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Urban Commitment and Involvement among Black Rhodesians By V. Moller. Durban, University of Natal, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, 1978, 473pp., no price indicated.

This lengthy work on the migration and urbanization of Black Rhodesians in Salisbury is the author's doctoral thesis. She is concerned with the relationships between urban security, urban involvement and stabilization of these urban dwellers in the urban environment; the relationship between socio-economic status and tenure status is found to be highly positively correlated. Three areas of Salisbury with different tenure status are chosen for comparison: Harare hostels, Mufakose rental accommodation and Kam-buzuma home-ownership. The fieldwork was carried out between 1973 and 1975; some of the research has already been published in an article entitled 'Migrant Labour in Harare Hostels, Salisbury' in Zambesia (1977), V, pp.140-59.

The first section is a very extensive and systematically presented review of the literature of migration and urbanization, drawing heavily on work by J. Clyde Mitchell and the somewhat inapplicable work of H. J. Hoffmann-Nowotny. This is followed by a comprehensive descriptive and largely historical account of the development of Salisbury's Black townships. The following section on the empirical research is disappointing with cursory attention being given to the survey procedure. The reader is referred to the Appendix for greater detail, but here only limited information is given on the sampling technique used. The survey findings are exhaustively presented in written diagrammatic, graphic and tabular form. This section is useful for comparative reference purposes.

This work has a wealth of material to offer the student of migration and urbanization, but is difficult to read. Even when allowances are made for the fact that the author is writing in her second language, the work is impaired by awkward words and ugly phrases which hold up the flow of comprehension in reading.

University of Rhodesia

DIANA R. SEAGER


Undoubtedly one of the most pressing economic problems facing this
economy currently, and one that is likely to assume greater magnitude in the future, is the problem of skilled manpower. Public and academic interest and concern on the problem has recently been considerable. The monographs by Mothobi and Stoneman both published in 1978, are some evidence of this interest.

Training for Development is a sequel to Education, Race and Employment in Rhodesia, edited by M. W. Murphree (reviewed ante (1975), IV, i, 148-5) in which one major point made was that there is significant under-utilization of a fairly well-educated but untrained African labour force, co-existing with a shortage of skilled manpower due, mainly, to the incidence of racial discrimination in the labour market. Mothobi makes a similar point but underlines the other point (which is likely to be the more important issue in the future), that the system of training itself is inefficient and inadequate to meet the needs for economic development of Zimbabwe.

Training for Development is a well written and reasonably organized monograph consisting of four chapters and several useful data appendices. The scope, nature and methods of investigation are given in the introductory chapter. An obvious and important omission in this chapter is a definition of the phrase 'training for development', and a discussion of how such training differs from other types of training. Also missing in this chapter are reasons for the choice of the method of investigation used in the monograph.

The second chapter gives a fairly good description and analysis of the apprenticeship system in this country. The deficiencies of the apprenticeship system are portrayed as due to:

(a) lack of will to train (especially African) apprentices by employers;
(b) reliance on immigration and poaching as sources of supply for skilled manpower; and
(c) dependency of the system on employers for the supply of apprenticeship trainees.

The training itself is found deficient for a variety of reasons — including an imbalance between theoretical and practical training, the absence, in some cases, of an industrial atmosphere, and the high minimum entry qualifications required. Mothobi's overall assessment of the Apprenticeship Training System (A.T.S.) is that:

Not only is there a very serious deficiency in the employers and white skilled workers' will to train apprentices, especially African ones, and in the capacity of the existing methods of training, but also the A.T.S. is an out-moded system which has never been able to extricate itself from its deep-rooted involvement in the protection of the vested interests of white labour and white society.

In Chapter 3 issues pertaining to other forms of technical training are discussed. Chapter 4 concludes the monograph and makes some very important suggestions for improving the A.T.S. It is suggested, for example, that an Industrial Training Authority be set up (MANDATA which was set up in 1979 is broadly similar to Mothobi's suggestion). Another suggestion is that a manpower survey be undertaken (the Manpower Inventory Study jointly sponsored by the Whitsun Foundation and the University of Rhodesia is along similar lines suggested by Mothobi) following which, it is suggested, there should be an Economic Development Plan.
Most of the analysis and policy recommendations in this monograph are reasonably sound. However, the monograph has one major weakness. There is no section giving a brief survey of the literature on training in general and ‘training for development’ in particular. Such a section is necessary to set Mothobi’s essay in a suitable intellectual perspective and would also have provided a suitable conceptual framework for the essay.

Mothobi should, in my view, have defined for the reader the character of optimal ‘training for development’ against which he could have assessed the current system of training. I suspect that had he done so, he would have found that his methodology was inappropriate. That is, a survey of employers’ and employees’ attitudes and views is not really relevant for assessing the efficiency and adequacy of the apprenticeship training system.

Skilled Labour and Future Needs is one of the series From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe. The objective of the series is to analyse the economic, social, administrative and legal problems to be faced by an independent Government of Zimbabwe. Monographs in the series must take as a point of departure the question: ‘How can the new Government of Zimbabwe provide the basic needs (my emphasis) of the poorest sectors of society?’

The book consists of five sections. The first section provides a broad overview of the Zimbabwean economy which is familiar to most observers of this economy. The second section provides a review of previous attempts to estimate and forecast the demand for skilled manpower. Special emphasis is given to the racial distribution of the demand for skilled manpower, and the author underlines the important but familiar point that ‘the whites dominate the skilled posts throughout the economy’. The third section is devoted to a description of the supply of skilled manpower. The author points at the great disparity in opportunities for secondary and post-secondary education between African and non-African pupils. In the fourth section ‘The Basic Needs Approach’ (B.N.A.) is adopted as a framework for analysing manpower problems for this economy. The five ‘basic needs’ identified are: production of consumer goods; universal access to services; the physical, human and technological infrastructure capacity for productive employment; and mass participation in decision making. In Zimbabwe the author believes that the physical, human and technological infrastructure is nearly adequate. However, he argues that these are concentrated in meeting the needs of the White population to the neglect of most of the Black population.

In section five the author envisages three possible political scenarios; namely:

(a) success of the ‘internal settlement’;
(b) success of the ‘Anglo-American’ settlement; and
(c) ‘a victory by the liberation forces’.

He asks the question: which of these scenarios is likely to succeed in meeting the United Nations’ target of ‘basic needs’ for Zimbabwe by the year 2000. The author believes options (a) and (b) have no chance of succeeding, but option (c) is seen as providing the best chance of attaining the U.N. target of ‘basic needs’ for Zimbabwe.

Taken as a scholarly essay, Stoneman’s essay is disappointing. Much of the monograph (sections I-V) describes data which is familiar to most. These sections add little, if anything, to what informed observers of this economy already know. The only section attempting to be analytical, is
Unfortunately, the analytical framework (if, that is, the 'Basic Needs Approach' is permitted to rise to such venerable status) is inappropriate for the problem at hand.

It is important (in the view of this writer very important) to point out that the 'Basic Needs Approach' is not an alternative theoretical framework for analysing economic problems. Rather it represents a shift (in some quarters) in discussion of problems of, and policies for, economic development of less developed countries, from emphasis on promotion of growth of income per capita, to an attack on absolute poverty through the provision of 'basic needs'. This shift has been prompted by the alleged failure of growth-promoting policies to make a significant dent on poverty. It is, however, a serious error to conclude that growth of G.N.P. has not led to improvement in the levels of living of the poor in many countries (T. N. Srinivasan, 'Development, poverty and basic human needs: Some issues', *Food Research Institute Studies* (1977), XVI, 11-28). Further, it is an even more serious error to believe that any success in the provision of 'basic needs' can be sustained for any significant length of time without growth of G.N.P.

Even if the 'Basic Needs Approach' was an alternative theoretical framework, the author ought to have set it in an intellectual perspective. Had he done so, it would have been clear that using skilled-training programmes as an instrument for eradicating poverty is at best a blunt and inefficient way to do the job.

Perhaps the least scholarly section of this monograph is section V. It is surprising that the author is prepared to assess the capacities of such vague political options as the 'Anglo-American' settlement or 'victory by the liberation forces' for meeting very specific U.N. 'basic needs' targets by a specific date. It is unclear to this writer, how such imprecise political options can be transformed into corresponding skilled-manpower policies, on the basis of which one can so confidently assess the chances of success at attaining very specific targets at a given point in time.

The fact that the author is willing to make policy recommendations on the basis of such weak factual and analytical basis leaves one to wonder whether the monograph should be treated as a scholarly essay or a political campaign document. If it is the latter (as I strongly fear), then the value of the monograph to scholars and policy makers alike, is likely to be very insignificant.

*University of Rhodesia*

T. R. MUZONDO

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**A Wilderness Called Kariba**


The word Kariba needs no introduction. Today the dam wall is a monument to an engineering achievement which at the time of its construction made Kariba the world's largest 'jumbo' lake. World headlines were focused on Operation Noah and the international response to an appeal for ladies stockings, the curse of Kariba weed and the translocation of thousands of Zambesi Tonga to new homes. What of Kariba today? This book provides answers.
Dale Kenmuir is a research officer at the Lake Kariba Fisheries Research Institute. He is a quiet man who has proved to be very fluent with the pen. Some years ago, he admitted a temptation to change his career to journalism. The text of his latest book reflects this desire in its free, easily readable style yet backed by scientific discipline and observation. The book is an account of biological changes which have taken place in the Zambesi Valley since the pre-impoundment surveys to the present time. Emphasis has been placed on early predictions (guesses) by various authorities and planning committees of what would occur and then what actually happened and continues to happen in the maturation process of an artificial lake. The story unfolds in nineteen short chapters. These cover the planning stage, the pre-flooded riverine environment, the river people, Operation Noah, changes to the fish populations, Kariba weed, drowned trees, tigerfish and sardines, eels, jellyfish, shrimps and sponges, birds and crocodiles. Woven into the thread of the text are quotations from scientific reports and papers from virtually every person who has been in some way involved in the multifaceted biology of Kariba over the past twenty years. Mr. Kenmuir has done his homework well.

A review should include deserving criticism. I have only one comment. Those chapters dealing with fish catches (sardine, tigerfish and gill-net fisheries) stress the need for increased efficiency to realize the full protein-production potential of the lake. That the lake is currently underfished appears obvious. Mr. Kenmuir has however omitted to warn of the existence of upper limits of exploitation in animal communities which if exceeded lead to biological overfishing. Examples exist for fish and whales of the great oceans and closer to home, Lakes Victoria and Malawi. Kariba cannot supply an unlimited source of food and careful management of its resources will become increasingly important.

The small pencil sketches by the author's wife, Morag, and the late Russel Williams (killed by terrorists) provide a visual atmosphere and to those who have lived there, a recall of irreplaceable memories. Whether or not you have been to Kariba you should read its story.

The National Museum, Bulawayo

B. G. DONNELLY

The Struggle for Health By J. Gilmurray, R. Riddell and D. Sanders. Gwelo, Mambo Press, Rhodesia to Zimbabwe No. 7, 1979, ZR$0.65.

This small book, one of a series being published as Occasional Papers concerning the transition to majority rule in Zimbabwe, is written by three graduates of the University of Rhodesia, one an economist with an interest in development studies and the other two medical practitioners. The text, in six chapters, sets out a considerable amount of information concerning the demography of the people of Zimbabwe Rhodesia, their disease pattern and the historical development and present-day position of the health services in the country. There are extensive references to the various authorities and reports from which the authors derived their factual information and for a small booklet the information therein is extensive.

The authors state (p.34) that 'In general the health care services were good by standards in many other parts of the African continent.' They are alive to the contribution made to improved health in other parts of the
world, particularly the developed world, by better nutrition, good water supplies, adequate refuse and sewage disposal and reasonable shelter. Improvements in these essential needs can be brought about only by improved social conditions engendered by economic prosperity and the cessation of the present war which has had an adverse effect on the development of the country.

Few would argue with the authors that there must be an increasing delivery of health services at rural levels; the problem is to encourage people to work in such areas. They advocate the training of large numbers of village health workers (V.H.W.s) who would be invaluable, provided they are willing to remain working in these areas on a part-time basis. Only time will tell whether those already trained will be acceptable. In referring to the Advanced Clinical Nurse (A.C.N.) they state (p.43) that 'the A.C.N. is really a doctor in practically everything but name'. I would take issue with this and say they are highly skilled members of the nursing profession, a nurse practitioner or physician's assistant in modern parlance, but their basic training remains far short of that on which one would base the training of a medical practitioner. Efforts have been made in the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Rhodesia to expose students throughout their career to the needs of community medicine, including a three-week attachment in their final year in a rural area. Of recent years, owing to the war situation, this has had to be curtailed but experience in primary medical health services is given in a rapidly developing urban township where many rural people are arriving daily. It is noted that neither of the two medical authors have spent any time working in the rural areas of Rhodesia, where their experience might have been broadened and thus brought greater professional relevance to the text.

In this reviewer's opinion the basic structure of the health services of Zimbabwe is sound. Their development depends on peace not war and increasing economic prosperity. Many of the ideas suggested by the authors are already incorporated in the programme for the future and others will be readily adopted when the situation, both economic and military, allows. It is pleasing to see, even if from two authors who appear to be London based, that they are aware of the needs of rural as opposed to urban health services. It is to be hoped that they and others will join with those in Zimbabwe to help in providing the expertise to develop many of their proposals in the future.

University of Rhodesia

W. FRASER ROSS

Alternatives to Poverty By R. Riddell. Gwelo, Mambo Press, Rhodesia to Zimbabwe No. 1, 20pp., ZR$0.30.

This booklet is the first in a series of monographs in which a range of issues likely to confront policy makers on development in a legally independent Zimbabwe are discussed.

The work falls into two main sections. One provides an historical summary of the process of development which has shaped the economy as it now stands, noting a number of current social and economic problem areas. The other looks to the future, attempting to address in broad outline
the task mapped out in the brief for the series: 'How can the new Government of Zimbabwe provide for the basic needs of the poorest sectors of Society?'

The author begins by identifying three general problem areas — poverty, unemployment and inequality. Without engaging in the (academically fascinating) definitional intricacies surrounding the three issues, it is, I think, reasonably fair to say — and Riddell almost implies this — that in the particular context, the first and second problems affect exclusively the Black section of the population, while the third distributional question is at the broad social level mostly noted with the White population as the reference point.

These problems, Riddell believes, 'the present development strategy is totally incapable of solving'.

The "Present Development Strategy"

In this section, Riddell gives an historical sketch of the development of the economy. A sketch — I do not think anything more. The accuracy of that sketch is, for those familiar with the details, easy enough to assess by means of a ten-minute read through the twelve pages. The usefulness of those pages is that they raise the following major issues:

**Capital, capitalism and growth:** Riddell notes the generally unquestioned central role of foreign and local capitalistic interests in the growth of the main productive sectors of the economy — manufacturing, commercial agriculture and mining. Here the explicit conclusion is drawn that growth and expansion have not been negligible in terms of output volume, the extension of external linkages and absolute wage employment, and further, that — and Riddell places accent on this — the overall economic structure yielding this growth has demonstrably failed to absorb much of the available labour force. Moreover, the employment that has been generated for the Blacks has been at unacceptably low wage levels (with reference to Poverty Datum Line desiderata). The implicit critique therefore essentially collapses into the 'growth' without adequate, sufficiently paying employment' thesis.

**On the "dual economy:"** Here the conclusion reached is that in historical terms, the Black peasant economy has been, and been made, subserviently, disadvantageously, and debilitatingly functional to the accumulation requirements of capital in the 'modern' sectors — in three ways. First, the Reserve economy supplies labour to the capitalist sectors — and cheaply. There is some ambiguity in Riddell's presentation here as to the relative status, historically and currently, of structural determinants (e.g. at p.8) and deliberate State labour policies (e.g. p.7) in this process of internal migration. Second, the Reserves supply 'an accommodating mechanism' to the modern sector, by subsidizing the incomes of the wage workers, who 'are not paid anything like the full amount necessary to provide for the basic minimum needs of their families'. Third, the existence of Reserves has allowed the State to pursue discriminatory policies in the provision and distribution of infrastructural support and assets (especially land), biasing these in favour of the 'modern' sectors.

The net effect of all this has been that 'the development of the modern sector is ... built upon the underdevelopment of the reserve economy'. The conclusion amounts to an (again) implicit sectoral dependency thesis, supplementing a pronounced unbalance growth hypothesis: accumulation and growth in the 'modern' sector finds its polar opposite in the involution of the Black rural economy.
Riddell takes the position that, particularly with the advent of a new political dispensation in Zimbabwe, the need for solutions to the problems of Black rural and urban poverty and unemployment, and of inequality in the distribution of assets and income, takes on added urgency. And since these problems are a result of policy biases contained in past strategies interacting with the structural processes summarized above, the solutions ‘require ... a very different alternative from the present approach’.

The Basic Needs Approach to Development

Riddell proposes that what is needed is a re-orientation of development philosophy and policy so that the satisfaction of the basic needs of ‘the poorest sectors of the population’ occupies a central position. Basic needs are defined as consisting of three elements: adequate private consumption, access to social services, and mass participatory democracy.

Unless adequately balanced with accurate portrayal, coherent thinking and clear expression, brevity in socio-economic discussion, particularly of policy issues, always carries the grave danger on the part of the presenter of misrepresentation of ideas — and of misinterpretation on the part of the recipients. I fear that this could be the result of the way that the Basic Needs Approach has been introduced to the context of Zimbabwe.

In so far as addresses the question of incorporating considerations of poverty, deprivation and distribution into the public policy decision matrix, the Basic Needs Approach says nothing shatteringly novel to the study of social problems. But in so far as it simply focuses on a (hopefully non-ephemeral) shift in emphasis in the thinking of world professional analysts and agencies about the purposes (and only secondarily strategies) of growth and development, the Basic Needs Approach only gives a new label to an universally important issue: humanity must struggle to alleviate poverty and its consequences.

Riddell’s discussion of this shift is, I think, too brief. It also appears rather haphazardly and hurriedly assembled. Summarizing the Basic Needs Approach and juxtaposing that summary with comments on general macro-economic sectoral policy options, urbanization and industrialization, the role of foreign capital, technology and know-how, Research and Development, participatory democracy and self-reliance, the problem of the influence of East - West geopolitics on the evolution of strategic development options, etc., and presenting all this in a 13-page section, results in the likelihood that the meaning and implication of the Basic Needs Approach itself will be lost. Superficiality becomes almost inevitable.

Riddell raises many important and relevant issues in this pamphlet. Those issues are not new to this country and economy. That lack of novelty does not make them any less valid, or urgent. His presentation of these issues leaves much to be desired, for example, detail, rigour and, for other analysis, theoretical explicitness. The over-riding point, in my view, however, is that the issues are being raised. The country can only benefit from more thorough efforts.

University of Rhodesia

M. KADHANI

This study was part of Professor Chavunduka's doctoral research and was conducted mainly on a group of Shona patients in Highfield township in Salisbury, Rhodesia over the years 1968-72. With detailed statistics, case studies and numerous quotations, Chavunduka examines the process involved in defining the causes of illnesses, the decision-making process in the choice of therapy and the organization of traditional medical practice.

In the course of his analysis, he emphasizes that traditional healing is a service that exists for preserving health in its own way and that its healing is not exclusive to those with the most amount of money. Chavunduka discovered that the rural Shona patient first seeks the traditional healer's treatment and that of the professional physician last. The urban patient, however, seeks the services of a professional physician first and then that of the traditional healer, if no cure has been effected. As a general rule, however, most patients seek the services of the traditional healers when scientific medicine proves ineffective. More than 53 per cent of the urban patients in Chavunduka's series left the professional practitioner and resorted to the traditional healers when scientific medicine failed to produce expected results.

The study shows as well how ties of kinship are particularly brought to the fore in times of illness; money is made available to a kinsman who is faced with an illness but lacks money. The basic concept of extended relationship with its concomitant factors of sharing and helping one another is well brought out in this study. The concept of collective responsibility, so inherent in Shona society, is thus clearly demonstrated. The ancestral spirits may punish a whole group or some of the relatives with an illness or misfortune, if one of their members upsets them. An illness, therefore, concerns not only an individual but the whole family group.

Chavunduka observes in his study that there is a sense in which the traditional healer can be said to outmanoeuvre the professional physician whose pre-occupation is largely the physical cure of his patient. The traditional healer is interested in the cure of the whole man. The professional physician asks the patient to tell him where the pain is and then he diagnoses. The traditional healer identifies himself with his patient far more than that. He is like the priest who identifies himself with his client's difficulties and social problems. He heals both the body and mind of the client. Conditions considered to have a primarily supernatural cause are taken to him because the professional physician has no means of coping with them. Illnesses of 'African' origin that are caused by witches are believed to be better treated by traditional healers, while professional doctors are believed to deal far better with diseases caused by germs. However, it seems that it is difficult for patients to tell whether their ailments were 'African' or 'European' in origin.

The traditional healer also outmanoeuvres his professional counterpart in that he is believed to provide his clients with protective medicines that ward off any harmful magic or witchcraft. On the other hand, the reputation of the traditional healer is not as high as it used to be owing to the influence of Western education, Christianity and the efficacy of scientific medicine. Missionaries discouraged traditional healing because they thought that it encouraged superstition, witchcraft and ancestral worship.

Traditional healers sensing the threat to the existence of their profession have reacted by forming their own medical associations such as The True
African Ngangas Herbalists Association of Africa. These associations issue their own medical certificates and diplomas and badges. All this is designed to protect themselves against extinction and to retain public confidence. Chavunduka also shows how through the cash economy, traditional healing is being transformed from a healing service into a profit-making enterprise.

Chavunduka's book is generally interesting and represents, in a very schematic way, a modest beginning in an important and fascinating field of study. It goes beyond the typical descriptive method of some anthropologists. We can conclude from this study that the traditional healer is still holding sway and that his services often meet felt needs, and that he has a big role to play in the treatment of millions of patients in Rhodesia or perhaps throughout Black Africa.

It is, however, necessary to enter a word of caution. The analysis presented in the book is mainly based upon research in one township, Highfield, which is in no sense representative of the whole of Rhodesia. How far it is possible to draw generalized conclusions from this analysis is, therefore, a moot point. Also, the book is, unfortunately, padded out with numerous and long quotations from text books which could have been reduced to a minimum and only referred to in a paraphrased manner.

University of Rhodesia

J. C. Kumbirai


In this brief survey Professor Chavunduka sets out to trace the history, function, the proceedings and the type of cases brought before the Makoni Court in St Mary's Township near Salisbury. The Court is the traditional dare, though modified, in an urban setting. It was instituted at the request of Mr Makoni and the residents of St Mary's Township. It was initially established on a local basis in 1962 but soon attracted litigants from all over Salisbury's townships.

The court primarily solves social problems that the residents consider, the District Commissioners cannot satisfactorily arbitrate; such cases include disputes between husbands and wives, disputes between neighbours, between boys and their girl friends, and adultery. Difficult cases are referred to the D.C.; these include divorce, and disputes over custody of children. Some other cases are referred to the chief as they demand a ritual settlement; incest is one of such cases.

The author observed a number of innovations at this court such as the taking of the oath to God, and the keeping of records of court proceedings. A most peculiar innovation is that a man who gives any woman *o*a* money in return for sexual favours is guilty of promoting prostitution.

If the reader is looking for a systematic analysis of this research, he will be disappointed. There is an absence of a coherent thematic development. The case material itself is hastily treated and the book is reduced to a superficial description of a variety of themes not directly related to the court or the research. Digressions occupy almost 70 per cent of the text. For example, in Chapter-2 the author deals at great length with witchcraft and social functions, bringing in irrelevant quotations that have nothing to do...
with his topic. In Chapter 4 the author wanders off from the *inapoto* (illegal) marriage to the function and advantages of polygamy, advantages of monogamy over polygamy and forms of polygamy among Christians — none of which directly relate to the topic at issue.

The author overstates that children are regarded as an important source of labour, social and political support. This may be true but he forgets that the overwhelming desire for children is that when parents die it is only through their children and grandchildren that they are believed to express their ego. They cannot come back to demand anything unless there is someone to demand it from. They cannot be honoured unless there is someone to honour them. To leave no issue means complete oblivion.

Although the book, in my opinion, has a limited appeal, it will be useful to researchers working on similar themes and to Europeans wanting to know something about Shona customs and the changes that are taking place in an urban setting, but outside these groups few, in my opinion, will find it of much value.

*University of Rhodesia*  
J. C. Kumbirai