three principles will be followed simultaneously. But some adaptations may be justified on the basis of only one principle. These will be included in the discussion provided that the other two principles are not thereby contravened. This discussion will take the format used in the earlier chapters where the various elements of the problem solving process are examined: The Problem, The Person, The Process, and The Solution.

The Problem

A clear definition of the problem is necessary before any work can be done towards solving it. In the social work problem solving model this is referred to as 'establishing the facts'. Both the client and the worker are involved and one could summarise the process by saying that success occurs only when the client and the worker reach a consensus about the nature and meaning of these facts. In the indigenous pattern there is the same desire for consensus but the process for reaching it is different: in the statement the participant presents the facts as he

sees them and in the subsequent discussion the elders attempt to mould
his thinking on the matter to conform to the community's perception.

One of the major problems in the modern Zambian changing scene
is that people from different cultural bases and value systems will
define problems differently. For example, in 'The Dissatisfied Husband'
Mr. and Mrs. Banda had very different views of the problem. The worker
may even have had a third view. No solution can be reached if partici-
pants are working on essentially 'different' problems. Even clarity
as to what the different views are would be a step in the right direc-
tion. Therefore, the first adaptation required is a new emphasis on
a process accepted in both systems, that of clear definition of the
problem.

This clarity is necessary not only to obtain the commitment of
the participants to work on the problem but also in terms of the choice
of the method of intervention. This is where the principle of flexibility
becomes operative. This flexibility must stem from a recognition of the
scope of modern problems both in number and variety. Modern urban Zambia
is an open social system and as such the possible combinations in any
of its problem situations are infinite. Even within this multiplicity
there are some guidelines within which flexibility in the choice of
social work model can operate. One of the most helpful of these was
presented recently in the classification system of Eugene Litwak. [7]
He categorises the spectrum of social problems, identifies the skills

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[7] Eugene Litwak, "Agency and Family Linkages in Providing Neighbourhood
Services". In D. Thursz and J. Vigilante (eds.), Reaching People:
The Structure of Neighborhood Services, Social Service Delivery
Systems, No. 3 (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications Inc., 1975), pp.
59-94.

required to meet each of these types of problems and then suggests
the nature of the system that could provide each of these skills. In
terms of skill his spectrum goes from uniform to non-uniform and in
terms of system it goes from rational bureaucratic structure to the
neighbourhood and family approaches.

In this example flexibility is shown in the choice of the over-
all method best suited to meet a particular problem. But even after a
method is chosen and is in the process of being employed there is need
for flexibility of action as allowed by the system. If this latitude
is not sufficient the system itself must be changed. The social worker
has the responsibility to engineer these changes even if he is not
involved in the actual intervention process.

Zambia has adopted Humanism - the man-centred philosophy - as its
guiding principle. It is considered to be an embodiment of the indi-
genous way of life and certainly this study bears out the importance
placed on 'man in his community' in the indigenous system. In this
system problems are inevitably defined as failures in fulfilling social
responsibilities. While classical social work defines problems as a
failure in social functioning and even uses a social relationship as
its major tool of intervention, it has been accused of impersonality.
This refers to a relationship that is characterised by indifference and
aloofness rather than the impersonality associated with professional
objectivity.[8] Zambian social work supports the indigenous emphasis on
social responsibility but it too is guilty of impersonality, particu-
larly in its application of 'rules' in the problem solving process.

[8] Beulah Roberts Compton and Burt Galaway, Social Work Processes
(Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1975), p. 493.

Thus, the second adaptation that is being suggested here is that
the 'humanising' characteristics of the indigenous system be applied
to the problem level of the social work system. The problem definition
must be personalised. Problems should not be identified as those to
which rules apply simply because they involve the anonymous state.
Rather, every problem should be defined in terms of the persons in-
volved. Instead of the juvenile offender facing the 'state' as his
accusor he meets the person or persons involved. Most juvenile
offences are, in fact, against property rather than against persons
but even they can be defined in the context of a human relationship
such as the juvenile against the owner or users of the property. This
personalised definition of the problem will lead to a more persona-
lised solution as well. These suggestions require the decentrali-
sation of services and even the delegation of authority to citizen
bodies. Obviously, these requirements are thorny issues in themselves
but their fulfillment would have a profound effect on humanising the
social work processes and in particular the problem situation. [9]

The Person

This humanising effort should not stop with the problem. The
first adaptation here suggests its application to the social worker.
Social work literature confirms the need for the worker to act out of
his total personhood, both as an individual and as a professional in

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[9] For further elaboration of these issues see Elizabeth Brooks and
Vukani G. Nyirenda, "Social Service Delivery in Zambia: The
Primary Group". In Thursz and Vigilante (eds.), pp. 141-56.

respect to both the client and himself. In the indigenous setting the
headman automatically acts as unified whole because his role as a
problem solver is indistinguishable from his role as an individual.
However, for the social worker this is not so. To remedy this the
social worker should carry out a two-fold operation in regard to his
client.

/ In order to show the kind of empathy, warmth and caring required
in a relationship, the worker must have adequate knowledge of his
client. This includes a general knowledge of prevailing customs,
social patterns, political issues and economic pressures, and also
the details of the problem situation of the particular client. In
recognition of a social context where each man is 'in community' the
worker must find his place in that community as well. This is best
accomplished if it is approached both physically and psychologically.
The geographic location of an office in the midst of the community to
be served symbolically represents its integration and practically
assures physical contact. But there is also need for some psycholo-
gical reinforcement of the validity of this place by a public pro-
gramme of introduction and endorsement by the accepted authority
figures – village elders or UNIP officials Again, physical symbolism
will serve to support this endorsement / Workers who participate openly
in general community activities will be accepted much sooner than those
who stand aloof. But even here time is required. For example, a young,
single, female worker must assume a secondary role until the appro-
priate authority has been granted to her by the community.

In respect to the worker himself there is need to purposefully
explore and then integrate himself as an individual and as a

professional. This need for the integration of the worker's personal and professional self is especially crucial for the Zambian worker who must operate in a situation of such rapid change and with people of such diverse backgrounds, values and expectations. One of the most difficult tasks he must face is how to sort out and to continue sorting out his own reactions to the situations and persons around him. Even his reactions to his own authority position and to client decision making needs to be dealt with. All this is necessary if he is going to serve his clients effectively both in his capacity as a counsellor to facilitate the problem solving process directly and as a role model to stimulate by example the client's personal integration.

- The second adaptation called for in regard to the problem solver is the increased use of community leaders in the problem solving process. Social work has always maintained the usefulness of 'significant others' at least as potential sources of information. And certainly the indigenous system shows the value of a communal problem solving effort. At the least, then, in the modern context community leaders should be used as consultants and advisors to the social workers in a manner similar to that of the VPC's relationship to the headman. A step further is to use primary groups as the major problem solvers with the social workers providing the consultancy service. [10]

The Process

Actually, humanising at the level of the problem and the person goes a long way towards ensuring the humanising of the process. This is

[10] See Brooks and Nyirenda; and Litwak, for further information on this use of the primary group.

obviously desirable. The same idea is contained in progressive social work's emphasis on 'debureaucratisation'. [11] This is usually described in terms of allowing the worker more flexibility in his activity with the client. His professional judgement is legitimised "in place of agency rules and regulations that prescribe conditions of the worker-client transaction." [12] In terms of the identified principles for adaptation, this flexibility and emphasis on professional judgement would be applauded. But the adaptation being advocated here goes beyond this to include a consideration of the social context. This includes the client's previous experience, expectations and stated preference in regard to the interventive method.

For most clients in Zambia the social context is firmly embedded in the indigenous setting where decisions are made by the leaders of the community. Social work's emphasis on professional judgement might be identified as similar but when it emphasises flexibility and client self-determination then, at least on the face of it, a marriage of the two systems seems impossible. However, the adaptation suggested in regard to the process is for the marriage of the means not the ends. Inasmuch as a particular mode of communication such as a proverb or social commentary is part of the client's previous experience and what he naturally expects of a problem solving process, he can accept the mode itself and apply his energies to the new tasks the worker is re- quiring of him (i.e. in decision making) and also to the adjustments he is called upon to make in both his thinking and his behaviour. The

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[11] Compton and Galaway, p. 492.

[12] Compton and Galaway, p. 497.

known mode provides the familiar element, the cushion to absorb the shocks of the new and untried. Thus, modes of communication used in the indigenous pattern can be used to further the effectiveness of the social work process.

For example, the mode of statements given by each of the participants used in the indigenous system is entirely acceptable to social work for establishing the presenting problem. The control over audience participation during the statement of each client accomplishes the same as the two separate interviews often used in social work. [13] Discussion is an appropriate follow-up to this in both systems. Granted, in social work the client is required to be much more involved in this discussion than he would be in the indigenous system but this can be accomplished gradually. Initially the discomfort caused by the unexpected pressure to participate could be dissipated by the worker's emphasis on the involvement of the consultants. Then the clients can be involved slowly, first with questions seeking clarification of facts, as happens in the indigenous system, and only later followed by direct requests for the verbalisation of the thinking process required in problem solving.

Similarly, in the final decision making and solution selection the worker can take a leading role verbally if that is what the client expects of him. But in order to be true to the social work principle of client self-determination the decision he expresses must be that suggested by the client's earlier statements. This basis for the decision should be made clear to the client. As in the indigenous

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[13] See 'The Dissatisfied Husband', chapter five, for an example of this.

system, feedback should be sought from all participants as to their acceptance or rejection of the decision.

Another adaptation that is required in the social work process is to recognise and allow for the methodological approaches of the various problem solvers. If one follows Litwak's categorisation of problems with its implications for skill requirements and agency structure,[14] then some problems will be handled entirely by the indigenous system obviously following the indigenous pattern. Those at the opposite end of the informal-formal skill-requirement-scale will be handled by a completely bureaucratic structure such as the one now handling the Zambian Provident Fund. Both of these extremes need to be recognised and steps taken to ensure that such resources are appropriately used. What perhaps presents more difficulty is a problem where a combination of problem solvers each with their own unique methodology is required. Social work combined with a bureaucratic approach demands a balancing of efficiency and effectiveness. The social work process combined with the indigenous process demands a balancing of formality and informality.

A prototype for combining the indigenous and the modern can be seen in the urban local courts where court advisors are experts on customary law and in this capacity advise the magistrate. Following this model a combination of the social work process and the indigenous process would be particularly effective at the level of prevention of problems and socialisation for living. Social workers are already involved in recreational youth programmes but many of these lack real

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[14] Litwak, in Thursz and Vigilante (eds.), pp. 59-94.

integration into the community or acceptance by it. On the other hand, indigenous leaders have the experience of their own socialisation process and of the teaching role they adopt in the problem solving process. A combination of the two would result in programmes that reflect, and prepare youth more appropriately for, community life.

The Solution

The problem, person and process just described and the solution now under discussion are interdependent parts of our system of problem solving. The choices made in the first three determine the possible choices of the solution. Therefore, the system so far described has several implications for the solution.

Flexibility is the operative principle. The new social workers themselves need to be prepared to accept a wide spectrum of 'solutions' for various social problems. In a situation of rapid change the client's viewpoint may change faster than the social worker's and the client's view is paramount when he has such direct involvement in decision making. Also, the involvement of the community either as consultants or as the main problem solvers means that the solution chosen may be more traditional, or even more modern, than the worker would have chosen.

The second adaptation refers to the statement already discussed: 'means are more important than ends'. In social work the experience of problem solving is considered more important than the solution actually chosen. This is confirmed by the description of a social worker as an enabler whose task is as follows:

> ... not to get this group to solve particular community
> problems but to learn to use an appropriate interactional
> process for attacking those problems. 15/

It also fits with the indigenous view of the problem solving process
as a learning experience. However, in the indigenous system certain
behaviour changes are sought as confirmation that this learning has
taken place. Also, in the social work system the learning may be the
immediate goal but in the long run the process that is so learned is
valued for its potential achievement of goals. Even in the short term,
goals are often sought as a confirmation that the process was worth
learning. Thus, in the adapted model, while learning the process will
always be important, goals have to be considered as well.

Perhaps one of the most important goals that should be stressed
in the adapted model is that of prevention of problems. This goal
receives support from both the indigenous and the social work systems.
The intent of this adaptation is merely a call for its re-emphasis.
The form that this preventive model takes could be as varied as the
creation of Ross' "meaningful functional communities" for the ensuring
of mental health and adequate social functioning, [16] or the authori-
tative advice giving of the indigenous leader to prevent further nega-
tive consequences. Social workers should not hesitate to encourage

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[15] Irving A. Spergel. "Organizing the Local Community: The Social
Stability Approach". In Fred M. Cox, John L. Ehrlich, Jack Rothman,
John E. Tropman (eds.), Strategies of Community Organization:
A Book of Readings (Itasca, Ill.: F.E. Peacock Publishers Inc.,
1974), p. 274.

[16] Murray G. Ross, Community Organization: Theory and Principles
(New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1955), p. 6.

indigenous leaders to take the advising role which is justified by their history and authority position.

The fourth adaptation that is suggested relative to the solution stage is for the adoption of suitable language both simple and symbolic. Of course, communication is important throughout the whole social work process if there is to be understanding between the worker and the client. But it is especially important where feedback and evaluation take place. This is, as it were, the last chance to make sure that communication has been clear. The indigenous system does not struggle with these same communication problems largely because of the unity of socio-cultural background of the problem solver and the participant. Moreover, it adds an enriching dimension to the process, namely symbolic language. Proverbs, myths and ceremonies have the effect of calling attention to unspoken values and clarifying the meaning or implication of other verbal communication that has taken place.

The incorporation of this symbolic language into the social work system will provide the 'familiar element' to foster the acceptance of the solution. It will also help to relate the solution to the total system of community life and values. But this incorporation will not be easy to achieve. Many professional workers will have to relearn traditional word patterns that they have suppressed from the consciousness as old-fashioned and out of keeping with their present standard of education. Nevertheless, the effort has its own rewards. Communication and consequently the social work relationship will be enriched by these expressions of a community's most deeply felt moral codes. The universal human values that are also reflected in them can be used to support the social work system. At a deeper level, social workers

from their understanding of human needs can be involved in the search for rituals that are meaningful to the modern situation. However, these cannot be manufactured. They must express, in Erich Fromm's words, "genuine shared common values." [17]

In a way, the solution is a sum-total of the whole procedure. If each of the parts is relevant to the social context in which it operates, then the solution will be relevant as well.

WIDER IMPLICATIONS

This thesis has presented the case for the adaptation of social work to render it relevant to the social context in Zambia. In the process of doing this several references have been made to studies done in other African countries. The question of wider applicability is thus raised. One could argue for a similarity of social context among African countries if one accepts the commonality of African culture proposed by such authors as Maquet. [18] A similar social context demands a similar process of adaptation to achieve a relevant social work process. Even where this commonality is not immediately apparent to the observer or by the members of the community, there is ample evidence of a common development experience. The patterns of urbanisation are similar and so are the attendant social problems that are being experienced.

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[17] Erich Fromm, Psychoanalysis and Religion (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 111.

[18] Jacques Maquet, The Cultural Unity of Black Africa (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972).

'In fact, the same could be said for most of the Third World.
Although their social contexts might be very different, their experiences in economic development and the process of urbanisation are common. In this respect the Third World countries have a shared difference from the developed world. Thus, they also share the need for an adaptive process whereby the western classical model of social work is revamped into a model reflecting the context in which it is to operate. The principles defined in this chapter might be helpful in this process. Whatever the model adopted in each of these countries, it should be professionally valid, socially relevant, flexible, and adaptable.

If such adaptation were embarked upon in each of these countries, eventually it might be possible to identify a core universal social work methodology that reflects universal human values.[19] However, what is more important is that each society and group in society would have available to it a helping process that is relevant to its particular situation. Social work methodology must meet this criteria if it is to maintain credibility or carry out its self-assigned task of helping people help themselves.

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[19] A step in this direction can be found in Herbert H. Aptekar,
An Inter-cultural Exploration: Universals and Differences in
Social Work Values, Function, and Practice (New York: Council on
Social Work Education, 1966).

A P P E N D I X 1

QUESTIONNAIRE

OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE

TEST (1) JULY 1978

INFORMANT Name:

Village:

SEX ____ M   AGE: ____ 16 - 25   Observers:
____ F   ____ 26 - 35
               ____ 36 - 45   _____
MARITAL STATUS: ____ 46 - 55
                 ____ 56 - 65   _____
____ single
____ married   ____ 66 and over
____ divorced
____ widowed

OCCUPATION: POSITION:

____ garden   ____ Headman
____ fishing   ____ Elder
____ farm   ____ Authority
____ business
____ government   EDUCATION _____
____ party   CHURCH   _____
____ church   PARTY   _____
____ student   EMPLOYMENT _____
____ none   VPC   _____
____ other _____ OTHER   _____

PROBLEM:

IDENTIFICATION ____ CLIENT ____ COMMON ____ CHOICE ____ SELF

____ neighbourhood quarrel   ____ other tribe
____ (and relative)   ____ formal group
____ marital   Government
____ parent-child   Party
____ other relative   Church
____ other village   Other

Description _____

ISSUE: property damage
      physical damage
      psychological damage
      social responsibility
      other _____

_____

PARTICIPANTS: (1, 2, 3, 4)

Sex: Male ____   Age: 0 - 5
     Female ____   6 - 15
                        16 - 25

Marital Status: 26 - 35
     single   36 - 45
     married   46 - 55
     divorced   56 - 65
     widowed   66 and over

Special Position:
     Chief   Authority   education
     Headman   church
     Elder   party
                                  employment/skill
                                other

WHAT HARM COMES FROM THIS PROBLEM?

Value
     good relations (regard, respect)
     peace
     tradition
     responsibility
     cooperation
     kinship
     avoid negative consequences
     other _____

_____

     I don't know

WHO IS INVOLVED IN SOLVING?

Nature of
Involvement   Why

Individuals quarreling (1)

                 (2)

                (1)   (2)

Family: husband

         wife

         father

         mother

         uncle (M.P.)

         aunt (M.P.)

         grandfather (M.P.)

         grandmother (M.P.)

         nephew   (B.S.)

         niece   (B.S.)

         brother   (O.Y.)

         sister   (O.Y.)

         m. cousin (M.P.)

         f. cousin (M.P.)

Villager:

         headman

         elder

         other (M.F.)

Other Village:

         elder

         doctor

         party

         government

         other

NATURE OF INVOLVEMENT   WHY?

A   request   A   related
B   information provision   B   authority   i. traditional
C   decision making   ii. legal
D   implementation   iii. political
E   other   iv. educational
F   I don't know   C   involved in case
                                    D   other
                                    E   I don't know

SOLUTION

    advice

    compensation (fine)

    reprimand

    court referral   Chief Council   local court

    other

PURPOSE

    maintain tradition   Reason for fine:

    control behaviour

    eliminate conflict

    solve problems   _____

    establish guilt

    restore good relations

    other

HOW DECISION REACHED

    interview   For Intercessors/

    discussion   Headmen

    decision by majority   Basis for decision:

    consensus

    decision by authority   _____

    other   _____

VALUE OF THIS WAY OF DECISION MAKING

    democracy

    education

    peace restored

    authority valued

    experience valued

    justice/right

    other

PUTTING SOLUTION INTO EFFECT

    discuss
    advise
    persuade
    reprimand
    threaten
    remind
    punish
    other

    Follow-up:

HOW IS THIS A BETTER WAY?

    democratic
    peaceful
    traditional
    successful
    other

APPENDIX I

OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

Observation - Problem Solving Session, July 1978

VILLAGE:

PERSONS IN ATTENDANCE: PART PLAYED

Individuals with quarrel (1)

(2)

Family:

husband

wife

father

mother

uncle (M.P.)

aunt (M.P.)

grandfather (M.P.)

grandmother (M.P.)

nephew   (B.S.)

niece   (B.S.)

brother   (O.Y.)

sister   (O.Y.)

m. cousin   (M.P.)

f. cousin   (M.P.)

Villager:

headman

elder

others (M.F.)

Other Village:

elder

diviner/doctor

party

government

other

A control	G gives advice
B ask questions	H threatens
C makes analytic statements	I reprimands
D quotes stories/proverbs	J gives information
E states precedent	K answers questions
F makes final decision	L other

PROBLEM

    neighbourhood quarrel (plus relative)

    marital

    parent-child

    other relative

    other village

    other tribe

    formal group: government

                    party

                    church

    other

ISSUE (identify)

    property

    physical

    psychological

    social

    other

SOLUTION

    advice

    compensation (fine)

    reprimand

    court referral

    other

HOW DECISION REACHED

    interview

    discussion

    decision by majority

    consensus

    decision by authority

    other

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLE/VALUE

    tradition

    precedence

    responsibility

    justice

    peace

    kinship

    democratic

    respect

    status

PUTTING SOLUTION INTO EFFECT

    discuss

    advise

    persuade

    reprimand

    threaten

    punish

ATMOSPHERE (Note individuals' position, education function)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX 2

TABLES 1 to 22

TABLE 1

<u>Participants in Problems Identified in Indigenous and Social Work</u>
<u>Problem Solving</u>.

Participants	Indigenous (N = 100)		Social Work (N = 20*)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Neighbour	29	29	-	-
Neal Relative	11	11	-	-
Husband-Wife	27	27	5	25
Parent-Child	29	29	3	15
Distant Relative	-	-	-	5
Other Tribe	1	1	-	-
Party	3	3	-	-
Government	-	-	13	65

* more than one type possible

TABLE 2

<u>Nature of Problems Identified in Indigenous and Social Work Problem</u>
<u>Solving</u>

Nature of Problem	Indigenous (N = 100*)		Social Work (N = 20*)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Property damage	11	11	13	65
Physical damage	33	33	2	10
Psychological damage	23	23	-	-
Failure in social responsibility	55	55	9	45
Other	2	2	-	-

* more than one nature possible

TABLE 3

Values Evident in Problem Identification in Indigenous and Social
Work Problem Solving

Values	Indigenous (N = 100*)		Social Work (N = 20*)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Good relations	49	49	1	5
Peace	20	20	-	-
Tradition	8	8	-	-
Responsibility	34	34	11	55
Cooperation	8	8	-	-
Kinship	13	13	5	25
Avoid negative consequences	41	41	13	65
Other	9	9	-	-

* more than one value possible

TABLE 4

Authority Figures and Their Involvement in Indigenous and Social Work Problem Solving

Authority Figure *	Total No. Pres.	Type of Involvement **										
		Request		Information Provision		Decision Making		Implementation		Present Only		Other
INDIGENOUS (based on 100 cases)		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No. %
Father	65	19	29	21	32	33	51	19	29	18	28	2 3
Mother	61	5	8	10	16	20	32	17	28	28	46	3 5
Brother	41	1	3	5	12	11	27	12	29	12	29	1 3
Uncle	64	4	6	4	6	36	56	19	30	24	38	3 5
Grandparent	39	-	-	2	5	22	56	16	41	11	28	- -
Family elder	12	6	50	1	8	10	83	7	58	-	-	- -
Headman	52	1	2	1	2	49	94	21	40	1	2	- -
VPC	51	-	-	-	-	49	96	18	35	-	-	2 4
Gov't, Court School	1	-	-	-	-	1	100	-	-	-	-	- -
Social Worker	-											
SOCIAL WORK (based on 20 cases)												
Father	6	1	17	5	83	1	17	-	-	1	17	- -
Mother	8	1	13	7	87	2	25	-	-	1	13	- -
Brother	3	-	-	3	100	1	33	-	-	-	-	- -
Uncle	1	-	-	1	100	1	100	-	-	-	-	- -
Grandparent	-											
Family elder	-											
Headman	-											
VPC	-											
Gov't, Court School	14	10	71	4	29	7	50	1	7	1	7	- -
Social Worker	20	-	-	-	-	13	65	4	20	-	-	6 30

* More than one authority figure possible

** More than one type of involvement possible

TABLE 5

Solutions Used in Indigenous and Social Work Problem Solving

Solutions	Indigenous (N = 100*)		Social Work (N = 20*)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Advice	44	44	4	20
Compensation	45	45	--	--
Reprimand	2	2	-	--
Court referral	3	3	1	5
Other	44	44	17	85

* More than one solution possible

TABLE 6

Purpose of Intervention in Indigenous and Social Work Problem Solving

Purpose of intervention	Indigenous (N = 100*)		Social Work (N = 20*)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Maintain tradition	19	19	-	-
Control behaviour	33	33	5	25
Eliminate conflict	25	25	1	5
Solve problems	8	8	-	--
Establish guilt	10	10	2	10
Restore good relations	33	33	6	30
Other	20	20	12	60

* More than one purpose possible

TABLE 7

Methods Used in Indigenous and Social Work Problem Solving

Method	Indigenous (N = 100*)		Social Work (N = 20*)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Interview (including statements)	61	61	20	100
Discussion	74	74	11	55
Decision by majority	9	9	-	-
by consensus	49	49	3	15
by authority figure	80	80	13	65
Other	10	10	4	20

* More than one method used

TABLE 8

Values of Methods Identified in Indigenous and Social Work Problem Solving

Values	Indigenous (N = 100*)		Social Work (N = 20*)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Democracy	20	20	2	10
Education	15	15	2	10
Peace restored	22	22	1	5
Authority valued	31	31	5	25
Experience valued	16	16	2	10
Justice	31	31	7	35
Other	26	26	11	55

* More than one value possible

TABLE 9

Methods of Enforcing Solution in Indigenous and Social Work Problem Solving

Method	Indigenous (N = 100*)		Social Work (N = 20*)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Discuss	7	7	1	5
Advise	67	67	13	65
Persuade	4	4	4	20
Reprimand	8	8	1	5
Threaten	15	15	-	-
Remind	-	-	-	-
Punish	5	5	-	-
Other	33	33	4	20

* More than one method possible

TABLE 10

Follow-up in Indigenous and Social Work Problem Solving

Follow-up	Indigenous (N = 100*)		Social Work (N = 20*)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Remind	9	9	-	-
Referral to higher authority	25	25	2	10
More authoritarian measure	12	12	-	-
Ritual (next step)	30	30	-	-
Return of fine (or part)	5	5	-	-
Ritual of completion	2	2	-	-
None	26	26	12	60
Other	9	9	7	35

* More than one follow-up possible

TABLE 11

Values of Enforcement and Follow-up Branches in Indigenous and
Social Work Problem Solving

Values	Indigenous (N = 100*)		Social Work (N = 20*)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Uncertain or no value	-	-	14	70
Democratic	2	2	1	5
Peaceful	28	28	-	-
Traditional	17	17	2	10
Successful	55	55	6	30
Other	43	43	5	20

* More than one value possible

TABLE 12

Nature of Problem Identified in Rural and Urban Indigenous Marital
Problem Solving

Nature of Problem	Rural (N = 15*)		Urban (N = 15*)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Property damage	1	7	1	7
Physical damage	3	20	2	13
Psychological damage	6	40	4	27
Failure in social responsibility	14	93	9	60
Other	-	-	-	-

* More than one nature of problem possible

TABLE 13

Values Evident in Problem Identification in Rural and Urban Indigenous
Marital Problem Solving

Values	Rural (N = 15*)		Urban (N = 15*)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Good relations	3	20	1	7
Peace	4	27	2	13
Tradition	2	13	-	-
Responsibility	9	60	4	27
Cooperation	-	-	-	-
Kinship	3	20	1	7
Avoid negative consequences	6	40	10	67
Other	5	33	-	-

* More than one value possible

TABLE 14

Authority Figures and Their Involvement in Rural and Urban Medical
Problem Solving

Authority Figure *		Type of Involvement **											
RURAL (based on 15 cases)	Total No. Pres.	Request		Information Provision		Decision Making		Implementation		Present Only		Other	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Father	11	-	-	-	-	3	27	4	36	6	55	-	-
Mother	8	-	-	-	-	2	25	4	50	4	50	-	-
Brother	3	-	-	-	-	1	33	1	33	1	33	-	-
Uncle	6	-	-	-	-	1	17	2	33	4	66	-	-
Grandparent	3	-	-	-	-	3	100	1	33	-	-	-	-
Family elder	3	-	-	-	-	3	100	3	100	-	-	-	-
Headman	7	-	-	-	-	7	100	7	100	-	-	-	-
VPC	8	-	-	-	-	8	100	5	62	-	-	1	13
Party	2	-	-	-	-	2	100	2	100	-	-	-	-
URBAN (based on 15 cases)													
Father	4	-	-	1	25	4	100	3	75	-	-	-	-
Mother	4	-	-	1	25	3	75	3	75	-	-	-	-
Brother	2	-	-	-	-	2	100	2	100	-	-	-	-
Uncle	1	-	-	-	-	1	100	1	100	-	-	-	-
Grandparent	1	-	-	-	-	1	100	1	100	-	-	-	-
Family elder	1	-	-	-	-	1	100	1	100	-	-	-	-
Headman	1	-	-	-	-	1	100	1	100	-	-	-	-
VPC	-												
Party	6	-	-	-	-	6	100	6	100	-	-	-	-

* More than one authority figure possible

** More than one type of involvement possible

TABLE 15

Solutions Used in Rural and Urban Indigenous Marital Problem Solving

Solutions	Rural (N = 15*)		Urban (N = 15*)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Advice	14	93	15	100
Compensation	2	13	4	27
Reprimand	-	-	-	-
Court referral	1	7	-	-
Other	-	-	1	7

* More than one solution possible

TABLE 16

Compensations Used in Rural and Urban Indigenous Marital Problem Solving

Compensation	Rural (N = 15)		Urban (N = 15)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Animal	1	7	-	-
Fowl	-	-	1	7
K 1-20	1	7	3	20
K21-100	3	20	-	-
Over K100	-	-	-	-
Other	-	-	-	-
Not applicable	10	67	11	73

TABLE 17

Purpose of Intervention in Rural and Urban Indigenous Marital Problem
Solving

Purpose of Intervention	Rural (N = 15*)		Urban (N = 15*)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Maintain tradition	1	7	1	7
Control behaviour	10	67	1	7
Eliminate conflict	1	7	-	-
Solve problems	-	-	-	-
Establish guilt	1	7	2	13
Restore good relations	5	33	12	80
Other	-	-	3	20

* More than one purpose possible

TABLE 18

Methods Used in Rural and Urban Indigenous Marital Problem Solving

Method	Rural (N = 15*)		Urban (N = 15*)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Interview (including statements)	15	100	15	100
Discussion	12	80	9	60
Decision by majority	2	13	2	13
by consensus	8	53	2	13
by authority figure	13	87	13	87
Other	1	7	-	-

* More than one method used

TABLE 19

Values of Methods Identified in Rural and Urban Indigenous Marital
Problem Solving

Values	Rural (N = 15*)		Urban (N = 15*)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Democracy	1	7	2	13
Education	1	7	1	7
Peace restored	4	27	4	27
Authority valued	7	47	8	53
Experience valued	2	13	3	20
Justice	3	20	6	40
Other	9	60	1	7

* More than one value possible

TABLE 20

Methods of Enforcing Solutions in Rural and Urban Indigenous Marital
Problem Solving

Methods	Rural (N = 15*)		Urban (N = 15*)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Discuss	-	-	-	-
Advise	15	100	15	100
Persuade	1	7	-	-
Reprimand	-	-	-	-
Threaten	1	7	1	7
Remind	-	-	-	-
Punish	-	-	-	-
Other	1	7	1	7

* More than one method possible

TABLE 21

Follow-up in Rural and Urban Indigenous Marital Problem Solving

Follow-up	Rural (N = 15*)		Urban (N = 15*)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Remind	5	33	3	20
Referral to higher authority	4	27	11	73
More authoritarian measure	2	13	1	7
Ritual (next step)	1	7	-	-
Return of fine (or gift)	-	-	-	-
Ritual of completion	-	-	-	-
None	-	-	2	13
Other	1	7	1	7

* More than one follow-up possible

TABLE 22

Values of Enforcement and Follow-up Identified in Rural and Urban Indigenous Marital Problem Solving

Values	Rural (N = 15*)		Urban (N = 15*)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Democratic	-	-	-	-
Peaceful	3	20	2	13
Traditional	7	47	1	7
Successful	9	60	4	27
Other	8	53	9	60

* More than one value possible

GLOSSARY OF LUNDA WORDS

cihande	ci (vi) hande	speech, tale, subject of conversation
cilolo	ci (vi) lolo	headman of village
cindele	ci (vi) ndele	civilised person, European
Kalunga	Ka (tu) lunga	God
manyongo	-- (ma) nyongo	A game of children which consists of making little grass huts and there imitating domestic activity
mukanda	mu (mi) kanda	puberty or circumcision camp (males)
mukula	mukula	leafy tree (Pterocarpus angolensis) maybe used for same purposes as mayombo
mayombo	mu (mi) yombo	a planted tree for a fetish
mombwi	mu (mi) bwi	bride-price
mwono	mu (mi) ono	breath, life, soul
ntami	li (ma) ntamu	important headman
wali	wali	girl's puberty ceremony;
wali	mu (wami) ali	girl segregated in puberty camp
cango	-- (ji) cango	palaver place or shed in centre of village, from where men meet and talk and judge crimes, etc.

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