22 June 1979

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USE OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
STRATEGIES TO INDUCE COMMON
WELFARE DECISIONS

By: Eleanor Price Ledogar

Submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Sociology at the
University of Zambia

22 June 1979
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ABSTRACT

The development of informal sector industries has been proposed as a method for coping with the growing problem of unemployment, underemployment and poverty in urban Zambia as in other parts of the world. Among the many questions raised by this approach is whether or not such development will favour private enterprise and the advancement of individuals who are already relatively advantaged rather than whole groups or communities and the less advantaged individuals among them.

An opportunity to test a communitarian approach to informal sector development presented itself in a new community of resettled families on the outskirts of Lusaka where a portion of land had been set aside for small industries. A set of specific Community Development strategies was employed in an effort to induce that community to develop the land by forming small industrial cooperatives that would create employment for the unemployed and underemployed members of the community itself.

The strategies used were classic Community Development ones: Community Development workers provided the residents with information from a previously conducted survey of community resources - skills, tools and equipment, and tried to induce them to use these resources in a communally beneficial way.
The working hypothesis was that the community, when presented with reasonably complete information about its own resources could be induced to make decisions about the use of those resources which would favour the common welfare rather than that of only a small number of already more advantaged individuals.

The inducement efforts failed and the hypothesis was not borne out. The community's decision was to use the land in a way that favoured individual enterprises. It expressed antipathy toward cooperatives based on previous experiences and showed little interest in helping the unemployed. It also insisted that food retailing be joined with small industries on the same piece of land.

In spite of the failure of the inducement efforts to achieve the specified goals, there were some positive outcomes to the exercise. The community participated fully and enthusiastically in both the survey and the decision-making process. It did not preclude the possibility for future cooperative business development, and its decision to combine the sites for food retailing and other economic activities was a sound one.

The implications of this decision, together with information gathered by the preliminary survey, are examined and discussed in so far as they shed light on informal sector development in Zambia and the general theory and practice of Community Development.
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Chapter I - Introduction

A. Unemployment, Underemployment and Poverty in Zambia

Of all the factors determining the quality of life for those Zambians who inhabit the "shanty compounds" of Lusaka and other urban areas perhaps the most dominant one is the lack of sufficient income to enjoy better housing, health and nutrition and better access to the standard of living enjoyed by their more privileged compatriots who live in the "low density" areas of the city.

This lack of sufficient income takes three forms: a) unemployment, b) underemployment and, c) full employment for a wage that is insufficient to meet the family's basic needs.

1. Unemployment

Unemployment is on the rise throughout Zambia. "In the period 1964 to 1976," according to Minister of Finance and Technical Cooperation Mr. Joseph Lumina, "total paid employment rose at an average annual rate of four per cent with most of the growth occurring in the years up to 1971 when total employment was 362,000. In 1976, the most recent year for which figures are available, total employment fell by nearly 20,000. Whereas in 1970, total paid employment was about 27 per cent of the labour force, in 1976 the proportion
had fallen to 24 per cent."\(^1\) In the Urban Areas total employment in the formal sector of the economy fell from 66.3% in 1971 to 59.6% in 1976.\(^2\)

Unemployment is more severe among women and youth than it is among male household heads. Surveys taken in Zambia's squatter settlements over the years have consistently shown a high rate of employment among male heads of household. In Lusaka's George Complex, for example, a vast area of more than 12,000 families, only 5.2% of household heads were unemployed in 1976.\(^3\)

But these same areas contain a growing number of unemployed youth. In 1976 nearly half the 56,000 population of George Complex was under 15 years of age.\(^4\) Only 40 per cent of all children of primary school age were actually attending primary school.\(^5\) For those fortunate enough to

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5. Ibid, p. 11.
attend primary school the chances of advancing to secondary school are very slim. Only 18 per cent of those who completed Grade 7 in 1978 throughout Zambia obtained a place in Form I.\(^6\) All of this means a rapidly expanding unskilled and semi-skilled labour force.

Among women, the employment rate is far lower than among men. Whereas in 1976 an estimated 88.3% of the male urban labour force in Zambia was employed the employment rate among the female urban labour force was only 48.5%.\(^7\) If the female labour force were expanded to include all those women who have been discouraged from actively seeking work for one reason or another, the female employment rate would actually be much lower.

2. **Underemployment**

There are no reliable figures on urban underemployment in Zambia. One study of George Complex in Lusaka arrives at a figure by categories of occupation. Based on the observation that underemployment appears most prevalent among piecework labourers, watch and radio repairers, street vendors, small grocers and women engaged in beer brewing, selling and

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prostitution, a rough estimate is arrived at whereby 11.4% of those employed are in fact underemployed. The concept of underemployment is notoriously difficult to quantify, but few observant witnesses of the activity and inactivity in the markets of Lusaka would dispute that underemployment exists.

3. Low Wages

Though, as we have already seen, the vast majority of household heads in the peri-urban settlements are employed, the wages they earn are frequently not sufficient to maintain their families adequately. In 1977 more than 40% of all households in Lusaka were earning less than K 70 per month. In the squatter areas, where the mean household size was 5.5, the proportion earning less than K 70 was 56.2%. The estimated poverty datum line for a family of 5 to 6 persons in Lusaka in April 1979, as arrived at in

8. Martin and Ledogar, Squatter Settlement, p. 43.

Appendix I of this dissertation, is K 77. Assuming some improvement in household incomes between 1977 and 1979 it is still safe to estimate that roughly half of the families in Lusaka's squatter areas are living below the poverty line.

It is this combination of unemployment, underemployment and low wages that suggests the need for generating new sources of income outside the formal wage sector of the urban economy.

B. Informal Sector

The informal sector has already become a major source of employment generation in urban Zambia.\(^\text{10}\) While formal sector

\(^{10}\) The terms "informal sector" and "small scale enterprise sector" as used in this dissertation refer to the same phenomenon. "Informal sector" is used when sociological or technological characteristics predominate, such as ease of entry, reliance on indigenous or recycled resources, labour intensive technology and the prevalence of skills acquired outside the formal school system, and freedom from many forms of central government control such as taxation and labour regulations. "Small scale enterprises" is more conveniently used when size alone is the determining factor. The enterprises envisaged in the case of this research are not likely to exceed 25 employees or a value of K 20,000 in fixed assets. Cf. International Labour Office, Employment Incomes and Equality, A Strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya, (Geneva 1972), p.6. Also, D. Todd, Draft Proposal (To the World Bank) for a Joint Study of Small Scale Enterprises in Lusaka Leading to Action Research Projects (Institute for African Studies, Urban Community Research Unit, Lusaka, December 1978).
employment has failed to keep pace with the expansion of the urban labour force, informal sector employment has been growing rapidly and taking up most of the slack. Informal sector employment from 1971 to 1976 grew by 12.5% a year among urban males and by 16.8% among urban females. In 1976, informal sector employment accounted for 22.5% of all urban employment in Zambia.11

It is not difficult to understand why the formal sector is having difficulty absorbing the growing labour force. The same phenomenon is occurring in many parts of the world. "If the manufacturing sector employs, say, 20 per cent of the country's labour force," observes Michael Todaro, "it would need to increase employment by 15 per cent just to absorb the increase in a total work force growing at 3 per cent per year....In fact, such industrial employment growth is virtually impossible to achieve in any economy."12 Estimates of the amount of capital required to create one job in Zambia's formal industrial sector range anywhere from K 7000 to

K 200,000.\textsuperscript{13} Thus, in Zambia, as well as in other parts of the world, the development of employment opportunities in the informal sector is coming to be seen as an important economic strategy. The International Labour Organization (ILO) has produced a number of studies on informal sector activities in recent years.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{13} The lower figure is based on Alistair Young, \textit{Industrial Diversification in Zambia}, (New York, Praeger, 1973), p. 232. The higher figure is based on a personal communication with Robin Fincham, Sociology Department, University of Zambia, September 1978.


The World Bank has also recently turned its attention in this direction. It has commissioned studies on the subject in Zambia,¹⁵ and is accepting proposals for such development.¹⁶ (During the past two years, the World Bank has added to the staff of its advisory mission to the GRZ an "expert" on small scale industry development.) The GRZ itself, as reported almost weekly in the Times of Zambia and the Zambia Daily Mail¹⁷ is stressing the necessity for such development. The Government is well aware that it alone cannot provide the necessary number of jobs within the formal sector and that citizens must help to alleviate the situation by creating employment opportunities through their own efforts.

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    27 January 1979, p. 1  
    6 February 1979, p. 1  
    12 February 1979, p. 1  
    9 March 1979, p. 1  
    12 March 1979, p. 1  
    19 March 1979, p. 3  
    29 March 1979, p. 5
Many efforts have been made over the last several decades to increase the income-producing capabilities of low-income groups. In addition to the World Bank, multinationals, the Ford Foundation and a number of smaller private agencies have all recognized the problem and tried to do something about it by various means - training programmes, setting up of credit facilities, capital grants, etc. Too often, however, these efforts have resulted in raising the income levels of only a small number of individuals within a group and the individuals who benefit are often those who were already somewhat better off than their fellows. Where conventional procedures for financing and land allocation are followed, those who already have something are better placed to take advantage of them than those who are poor and unemployed.

Whether the development of small scale industries within the informal sector is a viable development strategy has yet to be proved. There are some who think that the economy of the informal sector can only be as healthy as that of the formal sector, and that this approach will fail unless the overall economic structure is sound.¹⁸

Certainly the development of the informal sector cannot solve some of the basic structural problems of Zambia's economy. It can only be seen as a companion strategy to other efforts at the national level to reduce dependency on a single export commodity, develop the agricultural sector, reduce imports and develop domestic industry to a point where large scale and small scale enterprises can serve one another in productive ways. In the informal sector people develop skills and gain experience which can later be put to use in larger scale enterprises. Without a pool of managerial talent and skills to draw from, the larger scale industries cannot function.

Given the problem then of low incomes, unemployment and underemployment, and given the potential for dealing with them through informal sector development, the question arises, how can informal sector development be promoted and how can it be promoted in such a way that not only some individuals but whole groups benefit, and in particular their least advantaged members.

An opportunity to promote informal sector employment on a group basis presented itself when the organization with which the writer is affiliated, The American Friends Service Committee (hereafter referred to as AFSC) became involved in the development of a new community in Lusaka, Jack Extension.
C. The Jack Extension Resettlement Scheme

Many people in Lusaka's low-income areas lost their houses in the heavy rains of 1977/78. Lusaka City Council, (hereafter referred to as LCC) faced with an emergency, requested AFSC to assume management and community development responsibility for the resettlement of 200 of these families. The AFSC is an organization experienced in self-help housing projects and community development. It has been working in Zambia, at the request of the Government, since 1965.

AFSC agreed to the request in April of 1978. The Town Clerk acquired a plot of land adjacent to the recently upgraded settlement called Jack Compound and money was made available from a Presidential Emergency Fund for infrastructure and construction loans. In May the first group of families moved on site. The area became known as Jack Extension. According to the agreement between AFSC and LCC, AFSC was to assist the residents in building permanent, economical houses as quickly as possible. It was also to assist the residents with food production and the development of small scale industries.19

19. The text of the agreement between AFSC and LCC is contained in a Confidential Report of the Town Clerk to the Finance and General Purposes Committee of LCC, dated 6 April 1978. This report is on file in the Town Clerk's office.
D. The Plan to Develop Small Scale Industries

The hastily prepared site plan for Jack Extension included an area of approximately one hectare which was designated for "cottage industries." AFSC felt that it was important in any housing scheme to provide opportunities for generating additional income to the residents because new housing, even if assisted by loans, partially subsidized with infrastructure and built with self-help labour, still involves cost to the residents and places a new burden on the household budget. With this concern in mind, AFSC requested that the resettlement area contain not only space for housing but also some land for agricultural production and land for small industries.

Plans for the use of this cottage industry land were initially quite vague. It was intended from the beginning to consult the community and allow them to decide how best to use it. But there was one element on which the community was not consulted. The site plan, necessarily prepared before the community even existed, did not include any space for a food market. A food market was deliberately left out of the plan for several reasons. Jack Extension when completed would contain only about 1000 persons and this number was considered too small to support a market. The community of Jack, immediately adjacent, already had a partially completed
market which had been started a year and a half earlier and was not prospering. The AFSC staff believed that this Jack market, which some of them had helped to get started, was not doing well because it needed a larger population to support it and that the people of Jack Extension could help make the Jack market viable. Finally, it was felt that food selling as practiced by the majority of marketeers in the Lusaka compounds did not really generate much income for the sellers and did very little, if anything, to raise the overall productivity of the community. This decision to exclude a food market from the site plan, however rational, proved eventually to be contrary to the desires of the residents themselves and introduced a complicating factor into the outcome of this research.

Also intended from the planning stage, though never formally agreed with LCC, was that the land for small scale industries would be for the exclusive use of the Jack Extension residents. According to the normal Council procedures, the land would have been divided into plots by the Council’s planning office and after public advertisement, plots awarded by LCC vote to applicants from any part of the city as long as they met certain qualifications. The chief qualifications are that the applicants have the money available to build suitable premises, cover start-up costs and be able to pay for a licence. Only those in Jack Extension who
already had some capital, then, would have been able to apply for a plot and those most in need of an opportunity to make money would have been ineligible. Even for those in Jack Extension who had some money there would have been no guarantee that their applications would have been successful. Conceivably the Council could have ended up by awarding all plots to non-residents. After discussions with LCC officials about this plan to develop small scale industries, AFSC felt reasonably assured that if the community were able to formulate specific and realistic plans for the use of the designated area by residents themselves and were able to elicit the support of their local Councillor for these plans, the LCC would be flexible in the application of its normal procedures.

Implicit in this plan to have the cottage industry space developed by the community itself were three basic assumptions:

1. that a significant number of the residents of Jack Extension would have need for employment and/or additional income

2. that among community residents there would in fact exist a pool of skills sufficient to provide the necessary base for some small scale industries

3. that the unused or underutilized skills in the community either existed among the unemployed, underemployed and low-paid members themselves or that they could be harnessed in such a way as to benefit them.
Almost by definition, of course, the least advantaged members of the community have the least amount of capital for starting up a new enterprise. If the City Council was willing to waive the usual requirement that industrial land be advertised and awarded to the most qualified applicants from anywhere in town, it was not likely that it would approve giving the land to people who had no resources at all to get a business going.

The only way to start small enterprises, under such circumstances, seemed to be through some form of cooperatives whereby those most in need of employment or more lucrative employment would pool their skills and whatever small capital they might possess, look for a start-up loan from one of the banks or agencies interested in promoting small businesses and on that basis obtain formal approval from LCC for use of the land. Because of the interest displayed in recent years by government and international agencies in small industry development, it was felt that some kind of assistance would be forthcoming if resources could be pooled in a cooperative way.

The plan to develop the land on a cooperative basis thus appeared quite rational, but if it were to be a true community decision this plan would have to be presented to the community as a whole and someone would have to prepare the way by finding out if skills and other resources actually existed. The
situation seemed to lend itself to a classic Community Development approach to induce a common welfare decision through information feedback.

Thus out of the planning for the new community of Jack Extension and the collective thinking of the AFSC team (together with LCC officials) grew the need for some basic information gathering and the opportunity for research into the effectiveness of Community Development techniques. Four essential steps emerged:

1. obtain information about the community's needs and resources
2. share this information with the community
3. induce the community to take action using its own skills and assets to help its own unemployed and those who had need of increased incomes
4. try to convince the community that the best way to achieve this would be by developing cooperative industries.
Chapter II - Issues in Community Development

Implicit in the plan outlined at the end of the previous chapter is a specific strategy. It is a strategy that employs Community Development workers and makes use of two specific methods, information feedback and inducement. It is a plan to bring people together, to promote a common decision-making process for the welfare of the community as a whole, and especially for its economically disadvantaged members. It is a very localized strategy. The primary focus of action is within the small community of Jack Extension itself. The staff are prepared to serve as intermediaries between the community and the City Council or potential funding sources, but the essential impetus for development would be local self-help initiative.

This is a classic type of Community Development strategy. As such it has been the object of considerable discussion and criticism in the literature on community organization and social change over the past 20 years. This chapter will, first of all, define the essential terms and then discuss the validity of three key elements in the strategy adopted for small industry development in Jack Extension: the use of information feedback, the use of inducement and the appropriateness of local level action to induce common welfare decisions.
A. Definition of Terms

1. Community, Inducement, Common Welfare Decisions

A community, as used in this dissertation, is a group of families living in close physical proximity, with common lifestyles, aspirations and political organization (that of the United National Independence Party at Section level.) Further, the group is characterized by a clear identity and consciousness by reason of it being a specific resettlement scheme for 200 families all of which had lost their homes because of floods. Evidence for the group having a strong sense of its identity may be found in the fact that the people were opposed to becoming a part of the Party Branch already existing in the area and insisted on assuming separate Branch status.¹ They were eventually overruled but continued to consider themselves as a separate community in fact.

Inducement means persuasion by Community Development staff to make specific (common welfare) decisions. No element of coercion, physical, psychological or economic was intended or employed nor any specific incentive offered.

¹ A UNIP Branch consists of 8 or more Sections. A Section consists of 50 households.
The definition of common welfare is the definition that requires most explanation. It is explicitly recognized that definitions of common welfare will vary and it must be specifically defined in every instance.

According to Bertram Gross, "there can never be any broad agreement on the precise nature of national interest, the general welfare or the common good. These terms are meaningful only in so far as they refer to some integration of various interests of various interested groups and to different ways in which these many interests are satisfied."2 And, as Raymond Aron says discussing the ideas of Vilfredo Pareto as regards social utility, "it is defined only by a criterion arbitrarily chosen by the sociologist. To state the same idea in a different way, social utility is not a simple precise concept and becomes one only when the sociologist has specified exactly what meaning he is assigning to it."3


Decisions that favour the common welfare are understood in this dissertation to be decisions that favour:

a) an increase in the overall economic welfare of the community

b) substantial benefit to the least advantaged members of the community from any such increase in economic welfare

c) the preservation or promotion of community relationships that are egalitarian and cooperative rather than class-creating or exploitative.

Although not specifically defined in documents dealing with the Zambian philosophy of Humanism, it is felt that this definition contains the essential elements of a common welfare that are implicit in that philosophy. These elements are further discussed in Section D of this chapter.

Criteria, or indicators, for the assessment of whether or not the actual decision made by the community was in accord with this definition are discussed below in the Research Design, (Chapter III, p.46) and again in the Evaluation of the Outcome (Chapter V, p.88).

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The "least advantaged" members of the community are understood to be the unemployed or the underemployed. The underemployed are those who are either earning less than a living wage or the self-employed whose work does not produce sufficient income to meet their needs. The unemployed include not only those actively seeking work but also those who would seek it if it were available, especially the women mentioned below in Chapter IV, Section 7, p. 64.

"Already more advantaged" individuals refers to those individuals within the community who are already more prosperous and organized to capitalize on economic opportunity. Into this category would fall those who have savings sufficient to start a small business, those who have permanent employment with an income comfortably adequate to their needs, and those who have easy access to capital through formal or informal channels.

2. **Community Development**

The United Nations defines Community Development as "a process designed to create conditions of economic and social progress for the whole community with its active participation and the fullest reliance upon the community's initiative.... Used in a generic sense this term (Community Development) includes: a) physical improvements.... b) functional
activities.... c) community action involving group discussions, community analyses of local needs, the setting up of committees, the seeking of needed technical assistance and the selection and training of personnel.... Community Development implies the integration of two sets of forces making for human welfare, neither of which can do the job alone, (i) the opportunity and capacity for co-operation, self-help, ability to assimilate and adopt new ways of living that is at least latent in every human group; and (ii) the fund of techniques and tools in every social and economic field, drawn from world-wide experience and now in use or available to national governments and agencies.5

Community Development strategies then are simply those which promote this process and which make use of the two forces. As enumerated by the United Nations they can be based on one or a combination of the following methods:

1) methods of assessing community needs and planning around them
2) methods of communication, e.g., posters, radio, newspapers, etc.
3) methods of providing community facilities through self-help

4) methods of providing external assistance and developing multi-purpose programmes

5) methods of coordination of Community Development activities. 6

"No comparative studies are available on the relative superiority of one method over another or of the validity of some methods in particular circumstances. A trend can be discerned, however, towards greater emphasis on village level workers or community advisors... This trend seems to be based on the growing conviction that the methods of Community Development can be reduced to one central question, namely, the influence that a Community Development worker, whatever his specialization, can exert on individuals and groups to help them achieve some ultimate objectives." 7

The Community Development strategies used in this research combined the use of Community Development workers, the assessment of resources and community involvement in planning.

In the literature on Community Organization and Social Planning there are a number of different models or types of

6. Ibid., p. 76
7. Ibid., p. 96
approaches to community change. Warren distinguishes collaborative strategies, campaign strategies and contest strategies.\(^8\) Rothman distinguishes "three models of community organization practice," locality development, social planning and social action.\(^9\) Burke distinguishes education-therapy strategy, behavioral change strategy, cooptation and community power strategy.\(^{10}\) According to Perlman and Gurin, Community Development is "consonant with Rothman's locality development type of practice" and combines Burke's education-therapy strategy with his behavioral change strategy.\(^{11}\)

The approach adopted in the case of Jack Extension fits into these categories in the sense that it is an exercise in locality development rather than social planning or social action and utilizes a collaborative type of strategy rather

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than a campaign or contest strategy. It also no doubt utilizes what may be called education-therapy and behavioral change strategies, but these can be made more specific by saying that it combines information feedback with inducement.

B. Information Feedback as a Community Development Tool

Feeding back survey-obtained information into a social system falls within the tradition of "action-research" and it is one of the methods which is recognized for inducing social change within the general range of cooperative strategies. Chin and Benne say the action-research model was first used by Kurt Lewin, developed for use in educational settings by Stephen M. Corey and "most fully elaborated in relation to organizational development programs."¹²

Action-research as used here means the systematic gathering of information by or for a change agent from within the social system to be changed, and the subsequent feedback of that information to the system as a basis for decision making.

There is surprisingly little discussion in the literature on Community Development about the use of action-research.

Yet it is clearly appropriate to the general model of a collaborative, problem-solving Community Development strategy. For example, Perlman and Gurin affirm that "the stimulation of awareness of problems and of possibilities," is one of the basic elements of Community Development. However, they do not discuss specific ways of achieving this. Information has a place in some community problem solving models, and the importance of information as essential to effective citizen participation is affirmed by other authorities. But there is very little discussion of the effectiveness of actionresearch within the specific context of Community Development.

In the field of Organizational Development action-research has a mixed record. Lorsch and Lawrence report their own experience with this method. They say that it tends to confirm the view of Mann that "change processes organized around objective new social facts about one's own organizational


situation have more force for change than those organized around general principles of human behavior."\textsuperscript{16} On the other hand, Miles \textit{et al.}, reporting on a survey feedback within a school system found that the whole process resulted in "no durable change."\textsuperscript{17}

The literature which comes closest to the intervention under discussion here is that on "community research," "community studies," or "community self-study." Most of the examples provided, unfortunately, come from American or European situations where the community involved has a high level of literacy and a clear perception of the need for research.\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{16} Jay W. Lorsch and Paul Lawrence, "The Diagnosis of Organizational Problems," in, Bennis \textit{et al.}, \textit{The Planning of Change}, p. 477.

\textsuperscript{17} Matthew B. Miles, Harvey A. Hornstein, Daniel M. Callahan, Paul H. Calder and R. Steven Schiavo, "The Consequence of Survey Feedback," in, Bennis \textit{et al.}, \textit{The Planning of Change}, p. 47.

Vintner and Tropman discuss community studies of a specific type: those which assess existing health and welfare services, evaluate program effectiveness and survey needs for new or altered services.\(^{19}\) The survey undertaken for this dissertation, though on a smaller scale, is similar. Information about the community was gathered by means of a questionnaire. It yielded facts about the number and types of skills possessed by the adult members of the community, material assets and the number of employed and unemployed persons. It also provided information about the opinions of the community as to what types of small businesses could be attempted.

Community studies, according to Vintner and Tropman, "are but one means for decision making about the allocation of scarce resources.... Competition among interest groups lies at the heart of all allocation or policy processes, and community studies may serve to mediate differences among these groups.\(^{20}\) They may do this chiefly by identifying and involving persons and groups who have not previously been involved in decision making about resource allocation. The existing power structure is either made aware of interests and


\(^{20}\) Ibid., p. 322.
resources of which they were previously unaware or is forced to deal with those they knew about but ignored. Although these authors suggest that community studies can serve important functions, they conclude with a number of reasons which result in their having very little effect. The last of these is perhaps the most significant in relation to the present study. Those who conduct the study "may misjudge the readiness of the community to implement study findings."

In the end, as will become evident in Chapter V, the community of Jack Extension was indeed not very ready to implement the survey findings in the way intended by the CD staff. But when this survey was initiated there was no way to ascertain whether they were ready or not. Since the community was a new one, nobody knew exactly what skills and assets were available. The only way to bring this information objectively before the community was through a survey of this kind. It was not an expensive survey. And it did serve the essential function of forcing the community leadership to take into account all of the interests and resources available.

C. Inducement as A Community Development Tool

Inducement has not always been considered an acceptable strategy in Community Development work. In their survey of

21. Ibid., p. 329
community organization practice from 1985 to 1973, Cox and Garvin describe the ambiguity of the practitioner's role prior to 1955 in these terms: "neighborhoods and communities needed the help of the practitioner, it was assumed, if they were to achieve their objectives. and yet he must not impose his views on those he serves. he was somehow to strike a balance between giving help and fostering self-determination." 22 This ambiguity has never wholly disappeared from community development work but it has become less of a problem since the understanding of the old "felt need" approach to community problem identification has been refined by experience. In fact "felt need" can refer not only to a community's prior awareness of a problem but also to the needs discovered after a process of community learning that identifies underlying causes, and assigns priorities among a whole set of needs. Such a process frequently requires the assistance of an outside agent who, without imposing a particular view of what the community needs, has at least a strong influence on the way the community goes about identifying that need. This agent almost always employs some form of inducement.

In its earlier use, the concept of "felt need" sometimes meant starting with whatever the community identified as its

problem from the start, however superficial this might actually be. The idea was to get the community doing something and to experience cooperation through action. This understanding of "felt need" is no longer much in favour. A comprehensive survey of social development experts carried out under UNRISD auspices in the mid 1960's indicates, "Contrary to what might be expected, owing to its current prominence in the Community Development area, most experts in that sphere of activity do not spontaneously recommend the strategy: 78 per cent never even refer to the concept of felt need."23

By 1967 the United Nations reports were suggesting that the felt needs of local populations might, in fact, be incompatible with the national requirements for economic and social development.24


Another source of ambiguity in the practitioner's situation has been the emphasis in some Community Development circles on process rather than goals, and on the role of the Community Development worker as enabler rather than as planner or advocate. As recently as 1969 Spergel writes, "As an enabler or developer his (the community worker's) primary job is not to get this group to solve particular community problems, but to learn to pursue an appropriate interactional process for attacking these problems."25 Kramer and Perlman and Gurin point out, however, that the Community Development worker, along with the agency which employs him or her, always has goals in mind.26 Pretending that they do not exist is self-defeating. Perlman and Gurin maintain that, "in most situations the sponsors of the organizational effort do in fact have an objective, and the practitioner should acknowledge it and deal with it in a straightforward manner. It does not follow from this argument that the practitioner does 'for' people, takes over, and 'manipulates' the group with whom he is working.27


This is the attitude adopted in the research design outlined in Chapter III. The Community Development staff openly acknowledge their preference for a cooperative approach to the use of the land. In this sense they seek to induce a particular outcome. But their intervention is not intended to be manipulative. As stated earlier, no force was used or implied, no material incentives were offered.

In retrospect it might be asked whether they stated their case strongly enough, or whether they should have taken more time not only to induce but to educate, but this will be discussed further in Chapters V and VI.

D. The Appropriateness of Local Level Interventions for Inducing Common Welfare Decisions

The action undertaken to encourage small industrial development on a cooperative basis in Jack Extension was a very limited local intervention. It was local first of all because the mandate of the change agent (a group of Community Development workers under the authority of Lusaka City Council) was restricted to a small community of about 1000 individuals. But in the literature on Community Organization and Social Change there has been considerable doubt expressed as to whether intervention at such a level can achieve anything but the promotion of individual welfare.

The Western literature on community organization and
social change has been greatly influenced by the experience of the anti-poverty programmes of the 1960's in the United States. In this literature the affirmation is frequently made that interventions at the local level are more likely to induce change that will benefit individuals than change that will benefit the entire group. According to Blum, Miranda and Meyer, "Changes designed to affect the socioeconomic status of whole groups within the population must be made at the state and federal levels.... individual mobility goals can be achieved to a greater extent through efforts at the local level." 28 Similar statements are made by Bolan citing Rein, 29 as well as byPerlman and Gurin. 30 To quote Rein, "Organizing the poor on a neighborhood basis cannot achieve very much fundamental change." 31

Outside the North American contest, but still within the


European cultural realm there is the conclusion of Kramer reporting on a comparative study of Community Development in Israel and the Netherlands. "Because of its locality-orientation and lack of linkage to the external, highly centralized systems of influence, as well as its avoidance of politics, community work in these two countries has had a very low power potential as a force for change." ³²

More crucial for the present research is the contention in some of the literature criticizing Community Development that local level interventions such as those used by Community Development are more effective at introducing changes which benefit individuals rather than changes benefitting whole groups. Such contention has serious implications for the hypothesis of this dissertation. Blum, Miranda and Meyer say, "Individual mobility goals can be achieved to a greater extent through efforts at the local level. It is in relation to these goals that self-help organizations have been most successful." ³³ Khinduka says that, "Community Development is a rather soft strategy for social change. As a method of

social service, however, its contribution can be very signi-
ificant."\(^{34}\)

Perlman and Gurin cite a United Nations sponsored evalua-
tion of Indian Community Development programmes which indicated
that "new methods of work within the rural village were adopted
by the individuals who were able to improve their own condition
but that this was not associated with an increase in joint
action for the common benefit."\(^{35}\) All of this would indicate
that Community Development strategies are not the most appro-
priate for inducing common welfare decisions. But none of
these authors offer any alternative for the inducement of
common welfare decisions on a local level.

Perlman and Gurin summarize the United Nations literature
on rural Community Development and reach the following conclu-
sion:

"As a result of all these factors, Community Development
programs now occupy a somewhat different status in the United
Nations than they did a decade ago. Whereas there had been
a suggestion that Community Development might be in itself
an instrument for major social change, today such programs

\(^{34}\) Shanti Kumar Khinduka, "Community Development: Potentials
and Limitations," in, Kramer and Specht, Readings in Com-
munity Organization Practice, p. 176. Author's emphasis.

\(^{35}\) Perlman and Gurin, Community Organization and Social
Planning, p. 105.
are subsumed under larger programs of national and regional social development. Importance is still attached to Community Development programs as instruments for mobilizing resources, but that task is now seen as an integral aspect of programs that are broader in geography and in scope than the village-level efforts that have been most characteristic of Community Development work.\textsuperscript{36}

In answer to all of the criticisms mentioned thus far it may be said first of all that in the Zambian context Community Development is not isolated from the political process. It deals directly with the local leaders of the nation's only political party. Theoretically, it is also not isolated from "programs that are broader in geography and in scope" for Community Development is part of Zambia's overall development plan. The Second National Development Plan defines the Community Development process as "one whereby the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of Central and Local Government, political leaders and voluntary agencies to achieve the greatest advancement by all available means of the overall welfare of the people."\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., p. 107.

A second answer to these criticisms is that they are based on experiences foreign to the Zambian context. The American and European literature in particular comes essentially from a Western welfare perspective in which there is a sizeable amount of tax money or foundation money to be redistributed to the less advantaged groups within the population in the form of social services and grants. Various minority or poverty groups are in competition for a larger slice of the welfare pie. If one local group improves its socioeconomic status collectively it will be at the expense of another group because the resources available are seen as being of a fixed quantity. Thus any efforts to raise the socioeconomic level of a whole community implies a conflict situation.

In urban Zambia there is, of course, a potential competition among neighborhoods and cities for monies to upgrade physical infrastructure or provide various social services but such competition seldom reaches the level of organized conflict partly because the neighborhood leaders are all officials of the same political party. Also, the amount of welfare money available is much smaller. Government revenues in Zambia are redistributed to the urban population chiefly in the form of free medical care and education and to a decreasing extent, through food subsidies. Though there is a need for better distribution of education and health services
most people seem aware that the overall problem is that the
government does not have enough money to run the services
already existing.

Thus, while there may be need for redistribution of the
existing wealth the more serious need is for raising the over-
all productivity of the nation and of each community within
the nation. This is precisely the kind of community action
undertaken in the small industry development scheme in Jack
Extension, an effort to raise the overall productivity of the
community by employing the unemployed and underemployed to
produce new wealth, however small this may be by itself.

But after arguing that increased productivity is the goal,
one must still answer the contention that local level inter-
ventions are better suited to promote individual improvement
rather than group welfare, for it may be argued that assist-
ing the most advantaged in the community to develop small
businesses by private entrepreneurship, and eventually pro-
vide employment for the least advantaged might be the quick-
est way to raise the overall productivity of such a community.

This contention can only be answered by a combination of
philosophy and practical experience. Speaking of government
loans to cooperatives, President Kaunda wrote, "We must
avoid at all costs giving loans to co-operatives which are
just going to turn a few individuals who get these loans
into determined capitalists.... This Party and Government must avoid the creation of artificial top, middle and lower classes in our society."38 The path to greater productivity chosen by Zambia is a cooperative socialist path. "One cannot be a humanist without being a socialist. It is virtually impossible - To a humanist, socialism is a way of organizing society in such a way as to remove, in the final analysis, all forms of exploitation of man by man....The final stage comes when the people themselves have as a matter of principle and/or belief, begun to control the economy, thereby creating a state in which wealth is commonly owned by all the people, on the basis of one doing unto others as he would have them do unto him."39 To use the words of President Nyerere of Tanzania, "In a really socialist country no person exploits another; everyone who is physically able to work does so, every worker obtains a just return for the labour he performs, and the incomes derived from different types of work are not grossly divergent."40

The definition of common welfare used by this thesis is in line with this philosophy of African socialist humanism. It understands the welfare of the entire community to be a basically egalitarian one, in which all the members share, in which class distinctions are suppressed rather than promoted and in which all able bodied members of the community have the opportunity to work and receive a just return for their labour.

According to the philosophy of Humanism, development that is to avoid "the selfishness and individualism of the Western type of capitalism" must be based on local level development. "We have to bear in mind that we have emerged from a non-monetary economy and that the use of money imposes on us specialization. Specialization in its wake challenges very seriously a mutual aid society because it could introduce selfishness and individualism of the Western type of capitalism and could be very misleading. This means one of the principle tasks of leaders must be to encourage 'development from below.' This is to say that it is not wise for us to always have to tell our people what to do. What is required is to go to them and encourage local initiative at the village level if it is in the rural areas, and at the section level if it is in the urban areas. One might mention in passing that the approach
made by Community Development Officers in Government is the correct one in this respect. 41

The organization behind the Community Development effort in this case, the American Friends Service Committee, is committed to cooperative forms of Community Development and has been working in Zambia since Independence largely because it supports the national philosophy of Humanism with its emphasis on cooperative approaches to national development. The American Friends Service Committee's most successful effort in Zambia was a mutual-help housing scheme in Kafue and more recently it has been assisting the Lusaka Housing Project in organizing community self-help projects whose rewards would go to the community as a whole.

In the specific case of Jack Extension the Community Development staff felt that dividing up the industrial area into plots and giving them over to the most successful bidder would not be an immediate solution for the unemployed and underemployed members of the community. The likelihood of a good match between their talents and those required by the businesses which might locate there was not judged to be very high. The value of community control over and community

involvement in the development of the cottage industry area was judged to be very important for the successful exploitation of that land. In addition, there was some experience with the alternative use of such land in the areas being upgraded by the Lusaka Housing Project. Business plots established by the Project were advertised and approved in the usual way but only a handful of those awarded plots had actually developed them and the employment generated in this way was, by the beginning of 1979, practically nil.

Overall, it was the conviction of the American Friends Service Committee staff that despite the experience of other countries and the affirmations of the experts (most of whom are oriented toward the contest framework of social action in capitalistic societies) it seems necessary in the Zambian context, to continue testing collaborative strategies to find out their weaknesses and discover ways of improving them.
Chapter III - Research Design

A. Introduction

1. The methodology employed in this research involved a two-part intervention, information and inducement, and the subsequent evaluation of the intervention's effect on the type of decision made by the community in question. As a prerequisite to the intervention, a questionnaire was administered to the adult members (15 years old or more) of the community. The information obtained thereby formed the basis for the two-part intervention.

2. The hypothesis of the study was that the community when presented with reasonably complete information about its own resources could be induced to make decisions about the use of those resources which would favour the common welfare rather than that of only a small number of already more advantaged individuals.

3. The Variables

a. The information presented to the community and the inducement used constituted the independent variables in this study. It was anticipated that both would have a direct effect on the type of decision the community would ultimately make about the use of its resources and skills.

b. The type of decision the community would ultimate-
ly make was, of course, the dependent variable.

c. The questionnaire, the Community Development workers, the newness of the community and community leadership were selected as the possible intervening variables.

It was thought that the questionnaire would cause some people at least to begin thinking about possible economic activities in which they might engage; also that it might be the occasion for community members to discuss among themselves what kinds of business activities they were interested in developing.

It was assumed that the Community Development workers themselves could not fail to have some influence on the outcome. They were to be the collectors of information, agents for the feedback of the information to the community and were to be directly involved in persuading the residents to make certain types of decision. They were to be in a position of obtaining the cooperation of the community, alienating the community, collecting incorrect information, feeding it back incorrectly, and so on.

It was also recognized that these same Community Development workers would be working with members of the community on other matters - house construction, building material loans, food production, a nutrition survey, youth clubs, etc., and that the relationships which would inevitably develop
from involvement in these other activities might positively or negatively affect the ability of the Community Development staff to influence people in the matter of developing small scale industries.

The possibility that the newness of the community might affect the outcome of the study was considered a serious one. Conceivably, it might cause people to mistrust one another, prevent people from feeling free to say what they really felt or even prevent them from participating in the final decision making process. In other words, newness might be a factor causing the community to be less cohesive than another community of similar size, economic conditions, etc.

Finally, it was thought that the leadership of the community, be it the elected UNIP leadership, or other leadership, might exercise a strong influence over what decisions were made.

4. Evaluation Criteria

To assess the outcome of the community's decision in terms of the previously defined common welfare the following criteria were identified as essential:

a. the extent to which the decision would favour the creation of work for the unemployed

b. the extent to which the decision would lead to more productive activities for the underemployed
c. the extent to which cooperative activity was favoured.

These criteria were based on certain assumptions which proved in the end not to be fully shared by the researcher, the Community Development workers and the community:

1. It was assumed that there was a common understanding, in at least a vague way, that an increase in the overall economic welfare of the community could only be achieved by raising the overall productivity of the community. In other words, unless the presently employed members of the community were to get new higher paying jobs or the unemployed were to find jobs outside, neither of which was the objective of the exercise, it was necessary to bring new wealth into the community through trade with the outside or generate new wealth from the inside (or both) by creating new productive activities or at least by improving the economic efficiency of existing activities. The attitude of the community toward the market place as discussed in Chapter V, Section C. 2, below, suggests that this common understanding did not exist.

2. It was assumed that the basic understanding of, or will to work toward, the kind of common welfare implicit in the philosophy of Zambian Humanism was more widely held by members of the community, and especially the Party leadership, than it actually was.
The failure to deal with these assumptions satisfactorily is discussed below in Chapter V, Section E.

B. Specifics of Research Design

1. Stage One - Information Gathering

As a prerequisite to the intervention it was decided to administer a questionnaire to the adults in Jack Extension. The questionnaire was intended to achieve four things:

a. to elicit factual information about the number and type of skills possessed by each adult and the material assets (excluding savings) of each, e.g., sewing machines, tools, bicycles, etc.¹

b. to elicit opinions about what type of activities Jack Extension should have and what type of business enterprises might be able to produce for a market outside of Jack Extension

c. to stimulate thinking about possible business

¹. On the advice of persons experienced with field research in Lusaka's low-income areas it was decided not to ask direct questions about incomes and savings. Such questions were judged likely to arouse suspicion and to produce unreliable answers. As an alternative all employees were asked to state their specific job titles. Standard salary levels, by job category, were then determined from government and private sources, where available.
development

d. to yield some other basic information about the community, e.g., size, composition, educational status and very importantly, information about employment and income levels.

2. Stage Two - Intervention

The next step was for the Community Development staff to present the community with the information about its aggregate skills and resources together with information about the extent of unemployment in the community and to try to persuade the community to make decisions to utilize its skills and resources in ways which favoured the common welfare as previously defined.

3. Control and Monitoring of Variables

a. Independent Variables

Information - The information presented at each section meeting was exactly the same at each meeting and was presented in the same manner. Community Development staff were provided with briefing materials to serve as a guide in presenting the information.

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2. For definition of a UNIP Party section see note 1, p. 18.

3. The briefing material for the information/inducement meetings is contained in Appendix 2.
Inducement - Similarly, the inducement used, examples given to support the inducement, and specific suggestions as to what the community might do, were the same at each section meeting. Again the Community Development staff were provided with briefing material to serve as a guide in their persuasion efforts.  

The same control of these two variables was used at the decision-making meeting, i.e., the staff used a written guide in conducting the meeting.  

The author was advised by the Community Development staff that her presence at the initial meetings might be an inhibitory factor. She therefore decided to attend only the final decision-making meeting. The control of the independent variables during the earlier meetings was monitored by her through post-meeting interviews with the Community Development staff.  

b. Intervening Variables

While it was not possible to control these variables, namely, questionnaire, Community Development workers,

4. See Appendix 2.
5. The briefing material for the decision-making meeting is contained in Appendix 3.
6. Guides for these interviews are given in Appendices 4, 5 and 6.
newness of the community and community leadership, it was thought that all, or some of them, might turn out to be crucial and the following steps were taken to monitor them:

1. maintenance of field notes by the Community Development staff and researcher throughout the study

2. consultations between Community Development staff and researcher throughout study and at conclusion of study

3. consultation between researcher and the supervisor of the Community Development staff throughout the study and at the conclusion of the study

4. maintenance of detailed notes by Community Development staff and researcher, at all meetings.

4. Procedures - Stage One
The procedures in this preliminary stage were:

a. design the questionnaire

b. training of four Community Development workers in the administration of the questionnaire

c. pretesting questionnaire in another community

7. See Appendices 4 and 5.

8. See Appendix 6.

9. Appendix 7 gives a listing of questions included in the pretest questionnaire.
named Chawama West. This is a community which has come into existence for the same reasons as Jack Extension, is of a similar size and, at the time, was in the same stage of development.

d. revision of the questionnaire as indicated by pretest results and input from interviewers

e. administration of the questionnaire in Jack Extension

f. review of questionnaires as received to ensure completion and clarity

g. regular consultation with interviewers regarding responses from the community, general attitudes, specific problems, etc.

h. tabulation and analysis of information obtained from the questionnaires

i. decision regarding what information to present to the community and how to present it, on the basis of the information thus gathered, i.e., establishing and defining the exact nature of the intervention to be used by the Community Development staff.

10. Appendix 8 gives a listing of questions included in the final questionnaire.
5. Procedures - Stage Two

The procedures in this stage were:

a. convening of information-presentation/inducement meetings, by section, via the elected UNIP leadership

b. explanation by Community Development staff for a second time (as they did during individual administration of the questionnaire) of the reasons for administering the questionnaire

c. oral presentation by Community Development staff of information obtained from questionnaires

d. suggestions and recommendations by Community Development staff as to what kinds of business development should be attempted and how it should be organized

e. request by Community Development staff that those attending consider what had been said and plan to come to another meeting prepared to make decisions about how the land set aside for the development of small industries should be used

f. convening of decision-making meeting

g. reiteration by Community Development staff of: purpose of the meeting, information about skills, resources and employment needs, suggestions as to what kinds of business development should be attempted and how it should be organized.
Chapter IV - Research Findings

A. Facts About Jack Extension

1. Origins

As indicated in Chapter I, Section C, Jack Extension is a new community which was formed in April of 1978 under the authority of Lusaka City Council. The community came into being to accommodate some 200 families whose houses in Misisi and Frank compounds had been destroyed in the 1978 rainy season.

2. Location

Specifically, the community is adjacent to one of Lusaka's low-income areas known as Jack (or Kamulanga) and almost immediately across the railroad tracks from the eastern border of two other low-income areas, Chawama and John Howard, where some 40,000 of Lusaka's residents live.

3. Population

The adult population included in this study numbered 178 males and 195 females. Table I gives the figures for the study population by sex, marital status and position in the household. 163 Heads of Household participated in the study, i.e., were interviewed. But of these only 156 had their families living with them at the time they were interviewed. The total number of children in these 156 households was 481, and the total number of persons in these 156 households was 843.
Table 1 - Adult Population Included in Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Adult Population</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Adult Males</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married Males</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Males</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Adult Females</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married Females</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Females</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Heads of Household</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
<th>Household Heads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married Males</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>95.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Males</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married Females</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Females</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Other Adults</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
<th>Other Adults</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married Males</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Males</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>81.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married Females</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>81.4</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Females</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Divorced persons are included in the single counts.
On the basis of these figures, in the 156 households which were complete,¹ the average number of persons per household is 5.4 and the average number of children is 3.08.²

4. Age and Length of Residence in Lusaka

The age characteristics of the 373 adults included in this study are shown in Table 2. It is noteworthy that females tend to outnumber males in the younger age categories while

1. Plots have been laid out for a total of 200 families and the estimated total population is 1000 persons.

At the time this study was concluded, 25 March 1979, not all plots were occupied. Seven plots still had to be cleared of anthills or rocks. Seven families had not yet moved on site. The Heads of Household of the remaining families could not be contacted although some adult members of these households were included in the study. One family refused to participate.

The community is divided into four sections of 50 households each, the standard UNIP section size in Lusaka's low-income areas.

Table 2 - **Adult Age Characteristics**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>% of Males (N is 178)</th>
<th>% of Females (N is 195)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 - 19</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 24</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>28.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 29</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 34</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 - 39</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 44</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 - 49</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 54</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 - 59</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 &amp; over</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Stated</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>99.9 %</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.1 %</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: Percentages do not always sum to 100% because of rounding.*
males outnumber females in the older groupings. This general tendency is present in other low-income areas of Lusaka and in the city as a whole, but not in so pronounced a fashion as in Jack Extension.

In particular the existence of 56 females as against 14 males in the age group 20 - 24 is remarkable. Most of these women are in fact the wives of older men. The small number of men in the 20 - 24 age group in Jack Extension might be explained by various reasons. The area affected by the floods may have had a smaller number of younger household heads to begin with. Among those affected the younger household heads may not have felt well enough established to move and build their own homes. Whatever the reasons, the male population is somewhat unusual in its age structure.

Table 3 gives the average length of residence in Lusaka for all the adults by sex and marital status and position in the household. The married male Household Heads and the married females, 328 persons, average more than ten years of residence in Lusaka. This is consistent with findings in other parts of Lusaka.

---


4. Ibid., p. 23.
Table 3 - **Average Length of Residence in Lusaka, in Years**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Heads of Household</th>
<th>Average Number of Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married Males</td>
<td>(N is 156)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Males</td>
<td>(N is 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married Females</td>
<td>(N is 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Females</td>
<td>(N is 5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Other Adults**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Heads of Household</th>
<th>Average Number of Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married Males</td>
<td>(N is 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Males</td>
<td>(N is 18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married Females</td>
<td>(N is 171)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Females</td>
<td>(N is 18)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Education

The educational status of the adults in Jack Extension is presented in Table 4. Although the rate of attendance at primary school is virtually the same for men and women, 33.3% of the women have had no education whatsoever as compared to 12.4% of the men and only 5.1% of the women have had any secondary school education whereas 21.9% of the men have had some. Six men have full secondary school education.

6. Employment

Table 5 gives the employment picture. The situation in Jack Extension is in general conformity with the nationwide urban employment situation as well as with the situation in other low-income, peri-urban areas of Lusaka, as discussed in Chapter I, Section 1. There is a high rate of employment among male Heads of Household and a substantial rate of unemployment among the female population. There is also the problem, discussed in Chapter I, of a number of young persons about to leave primary school with little chance of obtaining a place in secondary school and little alternative chance of obtaining a job.

(text continues on p. 64)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Males with:</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>Still At Schl.</th>
<th>Total Some P.Schl.</th>
<th>Forms</th>
<th>Total Some S.Schl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married Household Heads</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Household Heads</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married Other Adults</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Other Adults</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As Percentage of Total</td>
<td>12.4%</td>
<td>65.7%</td>
<td>21.9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Females with:</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>Still At Schl.</th>
<th>Total Some P.Schl.</th>
<th>Forms</th>
<th>Total Some S.Schl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married Household Heads</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Household Heads</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married Other Adults</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Other Adults</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As Percentage of Total</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>61.5%</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes to Table 4

This table was compiled in accordance with the practice of the Central Statistical Office as used in its 1969 Census of Population and Housing, e.g., those who completed Standard I before 1965 are considered to have completed what is the present Grade 2, Standard II, Grade 3, etc.

Those who indicated that they had completed Standard 6 were not asked if it was upper or lower 6. Lower 6 would be credited now with having completed Grade 6, upper 6 with Grade 7. So those who said they had completed Standard 6 were assigned to either Grade 6 or 7 by tossing a coin.

Those who completed Form I before 1965 are considered to have completed what is now Form I; Form II, Form II, Form III, Form III. Those who completed Form IV before 1965, however, are considered to have completed what is the present Form V.

There was no one in Jack Extension who had stopped schooling at the completion of Form IV before or after 1965.
Table 5 - Employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Heads</th>
<th>At Sch.</th>
<th>In Wage Employment</th>
<th>FT/PT Self Employment</th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married Males (N is 156)</td>
<td>141(90.4%)</td>
<td>11(7.1%)</td>
<td>4(2.6%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Males (N is 1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married Females (N is 1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Females (N is 5)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1(20%)</td>
<td>2(40%)</td>
<td>2(40%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals (N is 163)</td>
<td></td>
<td>142(87.1%)</td>
<td>14(8.6%)</td>
<td>7(4.3%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other Adults

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Heads</th>
<th>At Sch.</th>
<th>In Wage Employment</th>
<th>FT/PT Self Employment</th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married Males (N is 3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1(33.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Males (N is 18)</td>
<td></td>
<td>7(38.9%)</td>
<td>1(5.6%)</td>
<td>9(50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married Females (N is 171)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2(1.2%)</td>
<td>50(29.2%)</td>
<td>119(70%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Females (N is 18)</td>
<td></td>
<td>5(27.8%)</td>
<td>1(5.6%)</td>
<td>2(11.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals (N is 210)</td>
<td></td>
<td>12(5.7%)</td>
<td>4(1.9%)</td>
<td>54(25.7%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Percentages do not always sum to 100% because of rounding.)

Notes:
1. These four indicated they did piece work as available, but they also answered the question, "If you are not working at all, why not?" They could have been categorized as part-time, self-employed.

2. These two also indicated that they worked on and off, but answered the above referenced question. They, too, could be categorized as part-time, self-employed.

3. Three out of seven of these are waiting for Grade 7 results. The chances are that they will end up in the unemployed category. (See Chapter I, p. 2, footnote 6)

4. Eleven of the fifty stated that they were self-employed. Thirty-nine others also stated that they were self-employed but then also answered the question, "If you are not working at all, why not?"

5. Four out of five of these are waiting for Grade 7 results. See note 3., above.
7. Reasons for Unemployment Among Married Women

The number of unemployed women in Jack Extension is quite large as Table 5 shows. Table 6 gives a breakdown of the reasons for unemployment among what is the largest group of females - married women (88%). The table is divided into two columns, which reflects the fact that one group of women consider themselves categorically unemployed and another group of women, all of whom sell vegetables or other foodstuffs from in front of their houses, and could thus be considered as part-time, self-employed persons, also consider themselves to be unemployed.

From this tabulation of 158 responses (including 12 "not stated" and 2 "other"), it can be seen that fully 40% of these unemployed women want to work but either have to care for children or have not been able to find work and that there is another 10% who presumably would like to work but don't have any idea of what kind of work they could do. There is another grouping of women (21.5%) who indicated their spouses were opposed to their working, but it is not known whether they themselves would choose to work if their husbands were not opposed.
Table 6 - Reasons for Unemployment Among Married Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason Given</th>
<th>Among the 119 who are Unemployed</th>
<th>Among the 39 who are also Self-Employed</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Want to work but have to care for children</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>34 (21.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Want to work but can't find work</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30 (18.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse opposed</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>34 (21.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know what kind of work to do</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16 (10.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't want to work</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28 (17.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illness/disability</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 (1.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 (1.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Stated</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12 (12.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>158 (99.6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Percentages do not always sum to 100% because of rounding.)
8. Income Levels

The residents were not asked to give income figures during their interviews but they were asked to give the name of their employer and their job title. Knowing these, it was possible in many instances to find out what the minimum and maximum salaries were by consulting Government of Zambia Gazettes. Although it was not possible by any means to get a complete picture of all incomes this way, certain facts emerged:

- there are 141 male Heads of Household in full-time wage employment. 39 of these work for private companies and 102 work for public concerns, e.g., Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation, Zambia National Defense Forces, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Health, etc.

- of the 141 in full-time wage employment, 45 (32%) hold one of the following kinds of jobs: messenger, security guard, office orderly, general worker, cleaner, watchman, driver. According to gazetted salary information, with 4 exceptions, the range of pay for these jobs is K 40 to K 74 per month. Thus the maximum regular wage that 41 men could be earning is still below the estimated K 77 poverty datum
line for a family of 5 - 6 persons.\textsuperscript{5} (The average household size in Jack Extension is 5.4 persons as is indicated on p. 56)

- another 10\% of the male Heads of Household hold jobs such as carpenter, painter, bricklayer, waiter, storekeeper. From the Gazettes it could be seen that the minimum salaries for these jobs were also below the estimated poverty datum line but the maximum salary could go as high as K 175 per month. It is simply not known how many of this group of 10\% are earning more or less than K 77 per month, but it is probable some at least are earning less than or around K 77 per month. It is therefore reasonable to affirm that one-third to two-fifths of the male Household Heads in wage employment were earning salaries which are inadequate to meet the basic needs of their families for food, clothing, transport and shelter.

9. Skills

Table 7 is a tabulation of responses to a series of questions about skills. This tabulation includes only those individuals who indicated they had a specific skill and who also indicated they had received special training in it,

\textsuperscript{5} See Appendix 1 for the estimated poverty datum line calculations.
and/or had earned money by doing it, and/or could teach it.

The number of persons with specific training is quite small. Nevertheless it is noteworthy that six men had training as mechanics, four as welders and ten as carpenters. In the domestic science fields twelve women had training in sewing, six in knitting and four in crocheting. Five persons of both sexes had some training in tailoring.

A larger number of persons said they had earned money in the past from the use of various skills: twenty-four men from carpentry, ten from furniture making, forty-four from repair work of various kinds and twelve from welding.

The existence of a clerical basis for business enterprises seemed indicated by the fact that ten persons had some training in bookkeeping and nine in typing.

A very large number indicated some knowledge about bricklaying. This was no doubt related to their having recently worked on the construction of their own homes as part of the resettlement process. The Community Development staff had demonstrated the use of a simple block mould for making concrete blocks and many of the residents, including women, had made their own concrete blocks.

(text continues on p. 71)
Table 7 - Skills Listing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skill</th>
<th>Male Household Head</th>
<th>Female Household Head</th>
<th>Male Other Adult</th>
<th>Female Other Adult</th>
<th>Male Household Head</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbering</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basket Making</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bed Making</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beer Brewing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bookkeeping</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bricklaying</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brick/Block Making</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpentry</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceramics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charcoal Production</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crocheting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture Making</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embroidery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herbalist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewelry Making</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knitting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leatherwork</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanic</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midwifery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Listing continued next page)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female Household Adult</th>
<th>Male Other Adult</th>
<th>Female Other Adult</th>
<th>Male Household Head</th>
<th>Female Household Head</th>
<th>Male Other Adult</th>
<th>Female Other Adult</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>67</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Male Other Adult</td>
<td>Female Other Adult</td>
<td>Male House Head</td>
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<td>Sculpturing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trad'l Dancing</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Weaving</td>
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<tr>
<td>Welding</td>
<td>4</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* All kinds of repair work, radio, watch, shoe, etc.
It seemed reasonable to conclude that there existed in the community a pool of skills which would make possible the development of small industries in the areas of:

a. carpentry and other construction related activities
b. dressmaking-tailoring and needlework
c. mechanics and repair

Each of these areas in Zambia today has its difficulties, especially due to shortages in the supply of inputs. Questions of supply and marketing would have to be investigated before any start-up of activities in these areas. But, on face value, the results of the skills inventory do suggest that there exists a sufficient base for developing some kinds of small scale industrial enterprise.

10. Assets

A simple listing of assets is given in Table 8. When one considers that a single householder might be responsible for holding tools in one or more category on the list given in Table 8, it is perhaps remarkable how few tools there actually are in the community. Nevertheless there is a reasonable number of repair tools especially for bicycles. From the point of view of this research the most interesting thing is the large number of sewing machines and bicycles in the community. If people were willing to use these assets in a
Table 8 - Assets Listing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Asset</th>
<th>Male House-</th>
<th>FM House-</th>
<th>Male,</th>
<th>Female,</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barbering Equipment</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedmaking Tools</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brick moulds</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bricklaying Tools</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building Tools</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bicycles</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cameras</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cars</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpentry Tools</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driving licence</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Electricity Tools</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture-making Tools</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Leatherwork Tools</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Motorcycles</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Painting Tools</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Plumbing Tools</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Repair Tools for:</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cars</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicycles</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Radios</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Shoes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watches</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sewing Machines</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tinsmithing Tools</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
dressmaking venture, for example, there would be no need to buy sewing machines to get started and presumably the finished products could be easily transported to markets on bicycles.

11. Opinions

An analysis of the responses to opinion questions on the questionnaire gives some indication of the "mind" of the community on the matter of appropriate and possible small industry development.

302 persons answered the question, "What kind of manufacturing or service business do you think Jack Extension should have?" The activities mentioned by 5 or more persons, in order of frequency mentioned, were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>carpentry</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tinsmithing</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>welding</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dressmaking</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>food processing</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>charcoal production</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poultry raising</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blockmaking</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basketmaking</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blacksmithing</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bedmaking</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

359 persons answered the question, "Do you think things can be made in Jack Extension and sold in town?" 168 (46.8%) thought things could be produced for a broader market and 191 (53.2%) thought not.
166 persons indicated what things they thought could be sold outside of Jack Extension. The items most frequently mentioned were: household furniture, clothing, tin products, food, baskets, and tablecloths.

B. What the Facts About Jack Extension Suggested

The foregoing facts confirmed two of the assumptions enumerated in Chapter I. Namely, there was a need for employment and/or increased incomes in the community and, there did exist among the residents enough skills and assets to provide a base for the development of some small scale industries.

The facts also suggested that the development of small scale industries on a cooperative basis was one possible solution. The people who needed to be helped did not have the capital to start up businesses, but it was reasonable to suppose that if the community pooled its skills and resources to form cooperatives that would create additional employment, they could obtain the necessary capital.

These facts about unemployment, skills and assets and the opinion of many that things could be made in Jack Extension for sale elsewhere were presented to the community at a series of meetings according to the research design outlined
in the previous chapter. During these same meetings, the Community Development staff endeavoured to induce the community to give priority consideration to cooperatively formed enterprises in allocating the land set aside for cottage industry development.

C. What the Community Decided

The meetings were held as planned. The first two UNIP sections, named Sangalala and Mavuto met separately. The other two sections, Mutendere and Chingwirizona met together.

Three important community attitudes began to emerge from these preliminary meetings:

1. most people did not like the general idea of cooperatives

2. the residents of Jack Extension wanted to be able to use a part of the land for food selling

3. those residents who were employed did not feel that they should be asked to make substantial sacrifices (in terms of passing up an opportunity to earn an additional income for themselves) to help the jobless.

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6. See also Appendix 2 - Briefing Material, Information/Inducement Meetings.

7. Information about low incomes was not presented as such as staff felt discussion of this would cause embarrassment.
These attitudes were confirmed in the outcome of the final decision-making meeting on 25 March.

The entire community, by consensus, arrived at the following decision: The one hectare of land designated by Lusaka City Council for cottage industries is to be divided into three parts. The largest part, one-half hectare, is to be used for food selling, effective immediately. Of the remaining half, one-third is to be used by those who wish to set up small scale manufacturing or service enterprises on an individual basis, and two-thirds is to be set aside for use by cooperatively run businesses which may be formed now or in the future.

The details of this decision and its implications will be discussed in the next chapter.
Chapter V - Evaluation of the Outcome

A. Events in Detail

1. The Preliminary Section Meetings

It was the considered opinion of the Community Development staff that the meetings were well attended. Although nothing like 100% was ever achieved, at the meeting of Sangalala section there was over 50% representation, at the meeting of Mavuto section about 30% and at the joint Mutendere/Chingwirizano section meeting about 50%. At the final decision-making meeting, about 30% of the adults in Jack Extension were present. Whether or not those who stayed away would have changed the final outcome had they been present is, of course, unknown, but the Community Development staff felt not, since it is unlikely that persons with strong views would have stayed away.

The number of males and females attending the meetings was consistently equal. On the whole, the men did more talking than the women but there appeared to be no constraints upon women's participation beyond that which is natural in such settings.

The Community Development staff opened each of the
preliminary meetings using the briefing material agreed to.\(^1\) The meetings were then opened for discussion. There was remarkably little variation in what was said at each meeting. While people were willing to discuss the development of small scale manufacturing or service businesses they refused to accept efforts by the Community Development staff to set aside discussion about a food market. At each meeting there was lengthy discussion about the need for a food market within Jack Extension. In fact, discussions about a market took up to at least 50% of the time of each meeting.

Most of the remaining time was spent discussing cooperatives. The prevailing sentiment was one of distrust of cooperatives. And finally, there was a small amount of time spent at each meeting discussing the problem of the unemployed.

The discussions at these meetings revealed very little open disagreement. The meetings lasted several hours but most individual contributions tended to simply reinforce a previously stated position.

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1. See Appendix 2 - Briefing material for Information/Inducement Meetings.
2. An Unanticipated Intervening Variable: Police Action Against Food Sellers

On March 23, two days before the decision-making meeting took place, the Zambian Police together with UNIP Special Constables, some of whom were actually residents of Jack Extension, went through the community arresting women who were selling food stuffs in front of their houses. The offenders were taken to the Chawama Police Station, fined K 4 apiece and had their goods confiscated. This action was part of a general sweep being carried out in various parts of Lusaka at that time. Such action was not unprecedented. The Party and the Government have prohibited food selling from houses at various times in the past (under pressure, some say, from marketeers) insisting that food may be legitimately sold only in authorized markets. In the past food selling from houses had usually disappeared for a short time after punitive action was taken but quickly reappeared again.

This action on March 23 naturally made the residents more eager to come to a decision, at the meeting on March 25, about the utilization of the land set aside for small business development. It resulted in that meeting's being permeated by a

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sense of urgency about establishing a site where food could be legitimately sold.

In itself, however, this action did not change the basic decision. The community's wish to have a place for food selling was already apparent from the earlier meetings, as was their wish to accommodate individual entrepreneurs. The police action only served to reinforce these wishes.

The urgency of reaching a decision created by the police action did, however, mean that there was no time for the Community Development staff to prepare better arguments and more concrete plans for cooperative enterprises once it had assessed the prevailing attitudes. The outcome was a foregone conclusion before the meeting actually took place but there was no way to postpone the meeting.

3. The Decision-Making Meeting

The final decision-making meeting on March 25 was short. The content of the preliminary meetings was summarized by the Community Development staff. Representatives of the four sections gave their opinions. The staff again tried to point out the inefficiency of a separate market in the immediate neighborhood of the scarcely viable Jack market. Then the section representatives proposed a specific solution in which all present appeared to concur: half of the area for
food selling and of the remaining half, one-third for private industries and two-thirds for cooperatives.

4. The Estimated Effect of the Previously Identified Intervening Variables

A review of the author's field notes, Community Development staff field notes, and the feedback provided by the answers to the questions raised in Appendices 4, 5 and 6 of this dissertation, indicates that none of the potential intervening variables, e.g., the questionnaire, the staff, community newness and community leadership, exercised a strongly determining influence on the outcome.

Of course, the questionnaire and the staff had an inevitable and anticipated influence but it was not a decisive one. The newness of the community in so far as it might have inhibited the group from participating in this decision-making process seemingly had no effect at all. Similarly, the evidence shows that the existing community leadership did not impose their opinions on the decision-making process but that the decision represented a true consensus of the community.

B. The Essential Implication of the Decision

The basic meaning of this decision was that the Community Development staff failed in its efforts to get the residents of Jack Extension to help the disadvantaged in the community
by giving priority to cooperatively developed industries in the allocation of land.

Instead the residents of Jack Extension gave top priority to individually operated businesses, the majority of which will be selling food. Their last consideration was for cooperatively run businesses.

The amount of land allocated for individual entrepreneurs was two-thirds with the remaining one-third allocated for the development of cooperative businesses. On the face of it, it could be said that the effect of the intervention was partially successful because the decision allowed for some amount of cooperative activity. But the fact that the community was willing to allocate even one-third of the land for cooperative enterprises is very possibly misleading.

If the piece of land available had been smaller and the community had been faced with an either/or situation, it is almost certain that they would have opted for individual entrepreneurship rather than cooperative enterprises. This cannot be proved, of course, but the researcher and the Community Development staff strongly feel that this would have been so. A review of the field notes made during and after each of the meetings also gives strong support to this view.

As it happened the community was not faced with an either/or situation and it was possible for a decision to
be made which on the face of it accommodated both types of activity. But by allowing a portion of the land to be set aside for the development of cooperative enterprises the community did not really commit itself to this type of activity. It was simply saying that the community would not stand in the way of cooperatives as long as cooperatives did not stand in the way of a food market and other individual entrepreneurship endeavours. The decision "cost" the community nothing.

The most likely beneficiaries of this decision will be those members of the community who now have capital or ready access to capital. They will be able immediately to start up businesses on the available land.

C. Community Attitudes Analyzed

It is useful to analyze the three basic attitudes which were held quite strongly by the community as a decision-making body: opposition to cooperatives, insistence on a food market and unwillingness to help the unemployed.

1. Opposition to Cooperatives

Most people in Jack Extension clearly did not like the idea of cooperatives. The point which the residents made time and again was that cooperatives had failed in the past because of misappropriation of funds. They gave examples of
cooperatives where 'the money had gone missing' or where quarrels over 'shortages' had broken up the cooperative. They said that members of cooperatives never benefitted; only those at the top who handle the funds benefit. Joining a cooperative was a risky thing, they felt, because when you want your money it goes missing. While they did not object to any residents trying to form a cooperative, they felt that those who wanted to start individual businesses should not be interfered with or held back by efforts to develop cooperatives.

Only two individuals throughout these meetings supported the idea of forming cooperatives and urged that it be considered in the light of the rising cost of living.

2. Insistence on a Food Market

The community's persistence in insisting on a market within Jack Extension was unanticipated.

Women who were selling food in front of their houses said they needed a market from which to operate. Others pointed out how far it was to the nearest good market in John Howard and that the nearest market in Jack didn't sell all the foodstuffs required.

As mentioned in Chapter I, p. 13, the existing Jack market was an unsuccessful market because, in the opinion of the Community Development staff, it did not serve a large
enough community to be economically viable. The leaders of Jack Extension and Jack had even discussed the idea of re-vitalizing the existing market - opening it to marketeers from both communities and having it serve both communities. This idea was flatly rejected by the Jack Extension residents. They knew the existing market was a disaster and wanted to have nothing to do with it. That it was a disaster because it couldn't support itself from the Jack community alone seemed clear to the Community Development staff and to the author of the research design but to the community, in retrospect, it was either not clear or made no impact. Jack Extension residents wanted their own market within their own community. Community Development staff efforts to dissuade them from this were completely unsuccessful.

In trying to reflect on what this very strong desire for their own market indicated, several points come to mind:

- it is clearly more convenient to have a market within the community

- it provides many women with an occupation (although whether it also provides more than a few with an income is a question)

- a market if structured in a specific way can be a source of considerable political influence for its leaders.

Further, as the residents repeatedly said throughout
the meetings, food markets in Lusaka are traditionally not separated from other business sites. Small businesses of all kinds tend to cluster in and around a food market. The market is fenced and has a night watchman. Thus the cost of security for each business is reduced to a minimum. The need for separate trading licences is effectively eliminated because a single licence can serve the entire market. Refuse removal is more likely to be assured in the marketplace. And finally, each individual business has the hope of attracting customers who have come to the market for other reasons.

Many of these advantages could have been provided in a cottage industry area that did not sell food, but the residents probably did not foresee the activity in such an area becoming large or lively enough to attract large numbers of people in a way that food selling would, and in this they were probably right. In any case, it made no sense to the residents to talk of developing small scale enterprises without including a food market.

3. Unwillingness to Help the Unemployed

The community's attitude toward its unemployed was articulated in all the meetings - let the unemployed take care of themselves or, let the unemployed become the special concern of the Community Development staff to help as they might. Those in the community who were already employed and/or who
had the capital necessary did not want to be held back from starting up individual businesses. This meant that those who were already employed would be adding to their incomes; those who were self-employed either in other areas or at home would be transferring their businesses to that particular piece of land or possibly even starting a second business there (retaining the present place of business); and that those who may be unemployed but have capital will be able to put it to work for their individual benefit, effective immediately.

From what was said at the meetings it seems that the community felt a food market would solve the problem for most of the unemployed married women. As for the unmarried male and female unemployed and the few unemployed household heads, those who spoke up at the meetings seemed to want to disassociate themselves from such persons and certainly did not want to be asked to actively do something on their behalf.

In reflecting on why the community was more concerned with providing opportunities for advancement for those who were already employed than with providing employment for the unemployed, it is also useful to consider the power structure within the community.

The unemployed are wives and school leavers. Unemployed school leavers seem to have little voice in community affairs.
They are not often found among the elected Party leadership nor do they by definition represent any business interest. Even within their own homes this group is said to have little influence in family decision making processes.

Married women have more of a voice in community affairs. They tend to see their opportunity for income, however, in the only way that has been traditionally left open to them in urban Zambia: through the selling of foodstuffs, charcoal, etc. ³

D. Hypothesis Reviewed

The hypothesis under examination was that the community when presented with reasonably complete information about its own resources could be induced to make decisions about the use of those resources which would favour the common welfare rather than that of only a small number of already more advantaged individuals. It was stipulated that decisions in favour of the common welfare would be specifically assessed in terms of employing the unemployed, improving the income of the underemployed and movement toward cooperative activity.

The community's decision betrayed an attitude of basic unconcern for the welfare of the unemployed. The unemployed may still be able to do something on the small piece of land set aside for cooperatives but their chances of success are very limited because there is no commitment on the part of the entire community to what they may be able to achieve.

The unemployed women in the community can now join with other women in the area who were selling food in front of their houses and they can all sell food together in the market place. But this is not likely to lead to any increase in overall productivity of the food selling sector. On the contrary, assuming a fairly inelastic family budget for food within the community, an even larger number of women will be working to share among themselves the same total amount of food-buying money. Furthermore, male Heads of Household with low but steady incomes may now be able to increase their families' incomes by setting up their wives in small businesses in the new market area. But it is more likely as said earlier that the group that will do this are those who now have the capital for start-up costs or have access to capital.

The situation of the unemployed is thus not likely to be much improved by the community's decision and the situation of many of those underemployed at the time the decision was made, i.e., the foodsellers, may even worsen.
Although the decision allowed a certain amount of land to be set aside for use by any cooperatives which might be started in the future, this is not to be seen as a will on the part of the community to move toward cooperative action. As has been said before in this chapter, it was clear the community agreed to this land use because such an agreement did not involve any necessity for a commitment on their part to actually get involved in cooperative activity. The decision the community made points in the opposite direction from cooperative activity.

Putting the assessment of these three indicators together, a conclusion that the hypothesis was not supported is quite inescapable.

E. Could the Desired Outcome Have Been Achieved?

In Chapter III, Section A. 4, it was stated that the three criteria used for evaluating the outcome of the community's decision were based on two assumptions that proved in the end not to be fully shared by the researcher, the Community Development workers and the community: that the common welfare was to be understood in terms of the philosophy of Humanism and that an increase in the community's economic welfare could only be achieved by raising the community's overall productivity.
It seems clear in retrospect that a fuller discussion of these assumptions should have been held with the community in some form or other and that if agreement on them could not be reached, either the project itself or the research design should have been modified accordingly. Given the attitudes that emerged, it seems clear that agreement on the two basic assumptions could only have been achieved by involving the community in a fairly lengthy learning process that would have meant education and discussion in three areas:

1. basic economics of food retailing - Some instruction involving an analysis of the demand for food in the entire area and the volume of sales necessary for an individual seller to register a profit, together with some basic profit and loss bookkeeping for the sellers themselves might have convinced the community that to allow every person who wishes to, to open up a stall in the market, is self-defeating.

2. successful cooperative enterprises and how they are run - A knowledge of cooperatives that have succeeded in Zambia and elsewhere might have helped to change the community's attitude toward cooperatives as a whole.

3. the socialist path to Zambian Humanism - A clearer appreciation of the redistributive goals of socialist development including the goal of organizing economic life to create full employment and prevent exploitation of man by man, applied
to their own context, might have influenced the community's attitude toward helping the unemployed.

As mentioned elsewhere, the Community Development staff thought that the failure of the nearby Jack market was sufficient evidence of the unproductive nature of such markets, but this was either not perceived by the community of Jack Extension in the same way or else the whole process of setting up a market was for them not really, or mainly, an economic one in the first place. As for the Humanist interpretation of common welfare, the assumption that this was more widely shared than it really was was based on the fact that the community was organized and led by the Party.

In fact the Community Development staff and the researcher were aware that understanding of, and commitment to, the objectives of Zambian Humanism are not very strong at the Section level in areas like Jack Extension. Community Development work in Zambia has functioned partly as a way of educating UNIP Party members at the grass roots level in the ideals and goals of the Party itself. A series of meetings and discussions on Humanism should have been held as a preliminary to concrete discussions on the use of the land.

In addition to this, hindsight suggests that the entire inducement process needed to be both stronger and more concrete.
The insistence on a food market could have been dealt with at the planning stage if a market area had been included in the site plan from the beginning. The Community Development staff could also have proposed a cooperative plan for the use of the cottage industry area that would have included food selling. Even though food selling by an unlimited number of women in Jack Extension is unjustifiable economically, it might have made sense to accept it on social grounds and allow the women to learn through experience that they could not make a profit. Perhaps some restriction on the number of food sellers could have been agreed to if the problem itself were addressed head on.

Mistrust of cooperatives and unwillingness to help the unemployed might have been overcome, or at least blunted, if the staff instead of proposing the general idea of cooperatives had come up with a more specific project, a sewing cooperative for example, for which they could promise some financial support and a known marketing outlet. In fact there was no time for this because the police action on food selling during the week prior to the decision-making meeting made a specific land-use decision seem imperative as quickly as possible. To make a specific proposal of the kind indicated the Community Development staff would have to have taken time between the information gathering and probably some initial meetings to investigate funding sources and market prospects.
But if time had permitted, such a specific plan preceded by the education experience mentioned above, would appear to have offered some hope of achieving the outcome proposed by the hypothesis.

F. Positive Elements

While affirming that the desired outcome did not take place and that the hypothesis of the research design was not borne out, it may be useful to highlight some of the positive aspects of the experience.

1. The community did bring to the decision the contribution of its own insight into the relationship of small scale industries with food marketing. It was true that small businesses of all kinds are traditionally located in market places and there are distinct advantages to such location. This was not considered by the planners or the Community Development staff in advance.

The Community Development process, if it is not to be an exercise in manipulation, cooptation or public relations, must assume that the community itself has wisdom, that there are things known to the community which are not known or noticed by the change agents who intervene in its life.

In this partial aspect of their desire for a food market, at least, the community was clearly right.
2. The community did respond to the invitation to undertake a decision-making process and to exercise control over the cottage industry area. They did seize the opportunity offered them and, by making the decision that they made, probably assured that the land would be used by their own members. From the viewpoint of Community Development as a process, in other words, the entire exercise was a success.

3. By assigning one-third of the land to cooperative businesses, the community did leave open the possibility that cooperatives could be formed and would have some space in which to operate. Only time will tell whether the Community Development staff will succeed in achieving something by way of cooperative effort with those few members who indicated some interest along these lines.
Chapter VI - Implications of the Research Findings

This chapter will discuss implications of the research findings in two broader areas of concern: informal sector development and Community Development theory and practice.

A. Informal Sector Development in Zambia

The information obtained from a small research project in a new community of 200 families is of limited value for generalization on the entire problem of informal sector development in Zambia. Nevertheless, the data gathered on skills and assets within the community of Jack Extension do provide a starting point for some reflections on problems and possibilities in this area. The discussion which follows is an effort to consider the broader problem of informal sector development as seen from the viewpoint of Jack Extension with the specific resources at its command. Reflection leads to comment in four areas: constraints to development of informal sector industries, dependence of the informal on the formal sector, land-use planning for informal sector development and informal sector development through cooperatives.

1. Constraints to Development of Informal Sector Industries

As discussed in Chapter IV, the community appears to
have possibilities for development in three main areas:
- carpentry and other construction-related fields
- repair industries
- sewing, tailoring and other homecraft-related industries.

But in addition to skills, a few tools, some sewing machines and some bicycles, the community faces a certain number of constraints in trying to put all these things together into viable income generating activities.

a. Carpentry and other construction-related activities face their chief constraints in the area of supply and transport. In Jack Extension and the surrounding area of Chawama Complex there is a large volume of construction activity going on at the present time. This activity is likely to diminish as loan money from the Lusaka Housing Project Unit (and the Disaster Relief Fund in the case of Jack Extension) is used up. But the very fact that land tenure in the entire area has been legitimized probably means that housing consolidation will continue for quite some time to come in small incremental ways which are well suited to informal sector inputs.

But there are shortages of building materials, and an acute shortage of wood. Carpenters in particular would have a difficult time expanding their businesses without additional sources of supply. One source of supply much used in the
informal sector is second-hand wood. Knowledge of demolition activities around the city and environs, access to the wood and transport to fetch it are all difficult for the individual informal sector entrepreneur to come by. Some kind of distribution mechanism for circulating second-hand lumber seems to be required.

As for new lumber, the distribution of the lumber that is available is highly centralized and the market is effectively monopolized by a few outlets, all government or para-statal. Informal sector carpenters have limited access to those sources and lack of transport is a major obstacle.

b. Repair Industries

A key constraint on the development of these industries appears to be in the limited number of things circulating in the economy at the present time that need repair. Automobiles, bicycles, electric and electronic equipment, watches and other mechanical items are all scarce. Equally constraining is the shortage of spare parts for these machines, most of which are imported.

Repairers can compete for these scarce items only if they have superior skill and/or equipment. Thus, in the present economic context, improved skill and the provision of basic equipment seem to be the essential needs for developing informal sector repair industries.
c. Sewing, Tailoring and other Homecraft-Related Industries

In this field there are several constraints. There are severe shortages of supply of fabrics, yarn, thread, etc. Despite the fact that homecraft classes have been a regular feature of Community Development activity in Zambia since Independence, the general level of skill in this field does not seem very high. And finally there are constraints on the demand side. Purchasing power of potential customers in the immediate area is limited and there are very few mechanisms for distribution of products outside the area.

An enumeration of constraints on both the supply and demand sides plus a need for improvement in skill levels all suggest that some kind of system intervention is required to develop informal sector industrial activity in Zambia. Certainly, on the macro level, there is need for policy change and the development of new distribution and marketing mechanisms if informal sector industries of the type considered here are to take off.

Nevertheless, it should not be concluded from this analysis that local level Community Development activity to stimulate informal sector production is futile. System-wide interventions still require people at the local level who are organized, ready and able to profit from them, especially if such interventions are intended to benefit entire communities
including their least advantaged members rather than just a limited number of alert individuals who are already well placed to profit from them.

On the other hand, it is reasonable and understandable that, in the face of so many systemic constraints, people in the informal sector at the local level are hesitant to launch into productive enterprises and are more inclined to stick to the seemingly less constrained areas of simple trading, especially in food.

2. Dependence of the Informal on the Formal Sector

Many of the constraints mentioned above point to the formal sector as holding the key to prosperity in the informal sector: repair industries are depressed because the machines and spare parts made in the formal sector are in short supply; carpentry is constrained for lack of a formal sector lumber industry; and sewing is inhibited for lack of textiles and yarn. All of which tends to bear out the thesis of Claassens, mentioned in Chapter I, page 9, that the economy of the informal sector can only be as strong as that of the formal one.

It is true that informal sector employment grew in Zambia at a time when formal sector employment was stagnating, but it is quite possible that informal sector employment was simply lagging behind, and that it has more recently reached a saturation point where its future growth depends on
recovery in the formal sector.

Reflection on the small industry potential of Jack Extension would suggest that informal sector development will indeed be dependent on the formal sector unless it can find independent sources of supply and can develop informal modes of transport.

For sewing industries this clearly means the development of informal sector spinning, weaving and related industries. Such industries have been started in Botswana and other nearby countries on a cooperative basis, though frequently the markets are among tourists or in Western countries.

 Carpentry has a quasi-independent source of supply in second hand lumber, though ultimately this too is dependent on the formal sector. In cities closer to Zambia's forest reserves, one might think of small scale lumber mills for informal sector supply, but Lusaka's distance from the nearest timber supply makes the entire industry dependent on heavy duty transportation.

The repair industries will always be dependent on the formal sector unless they develop ways of manufacturing their own spare parts as is frequently done, for example, by informal sector auto mechanics in Latin America. Most such parts are, of course, made from steel or other hard metals not manufactured in Zambia, but they are usually made from
items cast off by the formal sector.

The only kinds of informal sector industries (for which some skills exist in Jack Extension) that do not depend on the formal sector for sources of supply are food production and processing, basketmaking, pottery and charcoal production. The last of these poses serious environmental threats which can probably only be averted by a certain amount of formalization of the industry. Basketmaking and pottery are partially constrained for supplies by transport problems. Food production and food processing (in simple forms, such as vegetable drying), provided they do not depend on imported seeds and fertilizers, are probably the informal sector activities which are the least dependent of all on the formal sector.

The informal sector's independence from the formal sector would be greatly enhanced by the development of informal modes of transportation. A Zambian bicycle industry, whether formal or informal, producing plenty of spare parts and several varieties of pedal-powered goods movers, such as tricycle delivery vehicles, pedicabs, etc., would help to ease many of the informal sector's transportation constraints and would at the same time keep a small army of bicycle repairers in business.
In summary, reflection on the constraints to informal sector development in Jack Extension suggests that this sector is indeed heavily dependent on the prosperity of the formal sector but that there are ways of making the informal sector, if not independent, at least less dependent than it is now.

3. Land Use Planning for Informal Sector Development

The experience of this research project would seem to indicate quite clearly that land use planning which separates industrial use from trade use is, in the context of low income areas, impractical. The designation of one area exclusively for cottage industries was, in retrospect, a mistake. In every sites and services scheme (which Jack Extension basically is) some kind of planning has to take place without community participation because the community does not exist. Planners must make estimates of how much land is needed for essential services and community facilities. It is suggested, however, that while laying aside enough land to cover all the variety of public uses that may be required, planners should, as far as possible, refrain from differentiating these uses until the community has an opportunity to decide for itself.

4. Informal Sector Development through Cooperatives

The strength of the opposition to cooperatives which
was voiced by the Jack Extension community gives reason for doubts about the viability of a cooperative approach to informal sector development in Zambia. From what they said, Zambia's past experience with cooperatives is a serious liability. Hyman et al., in an international survey of expert advice on the inducement of social change in developing countries, found among the experts they consulted the strong opinion that "a people's unfortunate experience with previous projects is the most serious kind of obstacle that can confront the development worker."¹

Community Development workers in Zambia should be aware of this obstacle. They should be prepared to spend time dealing with the reality of the unfavourable past experience cooperatives have provided before attempting further cooperative projects. They will need to know exactly why the cooperatives failed and be able to convince people that all such efforts need not fail.

It also seems clear that, in Jack Extension at least, the idea of Zambian Humanism as a cooperative enterprise apparently has not penetrated to the grassroots level of the UNIP organization.

Many Party leaders in the peri-urban areas of Lusaka are individual businessmen. In these areas there is a strong orientation towards private enterprise of the variety that may be called "petit bourgeois." Jack Extension Community Development workers discovered that there was a lot of landlordism, for example, in Misisi and Frank Compounds where the residents had lived previously. Party leaders were often the landlords.

The vast majority of male Heads of Household in Jack Extension are not self-employed businessmen. They are in wage employment and many of them are in positions which are not unionized or organized in any other way, and their collective sense is not developed.

If the emphasis in the philosophy of Humanism on cooperative action is to have an effect, it would appear from this study at least that more education of Party militants at the neighborhood level is in order. In conjunction with this, efforts could also be made to make the local Party leadership more of a workers' representation than a collection of shopkeepers. These two measures might serve to reduce somewhat the strong trend toward individual entrepreneurship.

Unless these or other measures are taken at the grassroots level it is likely that the growing emphasis on the development of the informal sector discussed in Chapter I will have
the effect of encouraging the spirit of private enterprise
to flourish and become even more ingrained than it already is.

B. Implications for the Theory and Practice of Community
Development in Zambia

The implications of this research for the theory and practice of Community Development may be divided into the same three areas as the discussion of the literature in Chapter II.

1. Information Feedback as a Community Development Tool

Although the use of information feedback in this research did not lead to a decision that gave priority to cooperative industries, it did present the community with objective information on which to base their decision. It also was instrumental in getting the people to articulate the reasons why they did not want to give priority to cooperatives. They had to recognize that unemployment existed and that there were skills and other resources in the community. The survey feedback, or action-research, thus led to a more informed decision-making process.

There is a danger in the peri-urban areas of Lusaka of excessive exposure of the people to socioeconomic surveys. This can produce a backlash which will inhibit future research and make it more difficult for university education in Social Work or Sociology to involve students in practical field work.
The Lusaka Housing Project in particular has generated a great deal of survey activity in the areas being upgraded and some observers fear that the communities are becoming tired of so many interviews.

The experience of this dissertation would suggest that the action-research model is a model of research that is least likely to create a backlash of the kind that is feared. This is so for the following reasons:

a. the purpose of the research was clear to everyone
b. the findings of the survey were presented to the very people surveyed
c. the usefulness of the findings was apparent
d. the researchers (the Community Development staff) were all persons who were known to those being interviewed and it was clear that they were involved in their lives.

The people were very cooperative during the interviewing phase. Only one person in the community refused to be interviewed. (Some of the women were amused by certain questions. These had to do with whether they had any skill in midwifery, traditional dancing and other things which they felt they all had learned as part of growing up in a traditional Zambian setting.)

The use of such a tool might be questioned on the grounds of cost but this survey was very inexpensive. The use of
Community Development staff time can hardly be counted as a cost since the very conduct of the survey helped the staff to know the people better and to improve their interviewing skills, both very valuable for their immediate work as well as for their careers. The opportunity cost for those being interviewed was low since each interview seldom lasted longer than 30 minutes for Household Heads and 20 minutes for others. The data were of a size and nature that they could be tabulated by hand and did not require expensive processing.

In the literature on action-research discussed in Chapter II, some authors found that survey feedback does not of itself frequently produce lasting change within a social system. The outcome of this research would tend to reinforce such assertions, but not to the extent of casting doubt on the validity of action-research as a tool, for use when called for, in a larger process of Community Development. On the contrary, this experience would suggest that action-research carried out under the conditions explained above may be one of the least disruptive and most community acceptable forms of social research available.

2. Inducement as a Community Development Tool

The ambiguity in the approach of the Community Development workers which was described by Cox and Garvin as trying
"to strike a balance between giving help and fostering self-determination,"² has never completely disappeared, even though few people today talk about Community Development work in relation to "felt needs." However, the idea that the Community Development worker is merely an "enabler" with no goals beyond getting the community to meet, identify and solve its problems is, as discussed in Chapter II, rejected by many authors and by this research design in particular. The Community Development staff in Jack Extension attempted to persuade the community to follow a specific course of action. They failed to convince the community to follow that course of action. Curiously enough, they did succeed, in the process, in getting the community to identify certain problems and adopt solutions of their own. They succeeded as enablers where they failed as advocates of a particular solution.

As noted in the previous chapter, the solution adopted by the community had both positive and negative elements. In part, the community brought to the decision-making process a certain understanding of reality which the Community Development staff did not have. In part their decision was based on ignorance of other realities.

In retrospect the inducement effort has been judged inadequate partly due to lack of time and proper planning but partly also due to a failure to make explicit and achieve agreement on certain assumptions held by the "inducers" but not by the community itself to the same extent. The full airing of these assumptions would have in fact called for a rather lengthy process of community learning. This bit of hindsight does not in any way suggest that inducement is not a valid Community Development tool. On the contrary, as has been seen the Community Development staff needs to spend more time with the community clarifying its basic values and goals, and educating the Party membership in the Party's own basic philosophy, and improving people's consciousness of some basic economic realities. In addition, the staff needs to be more thorough in pursuing its idea, develop its information base better and do more investigation into the feasibility of the approach it wishes to convince the community to pursue.

The need for balance between giving help and fostering self-determination remains. If there is not a basic assumption that however well researched and informed the Community Development worker's proposal is, the people themselves have knowledge and insight he or she lacks, then the whole Community Development process is an exercise in manipulation. People are merely being given the impression of deciding for themselves.
3. The Appropriateness of Local Level Interventions for Inducing Common Welfare Decisions

The literature reviewed in Chapter II strongly affirmed that Community Development interventions at the local level were not likely to be very effective in achieving changes that benefit entire groups, including their least advantaged members, but could be more effective in promoting individual welfare.

The intervention described in this thesis was a very local level intervention and it did indeed fail to elicit the intended common welfare decision. The decision that was arrived at was more likely to benefit the already advantaged individuals rather than the group as a whole and its least advantaged members.

It is not certain, however, that this failure should be taken as one more piece of evidence to support the general consensus of the literature.

It is not obvious that the inducement failed because it was merely local. The Western-oriented literature argues that the kinds of changes which enhance group welfare are only achieved by action on a broader front -- city-wide, provincial or national. It is true that, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, the development of the informal sector industries requires some changes in the systems of supply and distri-
bution on a city and national level, but such changes would be needed to promote private enterprise just as much as cooperative efforts in the informal sector. In fact, it appears likely that such system changes would tend to favour private enterprise development if there is not an effort at the local level to promote more cooperative types of development.

Cooperative industries can only start at the local level. There may be special supply and distribution mechanisms, special training facilities, etc. set up at national or provincial levels, but the productive activity itself must be localized.

As the literature suggests, it clearly would have been easier in Jack Extension to promote an individual welfare outcome (private development of the cottage industry area in this instance) rather than the common welfare outcome intended, but it was the choice of the cooperative over the private mode of production itself that was problematic rather than the level of intervention. This choice as indicated in Chapter II, was a matter of both experience and philosophy. Given that choice, the lessons to be learned from the experience are rather in the area of how to improve, on the
one hand, the quality of the Community Development workers' inducement effort and, on the other hand, the community's understanding of economic realities, the possibilities for successful cooperative development and the national commitment to pursue Humanism through Socialism.
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Appendix 1 - Estimated Poverty Datum Line for a Family of 5 - 6 Persons Living in Lusaka as of April 1979

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item and Cost Per Month</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food - K 49.07</td>
<td>1 Ledogar and Lungu estimated the cost of a nutritionally adequate diet, as of Feb.'78 to be K 41.38. From Feb.'77 to Feb. '78, food costs went up by 17.3% according to the CSO. Assuming the same rate of increase for the period Feb.'78 to Feb.'79, K 7.24 was added to the figure of K 41.83.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing - K 11.20</td>
<td>2 The cost of clothing as of April '77 was estimated to be K 7.26. Clothing costs rose 24.2% from April '77 to April '78, so K 1.76 was added for that year. Assuming the same rate of increase for April '78 to April '79, another K 2.18 was added.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuel and Light - K 7.58</td>
<td>3 The figure of K 5.90 was estimated as of Sept. '77. As the CSO does not use this category as such, the overall cost of living increase figure was used - 17.9%. For the year Sept. '77 to Sept.'78 K 1.06 was added and for the period Oct.'78 to March '79, another .62n.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Footnotes to this appendix appear at the bottom of the following page.
Cleaning Materials - K 5.14
- The figure of K 4.00 was estimated as 3 of Sept. '77. Using the cost of living figure cited above and making the assumption of equal rates of increase for each year, .72n. was added for the year '77-'78 and .42n. for the period Oct. 78 through March '79.

Transport - K 3.00
- An arbitrary figure as used in Footnote 3, below.

Service Charges - K 1.00
- The rate charged for a piped communal water supply in upgraded areas

TOTAL K 76.99


2. Central Statistical Office (CSO), Index of Consumer Prices up to November 1978, Lusaka

Appendix 2 - Briefing Materials, Information/Inducement Meetings

Q. What is the purpose of this meeting?
A. You know that over the past few months we have been asking certain questions of all adults in Jack Extension. Now we want to share with you the information we obtained from the questionnaires and to talk about that information in relation to developing small manufacturing or service businesses. (We are not talking about starting a market where food can be sold.)

Q. Who is taking part in these meetings?
A. All adults (15 years or older), male and female living in Jack Extension. Each section is having its own meeting like this one.

Q. What did we learn from the questionnaires?
A. We learned that:
   - husbands and fathers are working but there is a large group of persons who would like to work and earn money but they are not able to find work or can't work because they have to take care of children. This group is mostly married women and young unmarried men and women.
   - the people of Jack Extension have some resources and skills which could be used to develop small businesses. For example, a large group of people said they could do the following things: baking, basketmaking, brew-brewing, bricklaying, brick and block making, carpentry and furniture-making, pot-making, sewing or tailoring including embroidery, crocheting, knitting and finally, welding.
- we also learned that there are many people who own bicycles and a good number of people who own sewing machines. Some people also have carpentry tools and construction tools.

- finally, we learned that most people who live in Jack Extension want to have some kind of small manufacturing businesses here and many people think that things could be made in Jack Extension and sold in other places.

To summarize: We know that a large number of people, mainly married women and young unmarried men and women want to work; that the community and many of these people themselves have the skills and resources necessary to start a business and that many people in Jack Extension support the idea of small businesses making items for sale outside of Jack Extension.

Q. What about the one hectare of land opposite the Site Office that Lusaka City Council has set aside for the development of small businesses (remember this land is not intended for a market)? Who is eligible for business plots in this area and what are the Council regulations governing the use of this land?

A. According to Council regulations anyone can apply for a plot in that area. If he or she can prove that he or she has the necessary money to build whatever building is required and has enough money to get the business started, that is the chief requirement.

Q. In other words, one needs to have capital to apply for a business plot?

A. Yes.
Q. How can those people who live here and who are now unemployed possibly hope to qualify for a business plot in their own community?

A. We think that these people could form cooperatives.

Q. What can a cooperative do that individuals cannot do?

A. Properly organized cooperatives can get loans that individuals cannot get. A cooperative could obtain a loan to provide the necessary capital to qualify for a business plot. A cooperative can also obtain the necessary capital by establishing a credit union. This means that each member would have to contribute a small amount of money over a certain period of time in order for the cooperative to raise the necessary capital to qualify for a business plot.

Q. Why do you think that cooperatives are possible in Jack Extension?

A. We think that cooperatives are possible because we know that in the community there are groups of people who sew, who are carpenters, who are skilled and experienced at block-making and in many other trades as well. We think that these people could work together to make things that could be sold in town.

Q. Are we suggesting that only businesses that are cooperatives be allowed to apply for business plots in Jack Extension?

A. No, we are not. There is enough room within the area set aside for business development for both cooperatives and individually-run businesses. We are suggesting that the whole community of Jack Extension consider first how to create employment opportunities for those in the community who are now without employment before considering those who are already employed.
We have told you the main things that we learned from the questionnaires and we have made recommendations as to how we think you should proceed to develop businesses, based on this information.

The question for you the adult members of the community to consider, then, is:

Are you willing to consider a cooperative approach to the matter of developing small businesses in Jack Extension. In considering this question, remember that the Community Development staff will give you every assistance and advice about how to start a cooperative or credit union, how to apply for loans, etc., and to discuss with you any ideas you may have about what kinds of cooperatives could be formed.

We hope that you will talk about what we have suggested in the next few days and that next week when we meet again, you will let us know what you think about these suggestions.

Thank you.
Appendix 3 - Briefing Material - Decision-Making Meeting

1. Purpose of the meeting: Today, the community is to decide how it wants to use the one hectare of land where we are now gathered.

2. We have had a series of meetings over the last few weeks to discuss the matter of developing small businesses in Jack Extension.

3. The information we obtained from the questionnaires told us that there were a number of unemployed persons in Jack Extension, that many people have skills and resources which could be used to start up small businesses and that many people wanted to have small businesses here.

   Also, we all know that prices are going up and most of us are looking for ways to make more money even though we may be working.

4. On the basis of that information we the Community Development staff suggested to you that it would be possible to help those members of the community who were unemployed or whose families needed more money to live by using the land set aside for the development of small businesses in a cooperative way.
We are ready to assist any groups in the community who want to start cooperatives. We can advise you how to get started, where to apply for loans and how to run a cooperative business.

5. Now we want you to decide how you want to develop this land. You have indicated that you need to have a place to sell food, that some of you are willing to start cooperative businesses and that others want to have their own businesses.

6. There is this one piece of land on which to do these things that you want to do. The question is how much of this area do you want to use for selling food, how much for private individual businesses and how much of the land are you willing to reserve for groups of people who want to start cooperative businesses either now or in the future.

(Harrington, the residents should be reminded that if they want a food market, permission will have to be obtained from Lusaka City Council, as the land was not originally intended to be used in that way.)
Appendix 4 - Questions to Community Development Staff on Section Meetings

To: Community Development Staff

From: Eleanor Price Ledogar

Re: Community meetings on Business Development

Remember, when these meetings end, to ask people to think things over and to be ready to come to another meeting next week. I plan to meet with you right after each of these meetings and I would like to discuss the following points with you. Please keep these in mind during the meetings; you might wish to make some notes about them during the meetings.

- number of people attending
- mostly men, women, or a good representation of both
- language that the meeting was conducted in
- did everyone seem to understand the language or languages used
- did people understand that the meeting was to talk about business development and nothing else
- what kinds of questions did people ask
- did people seem to accept the information that was collected from the questionnaires or did they seem surprised
- about how many people asked questions
- who did most of the questioning or commenting
- did any group of people dominate the talk at the meeting
- do you think that everyone understood what was being said and what the purpose of the meeting was
was there any confusion or conflict. If so, what were the reasons

did the meeting stick to the topic or did other issues get mentioned

how were the suggestions for cooperative action received

how was the suggestion that the community think first about its own unemployed members received

were there any new ideas suggested by members of the community as to how the unemployed in Jack Extension be helped

were there any new ideas about how to develop small businesses
Appendix 5 - Questions to Staff after All Meetings Completed

Effect of Questionnaire

Did you get the impression at these meetings, or anytime over the past several months, that the questionnaire you had been administering made any difference in how the residents felt about the development of small businesses in Jack Extension?

Do you think the questionnaire made people think about the subject who otherwise might not have thought about it?

Do you think people talked among themselves about the development of small businesses as a result of being questioned by you on the subject?

Did people ever talk to you later about any of the points you discussed while you were administering the questionnaire? If so, which ones?

Did people ever mention the questionnaire during any of the meetings? If so, what comments were made?

Do you think the people of Jack Extension would have come to the same decision about how to develop small businesses if there had been no questionnaire?
Newness of the Community

Did you get the impression that the relative "newness" of the Jack Extension community prevented the residents of Jack Extension from saying what they wanted to say at these meetings?

From your experience as a Community Development worker, could you see any differences in the way people behaved at these meetings from the way people behave at such meetings in older, established, communities? If so, what were the differences?

Do you think that the residents were still primarily concerned with building their houses or were they ready to talk about and act on other things such as the development of small businesses?

Leadership

Do you think that the opinions of the elected UNIP leadership influenced what the rest of the people were thinking, and what they said and finally decided? If so, could you give any examples?

Did you get the impression that the UNIP leaders were trying to influence what people said and what decisions were finally made? If so, could you give any examples?

Do you think there are other "leaders" in Jack Extension who are not the elected leadership. In other words, were you aware of any individuals who were not UNIP leaders
who influenced or tried to influence what people said and what people decided about the matter of small business development? If so, could you give any examples?

Do you think that the UNIP leadership and the other residents of the community are in basic agreement about how to go about developing small businesses in Jack Extension?
Appendix 6 - Questions to Staff Supervisor after all Meetings Completed

You have seen the briefing material given to the Community Development workers and which was to have been used by them at the different section meetings - the meetings to discuss the development of small businesses.

As far as you are able to determine, do you think all of this material - the information it contained and the suggestions it made - was presented at each meeting?

If any of the material was not presented, can you comment on what was omitted and why it was omitted?

Do you think that the Community Development workers tried to convince the community that it would be a good idea to form cooperatives?

Do you think the Community Development workers are themselves convinced it would be a good idea to form cooperatives or do you think they were just going along with instructions?

Do you think the community members know what a real cooperative is and what is involved?

Do you think the community would have made a different decision about how to develop small businesses if the Community Development workers had made any changes in how they talked to the residents?
Did you get any feedback from members of the community as to how the information was presented to them and what kind of a case the Community Development workers made for cooperative development? If so, could you give any examples?

- Do you think that there was another, possibly better, way which could have been used to try to persuade people to form cooperatives?

Do you think there were other ways that could have been used to try to persuade the community to act in ways which would help their "own" unemployed?

- Do you think that the decision that the community made was influenced by the fact that Jack Extension is a relatively new community or do you think the same decision would have been made in an established community?

- Do you think the elected UNIP leadership influenced the decisions the community made or do you think they would have made the same decision regardless of who the leaders were?

- What, if any, other factors do you think may have affected the decision the community made? What about the police action on the 23rd of March - how much do you think that affected the decision? What about past experiences some of the residents may have had with cooperative ventures?

- Are there other comments you wish to make about the decision the community made and why it made that decision?
Appendix 7 - Questionnaire - Pretest - Chawama West

Date

Name of Interviewer

Listing of Questions

1. Name

2. House & Block Number

3. Sex

4. Marital Status

5. Age

6. Highest Educational Level Completed

7. Special Technical/Vocational Training Completed, If Any

   Courses Taken              Certificate/Diploma Obtained

8. Are You Now Attending Regular School or Taking Any Technical
   or Vocational Courses      No_____ Yes_____

   Name of School & Location

9. Are You Self Employed
   (If no, proceed to Q. 13)   No_____ Yes_____

10. If Yes, What Work Do You Do

11. Where Do You Do Your Work
    (May be more than one place)

12. Is Your Work Full Time All Year Around

    Part Time All Year Around

    Full Time But Seasonal

    Part Time and Seasonal

13. Do You work for Someone Else  No_______ Yes_______
14. If Yes, What Work Do You Do

15. Where Do You Work

16. Is Your Work Full Time All Year Around  
   Part Time All Year Around  
   Full Time But Seasonal  
   Part Time and Seasonal

17. If You Are Not Working At All, Why Not

18. If You Could Choose What Kind Of Work To Do To Earn A Living,  
   Given Your Experience and Training, What Would You Choose

19. What Kind Of Activities Would You Like Chawama West To Have

20. What Kind Of Small Manufacturing Or Service Businesses Do You  
    Think Chawama West Should Have

21. Do You Think Chawama Should Have Its Own Bar  No____ Yes____

22. Why

23. Do You Think Chawama West Should Have Its Own Market No____ Yes____

24. Why

25. Why Do You Think Some Businesses Make A Profit and Others Do Not

26. What Do You Think Is Needed For A Small Business To Make Money

27. Do You Think It Is Possible For People To Make Things In  
    Chawama West And Sell Them In Town  No____ Yes____

28. If Yes, What Things

29. What Is Needed To Make This Possible

30. Are You Able To Do Any Of The Following (Tick as many as apply)  
    Basket Making  
    Pot Making  
    Bed Making  
    Repair Work: Bicycles, Cars, Furniture, Shoes  
    Bookkeeping  
    Watches, Radios  
    Brick Laying  
    Other
Brick/Block Making
Carpentry
Ceramics
Crocheting
Furniture Making
Embroidery
Jewelry Making
Knitting
Leather Work
Midwifery
Nursing
Painting
(houses & furniture)
Play A Musical Instrument
(which ones)

31. Do You Have Special Training in Any of The Above  No__ Yes__
32. If Yes, Which Ones
33. Did You Ever Earn Money From The Use Of The Above No__ Yes__
34. If Yes, Which Ones
35. Are You Able To Teach Others Any Of These Skills  No__ Yes__
36. If Yes, Which Ones
37. Do You Have A Drivers Licence  No__ Yes__
38. Do You Own A: Bicycle
   Car
   Pedlar Cart
   Sewing Machine
   Truck
   Vanette

39. Do You Own Tools And/Or Small Manufacturing Equipment

Which Could Be Used To Earn Money  No___ Yes___

40. If Yes, What Ones

_______
Appendix 8 - Questionnaire - Final - Jack Extension

Date

Name Of Interviewer

Listing of Questions

1. Name
2. Block & House Number
3. Sex
4. Marital Status
5. Age
6. Are You The Head Of This Household  No____ Yes____
7. If Yes, Please Give The Name, Sex, Year Of Birth And Relationship To You Of All Other Persons Permanently Living In This House Name Sex Year Of Birth Relation To Head
8. How Many Years Have You Lived In Lusaka
9. Highest Educational Level Completed
10. Special Technical/Vocational Training Completed, If Any,
    Indicate:  Courses Taken  Certificate/Diploma Received
11. Are You Now Attending Regular School Or Taking Any Technical Or Vocational Courses, Indicate:
    Courses Taken  Name Of School & Location
12. Are You Self Employed  No____ Yes____ (If No, proceed to Q. 16)
13. If Yes, What Work Do You Do
14. Where Do You Do Your Work
   (may be more than one place)

15. Is Your Work Full Time All Year Around
    Part Time All Year Around
    Full Time But Seasonal
    Part Time And Seasonal

16. Do You Work For Someone Else  No  Yes

17. If Yes, What Work Do You Do

18. Where Do You Work

19. Is Your Work Full Time All Year Around
    Part Time All Year Around
    Full Time But Seasonal
    Part Time And Seasonal

20. If You Do Not Work At All, Please Indicate The Reason Why
    - Want To Work, But Have To Care For Children
    - Want To Work, But Unable To Find Work
    - Spouse Does Not Want Me To Work
    - Do Not Know What Kind Of Work I Could Do
    - Do Not Want To Work
    - Other (Disability, illness, etc.)

    Explain

21. If You Could Choose What Kind Of Work To Do To Earn A Living,
    Given Your Experience And Training, What Would You Choose

22. What Kind Of Activities Would You Like Jack Extension To Have

23. What Kind Of Small Manufacturing Or Service Businesses Do You
    Think Jack Extension Should Have

24. Why

25. Do You Think Jack Extension Should Have Its Own Bar  No  Yes

26. Why
27. Do You Think That Jack Extension Should Have A Market
   No___ Yes___

28. Why

29. Why Do You Think Some Businesses Make A Profit and Others Do Not

30. What Do You Think Is Needed For A Small Business To Make Money

31. Do You Think It Is Possible For People To Make Things In Jack
    Extension And Sell Them In Town  No___ Yes___

32. If Yes, What Things

33. What Is Needed To Make This Possible

34. Are You Able To Do Any Of The Following (tick as many as apply)

   Baking                      Jewelry Making
   Barbering                   Knitting
   Bed Making                  Leather Work
   Beer Brewing                Midwifery
   Bookkeeping                 Milling
   Bricklaying                 Nursing
   Brick/Block Making          Painting (houses & furniture)
   Carpentry                   Photography
   Ceramics                    Play A Musical Instrument
   Charcoal Production         Which Ones
   Furniture Making            Plumbing
   Embroidery                  Pot Making
   Herbalist                   Repair Work: Bicycles, Cars,
                               Furniture, Shoes, Watches, Radios, Other
Sculpturing
Sewing
Tailoring
Teach School
  What Levels
Tinsmithing

Traditional Dancing
Traditional Healing
Typing
Weaving
Welding
Other

35. Do You Have Special Training In Any Of The Above  No   Yes

36. If Yes, Which Ones

37. Did You Ever Earn Money From The Use Of Any Of The Above  
   No   Yes

38. If Yes, Which Ones

39. Are You Able To Teach Others Any Of These Skills  No   Yes

40. If Yes, Which Ones

41. Do You Have A Drivers Licence  No   Yes

42. Do You Own A:  Bicycle  
   Car  
   Lorry  
   Pedlar Cart  
   Sewing Machine  
   Vanette  

43. Do You Own Tools And/Or Small Manufacturing Equipment Which  
   Could Be Used To Earn Money  No   Yes

44. If Yes, What Ones
Appendix 9 - Questionnaire Briefing Material - Pretest

This questionnaire is to be administered to every person, male and female, who lives in Jack Extension and who is fifteen years of age or older.

Before starting to ask the questions, you, as interviewer, should carefully explain to the person being interviewed the purposes of the questionnaire.

It should be explained that within Jack Extension a small section of land has been set aside for the development of small manufacturing industries and service businesses and that the purpose of the questionnaire is:

1) to find out what type of work the adults in the community are now doing, what they are able to do, what kind of work they would like to be doing, and, to find out if there are people with special training or skills

2) to find out from the adults in the community what kinds of small manufacturing industries or service businesses they would like to have in Jack Extension.

Once we have this information it will be discussed with the adult members of the community at block meetings to be held sometime early next year.

We, as representatives of the organization charged by Lusaka City Council with the formation of Jack Extension, can suggest to the community at these meetings what types of businesses we think would bring in the most money to the community and would employ the
largest number of people living in the community.

The community can then decide what types of businesses should be established and what persons should have priority for establishing the businesses.

There are some questions on the questionnaire which may not seem to be directly related to the purposes stated above. These questions have been included to find out basic attitudes and to get people to start thinking about what kinds of businesses would do well in Jack Extension.

There are also questions about whether Jack Extension should have its own bar or market. At this stage, we cannot promise the community that Lusaka City Council will permit either.

The name of the person being interviewed should be on each page of the questionnaire.

Your name should appear on the first page of the questionnaire in the top right hand corner.

Please give answers for all numbered questions. If a person does not give any answer, use NS to indicate that you asked the question but no answer was given.

Education Code for Questions 6 & 8

NS - Not Stated

N - None

G1 - Grade 1

F1 - Form I

G2 - Grade 2

F2 - Form II, etc.
Place of Work Code for Questions 11 & 15

AH - At Home
JE - Jack Extension
ChM - Chawama Market
JHM - John Howard Market
IA - Industrial Area
LM - Luburuma Market
CW - Chawama West
CM - Central Market
OM - Other Market
L - Any other place in Lusaka

Codes may be changed or new ones added and this will depend on the results of the pretesting of these questionnaires.

In Question 17, we are interested in knowing if a person wants to work but can't find a job - wants to work but has given up looking - wants to work but has to take care of children - is not interested in working and so on.

In Question 31, there are 37 skills listed. It is important that the interviewer go through this list carefully with each person. Do not assume, for example, if you are interviewing a woman, that she does not know how to repair bicycles. She might have learned from her husband or father.

There are some skills listed which are not obviously connected to the development of small manufacturing industries or service businesses, such as traditional dancing or playing a musical instrument. They have been included because at some future date in the life of the community, you, as Community Development workers, may be asked to start clubs or youth groups and will know from these questionnaires which members of the community could be called upon to participate in forming or leading such groups.
Before administering these questionnaires to the adults in Jack Extension, each interviewer should test the questionnaire on another interviewer. Then, each interviewer should pretest the questionnaire on six persons now living in Chawama West. This is a community which has come into being for the same reasons as Jack Extension and is more or less at the same stage of development.

The explanation that you should give these people is simply that you are pretesting a questionnaire and that you need their cooperation to do so. Do not proceed with questioning a person if he/she is in any way reluctant.

Among the six pretest questionnaires that each interviewer completes should be one male head of house, one female over 21 years and one person in the 15-20 age group.

The pretesting of the questionnaire has been approved by the Lusaka City Council staff in charge of Chawama West. The administering of the questionnaire to all adults in Jack Extension has been approved by the Director of Housing. He has been advised of the purposes of the questionnaire and that the community is to be involved in deciding how the land set aside for the development of small manufacturing industries and service business is to be utilized. After the pretesting has been completed, the questionnaire form will be revised based on your experience and recommendations.
Appendix 10 - Questionnaire Briefing Material - Final

This questionnaire is to be administered to every person, male and female, who lives in Jack Extension and who is fifteen years of age or older.

Before starting to ask questions, you should explain carefully to the person being interviewed the purposes of the questionnaire. It should be explained that within Jack Extension a section of land has been set aside for the development of small manufacturing industries and service businesses and the purposes of the questionnaire are:

1. to find out what type of work the adults in the community are doing, what they are able to do, what kind of work they would like to be doing and, to find out if there are people with special training or skills.

2. to find out from the adults in the community what kinds of small manufacturing industries or service businesses they would like to have in Jack Extension.

You should also explain and this is very important that specific information about individuals obtained from the questionnaires will not be shown to any Government or Party agencies or their representatives.

Once the questionnaires are completed the information obtained will be discussed with the adult members of the community at section meetings to be held sometime early next year.
We, as representatives of the organization charged by Lusaka City Council with the formation of Jack Extension, can suggest to the community at these meetings what types of businesses the community might want to establish and what we think would bring in the most money and would employ the largest number of community members.

The community can then decide what types of businesses should be established and what persons, if any, should have priority for establishing the businesses.

There are some questions on the questionnaire which may not seem to be directly related to the purposes stated above. These questions have been included to find out basic attitudes and to get people to start thinking about what kinds of businesses might do well in Jack Extension.

There are also questions about whether Jack Extension should have its own bar or market. At this stage, we cannot promise the community that Lusaka City Council will permit either. The questions have been included, however, to find out if the community thinks that either or both are necessary or desirable.

The name of the person being interviewed should be on each page of the questionnaire.

Your name should appear only on the first page of the questionnaire in the top right hand corner.

When a tick is called for, and a line for the tick provided, please use it. If you tick on the wrong side of the answer, it is difficult to figure out what the answer should be.
Please give answers for all numbered questions. If a person does not give an answer to a question, use NS to indicate that you asked the question but that an answer was not stated. DO NOT SIMPLY PUT A DASH.

Coded answers have been worked out for some questions. Please use them.

**Relationship Code for Question 7**

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<td>Father of Head</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>Mother of Head</td>
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<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>Wife</td>
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<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Real son</td>
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<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Real daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Brother</td>
</tr>
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<td>S</td>
<td>Sister</td>
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**Education Code for Question 9 & 11**

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<td>etc.</td>
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Three questions have been added to the questionnaire. See Questions 6, 7 & 8. These are simply for census purposes so that we have an accurate count of all persons, of all ages, and an indication as to how long the adults have lived in Lusaka.
In Question 20, the results of the open-ended question on the
pretests were not satisfactory. So it has been changed to provide
a series of possible answers. More than one answer can be ticked
so you should read out all the possible answers before asking the
person which reasons apply.
In Question 21, the pretests produced some unrealistic answers,
i.e., the job aspirations had little connection to training or experi-
ence. When you ask this question, then, be sure to stress the phrase,
"given your experience and training." That way we may get some
useful answers.
In Question 34, there are now 44 skills listed. It is important
that the interviewer go through this list carefully with each person.
This question was well done on the pretests. It looked as if the
whole list had been carefully covered by the interviewers.
The amount of space provided for you to write the answers has been
increased as a result of the pretest experience. For example, in
Questions 29, 30 & 33, the answers given were too brief. An
answer of "proper planning" or "poor planning" is not too useful.
We want to find out what people think is poor or proper planning and
how they would describe it. An answer such as "fixing good prices,"
"providing good service to customers," "selling things that you know
people need," etc. are much more useful kinds of answers.
Please avoid phrases such as, "and many other things." (See Question
32.) That kind of an answer is useless when trying to figure out
exactly what types of products people think can be made in Jack
Extension and sold in town. You will have to make the effort to
find out exactly what "many other things" are.

Please do not hurry through the questionnaire, particularly the opinion questions. You will want to go fast to get the job done but please try to resist that feeling.

Finally, and this is also very important - DO NOT MAKE UP AN ANSWER - There will be many people who will not give answers to some of the opinion questions. Although you should encourage them to try and give an opinion, if they really have nothing to say, accept that, and put down NS for 'not stated.'

The more fully you explain in the beginning of your interview the purposes of the questionnaire, the more likely you are to get some answers to the opinion questions. In other words, if the residents of Jack Extension realize that their opinions will make a difference as to what businesses may be started in their area, they will be interested in answering the questions.
Appendix II - Monitoring Material on Questionnaire Process - 1

To : Interviewers

From: Eleanor Price Ledogar

Re: Questionnaires

Please answer the following questions in the space provided:

1. Do you think the people understand why we are administering the questionnaire?
   If not, what do you think the problem is?

2. Do you think people are interested in what we are trying to do, i.e., find out skills and resources in order to develop some small manufacturing or service businesses, or do you think they don't care.

3. Do you think that people resent any of the questions?
   If so, which ones and why?

4. Do you think people are answering the questions truthfully? If not, why?

5. Do you have any comments to make about the attitudes of the people to whom you have administered the questionnaire?

Your Name _______________  Date _______________
Appendix 12 - Monitoring Material on Questionnaire Process - 2

To: Interviewers
From: Eleanor Price Ledogar
Re: Questionnaires

Comments on Questionnaires Received to Date

As of today, (November 15, 1978) 54 questionnaires have been completed, 24 Heads of Household and 30 'Other Adults.' For the most part, they have been carefully completed and the answers clear. When they were not, they have been returned for clarification.

The census-type questions are causing no difficulties nor are the other factual questions. Some of the opinion-type questions are causing difficulties, however. Inevitably, we can expect similar answers from the majority of those being interviewed. But when exactly the same phrases appear on questionnaire after questionnaire, it looks as if the interviewer is putting words into a person's mouth. This may not be the case; it might simply be the result of the interviewer explaining the question in such a way that the person picks up on what the interviewer says and uses the same words for an answer. In any case, I want to repeat the instructions given you in earlier written briefing material....DO NOT PUT WORDS INTO A PERSON'S MOUTH OR MAKE UP AN ANSWER.

If a person really does not know, for example, what makes some businesses profitable and others not - then just put 'not stated.' I realize this type of question is a difficult one to get a satisfactory answer on. But even if you don't get satisfactory answers
at this time, the question itself and your explanation of what it means will at least start some people thinking about the problems and that is what we want.

It is clear from the questionnaires received so far, from your own comments, and from comments of participants at various meetings that the immediate establishment of at least a few retail stores (groceries) where food can be sold is considered very important. We will discuss this at the regular Jack Extension field team meeting on Tuesday, 28 November.

Please answer the following questions in the space provided:

1. Now that you have been interviewing for a few weeks, do you think the word has spread among the participants as to what you are doing and why you are doing it? In other words, do you think people know you are coming to interview them and why you want to interview them?

2. Do people ask you any questions about setting up small manufacturing or service businesses in general? (I don't mean questions about setting up retail stores where food is sold.) If so, what kinds of questions?

3. Do any of the people ask about conducting businesses (either food or manufacturing/service) on their own residential plots?

4. Do you think they assume they can do so if they want to?

5. Do people ask you any questions about any other concerns of theirs. If so, what are their concerns?

6. Do you have any of your own comments to make about the questionnaire and the responses you are or are not getting?