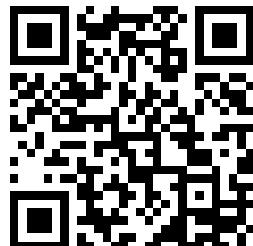

This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

Google™ books

<https://books.google.com>



East Africa

LIEBENOW ✓

ug 1039 CP

9

11D

E.A.I.S.R. - I.R.S.A.C.

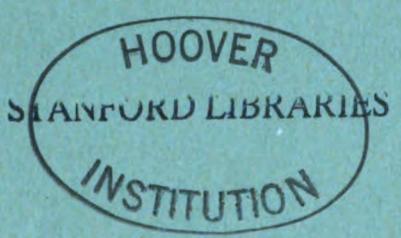
Report of the Second Joint Conference on
Research in the Social Sciences
in East and Central Africa

held at

East African Institute of Social Research,
MAKERERE COLLEGE,
KAMPALA, UGANDA

February 23rd, 1953.

DT
365
J75
2ND
FEB. 1953
F



E.A.I.S.R. - I.R.S.A.C.

Report

of the

Second Joint Conference on Research in the Social Sciences in
East and Central Africa

held at

East African Institute of Social Research, Makerere College,
Kampala, Uganda.

February 23rd, 1953

The Second Joint Conference of I.R.S.A.C. and E.A.I.S.R.

Explanatory Note

The second joint conference held by the Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale (I.R.S.A.C.) and the East African Institute of Social Research (E.A.I.S.R.) was held at the invitation of the latter Institute at Makerere College, Kampala, Uganda from February 23rd to February 27th, 1953.

The conference was followed by a meeting of specialists engaged in the planning of social research, which was convened by the Scientific Council for Africa South of the Sahara (C.S.A.) to review current research in territories of its member states, and priorities in research in this field. This was held at Makerere College on February 28th. Some of the C.S.A. experts were able to attend the meetings of the joint conference as observers and were invited on occasion to take the chair or to take part in discussions.

According to the convention adopted in the case of the first joint conference of the two institutes, papers have been given in the language in which they were spoken, and discussions in the language of the host institute, which has been in both cases responsible for the editing of the report of the conference it organised. Notes of the discussion were taken by secretaries of the E.A.I.S.R. but it was not possible to arrange for verbatim reporting, and summaries of discussion are necessarily very brief. Nor has it been possible to submit the final version for approval to those who took part in each discussion and it is more than likely that inaccuracies or changes of emphasis have crept into the text, more especially since no experienced interpreters were available from French into English or English into French. The editor can only apologise for possible errors in advance and claim indulgence on account of shortage of trained editorial staff.

A. I. Richards
Director
E. A. I. S. R.

Second Joint Conference of I.R.S.A.C.
and E.A.I.S.R. held at the
East African Institute of Social Research,
Makerere College, Kampala

February 23rd, 1953

Conference members were:

| | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Professor L. Van den Berghe | Director, I.R.S.A.C. |
| Dr. A. I. Richards | Director, E.A.I.S.R. |
| Mr. P. Baxter | Associated with E.A.I.S.R. |
| Mr. J. Beattie | Associated with E.A.I.S.R. |
| Mr. D. Biebuyck | I.R.S.A.C. |
| M. Coupez | I.R.S.A.C. |
| M. de Heusch | I.R.S.A.C. |
| M. Jacobs | I.R.S.A.C. |
| Mr. A. J. Laird | E.A.I.S.R. |
| Dr. J. J. Maquet | Chef du Centre, I.R.S.A.C. |
| M. van der Meulen | I.R.S.A.C. |
| Mr. H. S. Morris | E.A.I.S.R. |
| Mr. A. B. Mukwaya | E.A.I.S.R. |
| Dr. V. Neesen | I.R.S.A.C. |
| Mr. C. Reining | Associated with E.A.I.S.R. |
| Mrs. P. Reining | E.A.I.S.R. |
| Dr. A. W. Southall | E.A.I.S.R. |
| Mr. W. P. Tamukedde | E.A.I.S.R. |
| Mr. W. H. Whiteley | E.A.I.S.R. |
| Dr. E. H. Winter | E.A.I.S.R. |
| Mr. C. C. Wrigley | E.A.I.S.R. |

And members of the Staff of Makerere College.

C.S.A. Observers. (Attending Committee in Social Studies
Research held on February 28th, March 1st,
2nd and 3rd.)

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| Dr. A. J. Bredo | C.S.A. |
| Mrs. E. M. Chilver | Colonial Office |
| M. le Gouverneur Deschamps | Conseil Superieur des Recherches Sociologiques Outre-Mer |
| Professor M. Griaule | Professor a la Sorbonne, Paris |
| Dr. Clyde Mitchell | Director, Rhodes-Living- stone Institute |
| Mr. R. W. Sutton | National Institute for Personnel Research |
| Professor Monica Wilson | Capetown University |
| Dr. E. B. Worthington | C.S.A. |

Other Observers:

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| Professor W. Diez | Rochester University |
| Professor F. Frazier | Department of Social Sciences, Unesco. |

The Opening Session

Monday February 23rd, 1953 at 10 a.m.

The Conference was opened by His Excellency the Governor of Uganda, Sir Andrew Cohen, K.C.M.G., O.B.E.

It was attended by invited representatives of the Government of Uganda, the Government of Buganda, Kampala Municipality, Missionary Societies, and others interested in social research.

H.E. The Governor, Sir Andrew Cohen.

Sir Andrew Cohen welcomed the I.R.S.A.C. delegates in French, and expressed the pleasure of the Government of Uganda at the presence of so many Belgian research workers in Kampala. This was not, he said, a research conference organised by Governments, but one arranged by research institutions themselves, in which the administrators present were there to salute the social scientists who could do so much to help them in their work. Administrators could not function effectively without the aid of sociologists any more than sociologists could progress without administrators.

He described the interest with which he had visited the headquarters of I.R.S.A.C. recently, and his admiration of the social and economic experiments he had seen in the Belgian Congo. He welcomed the growing number of links which had been forged over the past years between different regions of Africa and particularly those between the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi and the East African territories. Co-operation between research workers in neighbouring countries was particularly important.

Continuing in English, he said that it was a platitude perhaps to say that "science knows no barriers", just as the tsetse fly, the locust and many animal and human pests know no international frontiers. It was however a fact that could not be stated too often. The theatre of the biological department of Makerere College in which the conference was meeting was a romantic spot in the history of East African research. It had been given by Dr. J. T. Williamson of the Mwadui Diamond Mine in Tanganyika Territory and was a symbol of his faith in the value of research. We were here to bring the benefits of Western civilisation to the African Colonies and to this end scientific knowledge and techniques were essential.

He quoted some words of Virgil which, he thought, expressed the attitude that we should take to research in underdeveloped countries:-

"Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas
Atque metus omnes et inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus strepitumque Acherontis avari."

Governments which tried to function without developing scientific research services were like pilots trying to cross the Atlantic without compasses. Chance and flair were no substitutes for exact scientific knowledge.

We had seen what research had done in the spheres of medicine, agriculture and veterinary science, and no Government would think of operating without such services. He thought the same should

apply in the administrative and economic spheres where the fruits of sociological research were just as necessary in the framing of policy. British policy was often criticised as being based too much on ad hoc decisions, but it was increasingly realised that general lines of policy were needed. In the sphere of administration such general lines could only be framed on a basis of knowledge gained through anthropological and sociological research. He mentioned as examples land tenure, on which a scientific policy was vital to development, and native courts - a subject which was at that moment being discussed at the Judicial Advisers' Conference on Makerere Hill.

Large economic developments were having profound effects on Central and East African territories, and these effects he considered, were being insufficiently measured at the moment. They called for the full application of techniques of economic research.

The concentration of Africans in towns and mining areas on which he felt the Belgian Administration had much to teach the British was another subject on which the help of the social scientist was urgently required. He told the conference something of the efforts which had been made since the war on behalf of social research. It was the British policy he said, to give the maximum chance to local initiative, planning and imagination. It was for this reason that social and economic research institutes such as the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute in Northern Rhodesia, the West African Institute of Social and Economic Research at Ibadan and the East African Institute of Social Research, which had organised the present conference, had been given a free hand in planning research. The Colonial Social Science Research Council and the Colonial Economic Research Council advised the Secretary of State as to the allocation of funds for research but there was a wide degree of local freedom.

Nevertheless, he was absolutely opposed to the views of those who claimed that social research should be carried out in academic isolation for academic purposes alone without any consideration of the country's needs. Such isolation of research in the undeveloped territories savoured too much of the ivory tower.

He thought the conference would be interested to know that under the research organisation of the Colonial Office there were now 200 pieces of social research being carried out in British West, Central and East Africa, including projects already approved but not yet started. 30 of these were being done by American research students.

He ended by wishing the conference the greatest possible success, by which he meant the maximum amount of exchange of ideas.

The Director of I.R.S.A.C., Professor L. Van den Berghe, thanked the Governor for opening the Conference.

He said he had been to two conferences in Uganda; the first on a biological subject, and the second, the present conference, in the field of the social sciences. At both of these, the Governor of Uganda had presided, and he had been impressed by his liberal attitude towards research. He thanked His Excellency for opening the conference and for his address.

He had been asked to speak about some of the research problems of the Belgian Territories, but these were, in fact, the problems of many African territories at the moment, viz. a tropical climate, depleted soil and difficulties involved in the sinking of the level of the water. In dealing with these problems he thought Belgians had shown great adaptability. They felt they had tremendous responsibilities in Central Africa.

The economic developments caused by European contacts were inevitably altering the balance of nature in many areas. In the same way, the impact of western civilisation on the indigenous African populations was altering the balance of their social structures.

It was for this reason that I.R.S.A.C. studied the physical and social environment of man within the framework of one Institute. He felt these problems were not separable, but must be considered by an Institute with a wide universe of interests by research workers permanently resident in the territories being studied.

I.R.S.A.C. had therefore built five research centres in Central Africa - the Tanganyika centre at Uvira, the Ruanda-Urundi centre at Astrida, the Kipopo centre at Katanga, the Kivu centre at Lwiro, a centre at Mabali on Lake Tumba and a centre at Elisabethville. These were staffed to deal with, at Astrida the social sciences, physical anthropology and nutrition; at Uvira hydro-biology and entomology; at Elisabethville microbiology; at Mabali botany and climatology; at Kipopo fishery research and at Katana geo-physics, geology, astrophysics, high atmosphere physics, biochemistry, nutrition, neurology and general vertebrate fauna research.

Dr. J. J. Maquet

A Report on Research done by I.R.S.A.C.
in the sphere of the Social Sciences.

Since July 1951, the date of our last anthropological Conference, social research has been continued and developed by I.R.S.A.C. Those who were in the middle of their field work a year and a half ago have now finished their term of work, or are on the point of finishing it. Several new members of the staff arrived in Africa at the end of last year and have begun their investigation. I should like to give you a short review of those projects in the different social sciences that have been brought to an end and those that are still in progress.

M. D. Biebuyck has continued the work that he began in November 1949. He has made a comparative study of classificatory kinship structure among the Bavira, the Bahamba, the Bafulero, the Bainyendu and the Balega. In addition, M. Biebuyck has made a specially intensive study of three subjects: genealogical systems, kinship systems and the institution of bwami. Bwami is an important association which was suppressed several years ago. Besides the ordinary techniques of investigation by questionnaires and interviews, M. Biebuyck arranged for a reconstruction of the initiation ceremony, the rites and the dances of this association. These special performances lasted sometimes up to twelve days and the whole village joined in them with enthusiasm, including all the old members of the association. M. Biebuyck, who returns to Europe next month for rather a long period of study, has already published several articles giving the particular results of his research. In addition, he has practically finished preparing two books. One is on "The bwami and the political structure of the Babembe", and the other on "The bwami of the Balega." This last study must be particularly full and carefully documented since its author anticipates that it will fill two volumes. M. Biebuyck has also carried out a preliminary study which should lead to a more intensive investigation of the Banyanga, in the territory of Masisi, which he will undertake when he returns to Africa after his leave.

Abbé Kagamé, a corresponding member of the Institut Royal Colonial Belge, and a research worker who is associated with our Institute has continued his investigations into tribal history. He has made tape records of a number of recitations and poems dealing with the past and has annotated them. At the end of 1951 his important monograph on "La poésie dynastique du Rwanda" appeared, and in 1952 his "Code des institutions politiques du Rwanda précolonial". Since October 1952, the Abbé Kagamé has been at Rome where he is preparing a document for a doctorate at the Gregorian University. He is finishing his work on "La Poésie pastorale du Rwanda" which will shortly be published in Belgium.

Another research worker associated with I.R.S.A.C. Fother L. de Sousberghe, has been studying since September 1951 the class system, and customary law among the Bapende.

During the last months of 1952 two new research workers have arrived in Africa. M. L. de Heusch after a special year's training in anthropology at the University of Paris under Professor Griaule has now gone to the Kasai area where he will do ethnological research on the Batelela for ten months or so. After this, he will do a study of the culture of the Bena-Kanio-Ka. M. J. Vansina who spent a year doing special training under

- 6 -

Professor Daryll Forde of University College, London, will make a study of the history and the institutions of the Bakuba.

To finish the account of the work being done in social anthropology I must add that the present speaker continued his researches in Ruanda until the end of 1951. His special object of study was the social structure of the kingdom of Ruanda as it existed at a time when European influence had not yet begun to make itself felt, that is to say towards 1900. After spending six months at the University of London, during which he prepared for publication a book called "Le systeme des relations sociales dans le Rwanda ancien" which will appear shortly, he returned again to the Centre at Astrida.

Four new research projects which will need for their execution the help of a statistician, a psychologist, a physician and three European assistants will be undertaken in relation to the Ten Years development plan for Ruanda-Urundi. The first deals with the social results of the development plan for the Mutara region; the second with the emigration of the inhabitants of Ruanda and of Urundi to British East Africa; the third concerns the conditions and social effects of the suppression of the traditional contract of clientship by Government action and the opinions of Africans on this reform, and the last is a project for the study of extra-customary centres in Ruanda-Urundi.

In demography Dr. V. Neesen, who arrived in Ruanda-Urundi nearly two years ago, has put into operation a plan for the re-organisation of the demographic statistics of the territories under Mandate. He not only made a scientific scheme for a two-stage sample census, but, with the assistance of a territorial administrator he put his plan into effect. The scheme included the training of a permanent staff of 39 African demographic research assistants, a complete count of the population of the sample hillsides which took two months, the preparation of the results for mecanographic analysis, and finally the interpretation of the results. Besides this, Dr. Neesen is preparing, according to the same methods, a calculation of the average income of the population of Ruanda-Urundi. This inquiry will be done in close association with a study of the nutrition of the inhabitants of the country, which an I.R.S.A.C. nutrition team will carry out in 1954. Dr. Neesen, who has already published several articles in the course of his work is preparing a monograph containing all his results. He will leave Africa next May and will spend some time in Europe and also in the United States where he proposes to study at Columbia University.

In the field of linguistics, Kinyarwanda has been the subject of lexical research on the part of two students, Father Schumacher and Abbe Kagame. These investigations have been intensified since the arrival of M. A. Coupez, a specialist in African languages, who has been asked by our Institute to carry out a thorough study of the grammar and tonal system of Kinyarwanda. Later, this research worker will go on to establish an Index for the same language.

Another specialist in Bantu languages, M. J. Jacobs, arrived in Africa a short time after M. Coupez, and is giving his time to research on the geographical distribution of the O-tetela language and to the neighbouring dialects. He will carry out the revision of the O-tetela grammar edited by Mgr. Hagendorens, and he will work in collaboration with M. de Heusch.

Several research workers associated with I.R.S.A.C. have received subsidies for linguistic work such as Father G. Hulstaert for his work on a French-Lomongo and a Lomongo-French dictionary; Father N. Rood for his Lingombe-English Dutch dictionary; and Father P. M. Bourdonnec for his Kisanga-French dictionary.

In the field of pre-history, Father H. Van Moorsel, an associated research worker, has continued the excavations he had begun several years earlier in the Lemba plain near Leopoldville. By means of a very elaborate geological analysis he has been able to determine the relative ages of the prehistoric industries and of one proto-historic industry of which he has discovered remains. His researches have already produced half a dozen publications.

M. M. Bequaert, a Curator of the Musee du Congo Belge, undertook an expedition into the south-western Congo area with funds provided from I.R.S.A.C. He made some systematic excavations of prehistoric and protohistoric caves in the region of Thysville and of Leopoldville. He has also studied the collections of Father P. Van Moorsel.

In Physical Anthropology, Dr. J. Hiernaux, a research worker on the staff of I.R.S.A.C. aided by M. H. Van der Borght of the Health Department, has completed the researches on which he has been engaged since the beginning of 1950. By means of detailed anthropometric and physiological examinations of representative samples of the population, Dr. Hiernaux has obtained 50,000 measurements. In Ruanda and Urundi he has obtained for each of the ethnic groups the arithmetic mean for each characteristic, its standard deviation and the inter-quartile range, the coefficient of variation and the curve of frequency. By this means Dr. Hiernaux has been able to give a description of the physical characteristics of the population of Ruanda-Urundi and of their general resistance and physiological reactions. When he returned to Europe in May 1952, Dr. Hiernaux was able to prepare a work synthesising the results of his researches and this is actually in the press. At the moment, Dr. Hiernaux is doing further work at Boston University, under the direction of Professor W. C. Boyd, on some special seriological techniques. He will return to Ruanda-Urundi in June next, and will take up work on the growth of children, and the nutritional factors that affect it, and on the grouping and characteristics of blood.

This is a brief outline of the activities of some twenty research workers and assistants, who have worked during this last eighteen months in the field of the social sciences. Their results are far from being negligible. We believe however, that we shall be able to work even more productively in the near future. In fact, during 1951 and 1952 the majority of the investigators whose work we have been describing, were on their first period of research in Africa. Certain difficulties which were almost inevitable on this account will very certainly be avoided in the future.

A new tendency, which we are beginning to be aware of, seems to be towards research projects involving several disciplines and demanding the collaboration of several different types of specialist. Here again, there has been of necessity a period of experimentation, if I may so express myself, so that the research workers who recognise in theory the value of team work should become convinced by means of frequent discussions and practical experiments, of the need to reach some kind of practical integration of their different approaches and different personalities.

We have just listened to a report on the ambitious and imaginative programme of I.R.S.A.C. and of its progress since our last meeting in Astrida in 1951. It is my task to describe the recent work of the East African Institute of Social Research. I think we realise that our two Institutes have many problems in common. We are living, after all, in a neighbouring region in countries that face many of the same economic difficulties. Bananas and coffee grow on both sides of the borders of Uganda and Ruanda-Urundi. We discuss in similar terms the pros and cons of industrialisation as against primary production by African peasants and the effects of urbanisation on African society. Migrant labourers from Ruanda-Urundi man the industries of Uganda and work in her cotton fields. Ethnographically the links between Ruanda-Urundi and Uganda and the Lake Province of Tanganyika are close. The Banyaruanda are reckoned as belonging to the group of peoples we here know as the Inter-Lacustrine Bantu, and this group includes some of the most important tribes in Uganda such as the Baganda, the Banyoro, the Basoga, the Batoro and the Banyankole as well as, in Tanganyika, such as the Bahaya, the Baha, the Banyamwezi. At our last conference we persuaded Dr. Maquet to tell us something of the social structure of the Ruanda kingdom which he has been studying. We shall find it impossible to reconstruct the history of these African peoples without co-operation between our two organisations.

Common too, I imagine are the teething troubles of any social research institute set up in Africa at the moment. We cover large regions - I.R.S.A.C. deals with the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi; the East African Institute with Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika - if "cover" is indeed the right word, for we have only been working in a small corner of East Africa. We have staffs that are small for the area they have to cover. I.R.S.A.C. has twenty social scientists or associated workers. Over the last three years we have employed eleven anthropologists and sociologists, both research fellows and assistants, of whom three have completed their contracts; two economic research fellows (one of whom has only recently been appointed and has not yet started work); a psychologist and two linguists, one of whom has completed his contract. Associated with us have been ten other anthropologists who have co-operated in various degrees.

Social scientists have to experience African conditions before they are able to make their full contribution as research workers. A chemist or physicist can fly from Europe and start to work immediately in a laboratory at Makerere College, but a social scientist has to study local conditions and cultures and learn a local language before he can get to work. We hope soon to have able Africans with degrees in the social sciences to take part in the work; but that moment has not yet come.

Common too, to both areas, I am pretty certain is the lack of basic data on which to build our work. On many of the African peoples we have little or no information, or little up-to-date information, of the standard now required in anthropological work. For European children there are text-books on the history, geography and constitution of their own country, but for African children, and even for African University students, no such

literature exists for many areas. In the field of history we have some accounts of the conquest of East Africa but few tribal histories or studies of the changes in colonial policy or in local African administration during the past fifty years or so. Social and economic histories remain to be written. A reconstruction of the history of immigrant labour into Uganda and of the rapid spread of peasant production of cotton at the beginning of this century which has recently been made by Powesland of the Social Studies department of Makerere College shows what can be done by the analysis of official documents. Those who are concerned with the pros and cons of new economic and social measures in Africa may well find that at least some of their answers are to be found in Government files, which have only recently been treated as valuable historical archives.

Again at a time when African education in the academic and technical spheres is being pushed forward rapidly, educational psychology is in its infancy in East Africa, and there are no experiments that I know of in industrial personnel selection of the type that have been made for some years in South Africa and which have been started in West Africa recently.

Finally only those who have tried to study population trends or statistics of agricultural or industrial production in Africa can realise how scanty are accurate estimates in these fields. Thus it happens that a social research institute in East Africa finds itself needing to research into research methods as well as actually doing research. The East African Statistical Department has made big strides forward in the last few years and its 1948 census has been a useful basis for all social research workers in the region, but the collection of vital statistics among largely illiterate people will not reach, for some time, the standard of accuracy achieved in Europe or America. Machinery for estimating the cost of living, family budgets and economic output are also in an experimental stage. There are many East African towns for which it is impossible to give the total population, the ethnic grouping, the length of residence, the family size, or other types of information needed by those in charge of education, housing and other social measures. The East African Institute did a small fertility survey in Buganda and Bukoba with the help of the UNESCO Social Science Division recently, as a check on the official census, and Dr. Neesen will tell us later about his experiments in conducting a census in Ruanda-Urundi. Mr. Wrigley of the E.A.I.S.R. is trying to work out a method of costing farm production in the coffee industry in Buddu among people who, mainly, do not keep accounts. The Institute has also carried out urban surveys in Jinja and is starting on another in Kampala on somewhat different lines. This is another field of work on which an exchange of information on research methods between our two organisations is likely to be fruitful.

With this enormous field of work you will realise that one of the major difficulties of a social research institute in East or Central Africa is the fixing of priorities in work. Should we give our time to basic research which will lay secure foundations for future workers, or concentrate on projects of immediate practical importance? Is it our duty to put fundamental research before applied - to give a detailed study of the powers and duties of a ritual king the same priority as a study of land tenure in a congested area? Shall we learn more about method, and produce more valuable scientific hypotheses by putting all our specialists in one area, or by spreading them more widely? Should we work first on a study of the different

10

cultures in East Africa or on one or more problems common to a number of areas; that is to say, should we make a study of the Banyaruanda and the Baganda as separate peoples or investigate immigrant labour between the two areas?

These alternatives make the fascination and perplexity of organising research in the social field at the moment.

What decisions have we in fact taken since we began our work in 1950? We have adopted certain guiding principles but for the rest it must be said that our programme is a compromise. I would have called it a typical British compromise, if it did not seem to me from Dr. Maquet's paper that I.R.S.A.C. had done much the same thing!

One of the guiding principles is, I think, that the work of these academic research institutes should be planned on a long term basis whether the work is in the pure or the applied field. For example our Kampala survey is done at the request of the Government of Uganda, but it is planned on a two year basis and we shall allow our minds to wander freely over the problems of social structure and economic differentiation in this town rather than concentrating on ad hoc inquiries, say into a housing congestion.

Secondly I think we should make ourselves responsible for experimental projects which Government organisations, from their nature, cannot easily undertake. Some of the rural surveys you will hear about come under this category, as well as the fertility survey. We should also, I think, bear in mind the educational needs of the African and European students of East Africa as well as those of the Government, the municipality or the industrial firm which may ask us for help. Within these few guiding lines we have tried, as I say to frame a balanced sort of programme.

The major part of our work up to date has been a series of tribal studies in areas on which there is little up to date information. These outline studies are intended as a background to more detailed work on particular problems. We began our work with peoples near our head quarters and for that reason undertook a series of studies of the Inter-Lacustrine Bantu. We have now investigations made over two year periods of the following peoples - the Basoga by Mr. L. A. Fallers; the Batoro by Mr. B. Taylor; the Baamba by Dr. E. H. Winter; and of the Baganda on whom one must admit much has already been written, by Mr. A. B. Mukwaya and myself. Mr. Beattie is now at work on the Banyoro. In Tanganyika Mrs. Reining is finishing a full study of the political and economic system of the Bahaya; Mr. Tyler has completed his field-work on the Zinza; and Mr. Scherer, a Dutch Government scholar, is still working in Buha. Other Uganda tribes studied include the Alur on whom Dr. Southall has completed a monograph; the Lugbara studied by Mr. Middleton, who worked closely associated with the Institute; and the Acholi, on whom Dr. Girling has just completed a monograph. In Tanganyika, a Canadian scholar, Mr. Gordon Wilson, has been working with the assistance of the Tanganyika Sociological Department with which the Institute has close and friendly relations. In Kenya no members of the staff have been working at present although we hope to spread to that region. Several Colonial Social Science Research Council scholars associated with us have, however, been studying there, namely Dr. Fisher who has studied the position of the Kikuyu woman; Mr. and Mrs Harris who have finished a study of the Teita; Dr. Gulliver who has

completed a monograph and two or three articles on the Turkana and the related tribes of Eastern Uganda and Mr. Baxter who is still at work on the Boran.

Within this group of peoples which contains a wide variety of political structures, we are making a special comparative study of four problems. The first of these is an analysis of the political structure of these people and of their reaction to present day changes in ideas of government. We have discussed our comparative work in this field at two successive conferences one in December 1931 and another in January 1932. In June 1932 we held a joint conference of colonial administrators and anthropologists on the position of lower chiefs and also agreed on a common field of operations for the collection of case history material. The first of these comparative studies is an analysis of the present day method of appointing chiefs and others in authority. We hope to have ready for publication shortly data from 10 areas giving the basis of selection, election or appointment of chiefs, their education, previous occupations and length of holding office and similar data. I give this detail on the project as an illustration of the method we have worked out for combining individual research work on a tribal structure with the collating of information collected on a common plan on a point.

Similar comparative studies will be made on land tenure, especially among the Baganda, Banyoro, Basoga, Batoro and Baha. Mr. Mukwaya has already completed a study of present day tendencies in the land tenure of Buganda and this material has gone to the press. Mr. Fallers has also completed work on the Basoga. We plan a series of individual monographs, possibly adding a comparative volume dealing specially with the relation of land tenure to political systems and social stratification.

The two other subjects on which we are at present collecting comparative material are on clan structure and on the stability of marriage. On the latter subject Mrs. Reining, Mr. Beattie and I have been using a similar questionnaire and Mr. Southall will use a similar one in the course of the Kampala survey.

Besides these tribal studies the Institute has done some special surveys of which at least two were directly asked on by the Government of Uganda. The immigrant labour survey was begun in October 1930. It consisted of a random sample of the men and women passing through Kavale and Naka ferry camps en route from Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi. Data were collected on the age, sex, marital status and occupation of the immigrants and of their motives for travel. This investigation was followed by seven village surveys done in areas with a high proportion of settled immigrants. The rest of the study consisted of a special survey of Alur migration done by Mr. Southall and an analysis of population changes in Buganda between 1931 and 1936 by Fortt and a history of the movement by Powersland. The results will appear in a publication which is now in the press.

The Jinja survey carried out by Mr. and Mrs. Sofer is now complete and also awaits publication. It consists of a report made of a sample African survey, a sample Asian survey and a complete European census. Mr. Sofer is also publishing material on race relations in industry in Jinja and Mrs. Sofer on changes in the African family, and the position of African women today.

The Buganda-Bukoba survey was originally undertaken for UNESCO as a fertility study in two contrasted areas, but Mrs. Reining, who carried out the Bukoba survey and myself who was in charge of the Buganda survey were able to collect at the same time data on stability and also political organisation. The Kampala survey has just started and will be described to you by Dr. Southall.

Other developments that have taken place since our last meeting is the extension of our work by the addition of other specialists. Mr. Laird, a psychologist arrived here in March 1952 and has been working on attitudes expressed by three groups of Makerere students, Baganda, Luo and Kikuyu. He has standardised projection and other tests in the course of this work and hopes to apply them more extensively to other groups.

Mr. Wrigley, an economic historian, is carrying out a study of the coffee industry in Buganda and has been working here since June 1952. We hope shortly to appoint an economist to make a study of industrial efficiency in relation to bonus schemes and wage structure in Kampala and the environs. We have also been granted funds for a senior economist.

Mr. Mulira was appointed as linguist in September 1950 and made a study of tones in Luganda. He has now completed his contract. Mr. Whiteley who joined the staff early last year has completed a grammar of Iraqw, and is now working at Terime in Tanganyika. He is also acting as secretary of an inter-territorial languages committee. It seems that the appointment of specialists other than anthropologists is one of the most significant developments since our last meeting at Astrida.

Other points of interest are the discovery of the possibility of collecting information on several subjects of comparative interest in the course of one social survey. We have in fact collected information on clan distribution, land tenure and political organisation in the course of our tribal studies, our immigrant labour surveys, our fertility surveys.

After an interval the Chairman asked for contributions from some of the observers who had experience in other parts of Africa. Mr. R. W. Sutton and Professor Monica Wilson discussed current research in South Africa.

Mr. R. W. Sutton described the work of the two national bodies which were created in South Africa after the second World War for the purpose of organising and co-ordinating research in the natural and social sciences. These were the South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research and the National Council for Social Research.

In order to achieve its objects the first of these bodies had established a number of national research laboratories.

These were staffed by highly trained personnel and were engaged primarily on long-term basic research projects. They also undertook a certain amount of sponsored research on behalf of Industry and Government departments where it was considered that the problems presented were of sufficient research interest to warrant investigation of them.

In addition to the work done in the field of medical and nutritional research, the work of two of the national laboratories, the National Building Research Institute and the National Institute for Personnel Research, came within the field of social science. One of the aims of the first of these was the improvement of housing which had important sociological implications, since bad housing was a disruptive force in society, and good housing tended to create stable social conditions. One of the early projects carried out by the Institute at the request of the National Housing and Planning Commission was the preparation of minimum standards of accommodation for South Africa. Another project had been the construction of experimental housing schemes aimed at providing favourable environments and adequate amenities whilst reducing the costs of services per unit. This was being carried out by local authorities with the co-operation of the Building Research Institute. The first of those at Witbank was not yet complete but it was interesting to note that the costs of services had been estimated at £80 per dwelling unit compared with £200 in the older type of housing scheme. Before laying out the second of these townships at Kwa-Thema, Springs, a sociological survey was conducted amongst the people who were to be housed in this area. This survey produced some unusual findings with regard to the division of the population into economic and sub-economic groups as far as the ability to pay rent was concerned. A number of surveys which would check the results of the initial study had been financed by the National Council for Social Research, but it would be some time before any results were available.

The research activities of the National Institute for Personnel Research could be divided broadly into two divisions, applied work and theoretical work. The applied work was carried out by field teams who handled problems in personnel management encountered by Industry, Commerce and Government departments. The theoretical research division consisted of a number of groups, psychometric, mathematical statistics, African studies and personality studies, etc. which concerned themselves with more fundamental and long-term projects in pure psychology, or they might be required to tackle problems encountered by the field teams.

Mr. Sutton then described two projects tackled by the National Institute for Personnel Research. The first, that of personnel selection and classification had been particularly interesting in the assessment of the occupational potentialities of the African labourers employed in the Gold Mining Industry. Aptitude tests of psychometer type suitable for Africans and capable of being applied to large groups at a time had been standardised and satisfactorily validated. Language difficulties had been overcome by means of silent cine film. The second project, on occupational maladjustment, had led to an extensive study of absenteeism, labour turnover and accident data and to the working out of remedial programmes.

On the theoretical side work was being carried out on the nature and measurement of temperament. Studies on observational techniques as a means of assessing temperament and personality were in progress. An African studies section was investigating perception in Africans as well as the nature and measurement of their abilities. There was an ever increasing demand for the Institute's services, the extent of which could be judged from the fact that in the course of seven years the staff had increased from a total of 8 to 41 graduates and 34 clerical and scientific assistants.

The second national body, the National Council for Social Research, was an advisory body created by the Minister of Education to advise the Government on policy and to promote and co-ordinate research on a national basis in the fields of education, sociology and the humanities. Under it were a series of committees dealing with Sociology, Education and Psychology, Economics, Commerce and Geography, African Studies, Languages, Law and History and a General Purposes Committee. These co-ordinated and stimulated research work in the various branches. One of the Council's most important activities was the financing of research in the universities and other institutions. Bursaries were made available to research workers of proven ability. Also as a further aid to research workers the Council had set up machinery for making the results of research work known.

In addition to these two national bodies there were other small research units working under State Departments or set up by the larger municipalities to study specific problems in which they were interested.

Professor Monica Wilson said that through the National Council for Social Research the Universities were kept informed of the research requirements of Government Departments. From this co-ordinated studies and projects could be evolved. She then described briefly two comprehensive social surveys one rural and one urban which were being undertaken.

The rural survey was being done at Keiskammahoek and was being conducted under several headings. Studies were being made of the natural resources; the economy, i.e. production, income and expenditure; social structure and migration; and land questions, such as land tenure, i.e. the relative advantages of freehold, quit rent or communal systems of holding, and the correlation between land tenure and social structure.

The urban survey was being conducted at the Atteridgeville Location near Pretoria, and was again being conducted in various fields - the origin and composition of population and population trends; social organisation; economic conditions; legal institutions; housing facilities; health and health services; inter-racial attitudes, etc.

Professor Wilson then described other surveys which were being conducted under university auspices. Studies of the incidence of poverty and its effects in Greater Capetown were being carried out, and in Natal a regional survey dealing with material resources and problems of industrialisation was in progress. Studies in Bantu languages were naturally prominent among the research projects. Professor Wilson herself was engaged on a long-term study of ritual among the Nyakusa in Tanganyika.

Dr. Clyde Mitchell said that the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute was proud to have been in existence for 14 years, and to have been the first of the British Social Research Institutes to be set up in Africa. The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute was founded in 1938. The first project was Godfrey Wilson's study of urban African society at Broken Hill, which set a standard for such work.

The Institute reckoned to work in three territories - Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Its tribal and urban studies were linked since the problem of the Institute was the study of change. For instance, studies have been done on the Ngoni, the Shona and the Barotse as well as on the Lunda. In 1950, the Institute started an urban survey in the copper belt. It was divided into four sections: a) statistics; b) family studies; c) native administration; d) the political situation. A historian had recently been appointed to make a study of the history of black-white relations.

It was the experience of the Institute that four years were needed to complete a tribal study. The research workers were asked to describe the whole tribal structure, but were also free to follow side-lines.

Mrs. E.M. Chilver described the system of scientific bodies which had been set up to advise the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the expenditure of those funds voted under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts of 1940 and 1945 which were earmarked for Research. The Colonial Social Science Research Council established in 1945 and the Colonial Economic Research Committee established in 1947 covered the field of the social sciences. They were composed almost wholly of eminent social scientists and economists drawn from the British Universities. During the first two or three years of its existence the C.S.S.R.C. had given much thought to the organisation of social research and to making regional surveys of research needs. It had concluded that the best way of ensuring that research programmes responded quickly to local needs and problems was to set up regional research institutes, where possible in close association with University Colleges. At present there were, apart from the East African Institute of Social Research, a West African Institute of Social and Economic Research at University College, Ibadan, a similar Institute attached to the University College of the West Indies and an Economic Research Unit at the University College of the Gold Coast. A Social Research Unit was shortly to be set up in the University of Malaya. The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute which owed its existence to local initiative, was already in existence and now received a subvention from the Colonial Office.

In the West Indies the Institute was under the direction of an economist, Dr. H.D. Huggins. It had inaugurated national income studies, studies of labour productivity and of consumption preferences; studies of village communities in Trinidad and Grenada were under way.

In West Africa an economist, Professor Hamilton Wh te, directed the Institute. The Institute had a very extensive field to cover and had worked out a method of association with the University College of the Gold Coast. The rapid development of new economic institutions in West Africa had meant that the Institute was much in demand as a consultant and research agency for statutory bodies. For example, the Institute was now

carrying out an investigation for the Cameroons Development Corporation into the composition of its labour force, the impact of the Corporation's welfare programme on its workers, their informal associations and their motives for migrating to work. The study was being carried out by an economist and two anthropologists. The Institute also maintained a statistical service for the Produce Marketing Boards. Amongst the other projects initiated by the Institute were a study of the coal-mining community at Enugu, of indigenous economic organisation such as traditional and modern craft organisations, and the susu. An anthropologist had been seconded from the Institute to the Colonial Film Unit to help appraise audience reactions in rural areas. Economic studies ranged from studies of the structure and functions of banking institutions to the organisation of the palm oil industry at the village level. As in the case of the East African Institute, independent workers receiving Colonial Development and Welfare grants had been attached to the Institute, and one of these had just completed an ethnographic and linguistic survey of the Idoma. The Institute had a programme of conferences and looked forward to collaboration with its French counterparts.

In the Gold Coast the recently established Economic Research Unit led by Mr. Niculescu had embarked on a study of internal marketing. Both University Colleges in West Africa were anxious to promote historical studies. At Ibadan Dr. K.O. Dike, a member of the Institute staff, had made a **special** study, shortly to be published, of the economic history of the Niger Delta in the 19th century. The Nigerian Government, which had resolved to set up a Public Records Office at Lagos, had invited him to make a survey of existing archives and to make proposals on the organisation of an archive service.

Session II

Monday February 22nd

2.30 p.m.

Chairman Dr. J. J. Maquet

Mr. W. H. Whiteley

Sentence structure and word order

It is regrettable that students of the Social Sciences are not always able to discuss their work with understanding, on such occasions as they come together. This may perhaps, be due to the exigencies of the language in which they choose to express themselves. There may, it seems, even be significant differences between students of the same discipline in different Universities. Linguistics is no exception to this. Studies tend to be compartmentalized into linguistic regions. Students of African languages are not aware of the methods or the terminology of those studying Chinese or Tamil. Indeed the opinion is current that each linguistic group must be studied according to its own problems. There is as yet no synthesis.

In the field of Bantu studies the subject was long dominated by the work of missionaries and scholars with a classical education and this precluded analysis of these languages in terms of their own observed structure. The formal grammars with emphasis on "voice" and "mood"; the "sequence of tenses", and "reported speech", have contributed to the late development of a methodology in this field. Remarks like, "this language has no optative mood", indicate the search for categories common in more familiar languages; phonetic precision and detailed analysis of the significance of tone have only recently become recognised as indispensable features of analysis.

Within a radius of 500-600 miles of Kampala there are speakers of Nilotic, Nilo-Hamitic, Hamitic and Bantu languages, to say nothing of the isolated Bushman-Hottentot language, and that of the Iraqw groups of North Tanganyika, which it has not yet been found possible to classify. It is thus clearly beyond the means of the single linguist at the East African Institute of Social Research to make comprehensive studies in all these families. Work is being restricted to the Bantu groups on the Eastern shores of Lake Victoria and to the Swahili Dialects of the coast. In the former project, an analysis of the verb in relation to sentence structure is being made in Kuria. In the case of Swahili dialects, as Secretary of the Inter-Territorial Language Committee, I am working towards a comparative grammar of the Swahili dialects between Zanzibar and Lamu and I hope to be able to devote to this some three months field work per year. For the next few minutes I shall try to present an intelligible picture of the aims and methods of the work that is being carried on here.

Firstly a word about aims which will be very brief because of my reluctance to embark on a discussion, philosophically inclined, on the nature of aims. Briefly they are twofold. First there is the natural interest a scholar has in the systemization of such material in order to make possible, predictions for other languages. Added to this, since every field-worker makes for himself an orthography, there is the desire to establish a basis for vernacular reading and writing among people for whom this is a growing need. From an educational standpoint Africans who wish to learn English might profit from a systematic knowledge of their own language; indeed, perhaps also their teachers! Would it not be true to say that the Frenchman teaching French in an English school derives some advantage and achieves better results with some knowledge of English?

Secondly, there are methods to be studied. I think probably Malinowski first made explicit the view that societies were made up of interdependent units, and that studies of these units or institutions in isolation, while valuable, did not present a complete picture of the whole society. An analysis of magic and religious practices, to be adequate, needed to be related, for example, to those economic and political institutions with which they were inter-related in the context of social life. Without pressing the analogy too far, the comparable unit in Linguistics is the sentence, which consists of a number of inter-related components, none of which can totally or adequately be studied in isolation. By sentence I do not mean the Subject-Copula-Predicate trilogy nor even the Subject-Predicate postulated by Classical Grammarians and learned unwillingly in school. Rather do I follow the definition of Jespersen, that a sentence is a relatively complete and independent utterance.¹ This of course, does not preclude one-word sentences such as "Come", "Good", or in Swahili "Twende!". No less an authority than Sweet objected to such examples as being hardly sentences at all, but rather something intermediate between word and sentence.² This clearly envisages "an ascending hierarchy" with word and sentence stages in it, rather than two separate categories.

"A one word sentence is at once a word and a sentence, just as a one-roomed house is both a room and a house and not something in between".³ Nor does this definition exclude questions, since although they demand a response, they are nevertheless in themselves complete and independent utterances. I shall discuss types of sentences below. It will be realized of course, that the sentence thus defined is a purely notional category and no particular grammatical form is required for a word or a group of words to be called a sentence.

Having defined the sentence, we note that there are various types within the category. For example, sentences may be "provoked" or "unprovoked". If I say, "The man hit the cat hard" I may be making a spontaneous utterance at a given incident, or I may have been provoked into the remark by some such question as "What did the man do?"

In the latter case the response is comparable to the unprovoked utterance both in its word order and in its intonation.

Now each type of sentence may be divided, the "unprovoked" sentence into Statement and Question and the "Provoked" sentence into Responses and Questions. We have noted that the above example may be both an "Unprovoked Statement" or a "Provoked Response" but we cannot make it into a question even if we alter the intonation. In that case we should have to say: "did the man hit the cat hard?"

Actually there is one context in which the particular sentence could be heard as a question, and that is when great amazement is implied, i.e. "The man hit the cat hard?" (How absurd! I was watching him.)

Some questions likewise may be provoked. For instance, if I ask a child to have some biscuits, it may, if well mannered, turn to its mother and say: "May I have some biscuits?" Here, one question provokes another.

¹ O. Jespersen. *Philosophy of Grammar*

² Sweet. *New English Grammar*.

³ Jespersen. *Op. cit. p. 306*

So much for types of sentences. Now there are certain internal and intonational changes which may take place in the sentence, which may or may not alter the shade of meaning understood by the hearer, and which are of very great interest. In these cases there are certain questions to be asked, viz.

1. Is the word order flexible, and if so to what extent is the meaning affected?
2. To what extent is intonation significant, and to what extent is intonation correlated with variation in meaning?
3. Do the tones of any of the elements (words) of the sentence remain fixed despite variation in word order?

To discuss word order first, the English example above may be quoted. It is clear that there is really no flexibility in word-order in this case. "The man hit the cat" is the only combination of the three elements to which that particular meaning can be attached. Complete reversal of order involves complete reversal of meaning. Though "The man the cat hit" might be acceptable in poetry, it is not acceptable in current prose and the classic variations on Gray's "The plowman homeward plods his weary way" in no way invalidates the general thesis that word order in English is rigid.

Consider now comparable sentences from Swahili:-

Mtu amepiga paka (the man hit the cat)

Mtu amechukua kisu (the man carried the knife)

Here all the potential six variations in word order can be realized without altering the meaning beyond the expression of emphasis.

(a) paka mtu amepiga (b) kisu mtu amechukua

is in fact the response to the question "what did the man hit?" or "what did the man carry?"

(a) amepiga paka mtu (b) amechukua kisu mtu

is said in response to the question, "what did the man do to the cat?"

Comparable flexibility is found in Kuria, a language from the North Mara district of Tanganyika. The sentence:

Tata arihika hano ico My father will come here tomorrow

can be spoken in most of its 24 potential permutations without substantially affecting the meaning.

Finally, a comparable sentence from Luganda, a language in the same linguistic zone¹ as an example of rigid word order:

omuntu yatwal ekiso The man carried a knife

This I think would also be true for the comparable French example:

L'homme a frappe le chat.

As in the English example, there is no possibility of altering the word order here, even though the existence of noun classes with distinctive prefixes precludes any change in meaning.

¹ cf. M. Guthrie. Classification of the Bantu Languages.

Note a second example:

abalenzi abanene bagenze The big pupils have gone

If the word order is changed here to:

bagenze; abalenzi abanene, the sentence immediately is broken in two.

Turning now to intonation, we can return to the original English example. We note that here intonation affects the variations on emphasis which are affected by flexibility in word order in Swahili and Kuria:

1. The man hit the cat (Emphasis on the defenceless nature of animals like cats) and is a response to "what did the man hit?"
2. The man hit the cat (As opposed to stroking it) and is a response to "what did the man do?"
3. The man hit the cat (As opposed to the woman or the child) and is a response to "who hit the cat?"

Such variation in intonation is also found in Bantu languages. Thus in the example from Ganda:-

omuntu yatwal' ekiso

we also find:

omuntu yatwal ekiso

which is the response to "who carried the knife?" (The intonation patterns here are not as varied as in the English example, and the response to "what did the man carry?" will be:

womuntu yatwala kiso

The intonation is different but the initial vowel on "kiso" is dropped.) What is the position about tones on individual words in relation to word order? An interesting example here comes from Iraqw, an unclassified language from Northern Province Tanganyika, where tone is grammatical and unaffected by shift in word order in the sentence. For example the word for woman is "ameni", and this tone is valid for any sentence in which "ameni" is in juxtaposition with the verb, irrespective of number, case or class:-

ameni i hurrin The woman is cooking

aniŋ a ameni muux I hit the woman

Where ameni is associated with an adjective or possessive however, the tone pattern changes, thus:

ameni niina A small woman

it remains constant irrespective of the position in the sentence or its grammatical status:

ameni niina i huriin A small woman is cooking

aniŋ a ameni miina muux I hit a small woman

Similar examples may be adduced from Kuria, though my material here is less adequate:

tata arihika hano ico My father will come here tomorrow .

ico arihika tata hano My father will come here tomorrow

The tones of the individual words remain fixed though the order varies. I should add, however, that this does not occur in all the permutations of which this sentence is capable. There is a conflicting tendency for the end of a sentence to have a "falling/low" tone.

I feel sure that at this stage someone will want to say "so what?". Wherein lies the point of such comparisons? The interesting thing to me is that two languages of the same zone which are evidently closely related should differ in their flexibility of word order in sentences. We note that Ganda like English has a rigid word order, and that Kuria like Swahili has a flexible one. The hypothesis, yet to be proved, is that these differences represent a fundamental difference in the tonal structure of the two languages.

Hitherto, we have been mainly concerned with the structure of sentences, but in conclusion a word about the content of sentences may not be out of place, and especially as to their sociological content. I have said earlier that words as such are only meaningful as elements in sentences, and there are some words which are only used in sentences of particular interest to sociologists. Take a Makua sentence for instance:

mthiana ahokicecela The woman has "partnered" me
this occurs in only one context, that of a particular dance at which people of close kinship are permitted to have physical contact with one another. There is no other occasion on which this may be done. The reciprocal form of the verb - cecelana - is used frequently to mean "to stand opposite one another" while the simple form has an esoteric use. Other examples come to mind. There is the Makua greeting with its references to social grouping long since obsolete, and the fields of magic and ritual are particularly rich. Thus into Sociology.

At the present time there is little available material on the type of problem outlined above; it is hoped in the near future to build up a caucus of reliable data which it might later be possible to use in collaboration with sociologists, on problems of interest to both.

Discussion on Mr. Whiteley's paper

M. Coupez asked what criterion Mr. Whiteley used to limit the sentence from a notional point of view since a sentence often contained a succession of different ideas.

Mr. Whiteley said there were obviously physical limits to the possible length of sentences.

M. Coupez objected to the use of "sentence" for an extremely short sentence such as, for instance, "I have".

Mr. Whiteley thought that in such a case tone and inflection would be important.

M. Coupez considered that this was a formal rather than a notional point of view.

M. Biebuyck asked whether he had noted in the languages he had studied the same flexibility of word-order as he, Biebuyck, had observed in his studies in the Congo and of which he gave examples. This flexibility did not occur in dialects distinguished by a fixed position for the demonstrative.

Mr. Whiteley said that in the past he had not made a specific study of the problems of word-order.

M. Biebuyck asked whether the plan for a comparative Swahili grammar to which Mr. Whiteley referred would be possible in the case of the Congo without a knowledge of the great variety of local dialects.

Mr. Whiteley thought that the work would be chiefly concerned with the structure (morphology) of the language, and that the undoubtedly wide lexical variations from dialect to dialect would not for this study be highly significant.

M. A. Coupez

Paper I.

Longueur et tonalité en Rwanda.

Notes provisoires.

Les présentes notes sont largement inspirées de l'étude (publiée sous forme ronéotypée) que M. E. Meeussen, Attaché linguistique au Musée du Congo Belge (Tervuren) a consacrée au Rundi. La terminologie lui est empruntée.

Il est pénible de lire correctement un texte Rwanda dans l'orthographe actuelle. Le Rwandais instruit lit le français plus aisément que sa propre langue. C'est qu'il manque à cette orthographe la notation de deux éléments importants: la longueur et la tonalité des syllabes.

La longueur des syllabes.

On perçoit clairement la longueur des syllabes si l'on parle lentement, en traînant un peu la voix: les syllabes longues ressortent alors, tandis que les brèves ne changent pas. Il est recommandé d'écrire les syllabes longues en redoublant la lettre de la voyelle; on ne recourra donc pas aux signes diacritiques, qui sont réservés à la notation de la tonalité. La longueur des syllabes peut, à elle seule, distinguer des mots:

| | | | | |
|-----|------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Ex. | guhaga | <u>pomper</u> | guhaaga | <u>être rassasié</u> |
| | guhuma | <u>être aveugle</u> | guhuuma | <u>hurler (hyène)</u> |
| | baziritse | <u>ils viennent d'attacher</u> | | |
| | baaziritse | <u>ils ont attaché</u> | (precedemment dans la journée) | |

La more. La more est une unité de longueur définie comme suit: une syllabe brève vaut une more; une syllabe longue vaut deux mores.

| | | | |
|-----|---------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| Ex. | guhaga | <u>pomper</u> | comporte 3 mores (I-I-I) |
| | guhaaga | <u>être rassasié</u> | comporte 4 mores (I-2-I) |

Dans une phrase Rwanda, il n'y a pas de syllabes qui se détachent des autres par la force avec laquelle elles sont prononcées: en d'autres mots, il n'y a pas d'accent d'intensité (appelé parfois accent tonique), tel qu'en trouve par exemple en anglais ou en latin.

Par contre-cela va de soi-chaque syllabe est prononcée à une hauteur musicale déterminée; on s'en rend compte facilement en sifflant la phrase. Or en Rwanda ces différentes hauteurs musicales des syllabes distinguent entre eux un nombre considérable de mots (voir les exemples au chap. IX). On peut les réduire à un système de quatre tons qui suffit à différencier les mots.

Chap. I. Remarques préliminaires.

1. La fin de phrase modifie le ton normal des mots (voir chap.V)
UN MOT ISOLE EST TRAITE COMME UNE FIN DE PHRASE. On ne peut pas, par conséquent, juger du ton d'un mot si ce mot n'est pas suivi d'un autre mot comportant au moins deux syllabes.
2. Certains tons hauts influencent la syllabe qui les précède (voir chap.II) et, indirectement, la syllabe qui les suit (voir chap.III). On ne peut donc pas juger du ton d'un mot si ce mot est immédiatement précédé ou suivi d'un ton haut.

3. La voix baisse lentement du début à la fin d'une phrase. Il n'y a pas lieu de tenir compte de ce mouvement pour l'étude des tons.
EN PRATIQUE, CES REMARQUES SIGNIFIENT QUE LE MOT DONT ON CHERCHE LES TONS NE PEUT PAS ETRE PRECEDE IMMEDIATEMENT D'UN TON HAUT ET QU'IL DOIT ETRE SUIVI D'UN MOT A TONS BAS COMPORTANT AU MOINS DEUX SYLLABES.

Chap. II. Les quatre tons.

1. Ton Bas. Le ton bas ne se note au moyen d'aucun signe spécial: toute syllabe qui ne porte pas de signe a le ton bas.

Ex. I.

kureet(a) ukuguru kureekure. voir une longue jambe
- - (- - -) - - - 1

2. Ton (haut) Antérieur. (') Le ton antérieur affecte simultanément deux syllabes: il touche la première more de la syllabe sur laquelle il se trouve (si cette syllabe est brève, et que, par conséquent, elle ne comporte qu'une more, le ton touche toute la syllabe) et est précédé d'une préparation sur la seconde more de la syllabe précédente (si cette syllabe est brève, et que, par conséquent, elle ne comporte qu'une more, la préparation touche toute la syllabe). La préparation ne se note pas dans l'écriture.

Cas. A. préparation sur syllabe brève et ton sur syllabe brève.

Ex. 2.

kureeb (a) ukuboko kureekure voir un long bras
- - (- ' -) - - -

On remarquera que le préfixe ku de ukuboko a, de lui-même, le ton bas (comparer, à l'exemple I, le ku de ukuguru), mais qu'il porte ici la préparation du ton haut qui se trouve sur bo.

Cas B. préparation sur syllabe longue, ton sur syllabe brève.

Ex. 3.

abaantu bageenda muunzira les gens qui marchent sur le chemin
- - - (/) - - -

La préparation porte sur la deuxième more de la syllabe longue gee; cette syllabe, ayant sa première more basse et sa deuxième haute, est réalisée en montée.

Cas. C. préparation sur syllabe brève, ton sur syllabe longue.

Ex. 4.

kureeb (a) umusaaza murecmure voir un grand vieillard
- - - (- -) - - -

Le ton qui se trouve sur la syllabe longue sáa ne

¹ Les tons du mot étudié sont placés entre parenthèses.

touche que la première more; cette syllabe, ayant la première more haute et la deuxième more basse, est réalisée en descente.

Cas. D. préparation sur syllabe longue et ton sur syllabe longue.

Ex. 5

— (/ \ —) —

Pour la préparation, voir l'explication du cas B; pour le ton, voir l'explication du Cas C.

Remarque: si le ton antérieur se trouve sur la première syllabe d'un mot, la préparation se porte sur la dernière syllabe du mot précédent.

Ex. 6

uruuz(i) abaantu bazirik(a) intaama

Tu vois que

les gens

attachent des moutons.

Ainsi qu'on le voit à l'exemple 3, la dernière syllabe de abaantu a le ton bas; mais ici elle porte la préparation du ton haut qui se trouve sur bá.

3. Ton (haut) Postérieur. (v) Le ton postérieur ne se rencontre que sur des syllabes longues, dont il touche simultanément les deux mores. Le signe v se place sur la seconde more.

Ex. 7

kureekha) uruhuungu mureegure voir un grand garçon

()

5

3

4. Double Ton Haut. ('') Le double ton haut est très rare. Il ne se rencontre que sur des syllabes longues, dont il touche simultanément les deux mores; comme le ton antérieur, il est précédé d'une préparation sur la seconde more de la syllabe précédente.

Ex. 8

umuunt (u) utaabzirikag (a) intaama

un homme qui

n'attachait pas
(hier) les
moutons.

Chap. III. Suites de tons.

La réalisation de certains tons est modifiée par la présence d'autres tons à proximité immédiate.

a) Modification par un ton précédent: si la syllabe précédente porte un ton haut (antérieur ou postérieur), toute syllabe comportant une montée (préparation du ton antérieur, ton postérieur) est réalisée haute et horizontale.
Comparer le ku de ukubóko à l'Ex. 2 et à l'Ex. 9.

Ex. 2

kureebā) ukubōko kureekure voir un long bras

(' -)

Ex. 9
kureeba nukuboko kureekure. voir même un grand bras
— (---) —

Comparer haa de haasi à l'Ex. 10 et à l'Ex. 11

Ex. 10
kwiicara haasi muunzu s'asseoir par terre dans la maison
— (/) —

Ex. 11
kwiicara no haasi muunzu s'asseoir même par terre dans la maison
— (- -) —

Comparer le pii de impiinga à l'Ex. 12 et à l'Ex 13

Ex. 12
kureeb(a) impiinga ndeende voir un grand sommet de colline
— (/) —

Ex. 13
urugereero rwimpiingga ndeende la limite du grand sommet de colline
— (- -) —

b) Modification par un ton subséquent.

1. La préparation du ton antérieur et du double ton haut modifie la syllabe qui précède le ton: voir Chap II, 2 et 4. Cas particulier: ton antérieur sur syllabe longue suivie immédiatement d'un ton antérieur:
Comparer le kaa de mukaa à l'Ex. 14 et à l'Ex. 15.

Ex. 14
ubu mukaa daat(a) aramureeba maintenant la femme de mon père le voit
— (' \) / — — —

Ex. 15
ubu mukaa s(e) aramureeba maintenant la femme de son père le voit
— (') — — —

A l'Ex. 15, la préparation du second ton antérieur relève la deuxième more de la syllabe longue kaa, sur la première more de laquelle se trouve le premier ton antérieur.

2. Un ton postérieur suivi immédiatement de la préparation d'un ton antérieur perd sa descente.
Comparer le haa de agahaanga à l'Ex. 16 et à l'Ex. 17

Ex. 16
kureeb (a) agahaanga kareekare voir un grand front
— (_ /) — — —

Ex. 17
kureeb (a) agahaanga kumuuntu voir le front de l'homme
— (_ / /) — — —

Chap. IV. Neutralisation de tons.

Les modifications subies par les tons voisins entre eux (voir Chap. III) entraînent la neutralisation, c'est-à-dire la confusion, de certaines suites de tons.

Cas. A. Les trois tons antérieurs de l'Ex. 18 et les quatre tons antérieurs de l'Ex. 19 sont réalisés de la même façon, de sorte qu'il y a confusion entre ces deux séries de tons.

Ex. 18

a;^áaaka k^un wá nó kuryá cyaane il veut boire et manger beaucoup

Ex. 19

a;^áaaka gut(a) inka ntó yumuuntu il veut abandonner la petite vache de l'homme

Cas. B. La suite de tons (I antérieur, I postérieur, I antérieur) de l'Ex. 20 est réalisée de la même façon que la suite de 4 tons antérieur de l'Ex. 21.

Ex. 20

urugereero rwisaambu yé rurataangaaje la delimitation de sa propriété est étonnante

Ex. 21

abaantu babon(a) ihiirwe ryé bamugirira akaantu les gens qui voient son bonheur lui en veulent

Pour débrouiller ces suites de tons, il faut étudier chaque mot séparément, en l'entourant de mots à tons bas.

Chap. V. Tons en fin de phrase.

1. La dernière syllabe d'une phrase est réalisée nettement plus basse que les précédentes.

Comparer la dernière syllabe de ukuguru à l'Ex. 1 et à l'Ex. 22.

Ex. 1.

kureeb (a) ukuguru kureekure voir une longue jambe

Ex. 22

kureeb (a) ukuguru. voir une jambe

Si la dernière syllabe porte le ton antérieur, ce ton n'est donc plus réalisé que par sa préparation.

Comparer la dernière syllabe de ibabá à l'Ex. 23 et à l'Ex. 24

Ex. 23

kureeb (a) ibabá rireerire voir une longue plume

Ex. 24

kureeb (a) ibabá voir une plume

• 20 •

2. A l'avant dernière syllabe d'une phrase:

a) le ton antérieur est réalisé par un ton moyen.

Comparer le bó de ukuboko à l'Ex. 2 et à l'Ex. 25.

Ex. 2.

kureeb (a) ukubóko kureekure voir un long bras

— (_ ' -) — — —

Ex. 25

kureeb (a) ukuboko voir un bras

— (_ ' -)

b) le ton postérieur voit sa montée réduite et sa descente accrue. Comparer le huu de umuhuungu à l'Ex. 7 et à l'Ex. 26.

Ex. 7

kureeb(a) umuhuungu mureemure voir un grand garçon

— (_ - / -) — — —

Ex. 26

kureeb(a) umuhuungu voir un garçon

— (_ - / -)

Remarque: La fin de phrase est notée par un point dans l'écriture courante; ce point symbolise en réalité les changements de tonalité qui se produisent en fin de phrase; il est donc inutile de recourir à un signe spécial.

Chap. VI. Cas spéciaux.

1. En cas d'arrêt momentané dans le cours d'une phrase, la dernière syllabe avant l'arrêt est réalisée haute (- ou /). Ce phénomène est noté par la virgule.
2. Dans une phrase interrogative, ou bien l'on augmente l'écart entre les tons hauts et les tons bas, ou bien l'on relève le ton de la dernière syllabe (alors que dans la phrase normale on l'abaisse). Ces phénomènes sont notés par le point d'interrogation.

Chap VII. Importance relative des tons.

On peut considérer comme tons simples le ton bas et le ton antérieur, qui sont les seuls que l'on rencontre dans les thèmes verbaux. Le ton postérieur et le double ton haut sont probablement le résultat, dans les conditions plus ou moins déterminées, de la combinaison des deux tons simples.

Chap. VIII. Orthographe.

Si la théorie de la tonalité est relativement complexe, l'orthographe qui en résulte est très simple. Il suffit de deux signes diacritiques (' et ^) pour noter tous les tons. On pourrait même se contenter du seul signe ^ , qui pourrait remplacer le signe ' pour la notation du ton postérieur à condition d'être placé sur la seconde morceau des syllabes longues; on écrirait umuhuungu au lieu de umuhuungu (garçon).

Chap. IX. Exemples de mots qui ne diffèrent que par les tons:

| | | | |
|----------|----------------------------|----------|----------------------------------|
| inda | <u>ventre</u> | indá | <u>pou</u> |
| ikireere | <u>feuille de bananier</u> | ikiréere | <u>ciel</u> |
| igicúucu | <u>idiot</u> | igicúucú | <u>ombre</u> |
| umweenda | <u>étoffe</u> | umweendá | <u>dette</u> |
| kubara | <u>calculer</u> | kubara | <u>raconter</u> |
| gutoonda | <u>embarrasser</u> | gutoonda | <u>mettre</u> <u>en rangs</u> |

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| abaantu bazirika intaama | <u>les hommes attachent (au général)</u> <u>les moutons</u> |
| abaantu bazirika intaama | <u>les hommes, quand ils attachent</u> <u>les moutons</u> |
| abaantu bazirika intaama | <u>les hommes qui attachent les moutons</u> |

Chap. X. Exemple de texte noté avec longueurs et tons.

Mbaciire umugani wa Rúgaānzu na Nagakeēcuru. Nagakeēcuru yaraā-túuye muBisi byaaHuuyi. Búkeeye Rugaānzu aramuteera; amúteeye asaanga yuūbakii ije igisurá kurugo rwe. Babura ahó bamenéra ningabo zé.

Avec le ton postérieur noté au moyen du signe ' (voir Chap. VIII): Mbaciire umugani waRúgaānzu naNagakeēcuru. Nagakeēcuru yaraatúuye muBisi byaaHuuyi. Búkeeye Rugaānzu aramuteera; amúteeye asaanga yuūbakii ije igisurá kurugo rwe. Babura ahó bamenéra ningabo zé. Que je vous raconte l'histoire de Rugaānzu et de Nyagakeēcuru. Nyagakeēcuru s'était établie aux Bisi de Huuyi. Un jour, Rugaānzu l'attaque; l'ayant attaquée, il constate qu'elle a fait dresser une haie d'orties autour de son enclos. Il ne sait où percer avec ses troupes.

M. A. Coupez

Paper II.

Aspect Systématique du Verbe en Rundi
et Rwanda

Le système verbal du Rundi a été étudié en 1951-52 par M. E. Meeussen, attaché linguistique au Musée du Congo Belge (Tervuren), qui vient de condenser ses conclusions en un opuscule ronéotype. La présente communication est basée à la fois sur cet opuscule et sur les notes que j'ai prises personnellement sur le Rwanda. J'utilise pour les deux langues la terminologie et les cadres fixés par M. Meeussen pour le Rundi.

Sont considérées ici comme verbales les formes qui possèdent la structure définie ci-dessous (voir I partie: les éléments), quelle que puisse être leur fonction syntaxique.

I Partie. Les Éléments.

On rencontre tous les éléments du verbe dans la forme: 'ntibakinahamuzirikira on n'y attache même plus pour lui.

| | |
|--------------|------------------------------------|
| 'nit- | élément négatif |
| -ba- | préfixe verbal |
| -ki- | marque |
| -na- ha- mu- | infixes |
| -zi/rik- | radical (et partie du postradical) |
| -rik-ir- | postradical |
| -a | finale |

1. Le préfixe: peut être verbal, pronominal ou nominal, selon les formes. La liste des prefixes est donnée en annexe.

Remarque: dans certaines formes verbales à fonction syntaxique nominale (p.ex.: autonome, infinitif), le préfixe peut être précédé de l'augment (voyelle de même timbre que la voyelle du préfixe) caractéristique des noms.

2. Élément négatif: 'nti- devant le préfixe, ou -ta derrière le préfixe, selon les formes.

3. La marque caractérise le degré de la forme (voir 2^e partie)

4. Les infixes, au nombre de trois au maximum. S'il y en a trois, le premier ne peut être que -na signifiant "même", "avec". Voir le tableau annexe.

5. Le radical. Au point de vue tonal, le radical est limité à une seule syllabe. S'il en comprend plusieurs sur le plan phonologique, sur le plan tonal la deuxième et les suivantes appartiennent au postradical. Un radical peut avoir un ton lexical bas (ex: -ba/riir - coudre) ou haut (ex: -kú/buur-balayer).

6. Le postradical. Au point de vue tonal, comprend tout ce qui est situé entre le radical, limité à sa 1^r syllabe, et la finale. Dans l'exemple ci-dessus, font partie du postradical: -rik-, inanalysable, et -ir- suffixe applicatif signifiant "pour".

7. La finale. Dans un verbe régulier, peut être:

| | |
|------|---|
| -a | la plupart des formes |
| -aga | en Rw. seulement, aspect imperfectif du récent et du préterit |
| -ye | aspect imperfectif |
| -e | subjonctif et formes voisines |

Remarques.

1. Les seuls éléments dont la présence est constante sont le préfixe (zéro à l'impératif!), le radical et la finale.
2. à quelques formes, il apparaît un élément de liaison -kw- devant les radicaux vocaliques (et devant l'infixe réfléchi).

2 Partie. Les Formes.

Certaines formes verbales semblent isolées, d'autres se laissent réduire à un tableau à colonnes croisées, tel qu'on a l'habitude d'en dresser pour la conjugaison latine par exemple. Bien que les premières ne soient pas négligeables (j'en ai relevé 25 jusqu'à présent en Rwanda), je m'en tiendrais aux secondes, qui montrent le mieux l'aspect systématique de la conjugaison.

Chapitre I. Tableau.

Pour des raisons de commodité, je me suis résolu à ne donner un tableau que pour le Rwanda. On trouvera les divergences entre le Rundi et le Rwanda détaillées aux chaps. II et III ci-dessous.

Symboles.

Placé devant le premier élément d'un forme signifie que cet élément porte le ton bas si la forme commence la phrase, et le ton haut dans le cas opposé.

| | | | | |
|--------------------|---|--|---|---|
| <u>Préfixe</u> | : | aucune indication | : | ton bas |
| | : | p | : | ton haut |
| <u>Radical</u> | : | aucune indication | : | ton bas (même pour les verbes à ton lexical haut) |
| | : | R | : | ton lexical |
| | : | R | : | ton lexical passant sur l'infixe |
| | : | R | : | ton bas |
| | : | R | : | ton haut |
| | : | R | : | ton opposé à celui de la syllabe précédente. |
| <u>Postradical</u> | : | aucune indication | : | ton bas |
| | : | P | : | ton haut sur la première syllabe du postradical |
| | : | P | : | ton haut sur la première syllabe du postradical, passant sur le radical si la forme comporte un infixé. |
| (-kw-) | : | le radical des verbes vocaliques (et l'infixe réfléchi) est précédé de <u>-kw-</u> . | | |
| -- | : | la troisième more de la forme porte le ton haut | | |

ORDRE AFFIRMATIF

ORDRE NEGATIF

'nti -ta-

| Aspects | Degres | Indic I | Indic II | Conj.I | Conj.II | Relatif à préf. (1) | Autonom | Indic | Conjon. | Relatif à préf. (1) | Autonom |
|------------------|--------------|----------------|----------|--------|---------|------------------------|---------|-------|---------|------------------------|---------|
| imperfectif -a | immédiat | - | -za-R- | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| perfectif -ye | au négatif P | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| imperfect. -aga/ | récent | - | -aa-R- | - | -aa-R- | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| perf. -ye | - a - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| prétérif | - | -ara-R- | -ara-R- | -R- | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| - a - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| imperfect -a | condition | - | - R - | - R - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| perfect -ye | -aa- (-kw-) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| persistif | - ki - | - zacyaa - R - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| finale -a | inceptif | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| -zaa-R | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| futur | - zaa - R - | -zaa-R- | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| -zaa-R | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |

(1) Préfixe pronominal et augment

ORDRE AFFIRMATIF

ORDRE NEGATIF

Conventions

Quand une case comprend uniquement un tiret il y a lieu de s'en tenir aux indications des têtes de colonne.

Quand une case comprend une ou plusieurs indications, celle(s)-ci annule(nt) les indications de têtes de colonne portant sur le(s) même(s) élément(s).

Toutefois, la présence dans une case d'une (ou de deux) flèches dirigée(s) vers une tête de colonne signifie que l'indication en tête de colonne reste valable.

Les phonèmes ou groupes de phonèmes donnés en tête de colonne du côté "degrés" sont les "marques".

Chapitre II. Principes de Repartition.

2 ordres: ordre affirmatif
ordre négatif ('nti- à l'indicatif; -ta- aux autres séries)

4 series. La différence entre les séries se marque surtout par le ton.

1. Indicatif: pas de caractéristique propre
2. Conjonctif: ton haut sur le préfixe. S'emploie notamment dans la conjugaison périphrastique, dans des propositions subordonnées sans mot subordonnant, et comme objet de quelques verbes.
3. Relatif: généralement ton postradical. En Rwanda seulement, à côté du relatif régulier à préfixe verbal, il se rencontre, aux classes dont le préfixe est monophone (classes 1,3,4,6 et 9), des formes à préfixe pronominal, qui s'emploient lorsque le préfixe reprenant l'antécédent est sujet du verbe relatif.
4. Autonome: ton haut sur la troisième morceau de la forme. Préfixe pronominal et augment. En Rwanda, les préfixes monophones (classes 1,3,4,6 et 9) ont une forme spéciale: au lieu de uwu, iyi, etc. on trouve uu, ii, etc. (avec attraction du ton suivant). En Ru., on rencontre parfois u, i, etc. L'autonome est une forme à fonction syntaxique nominale signifiant "celui qui accomplit telle action".

7 degrés. Les degrés se caractérisent par la marque.

1. Immédiat: marque zéro. Action intemporelle et action présente. En outre, en. Rw. seulement, futur d'aujourd'hui.
2. Recent: -a- Passé d'aujourd'hui
3. Prétérit: -á- Passé d'hier (et au-delà)
4. Conditionnel: Ru.: -oo- (-kw-); Rw.: -aa- (-kw-)
5. Perstitif: -ki- A l'affirmatif: "encore"; au négatif: "ne plus"
6. Inceptif: Ru.: -räa-R-; Rw.: -räa-R-
A l'affirmatif: "déjà", au négatif "pas encore".
7. Futur: Ru.: -zoo- (-kw-)R-; Rw.: -zaa-R-.
En Rw. ne désigne que le futur de demain (et au delà)

2 aspects: perfectif et imperfectif. Cette opposition, limitée à un certain nombre de formes, se marque par la finale:

perfectif: -a. En Rw. -aga au récent et préterit.

imperfectif: -ye

2 suites: Opposition limitée à quelques formes.

La suite I, caractéristique zéro, s'emploie si la forme est en relation étroite avec le mot suivant.

La suite II, caractéristique R (et, en partie, la marque -ra-) s'emploie dans le cas opposé.

Dans le tableau ci-dessus, la suite est désignée simplement par l'emploi du chiffre I ou II à côté du nom de la série.

Chapitre III. Detail des Formes.

Les formes sont données à l'aspect imperfectif et à l'ordre affirmatif seulement. Elles sont basées sur un verbe à ton lexical bas: -bariir- coudre, et sur un verbe à ton lexical haut: -kúbuur- balayer. Toutefois, le dernier n'est donné que s'il diffère de l'autre à la forme considérée.

Quand il n'est pas spécifié si une forme est Rundi (Ru.) ou Rwanda (Rw.) c'est qu'elle est commune aux deux langues.

| <u>indicatif I</u> | <u>Ordre Affirmatif</u> | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------------|--|--|
| immédiat | tubariira | nous cousons (constamment) | |
| récent | Ru. twaabariira Rw. twaabariiraga | nous cousons (aujourd'hui) | |
| préterit | Ru. twaabariira Rw. twaabariiraga | nous cousons (hier ou avant) | |
| conditionnel | Ru. twoobariira Rw. twaabariira | nous coudrions | |
| persistif(I) | turacyaabariira | nous cousons encore turacyákúbuura | |
| inceptif(I) | Ru. turaabariira Rw. néant | avons-nous déjà cousu? (réponse: non!) turáakubuura | |
| futur (I) | Ru. tuzoobariira Rw. tuzaabariira | nous coudrons nous coudrons (demain ou plus tard) | |

(I) Ces formes sont des indicatifs plutôt que des indicatifs I, car elles ne participent pas à l'opposition indicatif I-indicatif II.

indicatif II

| | | | |
|--------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| immédiat | turabariira | nous cousons (maintenant) | |
| | en Rw. aussi: | turakubuura | |
| récent | Ru. twaabariira Rw. twaabariiraga | nous coudrons (aujourd'hui) | |
| préterit | Ru. twaabariira Rw. twaabariiraga | twaakubuura twaakubuuraga | |
| conditionnel | Ru. twoobariira Rw. twaabariira | twookubuura twaakubuura | |

conjonctif

| | | | |
|----------|-----|---------------|----------------------------|
| immédiat | | ubariira | (tu vois) que nous cousons |
| récent | Ru. | twaabariira | twaakubuura |
| | Rw. | twaabariiraga | twaakubuuraga |

En Rw., cette forme fait office de conjonctif II; il existe en outre en conjonctif I:

| | | | |
|--------------|-----|-----------------|---------------|
| | | twaabariiraga | twaakubuuraga |
| prétérit a) | Ru. | twaabariira | |
| | Rw. | néant | |
| b) | Ru. | twaarabáriira | |
| | Rw. | twaarabáriiraga | |
| conditionnel | Ru. | twoobariira | twookubuura |
| | Rw. | twaabariira | twaakubuura |
| persttif | | tukbariira | |
| inceptif | | néant | |
| futur | Ru. | tuzoobáriira | |
| | Rw. | túzaabariira | túzaakubuura |

relatif

| | | | |
|--------------|-----|--|------------------|
| immédiat | | tubariira | que nous cousons |
| récent | Ru. | twaabariira | |
| | Rw. | twaabariiraga | |
| prétérit | | (se confond avec l'indicatif I prétérit) | |
| | Ru. | twaabariira | |
| | Rw. | twaabariiraga | |
| conditionnel | Ru. | twoobarjira | |
| | Rw. | twaabariira | |
| persttif | | tukbariira | |
| inceptif | | néant | |
| futur | Ru. | tuzoobáriira | |
| | Rw. | túzaabariira | túzaakubuura |

relatif à préfixe pronominal (en Rw. seulement)

| | | | |
|--------------|--|-------------|-------------|
| immédiat (I) | | ubáriira | qui coud |
| recent | | wabariiraga | |
| prétérit | | wabariiraga | |
| conditionnel | | waabariira | |
| persttif (I) | | ukbariira | |
| futur (I) | | uzaabariira | uzaakubuura |

autonome Les exemples sont pris à la classe I

| | | | |
|-----------------------|-----|--------------|----------------|
| immédiat a) | Ru. | uwubáriira | celui qui coud |
| | Rw. | uúbariira | |
| b) | Ru. | uwúbariira | |
| | Rw. | néant | |
| récent et prétérit | Ru. | uwabáriira | |
| | Rw. | uwabáriiraga | |

| | | | |
|--------------|-----|---------------|---------------|
| conditionnel | Ru. | uwoobariira | |
| | Rw. | uwaabariira | |
| persttif | Ru. | uwukibariira | |
| | Rw. | uukibariira | |
| inceptif | Ru. | uwuraabariira | uwuraakubuura |
| | Rw. | néant | |
| futur | Ru. | uwuzoobariira | |
| | Rw. | uuzaabariira | uuzaakubuura |

Formes à infixes

On aura remarqué que la présence d'un infixe modifie le ton de certaines formes (de là les symboles R et P).

Exemple:

affirmatif indicatif II immédiat imperfectif

barabona ils voient

baramubona ils le voient (infixe classe I)

D'autres modifications surviennent si la forme comprend deux ou trois infixes, ou encore si un des infixes est le réfléchi. Il en résulte que l'infixe doit être considéré comme partie intégrante de la forme verbale, et non pas comme un élément libre qui viendrait séparer la forme en deux troncons.

3 Partie. Conclusions.

1. La majorité des formes ne se distinguent entre elles que par la longueur des voyelles et par les tons. Pour ne prendre qu'un exemple, un mot comme baziritse, noté sans longueurs ni tons dans l'orthographe courante, recouvre une dizaine de formes différentes.
2. Il faudrait un système à cinq dimensions pour symboliser la conjugaison de façon adéquate. En effet, il y a 5 principes de répartition: ordre, scrie, degré, aspect, suite.
3. Compte tenu de toutes les combinaisons des préfixes et infixes, mais non des suffixes dérivatifs, un verbe simple possède largement plus d'un million et demi de formes. Ce chiffre se multiplie un nombre considérable de fois si l'on fait intervenir les suffixes dérivatifs et la conjugaison par périphrase.
4. Les différences entre le Rundi et le Rwanda ne portent que sur les détails, relativement nombreux, il est vrai. Le cadre général de la conjugaison est le même dans les deux langues. C'est dire qu'en fait, il s'agit d'une seule langue qui apparaît sous deux variétés dialectales.

ANNEXE

Préfixes et infixes en relation avec le verbe

| | <u>P<small>réfixes nominaux</small></u> | <u>P<small>réfixes pronominaux</small></u> | <u>P<small>réfixes verbaux</small></u> | <u>I<small>nfixes</small></u> |
|----------|---|--|--|-------------------------------|
| moi | | | n- | - j - |
| nous | | | tu- | -- |
| toi | | | u- | - ku - |
| vous | | | mu- | - ba - |
| classe 1 | | u- | a- (y-dev.voy.) | - mu - |
| 2 | | ba- | - | -- |
| 3 | | u- | - | - wu - |
| 4 | | i- | - | - yi - |
| 5 | i- | ri- | - | -- |
| 6 | | a- (y-dev.voy) | - | - ya - |
| 7 | | ki- | - | -- |
| 8 | | bi- | - | -- |
| 9 | | i- | - | - yi - |
| 10 | | zi- | - | -- |
| 11 | | ru- | - | -- |
| 12 | | ka- | - | -- |
| 13 | | tu- | - | -- |
| 14 | bu- | -- | - | -- |
| 15 | ku- | -- | - | -- |
| 16 | | ha- | - | -- |
| réfléchi | | | | - ii - (-iiy-dev. voy.) |
| "^même" | | | | - na - |

Les préfixes et infixes désignés par un tiret ont la même forme que le préfixe correspondant de la colonne précédente.

Discussion on M. Coupez's papers.

M. Jacobs asked which form was used for the inchoative and the frequentative?

M. Coupez replied that there was no special form for the inchoative in Kinyaruanda. The frequentative was marked by suffixes especially in the case of derivatives.

M. Jacobs asked if the tone which was formerly called the "middle high tone" was now called the "middle tone". Was it possible to distinguish two middle tones?

M. Coupez replied that he thought it impossible to do so but Abbe Kagame proposed such a division of middle tones in his "Codes des Institutions Politiques du Ruanda". M. Coupez disagreed with him. He thought Abbe Kagame was basing his system on the study of isolated words.

M. Jacobs asked whether it was possible to use an orthography to represent tonetic differences in view of the great differences existing between tonetics and tonology.

M. Coupez said that there were only three tonetic signs in use in orthographies.

Dr. Richards asked M. Coupez and Mr. Whiteley whether it was really possible to use the tone signs given in dictionaries of Bantu languages since linguists stressed the fact that tone depends on the position of words in the sentence.

M. Coupez said that in Kinyaruanda this did not present any difficulties. It was easy to change the tone indicated in the dictionary according to the pattern of the sentence, since these latter were not numerous.

Mr. Whiteley thought that in view of the great variety of tone patterns existing in Luganda, it was difficult to use the tones indicated in the dictionary.

Dr. Southall asked M. Coupez if the great number of possible verbal forms in Kinyaruanda - about a million and a half according to his paper - were commonly used. Were these variations that were theoretically possible but rarely used by the common man?

M. Coupez answered that one individual might fail to use all these variations in his lifetime but that within the group as a whole all these variations were used. They were all understood and accepted by all.

Mr. Whiteley asked if the terms "anterior" and "posterior" as used in M. Coupez's paper had any correspondence with phonetic reality.

M. Coupez replied in the negative. He said the terms were only introduced as an aid to systematisation.

M. Jacobs asked if there was a vocal harmony in Kinyaruanda in view of the number of tone patterns that existed.

M. Coupez agreed but pointed out that the vocal patterns were not very numerous in view of the fact that there are only five vowels.

Session III

Tuesday February 23rd

9 a.m.

Chairman Dr. A. I. Richards

Dr. V. Neesen.

Un Nouvel Echantillon de la Population
du Ruanda-Urundi

"In Africa today statisticians are our twentieth century Mungo Parks and David Livingstones, and, as with them, pioneering often takes the form of struggling through dense tropical bush only to find more dense tropical bush"

C'est dans le numéro du 20 décembre 1952 du journal "The Economist", que l'on peut lire cette phrase, et comme cette publication - vous en êtes tous conscients - jouit à juste titre dans notre monde occidental d'une considération comparable à celle de l'oracle de Delphes dans le monde antique, je me permets de la prendre comme devise pour cet exposé.

Le Ruanda-Urundi ne faisant pas exception - au contraire -, la brousse des statistiques démographiques y était jusqu'ici très dense. A titre d'exemple, je vous donne quelques chiffres, publiés dans les rapports officiels. On y citait déjà pour l'année 1924 une population totale d'au moins cinq millions. Par contre, les chiffres officiels pour les dernières années sont, chaque fois à la fin de l'année: 1947: 3,718,000; 1948: 3,793,000; 1949: 3,808,000; 1950: 3,904,000. Pour ces mêmes années, on a évalué le taux d'accroissement à 2.08, 2.13, 1.98. On constate, qu'il y a souvent une contradiction entre les évaluations des chiffres totaux et les taux d'accroissement, de la même année.

Le calcul de ces estimations s'est toujours fait en partant du rapport entre le nombre des males adultes valides et la population totale dans une série de groupements recensés chaque année.

D'ailleurs, toutes les statistiques démographiques du Ruanda-Urundi ont été basées jusqu'ici sur le système bien connu des enquêtes démographiques. Il est vrai qu'on a introduit depuis quelques années un recensement complet, fait annuellement par les sous-chefs ou des employés indigènes des territoires, mais les expériences nous enseignent que ces chiffres sont fort sujets à caution. Il est de même pour l'état civil, embryonnaire, qu'on instaure à fur et à mesure que les autorités indigènes évoluent, bien que ce soit là un effort très louable. La valeur des statistiques démographiques actuelles au Ruanda-Urundi dépend donc des enquêtes démographiques. Celles-ci ne pouvaient donner des garanties suffisantes. Voici une énumération très succincte de leurs principaux défauts:

1. Erreur dans le choix: on a toujours assuré que les groupements des enquêtes démographiques étaient "judicieusement choisis". En réalité, cela signifie qu'on a pris ces échantillons dans la proximité d'une mission, d'un centre avec un hôpital ou un dispensaire, d'une route. C'est là pourtant que l'influence de l'action médicale européenne est la plus efficace, ce qui fait qu'on ne peut pas considérer ces populations comme représentatives. Une autre erreur est introduite par le procédé suivant: on fait les enquêtes par territoire; or, dans le cadre de chaque territoire, la différence entre certaines régions est frappante. Cette différence se manifeste sur le terrain naturel et économique, mais non moins sur le terrain humain et démographique.

Malheureusement, presque sans exception, on a fait les enquêtes dans une seule des régions différentes, et on a généralisé ensuite pour tout le territoire les chiffres obtenus, y inclus les régions différentes au point de vue démographique de la région de l'enquête.

2. Nombre trop limité des groupements étudiés pour en tirer des conclusions avec des limites de confiance raisonnables.

3. Erreur dans le calcul des estimations.

4. Erreur dans la méthode: pour relever les données, on en appelle au sous-chef, qui laisse exécuter le travail par son homme de confiance, sans aucun contrôle d'un européen. Tout au plus, en d'autres cas, un agent territorial rassemble les populations devant un gîte pour y procéder ensuite à une enquête sommaire.

Voilà donc la brousse; comment la défricher, du moins partiellement? Par un dénombrement complet à l'instar du East African Population Census de 1948? Il est permis d'avoir des doutes si c'est la meilleure solution. Il faut en effet tenir compte de l'axiome statistique, plus important encore dans les régions sous-développées qu'en d'autres pays, qu'il s'agit d'obtenir, avec les moyens très limités dont on dispose, un maximum de renseignements utiles. Or, pour un recensement complet, il faut en avant mettre en campagne un nombre si élevé d'enquêteurs qu'il devient pratiquement impossible de leur donner la formation indispensable. Le mal s'aggrave encore par le fait qu'un contrôle efficace des opérations sur le terrain devient impossible puisque, par définition, on fait le recensement partout à la même époque. Voilà deux facteurs qui paraissent mettre sérieusement en question la valeur des chiffres, dont la collection a été pourtant couteuse. D'ailleurs, un dénombrement complet ne peut être répété que tous les dix ou tous les cinq ans au maximum. Si un plan décennal pour le développement économique et social d'un pays est en voie d'exécution, le Gouvernement doit être en mesure peut être de contrôler la répercussion de l'action médicale sur le taux de mortalité dans telle ou telle région. Comme le dit la brochure de l'O.N.U. "Measures for the economic development of under-developed countries" (UNO, 1951, p. 62): "It is not enough that ad hoc studies be made from time to time, since the situation and its potentialities are changing all the time." Toutes ces considérations nous ont détournés de l'idée d'un dénombrement complet.

Pour les raisons indiquées tantôt, ni le recensement annuel fait par les sous-chefs indigènes, ni l'état-civil incomplet peuvent servir de point de départ pour l'établissement de statistiques démographiques.

Il ne rest en fin de compte que la technique d'enchantillonnage, qui n'est rien d'autre qu'une application des dernières méthodes de la science statistique aux enquêtes démographiques traditionnelles.

L'enchantillonnage permet incontestablement de concentrer le travail dans les échantillons choisis, de reduire ainsi le personnel nécessaire pour le "field-work" et les frais de déplacement, tout en augmentant la qualité de l'information.

L'expérience statistique enseigne d'ailleurs que les résultats de l'enchantillonnage scientifique méritent souvent plus de confiance que les données d'un recensement complet coûtant plusieurs fois plus cher.

Avant de donner un aperçu des principaux points du plan statistique adopté, il est utile de rappeler quelques caractéristiques du pays.

Le territoire sous tutelle du Ruanda-Urundi s'étend sur une superficie de 54,700 Kms. Administrativement, il est divisé en deux "résidences", celle du Ruanda et celle de l'Urundi, comptant respectivement 8 et 9 territoires. Ceux-ci se composent de chefferies, à leur tour subdivisées en sous-chefferies, qui forment les unités administratives les plus petites.

La gestion des résidences et des territoires est confiée à des Administrateurs européens, celle des chefferies et sous-chefferies à des notables indigènes.

La population est une des plus denses de l'Afrique au Sud du Sahara, mais elle se caractérise en même temps par un éparpillement extrême: on n'y trouve point de villages, mais des habitations isolées qu'entourent des champs de bananeraies. C'est la colline qui constitue le lien géographique entre ces habitations, dite "Ingo" (huttes ou petits groupes de huttes entourées d'un enclos) qu'on rencontre, suivant les particularités du terrain, sur les sommets ou dans les bas-fonds, mais le plus souvent sur les flans des milliers de collines, qui sillonnent tout le Ruanda-Urundi.

Trois races vivent côté à côté dans ce pays; les Batutsi, d'origine hamitique, peuple de pasteurs, qui dominent les deux autres, c.à.d. les Bahutu, agriculteurs et de loin les plus forts en nombre, et les Batwa, des pygmoides peu nombreux.

Les conditions du Nouvel Echantillon

1. L'échantillon doit fournir avec une limite de confiance raisonnable des estimations de la population totale, de la mortalité, de la natalité, de la composition par sexe et par groupe d'âge pour tout le pays et par territoire.

2. Tenant compte des contingences budgétaires, le Gouvernement du Ruanda-Urundi a organisé un réseau d'enquêteurs autochtones à raison d'un pour chaque territoire et de deux pour les 5 territoires les plus peuplés; en outre un élément de réserve est prévu par territoire, qui cependant devra être utilisé pendant la période des enquêtes. Le nouvel échantillon et plus spécialement le nombre d'habitants y inclus doit être déterminé en fonction du nombre des éléments disponibles pour faire le travail sur les collines.

3. L'échantillon doit prévoir un minimum de déplacements pour les enquêteurs, et doit permettre en même temps un maximum de contrôle de la part des autorités administratives.

4. Il serait en outre souhaitable que le nouvel échantillon puisse servir pour des enquêtes eventuelles dans d'autres domaines (agriculture, économie, santé, enseignement, etc...)

Les principes d'échantillonnage

La façon la plus simple de choisir les échantillons aurait été de prendre un certain pourcentage de collines par chefferie. Les chefferies, en effet, englobent généralement des populations qui, dans les limites d'un territoire, se différencient par leur composition, par la race, par l'activité économique ou par d'autres facteurs, dont on peut supposer qu'ils exercent une influence sur les phénomènes démographiques. Un certain pourcentage de collines pris dans chaque chefferie peut donc constituer un échantillon représentatif de tout le pays.

Plusieurs considérations s'opposent à cette méthode: d'abord, on ne dispose pas pour le moment d'une liste exacte et complète des collines peuplées; ensuite, les difficultés de déplacement et de contrôle du travail pratique aurait été insurmontables, si on devait atteindre environ 8% de toutes les collines dans chacune des chefferies du pays.

L'échantillonnage en deux temps ou en deux degrés (multi-stage sampling) peut remédier à ces difficultés. Dans ce cas, on prend d'abord un certain nombre d'unités du premier degré et dans ceux-ci on choisit des unités du second degré. Les groupements ainsi choisis constituent les échantillons définitifs.

Ni la population du Ruanda-Urundi ni celle d'un territoire ne forme un tout homogène. Le rapport entre la population totale et les redevables de l'impôt de capitation est influencé par la mortalité masculine; la natalité, la mortalité, la composition de la population par groupe d'âge et par race diffèrent de région en région; tout est hétérogène.

Néanmoins, il y a des couches ou strates relativement homogènes et le choix au hasard peut donner de meilleurs résultats si l'on constitue un échantillon stratifié. Ceci est possible en se basant sur une étude des caractéristiques démographiques de la population et des corrélations existant entre celles-ci et d'autres facteurs, de manière que les strates ne soient pas un découpage purement arbitraire. Un second principe est par conséquent le groupement des unités du premier degré en strates relativement homogènes.

Une fois les grandes lignes du plan déterminées, il nous reste à décider d'une série de questions également très importantes: quelles seront les unités du premier degré et du second degré? Quels principes de stratification adoptera-t-on? Comment fera-t-on le choix des unités du premier et du second degré?

Les unités du premier degré

Si toutes les unités dans chacune des strates étaient parfaitement égales du point de vue démographique, on aurait qu'à choisir par strate n'importe laquelle de ces unités pour obtenir des données tout à fait exactes, chaque unité représentant fiduciairement toutes les autres. Ceci est évidemment un cas purement hypothétique, mais il permet de comprendre que l'erreur d'échantillonnage sera réduite dans la mesure où l'on a des unités hétérogènes dans ce sens-ci qu'elles comprennent une population où l'on trouve la plus grande partie des caractéristiques démographiques de la strate.

Le choix de la sous-chefferie comme unité du premier degré semble logique dans cet ordre d'idées. En effet elle comporte toujours plusieurs collines, ce qui garantit une certaine variabilité du point de vue démographique. Si l'on combine pourtant deux ou trois sous-chefferies en unités élargies, on augmentera les chances que chaque unité élargie représente toute la strate, puisque dans ce cas la natalité et la mortalité etc... y seront plus hétérogènes et plus rapprochées de la situation générale de la strate. Par conséquent on a groupé les sous-chefferies par deux ou trois, formant des unités d'environ 7,500 habitants. Ce groupement est pourtant limité par les nécessités pratiques (restreindre les déplacements - faciliter le contrôle administratif).

Les unités du second degré seront les collines, parties constitutives des unités du premier degré.

La stratification

La phase suivante du plan est la classification des unités du premier degré en strates de façon que la population de chaque strate soit aussi homogène que possible du point de vue démographique. Il va de soi qu'il est impossible de déterminer des strates tout à fait homogènes mais il faut les faire aussi homogènes que possibles en tenant compte des informations dont on dispose. Au Ruanda-Urundi, les deux races prépondérantes, les Batutsi, race dirigeante, s'adonnant à l'élevage, et les Bahutu vivant de l'agriculture, se distinguent par plusieurs facteurs, notamment leur milieu géographique, leur nutrition et leur genre de vie.

On a subdivisé la population en strates en partant de l'hypothèse que la différenciation des deux races avec tout ce qu'elle comporte crée aussi une différence dans la natalité, dans la mortalité et dans la composition par âges et sexes. Cette hypothèse a été confirmée par les pilot-tests dont on parle ci-après.

On peut donc supposer raisonnablement qu'une région pastorale, une région agricole, une région mixte offrent une certaine homogénéité démographique et la stratification s'est faite en conséquence. Pour des raisons administratives, on a divisé chaque territoire en strates, mais on comprendre aisément que certaines régions humaines s'étendent sur plusieurs territoires. Rien n'empêche de classer ces strates homologues en trois grands groupes: les régions pastorales, agricoles et mixtes. En outre, il y a plusieurs strates "sui generis", formées par des régions spéciales: une région sous l'influence d'un grand centre européen, une région industrielle, une région marécageuse particulièrement malsaine, etc.

Il est superflu de souligner que la stratification d'un pays dont on possède peu de données numériques est nécessairement imparfaite. La division exacte en régions humaines ne sera possible qu'au moment où on disposera de statistiques démographiques sérieuses.

Le choix des échantillons

Ce choix s'est fait par strates et au hasard à l'aide d'une table de "random numbers".

Ci-dessus on a expliqué qu'il est possible de grouper les strates en quatre catégories:

1. les régions agricoles
2. les régions pastorales
3. les régions mixtes
4. les régions spéciales

Or, les régions agricoles sont de loin les plus importantes du point de vue nombre de leur population, et il est donc logique de les étudier plus intensivement. D'autre part, il s'avère important de posséder des estimations raisonnables pour les caractéristiques démographiques des autres régions, peut être de celles où le Gouvernement envisage des immigrations. Un troisième facteur dont il fallait tenir compte dans la détermination de la fraction des unités du premier degré à choisir est que les enquêteurs, destinés à se mettre en campagne pour la collection des données dans les échantillons, sont attachés à l'administration de chaque territoire et doivent donc travailler par territoire.

Les unités du premier degré représentant le mieux leur strate, on s'est efforcé d'en atteindre le plus possible, tout en les échantillonnant aussi intensivement que nécessaire pour obtenir une bonne estimation de leurs caractéristiques démographiques. La situation géographique des territoires et notamment leur étendue permet généralement aux enquêteurs d'atteindre un quart des unités du premier degré.

Les "pilot-tests" de leur côté ont indiqué que la variabilité par strate des différents taux démographiques est de tel ordre qu'en prenant un échantillon d'un quart des unités du premier degré et d'environ un quart des unités du second degré (collines), les estimations de la population totale par territoire auront 95% de chances d'être exactes dans une limite de $\pm 5\%$ ($S=2.5\%$).

Par conséquent, on a choisi au hasard 1/4 des unités du premier degré. Tenant compte des remarques ci-dessus et des résultats des pilot-tests, on a choisi au hasard 2/5 des collines composant les unités du premier degré dans les régions agricoles et 1/4 dans les autres régions (variable sampling fractions).

Les estimations

a) Population totale. La variabilité du nombre d'habitants par colline est très grande. Il résulte qu'on devrait comprendre dans l'échantillon un nombre extrêmement élevé de collines pour être à même de calculer avec des limites de confiance raisonnables une population moyenne par colline. Pour y remédier on fait appel à des données supplémentaires et connues, c'est à dire le nombre des hommes adultes valides (HAV) constitué par ceux qui payent l'impôt de capitation et ceux qui sont déclarés exempts de cet impôt pour d'autres raisons que de santé. Il y a indiscutablement une corrélation très étroite entre le nombre des HAV et la population totale.

On calculera donc le rapport entre ces deux facteurs pour la population des échantillons: là en effet on les connaît tous les deux.

Ce coefficient multiplié par le nombre des HAV de la strate, donnera la population totale de celle-ci.

b) Taux démographiques. On calculera, en se basant sur les données des échantillons, par strate des estimations pour le taux de natalité (le rapport entre le nombre des naissances et la population totale), le taux de fécondité (rapport entre le nombre des naissances et le nombre des femmes fécondables) le taux de mortalité générale (nombre de décès par rapport à la population totale), le taux de mortalité infantile, etc... On déterminera des moyennes pondérées de ces taux pour tout le pays, en donnant aux taux de chaque strate un poids en rapport avec sa population totale.

Le calcul des variances des taux se fera selon des formules analogues à celles employées pour les estimations de la population totale. Voilà donc le plan théorique d'échantillonnage. En ce qui concerne l'exécution pratique, deux phases se sont succédées: la phase préparatoire et l'exécution proprement dite. Et tout d'abord, on a commencé à former un cadre permanent d'enquêteurs démographes autochtones, aptes non seulement à rassembler les chiffres indispensables relatifs aux statistiques démographiques, mais encore à collecter des données quantitatives en d'autres domaines. Ces candidats enquêteurs démographes, au nombre de 40, furent recrutés par moitié au Ruanda et par moitié dans l'Urundi en ordre principal parmi les secrétaires indigènes les plus doués des territoires. Leur contingent fut complété par des engagés

volontaires justifiant au moins d'un diplome d'études moyennes du degré inférieur et ayant satisfait à un examen d'entrée portant sur la connaissance pratique du français et de l'arithmétique. Leur formation - comme d'ailleurs toute la partie purement administrative de l'organisation des enquêtes - fut confiée par le Gouvernement à un administrateur territorial, Mr. A. d'Arian. Celui-ci a donné pendant environ trois semaines aux candidats une série de leçons plutôt théoriques, afin de leur expliquer l'intérêt social du travail à entreprendre et de leur faire prendre goût à son accomplissement. Toujours dans le but de préparer psychologiquement ces futurs enquêteurs, le Mwami du Ruanda est venu inspecter à Astrida leur camp et leur a dit toute l'importance qu'il attachait au succès des enquêtes.

A l'issue des cours pratiques, une série d'enquêtes pilotes ont eu lieu successivement en quatre régions typiques du Ruanda et de l'Urundi, où on a transporté par camion les enquêteurs. Ainsi, pendant quatre semaines, ceux-ci ont eu l'occasion de s'initier sur le terrain, la méthode pratique de travail, sous la surveillance étroite et constante de leur professeur. D'autre part, ces enquêtes pilotes nous ont permis d'observer les réactions des populations. La plupart du temps les gens restaient passifs, sans manifester de mauvaise volonté. Le total général des habitants ainsi testés s'élève à 24,640. Dans la phase préparatoire se situent aussi une série de mesures, destinées à informer les autorités administratives, tant européenne, qu'indigène, des objectifs poursuivis par les enquêtes ainsi que du concours attendu d'eux. Le Gouverneur du Ruanda-Urundi et ensuite le Gouverneur Général du Congo Belge envoyèrent des circulaires insistant sur une collaboration loyale et active à apporter. Des réunions de tous les administrateurs de Territoire eurent lieu successivement à Kigali pour le Ruanda et à Kitega pour l'Urundi, aux fins de donner à Monsieur Arian et à moi-même l'occasion de présenter des exposés détaillés concernant la part de coopération attendue du Service Territorial. Ceux-ci, à leur tour, provoquèrent une réunion des autorités coutumières de leur territoire, dans la circonscription desquels les échantillons étaient choisis et les mirent au courant des buts du travail de la façon dont ils devaient assurer le bon déroulement des enquêtes.

Aussi le terrain se trouvait-il préparé pour les premières grandes enquêtes démographiques, qui débutèrent le 9 juin de l'année passée simultanément dans tous les territoires du Ruanda-Urundi. Tous les Administrateurs avaient reçu au début du mois de mai la liste des collines échantillons situées dans leur territoire et avaient établi pour chacun de leurs enquêteurs un itinéraire selon un modèle donné et en prévoyant un rythme de travail atteignant le minimum de 200 habitants par jour.

Les enquêteurs devaient se rendre sur 211 collines du Ruanda et sur 254 collines de l'Urundi, comprenant environ 320,000 habitants et situées dans toutes les régions du pays, même les plus éloignées et les plus inhospitalières. Dans chaque agglomération, la population prévenue de l'arrivée de l'enquêteur, était prête de rester près de ses habitations. Sur toutes les collines-échantillons, lors de la période s'étendant du 9 juin à la fin du mois de juillet, la même scène, non dépourvue de pittoresque, se reproduisait. L'enquêteur, précédé par des porteurs déplaçant ses outils de travail, c'est à dire sa table, sa chaise et ses registres, allait de hutte en hutte, tandis que le sous-chef l'accompagnait, afin de le secourir du poids de son autorité pendant l'interrogatoire des habitants, rassemblés dans l'enclos typique de leur demeure.

Un triple contrôle du travail des enquêteurs était organisé sur le terrain. D'abord les chefs indigènes avaient reçu l'ordre de contrôler régulièrement l'enquêteur opérant dans les limites de leur chefferie. Ensuite, le Gouvernement avait ordonné à l'administration territoriale de contrôler une fois par semaine à l'improviste chacun des enquêteurs du territoire. Enfin, Monsieur d'Arian et le soussigné ont parcouru pendant le mois de juin et juillet tour à tour le Ruanda et l'Urundi afin de se rendre compte sur place du déroulement des opérations dans tous les territoires.

Le travail des enquêteurs a donné satisfaction et tous sans exception ont démontré un zèle remarquable dans l'exécution de leur tâche ardue. Aussi la plupart d'eux ont achevé leur travail légèrement en avance sur le calendrier prévu.

L'enquête sur une colline-échantillon étant terminée, les résultats étaient acheminés sans tarder vers le centre d'Astrida. La préparation du dépouillement des tableaux fut entrepris immédiatement par leur classification et par la constitution d'un fichier donnant toutes les indications indispensables pour l'analyse statistique de l'échantillon.

Un accord fut conclu avec la Section Statistique à Léopoldville en vertu duquel celle-ci s'est chargée de la totalisation des données, besogne qui aurait été extrêmement laborieuse à Astrida, vu l'équipement réduit dont on y dispose pour pareil travail. Avant la transmission des tableaux, la codification de ceux-ci se fit à Astrida. En effet, dans le but de permettre le traitement mécanographique des données du recensement, le premier des bulletins sur lesquels étaient consignés les renseignements relatives aux caractéristiques suivantes de la colline: territoire, strate, unité du premier degré, nombre de lignes, nombre d'HAV, pour finir quelques notes encore concernant la nature des données collectées.

L'interrogatoire méthodique des habitants se faisait suivant les titres des 39 colonnes composant le tableau, concu pour les enquêtes et inspiré par le formulaire similaire qu'employait le Dr. Shaul lors de son Sample census en Rhodésie du Sud en 1947.

D'abord le numéro d'ordre du rugo (numération par colline), le nom du possesseur du rugo, le numéro de sa fiche de recensement, son état-civil.

Ensuite l'existence ou la non-existence de bovidés à la disposition des habitants du rugo.

Ensuite la mise à l'écart des "visiteurs", c'est à dire des personnes habitants de rugo, depuis moins de 30 jours.

Ensuite les questions concernant les "absents", c'est à dire les habitants ayant quitté la colline depuis plus de 30 jours et moins de 12 mois (les personnes absentes depuis moins de 30 jours étant reçues "habitants" et les personnes absentes depuis plus de 12 mois étant reçues définitivement emigrées.)

Ensuite les questions concernant l'âge, le sexe et la race des habitants présents ou absents depuis moins de 30 jours.

Ensuite les questions se rapportant aux naissances et aux décès survenus parmi les habitants du rugo durant les 12 derniers mois écoulés.

Enfin, les questions relevant de la rubrique spéciale de "fécondité" questions posées individuellement à chacune des femmes physiquement présentes à l'interrogatoire, adultes ou vieilles.

Il conviendrait de noter ici que le nombre de "30 jours" avait été choisi pour départir des visiteurs, habitants et absents parce qu'il fallait bien prendre un chiffre limite fixe et que "30 jours" est le chiffre prévu par l'Ord. 347/A.I.M.O. du 4.10.43 comme chiffre à partir duquel un passeport de mutation devient exigible pour le déplacement d'une circonscription dans une autre.

Quant "l'âge" des habitants, force nous fut - en l'absence de tout état-civil sérieux et d'un recensement suffisant - de nous limiter à des catégories d'âges. Ces catégories furent fixées pour les femmes suivant le facteur physiologique (non nubiles et non ménopausée), pour les hommes suivant le facteur économique (les non assujettis à l'impôt de capitulation, les assujettis à l'impôt et les dispensés de l'impôt en raison de leur âge avancé).

Pratiquement, les femmes se classèrent donc (indépendamment de leur état-civil) en filles de moins de 16 ans, en femmes adultes de 16 à 45 ans et en vieilles femmes de plus de 45 ans. Quant aux hommes ils se classèrent en jeunes de moins de 18 ans, en adultes de 18 à 55 ans environ et en vieux ayant dépassé 55 ans.

La Section Statistique du Gouvernement Général s'est engagé à fournir les résultats avant la fin du mois de mars, mais le calcul des variances prendra encore quelque temps. Un rapport complet sera publié probablement vers juin, dans le Bulletin Mensuel des Statistiques du Congo Belge et du Ruanda-Urundi, J'espère qu'à ce moment, on pourra dire que le premier grand pas sera fait dans le défrichement de la brousse des statistiques démographiques du Ruanda-Urundi.

Discussion on Dr. Neesen's paper.

Dr. Richards expressed the appreciation of the Conference of Dr. Neesen's pioneer work. She had earlier stressed the important functions which African research institutes could perform in conducting experiments in research techniques. Dr. Neesen's sample census was just such an experiment. An exchange of views on survey techniques was particularly valuable to the E.A.I.S.R. at the moment since it had completed an urban survey of Jinja and was starting one in Kampala. It had also made a small experiment in the conduct of fertility surveys which would be described. Of particular interest also, was the type of co-operation with the Administration which Dr. Neesen had achieved.

Professor Van den Berghe asked if it would be possible to discover in the next census the mortality per age group.

Dr. Neesen replied that he had obtained the mortality rate for the 2-5 years old group. He had also found out in the case of each family, the number of children who had died.

Professor Van den Berghe said that figures for the groups 0-1 and 1-3 years were also available and thus gave the infant mortality rate. Deaths from malaria and pneumonia appeared to account for 50% of these and he even thought these figures were conservative.

Dr. Neesen stressed the regional variation in mortality figures as shown by the pilot study. There was a marked difference in mortality between Astrida and further afield for instance. This was true of adult mortality but probably also of infant and child mortality.

Dr. Richards quoted figures collected by Dr. Hebe Welbourn in Buganda which showed an increased death rate after weaning, that is to say between 18 months and 3 years.

Professor Van den Berghe thought this figure for increased mortality applied rather to the years between 1 and 2. He thought children who survived malaria and pneumonia between 1 and 2 years were strong and likely to survive. In Ruanda Urundi the government had made plans for eradicating malaria. In such areas any case of malaria brought in was noted and the incidence of the disease reduced to nothing. In the years to come therefore, there would be a great difference in the mortality rate due to human action. There might be a drop in mortality from 50% to 25%. This would of course produce the problems of an expanding population.

Dr. Clyde Mitchell asked about the question of age estimation. Was Dr. Neesen attempting to get an idea of age and sex structure in the areas covered, as this would affect the mortality figures?

Dr. Neesen explained that he was grouping according to the following age categories, 0-1 years; and then for women 1 year to puberty; puberty till past child-bearing age; for men 1 year till 18 (the tax paying age) and 18 years till 55 (the year of the exemption).

Dr. Clyde Mitchell asked about the number of questions filled in per day by each investigator. 200 per day seemed to him very high. In his own copper belt investigation he tried to estimate ages exactly. Perhaps it was for this reason that his investigators worked so slowly. They completed on an average 4 forms a day.

Dr. Neesen thought that the density of the population and the grouping of houses along the road in his area made the work quicker.

Professor Van den Berghe explained that though 200 persons might be seen in a day, this figure included the women and children. Actually, only 20 families might be interrogated.

Mrs. Reining asked whether Dr. Neesen thought his census was comparable with the sample census done by the East African Statistical Department in 1948?

Dr. Neesen agreed, but pointed out the difference between a complete census followed by a sample census - the method followed by the East African Statistical Department, - and his own method of starting with a sample census. He chose this latter technique because of its smaller expense and the possibilities it gave of training and supervision of investigators.

Dr. Richards asked if these investigators were to be a permanent staff.

Dr. Maquet confirmed that this was so. He said the staff were to do the same job every year, and they would be used for other purposes in between.

M. Biebuyck said that one of his difficulties in this sort of work was getting accurate information especially concerning marriage. The people often refused to give even a simple genealogy and since the legislation prohibiting polygamy his task was even harder.

Dr. Neesen said he could exercise some control over the data collected. His pilot tests were controls of this sort. If he found big differences between the results of his pilot tests and those of the main sample he would think something was wrong, but he had not noticed such discrepancies. He added that he was not dealing with detailed enquiries on intimate subjects, such as for instance marriage. He had been concentrating on the broad question of mortality rates. He merely classified people into rough categories such as bachelor, monogamously married, polygamously married and widowers.

Dr. Maquet thought there was a difference in the attitude of the people towards authority in Ruanda-Urundi and the Congo. In Ruanda-Urundi it would be dangerous to work with the backing of the administration and it would be impossible for anyone associated with the government to get correct information about polygamy for instance. He thought it might be different in the areas in which M. Biebuyck worked.

M. Biebuyck said he had not been able to do any work without the backing of the administration, since without that support he could get no help from the chiefs.

Mrs. Reining thought there was a difference between working with the approval of the administration and using their authority expressly. She had had support from the administration in Bukoba but she had run her own meetings herself, and had described herself as attached to Makerere College. She thought that she avoided the difficulty of appearing to be working for the government in this way.

The subject of this paper is survey technique, and specifically the technique used and developed during a joint East African Medical Survey and East African Institute of Social Research Survey in Bukoba. The Bukoba survey was companion to one conducted by Dr. Richards in Buganda. The medical research involved the routine examination of the people to determine the incidence of major diseases, while the social survey was designed to produce precise data to aid in the study of the social structure. Both research units combined in a study of fertility and related problems through the collection of maternity histories. The latter was undertaken for UNESCO. The information collected in the joint survey was planned to clarify a whole series of problems ranging from the relation of V.D. incidence and sterility to the role of kinship units in land tenure. The list of problems and questions which went into the construction of the schedules is not pertinent to the present discussion.

The technique aspect of the survey has been selected for discussion for several reasons. Firstly, the coded results have not become available for written analysis. Secondly, surveys seem likely to play an increasing part in present-day research since we are dealing with large populations of unknown heterogeneity. That is to say, we are becoming concerned with creating our own vital statistics whereas in European countries many of these would be available from standard sources. Thirdly, the fact that it was concurrent medical and social research provided an opportunity for checking the reliability of response to certain common questions. Finally, a knowledge of the technique employed will allow a more critical assessment of the survey results.

This particular social survey was the most recent of a series conducted by members of E.A.I.S.R. and it enjoyed a clear heritage in schedules and ideas from the earlier ones. Being the complement of the Buganda survey, there was profit from the numerous discussions with Dr. Richards as to schedules, technique and all that goes with it.

Staff members of both the East African Medical Survey and the E.A.I.S.R. had conducted prior research in Bukoba and the suggestion that their work should be done concurrently was natural and obvious since the findings of either group would be much more readily collated if derived from the same group of people. Medical problems are not without their social aspect, while specific knowledge of disease incidence controls a set of variables in analysing social factors such as family size in relation to fertility problems.

I would like to discuss this type of intensive survey as an anthropological research method. With a survey one is committed to interviewing everyone within the sample. These interviews are primarily aimed at securing response to all of the questions in the schedule although they may elicit additional information as well. Enumeration as done in a survey of this type does not give a complete or final picture but it can be regarded as the middle phase of field work. It differs from other anthropological research methods since it depends less on observation or the informal interview in which one follows up an interesting topic. It also differs from the directed interview with a limited number of informants. These methods have their role in a survey of this type because it is impossible to conduct a survey without knowing very precisely the questions one wants to ask. These questions

can be, should be, derived from information gathered by these other methods. A survey in this sense is second stage field work, preceded by an initial period of learning how to phrase relevant questions and succeeded by the limited interview, refined and pointed on the basis of the survey results. A completed survey should ask at least as many questions as it answers. A survey then, is simply one way of remembering to ask not only a few men how they acquired their land or others how the members of their households are related, but to ask every such question of everyone. Through this one is in a position to substitute the relative terms of "some", "many" and "few" with quantitative categories. At the same time one clears up possible misconceptions. For example in land tenure some Bahaya own their own land while others are tenants. Before the survey I would have said a small but significant number of Bahaya were tenants while a few lived on land which they had purchased. In point of fact on the basis of the survey, few men were found to be tenants while three times as many were discovered to be new purchasers of land. A survey does not explain the categories; it does define the categories to be explained.

Before discussing random versus selected sampling, a short description of Bukoba may clarify why we decided to use a selected sample rather than a random one. The Bahaya, an Interlacustrine Bantu people closely related to their Uganda neighbours, utilize a mixed husbandry involving perennial crops and cattle. They live in permanent, named villages. In this discussion I refer to the coastal strip, but the village pattern is substantially the same throughout the District. Coastal Bahaya is high and well-watered and supports a population of which the density runs three hundred to the square mile. They are, by African standards, well-fed, healthy and prosperous.

A village consists of a series of contiguous plots each with its own house. The plot is planted with coffee and plantains and a number of scatter crops. The resulting village is a compact unit bounded by, and distinct from, the surrounding open grassland in which cattle are grazed and seasonal crops planted. The only uncultivated ground in the entire village is the yard in front of each house and the paths running through the village giving access to the various plots. These plots are called bibanja. On the average there are some one hundred households per village. Cultivated holdings are small one and a half acres on the average, and village population density is twelve to fifteen hundred to the square mile. Cultivated holdings, if lived on and maintained, have an apparent life of several generations at least. Villages are natural units today and from evidence available many of them date from pre-European times. Virtually every Muhaya lives in a village of this kind.

The sample dealt with was the total population of two villages. This is a selected sample and not a random sample. Perhaps we should review the decision not to do a random sample. When one is dealing with a statistical universe as large as Bahaya, that is some three hundred thousand people, and when one is concerned with matters as varied as age, lineages and property, one is faced with a difficult sampling problem. The time consumed in an intensive survey limits the size of one's sample to a small number of people. The problem is to make the sample as representative of the total population as possible. Presumably an adequate random sample is the safest way to obtain such a representative sample. Usually a true random sample consists of extracting every tenth, twentieth or hundredth person from an established census list. Such a list is lacking. The only available enumeration is the tax register

which lists adult men and those women who are landowners. It does not list other women or children. The tax register is clearly not adequate as an enumeration of individuals nor is it adequate as an enumeration of households. We found it a valuable guide to the heads of households, but it is not complete since it ignores some ten per cent of the households. This ten per cent, moreover, is important from the point of view of range since it includes men with property in other villages, very young men, very old men, men with no property, households of women and children and so forth.

In addition to the problem of the lack of vital statistics on which to base a random sample of individuals, there is the equally important one of time and space - the sheer problem of moving around and finding people. This is difficult enough in one village, impossible in hundreds. For these reasons we decided to work with the total population of two villages.

Two villages were chosen because they formed a parish. A parish is the lowest recognized unit in the Native Authority system and the smallest unit for which records exist. It often consists of several villages. At the time the survey started, the parish selected consisted of two villages. In the course of the survey it was amalgamated with another parish and now consists of four villages. We worked with the original two. In effect, selection was by parish - an arbitrary unit - while work was done on a village basis. The people were identified in terms of the village in which they lived.

The selection of the parish was based on its being in the coastal strip. There is no problem here, since there are hundreds of them. It had also to be a village in which the sample census was done in 1948. This restricted choice considerably. Again, on the basis of the 1948 census, it had to be a parish in which the sex and age distribution was similar to that of the District as a whole. With regard to age structure, Buhaya has, perhaps to a greater degree than is present among other groups, a numerical preponderance of adult women as compared with adult men. In the adult population forty-three per cent were men while fifty-seven per cent were women. Finally, the villages were personally inspected to make sure that they were not atypical.

This sampling method, that is selecting a parish for intensive systematic work, received unanticipated verification when I compared the relative percentages of land holdings in the parish of Buhembe, the one selected for the joint survey, with a parish in which I had done an earlier survey. The variation between the parishes in the proportions of major types of land-holdings was only three per cent. Since these two configurations are derived from two separate samples of several hundred cases each, it seems unlikely that they result from coincidence. Given this consistency in one such basic aspect as land, the indications are that the sample is representative of villages in coastal Buhaya.

The survey was to consist of medical examinations, including medical histories, routine laboratory examinations of blood, stools and urine; maternity histories; and the social interviews to which I added genealogies and comments on each household. The medical unit worked with individuals. The maternity histories were done for all adult women. The social interviewing was done for all those normally resident in the villages including those temporarily absent, on a household basis. The population of the two villages so surveyed was seven hundred and fifty. Following the main survey, members of the Agricultural Department,

Veterinary Department and Public Health Department contributed specialized appraisals of the cultivated land which included soil samples, a differential stock census and data on the amount of meat purchased by villagers, as well as an investigation of water supply. Finally, I did some very specific work on land tenure and coffee production.

On the medical staff were three physicians. Dr. Hope Trant, head of the medical unit, should have special mention for her enthusiastic co-operation throughout the survey. She examined women and children as well as taking an active part in the arrangements pertaining to the survey. Dr. A. R. Moore visited the survey for several weeks and examined men and boys. Dr. Joseph Mutahangalwa, a Makerere trained Muhaya, also examined men and boys and did some work with maternity histories. The laboratory staff was headed by Mr. Alistair MacLeod, a trained technician, who had several African assistants working with him. There were, in addition, a medical history clerk and two interpreter assistants. The maternity history interviewing was done under my supervision by Mrs. Joseph Mutahangalwa, an English speaking Muganda, and by Miss Amy Boeash, a long-term resident of Bukoba who speaks fluent Luhaya. I also did some of the interviewing. There were two Bahaya interpreter-clerks who worked with me for the social interviewing. All interviewing was done in Luhaya.

Both Dr. Trant and Mr. MacLeod had been engaged in prior medical research in Bukoba. However, it had not been possible for them to work in the same place at the same time. With the inception of this joint survey, it was possible for the East African Medical Survey to place at our disposal a complete medical unit. This arrangement allowed concurrent medical research for the first time.

A house belonging to a Muhaya living near one of the villages was rented to provide working quarters for the medical unit. All the people of the villages came to this house for medical examinations, laboratory examinations and the maternity histories were taken there as well. Living accommodation for the medical staff was, fortunately, made available to us in a nearby Government Secondary School. I rented a house in one of the villages and lived and worked there.

Timing presented a great problem in the day by day execution of the survey. Theoretically, it is of little importance whether one sees fifty people in five days or in two days, but practically the rate at which work is planned does make a difference. The members of the medical unit were able to examine forty to fifty people a day. However, the organization required to notify this number of people proved to be difficult in actuality. A staff as large as the medical one is expensive and there was constant pressure to maximize the number of people being examined each day. It had been planned that the social survey would take a longer time than the medical examinations and we had started several weeks in advance of the medical unit since they were, to a large extent, dependent on the social unit for the names of the people to be examined. It had also been planned that we would finish at the same time which, in point of fact, we did. Similarly the maternity history interviewing was planned, purposely, to go at a slower pace than the medical examinations. There were two problems unique to the joint survey: the differential rate at which work could be done and the co-ordination of lists of people seen so that each phase of the work was completed for all appropriate people. Both problems involved a great amount of time-consuming

checking. Differential timing proved to be a greater problem than it would be on a straight social survey.

To initiate the survey we talked with the Chief of Kiamtwala, then with the sub-county chief, with the parish chief and finally we held a meeting open to all the villagers to which between two and three hundred men and women came. These talks were held to explain the proposed work in some detail and to request the co-operation of the people concerned. When the survey was actually started there were further explanations in the course of the house-to-house visits. The first few interviews and examinations tended to go slowly and required detailed explanation. The bulk of the interviews following required little explanation since the villagers had learned about the survey both through the meeting and more especially from those who had already been visited. The last few households were often very difficult. It was no accident that they were the last since they were people not normally at home, very old people or those unwilling to talk. One tended to establish rapport with the community at large and not, generally, with them as individuals; whereas with other field methods one has a number of close informants but not the same kind of equal interest in each and every household.

We had no true problem of deliberately evasive answers. However, the rare individual who was deliberately evasive was quite apparent. At the same time there were "mistakes", often an interesting source of data in themselves. There was also difficulty due to certain widespread beliefs such as reluctance to talk about those who had died, or enumerating children or cattle. These are combined with the fact that the Bahaya do not think in terms of numbers and dates in the same way as Europeans. They simply did not know or did not remember years, dates, kilos of coffee without effort and concentration foreign to their approach to time, marriages and production.

One has on the one hand bias introduced from differential memories of the people one is interviewing. One also has bias introduced by the interviewers. I am not speaking of the orientation inherent in the questions. I am speaking of other factors influencing the development of bias or of uniformity in the interviewing situation. In a relatively homogeneous population there is some actual uniformity inherent in replies, that is, they tend to fall into certain categories. At the same time, the interviewers after having asked the same questions fifty or a hundred times tend to build up their own expectations as to the replies. This is, in turn, influenced by the limited number of possible replies to certain questions. The expectations of the interviewer and the limited possibilities of replies from the person interviewed reinforced each other most when talking with persons who did not remember, or were passive in the interviewing situation. For example, in connection with the maternity history interviewing, one of us thought that girls were probably married at fourteen and had their first children at fifteen while another of us thought the ages would be sixteen and seventeen. These assumptions were reflected in the schedules. Similarly, during an early period of the interviewing there was a difference in replies on a question of whether women used herbal medicines during pregnancy. The answers could only be "yes", or "no" and in the early schedules we got both negative and affirmative answers. Later one of the interviewers became particularly interested in this question and gained knowledge of the herbal medicines. The question was then phrased in terms of the more specific information. This resulted in the later schedules showing many more affirmative answers.

One anticipates certain uniformities in a sample of several hundred people. But there is a problem, which I think may be inherent in this type of interviewing situation, of uniformity introduced by the interviewer, with a potential lessening of range in the replies. This may be heightened in survey interviewing when one asks precisely the same questions day after day: although it may well be that the interest or bias of the different interviewers becomes more apparent when one is able to compare these interests against a standard schedule as compared with a less formal interviewing situation.

The joint survey presented us with a rather unusual opportunity for checking the reliability of response on the spot since a number of questions were asked two and three different times by the medical unit, by the social unit and in the course of the maternity history interviews. There was further comparative evidence from the work of the Veterinary Officer, the Co-operative Society receipts and from the genealogies. When the survey had been completed, we cross-checked the responses, recorded the variations and made the appropriate changes. The changes were made primarily in terms of internal consistency. In this case sibling order, time of marriage and number of children were checked to see if they were logically possible. For example, three siblings of agreed birth order should show corresponding order in age which they sometimes did not. There was a tendency to get "floating chronologies", that is to say a series of relative ages rather than actual ones.

I will discuss some questions for which the reliability of response can be checked by an independent source of evidence.

Age

With rare exceptions people did not know their chronological ages. Since getting data on age is a time-consuming operation, one may well ask if it is necessary. Age is, unfortunately, one of the main attributes by which we classify people. It is routine for a medical examination, essential to a fertility study and useful anthropologically for such things as age structure, relative marriage age, and adult mortality. Since asking for a person's age resulted normally in a blank "I don't know", we decided to compute age by means of memory of local events, having previously compiled a list of dates - accessions of the various Bakama (top level chiefs), wars, epidemics and comings and goings of District Commissioners. This method worked quite well since people remembered such events.

Computation started with an estimate. Since we found that age could best be answered after we had gone through all the questions on marriages and children, we normally left age until these questions were finished. We might call this the long method. The medical history ages were obtained by what we might call the short method, made necessary by the pressure of time. With this short method estimates played a larger role than actual computation.

Comparing the series of ages derived from the medical unit and those derived from the social unit, one notes several points. There is agreement in approximately thirty-five per cent of the cases. There is more agreement in the young age group, from zero to fifteen, and less agreement in the older age groups. At the age of fifty, for example, the difference is as much as ten years;

at the age of sixty, as much as seventeen years. With the short method, in which computation depended on estimate, there was a distinct tendency to group the population around certain ages, particularly five, twelve, sixteen, twenty-five, forty, fifty and sixty. There was also a tendency to depress ages. In the older age groups the medical estimates were lower than those of the social unit. With the long method there is more differentiation, that is less bunching, and the ages of the total population display a smoother curve. When one works in terms of age groups of zero to four, five to nine and so forth, the bunching is much less apparent and for this reason the distinction between the short method and the long method may not be significant.

Relationship terms.

One of the questions concerned the relationship of members of household to the head of the household, such as wife, son, daughter; the terms were written in Luhaya. We also took limited genealogies in connection with every household. In so far as members of some of the households were related to members of other households, the genealogies complemented each other. On the whole there was substantial agreement on the relationships common to members of related households, that is brothers of father's brother's sons agreed on their relationship and on the specific relationship of others to them.

Clans, lineages.

Again, in so far as members of some of the households were related, they shared common clans and theoretically shared common lineages. There was no problem concerning clan affiliation. There was much less agreement in the information on lineages. This lack of agreement did not result from difference in method but is probably inherent in the material and as such is of anthropological significance.

Marriages.

The social schedule contained a series of questions on marriage for all adult men and women. A question about the length of time a person had been married was included in the medical history schedule, while the maternity history schedule contained a question on marital status. In cross-checking these there was a substantial lack of agreement in a number of cases. The length of time married was incidental to the medical history schedules for which it was estimated in terms of each person's age. Upon comparing these estimates for partners to the same marriage, there was found to be marked variation. The social schedules went into the matter more thoroughly with a series of related questions. The results were found to be more accurate judged by the standards of internal consistency.

Coffee Production.

One of the questions concerned the amount of coffee sold in the last previous harvesting season which in this case was 1951. Following the survey it was possible to obtain the actual receipts of the coffee sold by each villager who belonged to the local co-operative society. There are some qualifications to be made in using these figures, but on the whole, they are reliable data for coffee production. In comparing the results, survey and co-operative society receipts, it is very apparent that coffee

production was seriously under-stated in the survey figures. The differences are as large as several hundred kilograms for one individual's production. The responses to the survey question erred on the side of understatement in all but a few cases.

Cattle.

In the course of the survey we asked every householder how many cattle were kept in the household. It was a straightforward simple question. Later the Veterinary Department took a differential stock census in which they went to the householders and asked for all types of cattle, that is, calves, cows, bulls, bullocks, cows-in-milk. Comparison revealed that the survey cattle population had been understated by thirty two per cent. The survey, in providing an accurate census of villagers revealed that the stock census had included thirteen per cent of non-village cattle. The differential stock census resulted in a picture of the cattle population which was not only greater in detail but which resulted in a larger figure than had been obtained by the survey.

Conclusion.

An intensive survey involving systematic collection of sample data yields material difficult to obtain by other methods. The sample data have the advantage of being applicable to a wider population. A survey is not a substitute for other methods but complementary to them. It is time-consuming but can yield reliable results in those areas in which questions can be asked in sufficient detail.

Discussion on Mrs. Reining's paper.

The Chairman expressed appreciation of Mrs. Reining's paper. It should provide the basis for an interesting comparison in method with that described by Dr. Neesen in the case of his sample census. The anthropologist used surveys of the type of Mrs. Reining's in order to get detailed information on a very large number of topics in the case of a small universe, the village, while the demographer was collecting information on fewer subjects, but in a way that made them applicable to a whole district or colony.

Dr. Neesen failed to see any essential difference between the demographer's and the anthropologist's methods although there must be a difference in the value of what they were doing. If the anthropologist was really sure of the data he wanted to find, the problem became a statistical one and the ordinary rules of sampling should be applied. How did Mrs. Reining know that the data collected in her two villages were representative of the whole of Buhaya?

Mrs. Reining said she was only speaking for coastal Buhaya, the thickly populated area where 75% of the population lived. She admitted that Dr. Neesen's point was an important one, but what could she have done? She had explained that a random sample was impossible to work out. Some selection of villages had to be made. She had had to select communities which seemed to her typical and the fact that she had done two surveys in two different parts of coastal Buhaya gave her some means of checking her data.

Dr. Neesen declared that he was still worried by the basis on which Mrs. Reining had selected her villages. She seemed to have used land holding as her criterion and this factor had little relation to fertility as he saw it.

The Chairman intervened to explain that she thought the purposes of the sample census in Ruanda differed from those of the Buhaya survey. The anthropologist was, after all, mainly studying the structure of a community such as a village, rather than a particular behaviour trait of a number of individuals. The selection of a village had to be made on the basis of many variables rather than one or two. Hence perhaps, the difficulty.

Professor Wilson agreed and said that unless an area was completely homogeneous as regards the composition of its villages, some selection had to be made. In the case of the Keiskammahoek survey five villages were selected according to three factors that seemed to be important i.e. differential rainfall, different types of land tenure and the degree of conservatism of the people. She thought the same type of consideration had applied in the case of the Buhaya survey.

Dr. Neesen replied that it was the selection of a stratified sample which limited variables and made it possible to speak of homogeneous areas of observation. He realised that there were differences between extensive and intensive work but he felt that if the sociologist was going to generalise about a whole community it was absolutely essential for him to do a random sample.

Professor Wilson and Mrs. Reining then questioned Dr. Neesen about the validity of his fertility data. Professor Wilson supposed that if 200 names were entered on the forms daily, then about 40 adult women were interviewed. She thought information collected under these conditions must be suspect.

Dr. Neesen explained that he was asking very simple questions and said he disagreed that time was the only factor in getting accurate answers. There was an optimum time for an interview and beyond that he found that if the informants were pressed too hard the answers varied more and more. The people interviewed were under orders to be in their enclosures for the census and he thought that they gave correct information although he admitted that he was only given the names of wives officially admitted by a polygamist and not the others.

Professor Van den Berghe said he felt that the Conference could be said to be fulfilling its functions already, since it had produced such an animated discussion. On the methodological questions at issue he would like to point out that I.R.S.A.G. had representatives of what might be called the two extremes of field techniques. Dr. Neesen was collecting information which could be expressed statistically, where M. Biebuyck was working at the descriptive level and was getting data which was valuable in depth. He had to make every effort to ensure his answers were correct, but he could say nothing about their representativeness nor could he, like Dr. Neesen, state his probability of error with mathematical precision. He thought both methods were valuable in different circumstances and that each should continue to work as he found best, the one using statistical techniques and the other making studies in depth. He wondered, however, whether at

this stage of development of sociological science it was wise to combine both methods in one study as Mrs. Reining had tried to do.

The Chairman said that this was a challenging statement as far as the work of the E.A.I.S.R. was concerned, since its staff were experimenting in different forms of combination of the two measures usually by starting with descriptive observations and following these with statistical surveys.

Professor Wilson said she appreciated Professor Van den Berghe's distinction between social phenomena that could be measured and those which couldn't, but she was still anxious to know more about the checks which Dr. Neesen used. Mrs. Reining had shown that in the Bukoba survey medical experts got different information from her own owing to the fact that she knew the village more intimately. Anthropologists were interested in knowing if there was a difference between facts collected quickly and those collected slowly and checked by knowledge gained on the basis of a long acquaintance with the village.

Dr. Clyde Mitchell considered that statistics were merely a technique and not a source of concepts. He would like to see these techniques used after intensive studies such as Mrs. Reining had done and not as an alternative method.

Professor Franklin Frazier said he had listened to many methodological discussions of this sort. Most of them had ended in the same way, viz. by acceptance of the fact that both methods could be used according to the nature of the material.

Session IV

Tuesday February 24th
2.30 p.m.

Chairman Dr. J.C. Mitchell

Dr. A.W. Southall.

Study of Social Differentiation
in Kampala

The study which I am directing in the Kampala area must be placed in the descriptive category of urban social surveys. It is being called the Kampala Survey for lack of a more adequate title. This title may be misleading in that, of the three main races inhabiting Kampala, the survey team will concentrate heavily on the Africans. This one-sidedness is partly rectified by the fact that Mr. Stephen Morris is making a concurrent study of Indians in Kampala, and he and I are working in close co-operation. We hope that there will also be time to work up enough of the available material on Kampala's European population to produce a report relevant to the local community as a whole. I will outline the project briefly and then get on to the aspect of it with which I am concerned in this paper. The project depends partly on financial support from the Government of Uganda, and this brings with it certain practical obligations. In particular the Government requires accurate information on the condition of African housing, the position of women in town and the social problems involved in their employment, and on the factors involved in the efficiency of African labour and of the small retailer. In general, a reliable picture is demanded of the kind of life which is evolving among the large numbers of increasingly urbanised Africans in and around Kampala. This concern is to be viewed against the background of a rather important change of policy towards labour as a whole. Somewhat imperceptibly, the administrative authorities, the major employers of labour, the town planning authorities have all come to the conclusion that labour must cease to be migrant and become stabilised. This immediately raises all the multiple problems involved in the question of urban life for the tribal natives of East Africa.

While collecting the data required to illuminate the practical problems mentioned above, my theoretical objective will be to define with greater precision the process of urbanisation, and the type of social differentiation which accompanies it. In other words, I wish to make a study of the social structure of the community, paying special attention to its dynamic aspect. This appears to be an objective somewhat different from that pursued so far by other social surveys of urban communities in the colonies. It involves the rejection of some of the methods of these other surveys, and raises the conceptual issues which form the main subject of this paper. Before going on to these, I will give a brief description of the Kampala community and of the work which has so far been done.

Outline of Kampala

Politically and economically, though not numerically, Kampala is a European and Asian dominated town. However it would not have come into existence had not the importance of the capital of the Kings of Buganda led the British to found their station there. Kampala still had this dual aspect, as the European and Asian commercial and religious capital of the Uganda Protectorate and as the political capital of African Buganda which forms one province of that Protectorate. These two aspects can only in a very formal sense be equated respectively with the Kampala Municipality and the African administrative area known as the Kibuga. (For example the headquarters of the three principal European Christian missions are all in the Kibuga and not in the Municipality.)

Description of Mengo Kisenyi

I chose the area of Mengo Kisenyi for intensive study because it seemed to me to represent the furthest development to date of African urbanisation in Uganda. This has proved to be the case. The fully built-up area is not large, perhaps not more than half a square mile, but within this area shops and dwellings are closely packed, there is no possibility of cultivation, and the life led by the inhabitants may be taken to exemplify the greatest degree of difference from that of the rural countryside.

Normal public services are minimal or non-existent in Kisenyi. There is no lighting, drainage or piped sanitation. Water is supplied at one or two stand pipes and a number of water sellers make incomes of about 70/- a month delivering water to each household in empty petrol tins which they carry, six at a time, on specially constructed wheelbarrows and sell at 10 cents a tin.

There are no roads in Kisenyi, the gaps between buildings which pass as such being merely dusty spaces on which no one has as yet built. The land is owned on the Ganda mailo system, Kisenyi consisting of a large number of plots of irregular shape and size under different ownership. It is interesting to see that roads in the above sense have appeared at all, since the space they occupy is of considerable value and those who own it might well feel aggrieved in relation to their fellow owners none of whose land is used in this way. These routes are primarily used for walking in, but bicycles, motor cycles, cars and lorries do also pass regularly through Kisenyi. The land is very uneven, and deep channels and pools of waste water lie across the 'roads' in places. I am told that no public responsibility is taken for these roads by anyone, but those users who are most concerned, presumably the lorry users, from time to time take the initiative and bring in loads of earth to fill in the worst places.

The people appear to have dug themselves latrines and to use them, though many are hardly salubrious. Lighting is by primitive tin paraffin lamps, or hurricane lamps, with pressure lamps in a few cases. Cooking is usually done with charcoal in small braziers, in the open air, behind the huts. The predominant type of building is one with mud floors, hardened mud walls, often whitewashed, tin roof of corrugated sheets or flattened petrol tins nailed together, and with front and back rooms. These erections often appear in rows of up to half-a-dozen. Some are more superior, with cemented floor and walls of brick and plaster, while others are of the crudest mud and wattle construction with rusted and leaking roof. Most of these dwellings are used for commercial purposes of some sort. The front room may be a shop and the back room residential, or the front room may serve both these purposes while the back room is occupied by an entirely different family.

The people of Kisenyi regard this crowded quarter very jealously as their own preserve. The appearance of a European there causes more resentment than it would among a tribe of backward savages. The comments one hears flung back and forth behind one are "Kisenyi kigenze" (Kisenyi is departed), "Kisenyi kidduse" (Kisenyi has fled) and people draw my assistants aside to ask them earnestly "Oh, so and so, are you just selling our country to that European?"

Kisenyi is, to an almost absolute degree, a spontaneous urban growth, hardly controlled or ameliorated by any regulation. With the exception of the anti-European prejudice noted above, and a lesser prejudice against Indians, it is an inter-tribal and inter-

racial community. Furthermore, it is economically based to a considerable extent on the provision of goods and services required by the African town dweller and not merely on European or Asian provided employment.

Kisenyi may not be the best example of town planning or of architectural design. Many of its occupations and methods of earning may be dubious, and its context of living unsavoury, but if we wish to discover the salient characteristics of natural urban growth in East Africa, it is here that they are to be found.

Initiative in Kisenyi may not always be directed into the most laudable channels, but initiative of a kind is there. Besides the tailors, cobblers, "hotels", beer shops, carpenters, hairdressers, plantain sellers, butchers, brothels and general stores, it is here that numerous hawkers and itinerant traders are to be met. There are the water sellers, the charcoal sellers, the sellers of buns and savoury pies, of palm leaf for mat weaving or of papyrus rushes, the dealers in old tins, and the Luo or Kiga who regularly come from their distant homes with goats to sell at high town prices. This type of activity is surely essential to the growth of a commercial economy, and with its almost total lack of need for capital is admirably suited to the early stages of this growth. Here a man's incompetence reacts upon himself instead of, as usual, merely adding fuel to the flame of his employer's exasperation. The level of efficiency reached, or of inefficiency tolerated, may have important lessons to teach those who are designing the economic future of Uganda.

Kisenyi Methods

Having chosen this area for study I went and discussed the matter with the Katikkiro (Prime Minister) of Buganda. A letter drafted by me was circulated by the Katikkiro to all chiefs who might be concerned, explaining my work. Then the Ganda chief of the county in which Kampala lies, came to discuss arrangements with me on the Katikkiro's instructions. After this a public meeting was held at the house of the muluka chief of Mengo-Kisenyi, at which the county chief and the chief of the Kibuga were also present.

At this meeting I was introduced to the people. I read a speech to them in Luganda, not trusting myself to extempore utterance. The county chief then invited questions, and added his own additional explanations, which were rather expert. However only about fifty people attended this meeting, a mere fraction of the population, and many of them came under a complete misunderstanding that the Katikkiro himself would be present and that a magic wand would be waved to remove all their grievances. But the fact that the meeting had been held gave the welcome opportunity of blaming people for not having been there if they complained of not having heard what the survey was all about. More recently I have made a second attempt at publicity by drafting a press report to be inserted in the main vernacular papers as an official Buganda Government notice. This may sound a surprising proceeding. I myself had rather imagined that while there would be the usual suspicion of Europeans and resentment at their intrusion, there might be a good deal of distrust of the Buganda Government itself by the many foreign settlers in Kisenyi. In fact, refusal to co-operate is nearly always encountered on the part of the Ganda and not the foreign settlers, and with the Ganda the knowledge that a matter has been approved by their own Government, still very much symbolised for them in the person of the Kabaka, appears to carry a great deal of weight in removing suspicion and opposition.

I had taken on a staff of two locally recruited research assistants, both Baganda, and had been working with them for some time, explaining the work to be done and the technique of surveying, and tapping their own local knowledge.

I had also drafted a preliminary survey schedule, which we used for the first month, roneoing copies as we needed them, and writing in various modifications indicated in the course of our work. Since then the schedule has been printed in its final form.

I was far from wishing to confine my study of Kisenyi to a statistical survey of orthodox type, and in fact I regard the schedule in an altogether different light. When you are collecting information from a large number of people it is essential to standardise the method of recording it or else the results speedily become unmanageable. This is a very different matter, of course, from arranging the results in such a way that they can be coded and processed mechanically. Besides this, the schedule provides research assistants with an indispensable guide as to the direction of interest of a survey. The social anthropologist can go out to sit in a community with the objective of observing and participating in the fullest possible way. But it is not, in practice, feasible to use research assistants thus. Nonetheless, I regard the information covered by the questions on the schedule as a mere minimum, and I am constantly urging my assistants to become more observant and receptive, and to record on the back of the schedules, or in notebooks, as much as possible of what they find going on around them, and all other potentially valuable items of information which come to their knowledge by the way. During the short time they have been at work they have improved a great deal in this.

Apart from the intrinsic value of the information contained on the schedules, they are to form the basis of selection of informants for guided interviews and of sampling for small scale surveys of more narrowly defined problems.

Problems of Concept

To describe or analyse an urban community with any adequacy brings one straight up against the problems involved in the structural analysis of any social group. Social anthropologists are accustomed to analysing social groups which have some degree of consistency over both time and space. The vast amount of time spent by sociologists during the last decade, and especially in America, on the study of class, can, I think, be regarded as an attempt to tackle the same problem in relation to social structures of a different type. In so far as colonial urban communities are based on a fusion of elements derived from relatively stable tribal societies and elements derived from the ubiquitous pressures of modern industrialised mass society, they require some synthesis of these two approaches.

It is better to take the problem of class as part of the general problem of social differentiation or stratification. It would be difficult to carry out any serious study of urban social structure without taking account of all the work done on class, but in fact this work is likely to be of little direct assistance for a number of reasons. Throughout this discussion the concept of social class must be distinguished from other varieties of class.

Several writers have attempted a critical appraisal of the research done on class.¹ Distinctions are made between class as an economic, social or political phenomenon; between class as a substantive and class as a classificatory concept, and between classes as statistical strata and classes as social groups. Other critics have pointed out that class analysis is of little value unless it can be given diachronic depth and seen in terms of general process, as well as of individual mobility. Some studies of class go right outside the sociological field, and are simply a type of attitude testing. I propose to discuss some of the main questions which have to be answered before the concept of class can be used in social analysis. There are three important fields of variability, two of which must be controlled before a study of class can be profitably undertaken. These fields are in the definition of the concept, the method adopted for identifying class affiliation, and in the variability of the phenomenon itself, however defined from one society to another.

Underlying definitions of the concept is the fundamental question as to whether there is any particular reason to assume the existence of social classes in a society or not. This is important, because several writers produce elaborate class analyses of communities the majority of whose members they admit have no clear view of the class system to which they are supposed to belong.² It would therefore seem necessary first to prove the relevance of the concept of class society before embarking upon a study of it. Carr Saunders and Caradog Jones³ gave the warning long ago that "the belief in the existence of social classes, or even of one social class, the interests of the members of which are identical, or nearly so, and opposed to the interests of the rest of the community, is the result of studying social theory of doubtful value and of neglecting social facts." Sorokin⁴ suggested the rejection of the term social class and the retention only of economic, occupational and political strata or classes. From these opinions expressed twenty years ago or more, the wheel has come full circle to the judgment of a recent critic⁵ that "concepts of social classes in present day sociology are either so completely analytical as to be devoid of relevant empirical referents or so crudely empirical as to be lacking in theoretical significance." This judgment comes after the massive labours in this field of Lloyd Warner and his associates, Davis and Gardner, West, Centers and many others too numerous to mention.

In theory class may be either a method of classifying a population in terms of a superiority-inferiority scale based on one or many criteria, or it may be intended as a statement of the views of members of a community themselves as to the system of social stratification in which they live. There are difficulties inherent in both these usages. In the case of the first, if the criteria approach the reality of what people think are the important attributes of stratification, or even what the student establishes from the point of view

1. e.g. Llewellyn Gross "The use of class concepts in sociological research." A.J.S. 54, 409. Lipset and Bendix "Social status and social structure." B.J.S. II, 2 and 3, 1951.
2. e.g. Warner and Lunt "The social life of a modern community": West "Plainville": Centers "The psychology of social classes."
3. "The social structure of England and Wales." p.72.
4. "Social nobility." p.18.
5. L. Gross, loc. cit.

of the prestige or power system of the society, then the criteria will be many, and will not define a system of classes at all but a series of highly overlapping strata. On the other hand, if a single paramount criterion is adopted, the result will not be the definition of social groups, but of a series of categories, and the meaningful categories will be of the type of the economic, occupational or political strata mentioned by Sorokin and not social classes, or they may be interest groups which again lack the essential hierarchical attribute of class.

On the other hand those who adopt the second usage of class, as the views of the people themselves about the social hierarchy in which they live, become involved in inconsistencies of another kind. The work of Lloyd Warner and James West may be taken as typical of this approach. It has been pointed out¹ that Warner took the views of specially status conscious individuals, who were in fact social climbers of the upper middle class, and generalised their criteria as a means of classification of the whole community. Had Warner based his classification on the views of some other section of the community he would have arrived at a classification which might have differed not only in its assessment of the class position of particular individuals, but in the actual numbers of classes supposed to exist and even on the question as to whether classes existed at all. The same is certainly true of West's treatment of class in Plainville. We are told² that the class system of Plainville "provides for every person living there a master pattern for arranging according to relative rank every other individual, and every family, clique, lodge, club, church, and other organisation or association in Plainville society. . . . yet many, if not most, Plainvillers completely deny the existence of class in their community." This is really extraordinary. From what then follows it becomes evident that, though such a "master pattern" may in truth exist for many, the pattern varies from one man to the next, and for some probably does not exist at all. However, West's work has the merit of recognising this relativity in his diagrammatic portrayal of five different views of the Plainville class system. But this does not bring him to the logical admission that his classes are a system of overlapping categories, differing according to the point of reference and incapable of objective delineation.

It is obvious that we are really dealing here with studies of social attitudes. This has been taken further by Centers' study of the American class structure in which he was attempting to combine the approaches of the psychologists Kornhauser and Cantril. He first took seven urban and two rural occupational categories and showed the correlation between the conservative-radical range of political views and the dominance-subjection range of positions in the socio-economic order. Among various other studies he also gets the individuals of his sample each to assign himself to the middle class, lower class, working class or upper class. This suffers from the defect of all such studies in that the initial classes are without any scientific basis, and tend to acquire a spurious validity through being assumed a priori and tested in this way. It is to be noted that this method of getting people to assign themselves to a

1. Lipset and Bendix, loc. cit.

2. Plainville, p.115

class is the opposite of Warner's in which he gets people to assign not themselves but others. Centers then asked which criterion his sample thought most significant for class; beliefs and attitudes; education, family or money; and found that nearly twice as many declared for beliefs and attitudes as for any of the other criteria. By similar methods he compares the urban with the rural estimation of the middle class and working class, the manual workers' with the business, professional and white collar workers' definition of the working class, and the same categories' definitions of the middle class. With these investigations he remedies a serious deficiency in the work of previous students of subjective class.

However, Centers' study of variability in the definition of class by these occupational groups was based, not on their differing evaluations of the class affiliations of individuals, but on their differing assignments of class status to whole occupational groups. It may well be supposed that the discrepancies revealed by this method would be enormously widened if the class affiliations of individuals, rather than of occupational groups, were studied.

Another obvious point which makes all these studies equivocal is the wide disagreement as to the number of social classes which exist in American communities. Gerhard Lenski¹ has developed this point, showing that the number of classes varies from two in some studies to twenty or thirty in others. This would cause no surprise if we were dealing with status groups, but becomes ludicrous in relation to the supposed existence of classes as objective social groups. Many writers have noted the logical fact that discrete social classes become more likely the fewer the variables which are employed as dominant criteria.

The identification of social classes by means of objective criteria such as occupation, income, or family origin is ruled out because, as already noted, if a single criterion is taken, the result has little bearing on reality, and if several criteria are adopted, the result is not a series of distinct classes but a series of strata overlapping to the point of indeterminacy.²

Identification by subjective status reputation of the Warner or West type likewise has to be rejected, because it either depends on assuming that "class is what some people say it is", and gratuitously generalising this principle to whole communities, or, if account is taken of differing evaluations of one another by different strata in the community, the result becomes more indeterminate the more closely social reality is approached.

Furthermore, there is the serious objection³ that in applying the criteria of status reputation subjective and objective meanings are implicitly confused without any attempt to distinguish between them.

1. "American social classes: statistical strata or social groups." Amer. Journ. Sociology, September 1952.
2. Warner's I.S.C. appears to have been rigged firstly by mathematical peculiarities which result in correlations twice as high as those obtained by other workers, and secondly by the omission of those whose class affiliation was dubious in terms of the index. V. Lipset and Bendix I 157.
3. V. Lipset and Bendix, loc. cit.

For example, the justification for Warner's adoption of the criteria of occupation, income, housing and neighbourhood was the social fact that they were used by status conscious persons in evaluating the status positions of their acquaintance. As long as it is these empirical valuations by members of the community that are collected and built into a social analysis the latter is meaningful in terms of social attitudes. But when the research worker proceeds to take these same criteria as objective indices to be applied by him to all members of the community, the result is something quite different. It is justifiable to group a population in categories of income level even though they are themselves unaware of membership in them, for it may be held that they are in fact subject to economic pressures, whether consciously or not. But residence in a type of dwelling, which might attract a certain evaluation from status conscious persons if they knew the dwelling and its occupants, cannot be held to expose the occupants to social pressures in relation to persons to whom they are totally unknown. In other words, we are again dealing only with status groups and not classes.

If these two major approaches are ruled out, what have we left? We are brought back to the texture of social relationships. It seems to me that this is much the same position as that adopted by T.H. Marshall in his article on social class published in 1934.¹ In the light of all the work which has been done since then, Marshall's attitude towards the sociological study of class appears extremely sound² apart from the fact that he retains the concept of social class without ever being able to define it.³ I should prefer to substitute the word "status" for that of "class" in Marshall's treatment of the subject. Let it not be thought that I reject the concept of social class altogether. I am in fact brought back

1. T.H. Marshall "Social class - a preliminary analysis." Sociological Review XXVI No. 1.
2. T.H. Marshall, loc. cit. "Sociology is not interested in proportions, but in relationships and the behaviour that results from them." "The essence of social class is the way a man is treated by his fellows (and, reciprocally, the way he treats them), not the qualities or the possessions which cause that treatment." "...To group people simply in terms of their attributes without asking how those attributes affected their social relations...would be a study of social types, not of social classes." "The more heterogeneous the major community, the more unlikely it is to have a simple class structure...There is a national class system, in the sense, only, that class is a feature of the lives of all nationals, but that there are no national classes...There may be one national class, an aristocracy, the only group that has achieved national unity, but it will be the product of a class system which permeates the whole."
3. loc. cit. "I prefer to stress the institutional character of class as against the associational character of classes and to think in terms of a force rather than of groups. It is institutional in the sense that it is a social principle which presses individual behaviour into socially-determined moulds and produces uniformities of conduct in those who conform to custom."

to the anthropologist's definition of it.¹

In dealing with the concept of social class, I have probably not made myself clear with regard to that of status.² It is not possible to deal with this question fully here. Every society is based on a status system, though not necessarily on a system of social classes in my sense. Some have defined social classes as "aggregates of persons having essentially the same social status in a given society". I agree with this provided it is recognised that in many societies such aggregates are not isolable.

In characterising one kind of class study as objective I touch on a point which seems to me crucial for sociology. Sociology is primarily concerned with social relations and not with opinions. People's verbalisations about class are, in a sense, just as much objective phenomena as are the observed activities of social groups, but they are none the less subjective from the point of view of social analysis. Observable coactivity has an objective relevance to social structure which is entirely lacking in the variable views of individuals about social stratification, which may or may not correspond to those of their neighbours. Such phenomena are a perfectly valid object of study for the social psychologist, and happy is the student of social structure who can persuade a social psychologist to study them in his community. The sociologist can never ignore the attitudes held by members of the community about the social structure, but they are not the primary objective of his study.

I hold that in most modern mass societies social classes do not objectively exist. Class as a concept used by people in everyday life is a channel for the expression of status judgments about those whom they know personally or by repute. By this means all the members of a community may rank their acquaintances in categories having themselves as the points of reference; but there is no justification for the a priori assumption that these categories fall into a series of discrete social classes. These status categories may, again, not coincide with status groups observed to operate in the playing out of social roles in co-activity.

As an objective phenomenon for social analysis, the social class system of a society must refer to the total configuration of the interlocking statuses of all persons in it. The occurrence of social classes as discrete entities is a special case of the status system. Economic, occupational, political, tribal and other interest groups may be determined on the basis of objective criteria, and their relation to the system of status is one of the important problems in the analysis of social structure.

Turning back to my present study in Mengo-Kisenyi, the tribal and occupational groups are the easiest to determine. Economic

1. Notes and Queries on Anthropology, 6th edition, p.93. "Social classes entail differences in status and civic rights often conditioned by their descent, in the access to positions of power or influence, in wealth, and also in occupation and habitual modes of living, in apparel and the right to use certain ornaments. Groups so defined must be relatively exclusive and permanent to deserve the name of classes, i.e. the barriers being of a kind not freely overcome by individuals."
2. Ogburn and Nimkoff, p.208 "status...the position of the individual in the group", "ranking in relation to others".
3. Ogburn and Nimkoff, p.210.

groups present difficulties in the estimation of incomes. I am collecting interesting data on this, but complete accuracy cannot be achieved. The formal political structure is in a stage of adjustment consequent upon the application to urban conditions of a system essentially designed for a rural society, while political interests are not yet coherently organised. The definition of the overall status system constitutes the most difficult and important problem. An approach to it can be made through the observation of co-activity in situations of free association, and by the study of patterns of deference behaviour. Career histories can give further indications of social processes within the town community and their relation to the rural background. Analysis thus proceeds from the objective data to the more subjective sphere of attitudes towards the social structure, and declared motivations and life goals.

Discussion on Dr. Southall's paper

The Chairman suggested that the discussion should be oriented along the lines of Dr. Southall's concepts and against the background of the area he was studying.

Professor Franklin Frazier said that he was familiar with the discussions on social class that had gone on in American sociological literature. He had himself studied social class in Negro communities. He thought it should be possible in a complex community such as Kampala to devote attention to new types of social classes and to new types of prestige. He was inclined to think that this kind of empirical study could be undertaken without any presupposition as to the nature of classes. The communities with which he was most familiar tended to divide into different social streams. People who began to observe new types of family relationship and new types of social behaviour were quickly divided from the masses and were looked up to. In Baltimore, the town of his birth, there were three such classes and they were rigidly separated from each other. If it was possible to distinguish such classes in modern Kampala, it would be a task which was worth while. Professor Frazier explained that he had studied Negro communities of many different sizes, and within them distinct status groups could be very small, perhaps only 35 to 40 families.

Dr. Southall said that he agreed but he thought Professor Frazier's suggestion was not as empirical as he himself implied and that it had a theoretical background. All he himself wanted to emphasise was the behavioural criterion of class, as distinct from the people's expressed views. He thought, however, that the Negro communities referred to must have a certain degree of stability.

Dr. Winter said that both of the last speakers seemed to him to be agreed on the emphasis they placed on the behavioural criterion of class. It seemed to him obvious that if Kampala as a whole were taken then the three racial groups must be regarded on any criterion as classes, but that within these major groups empirical considerations might well determine what sub-divisions were made.

Mr. Laird suggested that Dr. Southall was making a dangerous distinction between behaviour and verbalisation. Why should

what people do be more important than what they say?

Dr. Southall denied that he was making such an antithesis between behaviour and verbalisation. He did, however, think that what people were observed doing jointly had a necessary connection with their social structure, whereas what they expressed in an interview might have no connection with it at all.

Mrs. Reining suggested that there was some confusion here between social relationships and individual behaviour.

The Chairman said he would like to throw out a suggestion for discussion. If a community was very large, it was impossible for every man to know everybody else. In these societies he thought it was common to select some observable external mark by which people recognised upper status. For example in the Copper Belt of Northern Rhodesia many clerks eat white bread and spend a large part of their salaries on clothes. Was it possible to select criteria of this sort in Kampala?

Professor Frazier said that he did not know much about the evolution of new African societies but he was intrigued because he could think of numerous examples of the emergence of a fairly rigid class structure with the emancipation of slaves in the United States. The people who constituted an upper class in such Negro communities were often those who had taken up white habits of life. They had strong traditions and it was difficult for a lower class Negro to climb into the upper classes.

M. de Heusch asked whether there was any re-grouping on tribal lines in urban communities such as Kampala and whether these tribal groupings cut across class.

Dr. Southall said that tribal groupings existed but they did not seem to him to be very strong.

Professor Wilson thought that social differentiation in the sample Kampala area could not be separated from social differentiation in Kampala as a whole. Neither could the class system among Africans be separated from the caste system based on colour. She thought that this was the type of external mark of class that Dr. Mitchell had really been meaning. The stratification of African society should lead to a study of the stratification of the whole multi-racial community; otherwise it would give a very warped picture of the whole.

Mr. H. S. Morris

The Indian Community in Kampala

Mr. Morris reported that since he had been in the field for only three months he was not yet ready to offer any conclusions.

According to the Census of 1948, the total population of Kampala was 22,194 of which 8,483 were of Indian and Pakistani origin and 506 of Goan origin. No figures of the Hindu and Muslim population of Kampala are yet available.

At the end of 1952 it was estimated that the Asian population alone had risen to about 17,000.

No reliable information was obtained in 1948 about the sizes of the religious and caste groups of this Asian population which derives mainly from North India, especially Bombay, Gujarat, Kathiawar, Cutch and the Punjab. Of the Hindu population the Patelia and Lohana castes are numerically and economically predominant; and of the Muslims the Khoja Ismailia community, the followers of H.H. the Aga Khan, is probably the largest.

All these groups speak dialects of Gujarati, but there are also substantial numbers of Sikhs and other speakers of Punjabi and Urdu. In addition to these main groups there are many other castes and religious sects represented, their numbers ranging from fifty to a thousand individuals. The Asian community is principally a trading one, and its connections through business and family ties extend all over Uganda and the rest of East Africa.

As little is known of the sociology of Asian communities in East Africa, Kampala was selected for an initial structural study because it is one of the main centres of Asian settlement. The size of the town and the apparently clear definition of the more important groups, which are strictly endogamous, combined with the fact that racial relations are relatively easier, and that business interests tend to over-ride social exclusiveness, make anthropological methods applicable to the investigation of the major structural units and the extent to which economic, political and social interests may be giving rise to new social classes. A study of African urban problems in Kampala was being conducted simultaneously with the Indian investigation, and this also made the choice of Kampala desirable.

A further object of the study was to investigate the extended family system so characteristic of Indian communities, which has probably been crucially important in their development in East Africa, and is still of commercial and social importance in linking Uganda with Tanganyika and Kenya.

Mr. Morris began work in November 1952 and spent three months in making contact with leading members of the Asian community in Kampala to find out how the community was composed, and, from their personal histories, how it came to have its present shape. At the same time, he made an analysis of licenced and incorporated businesses in Kampala, and began to investigate the composition of the main caste and sectarian groups. Later in 1953, he proposed, if possible, to live with Indian families in the town and make more intensive observation of possible differences between the various groups. To supplement this it was also planned at a later stage to make an extensive survey of households in one or two areas where overcrowding is heaviest.

Still later the relationships of the many Asian associations to the major structural groups, and if possible, the informal groups would be investigated. At that point, if time allowed, it might be possible to assess family and associational contacts of the community in Kampala with other parts of East Africa, India and Pakistan.

Discussion on Mr. Morris's report

Dr. Mitchell, the Chairman, said this was the first study that had been made of social structure in an Indian community in Africa, and it seemed that important conclusions might be drawn as to the position of Africans and Europeans in relation to this community, itself divided into castes.

M. van der Meulen wanted to know what schools existed for Indian children and what the language of instruction was.

Mr. Morris replied that there were Government and private schools, and that teaching was in English and Gujarati.

Mr. Sutton asked if the position of women had changed as compared with their position in India.

Mr. Morris said he could not yet answer, but it seemed clear to him that considerable changes were taking place.

Dr. Richards pointed out that in Zanzibar the Indian community was vastly subdivided and that caste groups could be seen at their own picnics on the beach at the week-end. She wanted to know if this was the result of endogamy.

Mr. Morris thought that it probably was, but that religion and local origins in India were also factors.

Dr. Mitchell said that in such a community of 9,000 people many must be children and that if it was subdivided into endogamous groups there would be difficulties in finding wives, and that it was likely economic pressure would form them into economic groups that might or might not coincide with the endogamous groups. He also remarked that if wives had to be brought from India the ideological system would be continually reinforced.

Mr. Morris agreed with these three points.

Dr. Maquet wanted to know whether any of the Indian immigrants were peasant cultivators.

Mr. Morris replied that at least one important group of Hindus, the Kaulis, came in large numbers but that in East Africa they took to commerce and did not cultivate. A certain number of Asians owned plantations but his impression was that cultivation and ownership of land was ancillary to trading.

Dr. Mitchell concluded by saying that it was clear the situation bristled with research possibilities.

Session V

Wednesday February 25th
9 a.m.

Chairman Professor M. Wilson

Dr. J.J. Maquet

The Value System of Rwanda

Human action is determined partly by the cultural values, partly by the socially recognised means of obtaining them. By cultural values we mean the final or intermediary aims that are considered the proper purposes of human activity in a particular society.

In a society with castes, each layer is likely to have its own set of values, although some of these originating in one group may extend to others. Let us begin with the Batutsi. When a Mututsi informant is asked what do the people of his group wish for above all, the answer comes immediately: "Children and cows". A further question "Why?" discloses that they are not ultimate values sought for themselves but that they are intermediate ones, means to reach more abstract ends. The latter are power (amaboko) and reputation (ugukomera).

Power is understood here more in connection with persons (power over somebody) than with things (power to do something). It is, to paraphrase Lasswell's definition, the ability that a person, engaged in a human relationship with another, has to oblige the latter to do or not to do something because he may otherwise inflict a severe privation on the other. Power is essentially the capacity to exert a significant pressure upon somebody. In Rwanda, to be powerful is to be able to compel somebody to give tribute in labour or in kind in one's favour, or to force somebody to give support to one's claims on some advantage to be obtained from the king. In the latter case, pressure may remain unstated and indirect (for instance the threat to withdraw backing that may later be necessary to the person who is now asked to support a request, or even a recourse to blackmail). We desire to have cows, say our informants, because by granting the possession of one or two of them to a Muhutu, he becomes our client (mugaragu) and has then to do, to a large extent, what we ask of him. We also like to have heads of cattle in order to get as vassal another Mututsi who is not very rich. The services expected from him are not manual but he will increase the influence of his lord by his familial connections and he will be useful by his diplomatic shrewdness in dealing with his lord's intrigues. Finally we desire to become ourselves the vassals of great chiefs or even of the king because we are then under the protection of somebody very important, we get more cows and that allows us to have more clients.

To become powerful, it is very useful, almost indispensable, to have many children. The girls, by their marriages, extended the family connections and also brought to their father a few cows as bridewealth. The boys began very young their military training which gave them in fact a complete education in skills, knowledge and virtues pertaining to their noble condition. This training was given them as intore (which means chosen ones) at the royal court or at the court of an important chief. For the father to have a son at the court reinforced very much his influence. He knew by this means what was going on, and the king or the chief was constantly reminded of the father by the son's presence. This was a source of security for the father. The boy could also increase the influence of his family by becoming the client of a powerful Mututsi. By that

means he was getting protection and cows for himself and his parent's lineage (mulyango). Finally the matrimonial alliances of his sons could create new links between the father and his daughters-in-law's families.

In complex societies such as our own, the roads to power are many. In Rwanda it does not seem that there were other important ways towards power than children and cows. Warlike value could bring a very high prestige as we shall see later on, but not power in itself. Great warriors were often granted herds of cattle by the king as rewards for their valiant deeds and could then gain power by their cattle. But not directly.

If we push our analysis a bit further, we may say that from the point of view of power, the significance of the children is to provide cows or connections. On the other hand cattle either give direct power (over the Bahutu clients) or ensure connections. In relation to Bahutu labourers cattle have about the same function as money in our culture. They provide the man who owns them with means to exert pressure on those who do not have enough money on their own and thus need to get some in exchange for services. In order to make it easier to compare with other ways of life, we thus can use the term wealth or "means of exchange" instead of cows. As for the connections, it is meant here that type of relationship in which one party may require something from the other under the threat of some sanction. Of course it would be considered as very improper to use imperative words or to express the threat, but under polite phrasing, the true meaning of the relationship is such. Consequently we may modify our previous formula and say that in Rwanda, the only means to obtain power were exchange-wealth and implicitly sanctioned relationships.

The other ultimate value of Banyarwanda reputation is also in close relation with children and cows. First, because powerful men are greatly respected and everybody knows what daughters, sons and cattle mean from that point of view. Second, because independently of their significance in that respect, cattle have a high prestige value in themselves. Indeed to entertain friends properly and to be able to make love in the noble way, one must have at one's disposal a plentiful supply of milk. Milk is the beverage of the high caste. They also drink hydromel and banana beer, but milk is more characteristic of the Mututsi way of life. It was considered as a complete food. Genuine Batutsi were said to live only on milk. As each cow did not produce much milk it was necessary to have an important herd to cover the needs of a well-to-do Mututsi family. Moreover cattle had an important esthetic value in Rwanda. To be expert in cattle breeding was required from the nobility. A whole category of poetry was devoted to the praises of famous cows singularly identified. Some very beautiful cows (called inyambo) which realised particular characteristics were considered as belonging to the king even if they had been produced in somebody else's herds. In many festivities cattle were presented to the king or to great chiefs. All this indicates that cows were in Rwanda the object of a keen interest and of feelings of pride similar to those associated in some western sub-cultures with ownership of hunting horses or luxury cars. Cows were privileged objects of possession for the superior caste. During the European Middle Ages a nobleman had to have some landed property. Without going down in public estimation and losing his status, he could not have exchanged his real estates for things such as gold and goods even if they were worth much more. Such being the feelings and emotions clustering around the possession of cows in Rwanda, it is quite

understandable that cows had in themselves a high prestige value.

The antiquity of a family is highly appraised in Rwanda. Almost any Mututsi is able to give immediately the names of his descendants for six or eight generations. A lineage (umulyango) has properties which are transmitted from one generation to another, common ancestors to be honoured, a set of traditions and legends. It is a living reality in which one is proud to participate. On that background one may appreciate how children and particularly sons give prestige to the parents independent of their utility as instruments of power. To have many children gives the assurance that family traditions are going to be maintained, that the importance of the family is increasing, that its properties are going to be kept and even enlarged and that the ancestors are going to be honoured. This does not only make the parents happy, but is highly esteemed by other people and hence the reputation of the father is enhanced.

Besides the recognition of their power, the admiration for their cattle and the respect for one with many children, the Batutsi look for specific reputations. They like to be recognised as courageous. They came by conquest to Rwanda and till the European occupation, their main social function as a caste was to make war, more often offensive than defensive. Consequently the military courage (ubutwari) was highly praised. There are numerous and interminable poems made by official bards, telling the stories of battles and singing military prowess. The young Batutsi, during their training, were taught the composition of such poems and even the invention of imaginary deeds of valour. There were special signs, badges of honour, granted to those who had killed seven or fourteen enemies during an expedition, there was a special ceremony to honour the warriors who had killed twentyone persons in a campaign. Some informants interviewed on these questions were still able to give the names of warriors who had received these marks of honour.

It is worth while noting that in a society which is so deeply focused on military themes, great warriors could gain an extreme popularity but not social power, at least directly. Martial value as such was not even considered as a special qualification to become commander of the army (mutware w'ingabo). During battles indeed the chief of the army had to stay motionless in his headquarters. He was magically identified with his army: he could not do any backwards move without endangering the advance of the army. This way of commanding the army did not require much courage. An army commander was on the other hand very high on the power scale. Members of the army had to give him cows on certain occasions, for example when he was taking up his duties and when he was reviewing the herds of the army members. The king granted him cattle in some circumstances, for instance after a battle had been won. He might also entrust an army with the care of some herds. By these means, the army chief had the control of many cows: he could then increase his clientship, and hence his social power, by granting the possession of them.

A Mututsi likes also very much to be considered as having ubugabo. This means the quality of being a man (mugabo). This includes trustworthiness in reference to promises, generosity in treating one's friends well, liberality towards the poor and moral courage to accept one's responsibilities. In a society where relations of inferiority and superiority are predominantly personal, in the sense that authority is rarely abstract (a law, a principle) but

generally identified with a person (chief, king, lord, etc.) the emphasis is put on fidelity in any personal relationship.

Another very typical quality that the Batutsi were extremely proud to have was itonde. This could be very well translated by self-mastery. To lose one's temper, to manifest violent emotions by crying was really shameful. It was particularly anger that could not be violently expressed. The demeanour of a Mututsi was always to be dignified, polite, amiable but a bit supercilious. It has often been called double dealing. This would be true if somebody behaved like this in an extrovert culture, where it is admitted that it is unethical not to express exactly what one thinks about anybody in front of him. But in Rwanda it is taken for granted that only vulgar persons show off all their emotions. It is quite understandable why this was the proper conduct in a very hierarchical society where the authority of a superior was not restricted to some very specific domains of the life of his inferior, and where to express any disagreement with the superior was thought inappropriate. This is the point of view of the inferior and anybody in Rwanda, except the king, had a superior. But the superior as such - and any Mututsi was the superior of a certain number of people - liked to assume a very reserved attitude. Bahutu not being very self-controlled, were much impressed by the external dignity of Batutsi. An aristocratic caste usually emphasises the differences that make the others permanently remember how distant they are from the noble set.

There were of course other virtues that a Nututsi liked very much to be thought to possess but the three we have mentioned seem the more important according to our informants.

When it is asked what was the reputation the Batutsi especially wanted to avoid, it cannot be assumed that this is the opposite to the qualities they like to have. Above all, a Mututsi fears to be considered as an enemy of the king. It is surely partly because he feels a genuine respect for the king, but mainly because to be reputed a king's enemy was extremely dangerous. It could mean dispossession of everything, severance of all social relations, exile or death. He also fears to be considered as a traitor to his chief. This is a less dangerous fame, however it includes sanctions: if a Mututsi has been disloyal to his lord (shebuja), the latter may take back from him all the cattle he gave him previously and even all his cattle.

All this regards the good and bad reputations people wanted or feared while living. The Batutsi were about as much concerned with their after-death fame. To be remembered as a great warrior or a powerful cattle owner was the normal ambition of any Mututsi. Some deaths were particularly glorious: to be killed in a battle or to lose one's life rather than surrender one's cattle because the latter was to be deprived of the only means of leading an existence appropriate to one's rank.

This longing for fame after death seems to be deeper and commoner than in our culture. It is quite near to the Ciceronian concept of gloria. It is a desire to go on living in men's memory completely independent of beliefs in the supernatural, although it has nothing to do with the Roman mythological conceptions of the beyond. Banyarwanda do not think that the spirits of the dead will take pleasure from the great reputations they may have on earth, or at least our informants told us, "if bazimu know perhaps the fame that the people from whom they come enjoy among the living, it is definitely not for that reason that we hope so much to be famous after our

death". But is it not because the living will make more offerings to the muzimu of somebody who is widely remembered? It does not seem that this is taken into consideration. We did not find any belief according to which the spirits would suffer a kind of second death, disappear completely after being completely forgotten by the humans on earth.

To sum up, the ultimate values for the aristocracy are power and reputation. Children and cows are their main intermediary values in the sense that they are the almost necessary means to achieve the ends. The originality of Rwanda culture does not lie in its high valuation of power and fame. These are recognised ends in many cultures. What is typical of Rwanda culture is the paucity and the necessity of means provided in that society to effect these purposes.

The preceding account may have given the impression that for Batutsi, children are only a means to power and fame. This view would overlook the fact that Batutsi also enjoy their children just because they are their children. This feeling of course exists in Rwanda as well as in many other cultures.

Aristocratic values have permeated the whole Rwanda society. The differences between Rwanda castes are, from that point of view, rather variations in emphasis and details.

An ordinary Muhutu could never hope to achieve a situation of power over other men compared with one a Mututsi could attain rather easily. A well-to-do Muhutu could have a few servants either by ensuring the subsistence of other Bahutu poorer than himself or, as a Mututsi did, by granting the possession of a cow. But this was not common. Ambition for power is suitable to people who have not to worry about fundamental human needs such as food, shelter, etc. The ultimate value for Bahutu is security. Security means protection from the things, our informants say, they fear above all: accusation of witchcraft, starvation and the arbitrary actions of the powerful men. There are no direct means of being protected against the first of these threats. All that can be done as a prevention is to be a good neighbour, not to be envied by anybody and not to have enemies. But there are means to decrease the other two dangers and these means are the intermediary values the Bahutu look for eagerly: work, children and patronage.

Bahutu till the soil from which they have to get the tributes asked by the chief, their own subsistence and perhaps a surplus. This surplus is extremely important because it will allow them to acquire some goats, sheep and even a cow, to have the time to go and work for their lord, and to store enough food to get a few servants who then will increase their production. Surpluses may be obtained only by work. This is why the man and the woman who work strongly and competently are highly considered. Work is a means for Bahutu to reach the moderate wealth which may give them some security against starvation.

Children are, as in all peasant societies, very useful in helping the parents in their work. When a girl gets married, her father receives the bride-wealth (usually some beer and a few hoes) which, in this case, fulfills very well the function of making up for the loss of labour power incurred by the family group.

There is a Rwanda proverb saying that the dog is not feared

because of his fangs, but because of his master. This is the main reason why a Muhutu wants to have a patron. A peasant rich enough to own a couple of cows needs to have the protection of somebody more powerful than himself in order to avoid an arbitrary seizure by some member of the dominant class.

Patronage was institutionalized by the buhake agreement we mentioned above. As the western mediaeval lord, the patron had to protect his client in most of the unsafe circumstances of life. A second reason for looking for a patron was the advantage of having a couple of heads of cattle. This profit was material (to have some milk for one's children) and moral (to have the prestige value linked to the possession of cattle).

If we want to translate the Bahutu values in more abstract terms, we can say that they were looking for security through production of agricultural goods and for protection through the patronage of somebody belonging to a caste with high social power.

Although he was not indifferent to his reputation, the Muhutu does not seem to stress its importance as much as the Mututsi. The reputation he wants reflects very well the values of his caste. He likes to be considered as a mugabo, a rich man and as a mukungu, a very rich man, possessing a few cows, many fields, goats and beehives. He enjoys the recognition of his fidelity to his master and of his qualities as a labourer.

The Batwa were not a stable population as were the peasants. They were hunters, potters, dancers or buffoons and considered as belonging to a caste made of beings on the limits of humanity. They did not possess things that others could envy. Consequently security from exactions was not such an important value for them. As people who live a hazardous and stirring existence, they appreciated very much momentary and immediate satisfactions. And among these the most important was food, which was the main aim of their activity, especially during the scarcity periods. The main means they had of securing food were different according to their particular occupations. For the hunters it was ability and courage. They were very proud of their reputation in that connection. Dancers, musicians, buffoons were dependent on their talents and on the favour of their masters. They rated very high fidelity to their masters. Indeed in the society at large their loyalty was recognised. It is said that one could rely on a Mutwa more than on anybody else.

The social and economic situation of the Batwa explains and almost determines the high valuation set on gratifying the basic need of food. Abilities in their specialized occupations and a blind faithfulness to their masters were the best means to achieve that satisfaction, but skills and loyalty were also sought for themselves.

Discussion on Dr. Maquet's paper

The Chairman opened the discussion by asking Dr. Maquet how far the values he had described were still operative.

Dr. Maquet replied that the values system he referred to really belonged to the pre-occupation period, i.e. before 1900. Nowadays there were of course no wars and Hutu were protected against the seizure of cattle, but there were still many cases

in court which were judged by Tutsi and in these cases the Hutu were at a disadvantage, since they were not considered the equals of the Tutsi. It was therefore still important for a Hutu to have a patron, although the administration wanted to put an end to this system of patronage.

The social significance of cattle was also still an extremely important factor in the whole system and it made it difficult to reduce the excessive number of cattle that were causing erosion of the country.

Mr. Beattie asked how far the old system of castes was reflected in the new system of administrative chiefs. Did the chiefs come from the Tutsi or the Hutu?

Dr. Maquet said that the old prestige system was still firmly established. A Tutsi who has cattle can live by doing nothing, whereas the paid chiefs of the Government were less dependent on cattle for their position. Nevertheless, these administrative chiefs were chosen from the Tutsi. Hutu attended chiefs' schools, but they were not a great success in action. Most of the clerks and priests were also Tutsi. So that whether they entered the modern administration or remained as cattle-owning lords, they were still in a superior position to the Hutu.

Dr. Richards asked how much mobility there was between the Tutsi and the Hutu in the old days. Could a Hutu become a Tutsi by adoption or marriage? How far also were there common values underlying the whole power system which united the two peoples as well as the differential values that Dr. Maquet had described.

Dr. Maquet said that there was no doubt some mobility, mainly by intermarriage since a poor Tutsi liked to have a rich Hutu as a son-in-law. But there did not seem to have been many social climbers among the Hutu who were content to conform to the ideal type of their own group. He agreed that there were common values in the case of the intermediary values he had described. Cattle were objects of social value to each group but they did not have the same significance for the Tutsi and the Hutu. For the Tutsi they were an instrument of power; for the Hutu a means of obtaining protection.

Mr. Morris asked whether movement down the scale was possible. Could a Tutsi sink to the level of the Hutu?

Dr. Maquet thought there was some downward mobility but that there were also institutions designed to prevent it. The institution of patronage was one of these. A poor Tutsi could become a client of a richer member of his own group and the rich Tutsi welcomed followers who were Tutsi rather than Hutu for prestige purposes. Intermarriage between the classes was an exception to the rules of the society.

Mr. Morris asked further if there was no intermediate class formed by illegitimate people of mixed blood. Were there no concubines?

Dr. Maquet did not think that such people formed an intermediate class. The definition of a Tutsi was a social one. The illegitimate child of a Tutsi father was considered a Tutsi if his father gave him cattle.

M. Biebuyck asked whether the Rwanda Mwami tried to eliminate others

who might exercise power in his area. Where he worked, the daughters of a chief were not allowed to marry as it was thought that such alliances might prove dangerous.

Dr. Maquet thought that this was not the case in Rwanda. It was in fact thought important for the Mwami to have connections with other big families. The big chiefs also wanted to have their daughters married to the Mwami and clans were officially appointed to provide wives for him. A different clan was chosen each time, and this made for a balance of power although conflict was sometimes produced by this means, as one or two historical instances showed.

Mrs. Reining asked if prestige was not conferred by the control of land.

Dr. Maquet thought that land was less significant than cattle in the Tutsi system. A man who had cattle obviously had grazing for his beasts but he thought that it was the cattle that were reckoned as the index of power and wealth, and not the land that supported them.

M. de Heusch asked about the values system of the women. Tutsi women seemed to have a good deal of leisure and time to think about political questions. He mentioned areas in which the initiation vows were the same for men and for women and wondered if there were similar values for the sexes in Rwanda.

Dr. Maquet said that the Tutsi ideal for a woman was one of great elegance and also some intelligence. The Hutu preferred the hard-working competent woman who was useful in the fields. He thought however that political values were the same for both sexes. The Queen Mother was an important political figure with her own court, and women could act as sub-chiefs when they had a good deal of equality with men. Each woman had her own rugo and her own servants and menage. She held a position of considerable responsibility.

Mr. Baxter asked whether a Hutu could throw off his clientship if he went out to work under modern conditions and thus earned money to buy cattle. Was the Hutu allowed to own as many beasts as he liked in the old days?

Dr. Maquet said that according to some the patron had the right to take all the client's cattle, even those got by marriage; according to others he only had rights over beasts he or his father had given to the client himself.

Mrs. Chilver asked about the judicial side of the patronage system. Were cases about cattle submitted to arbitration or was there a body of customary law covering such cases?

Dr. Maquet said that the customary law was recognised but that the most important thing was to have several patrons so that if a man was in trouble with one lord he could get the help of another.

Dr. Southall thought that customary law would be inapplicable if a client had various patrons and he tried to balance one against another.

Dr. Maquet disagreed. He thought there were definite rules as to

what was right and wrong in the matter of cattle, and that cattle would be removed if a client was considered to have broken such a law. The balance of power between patrons became effective in more doubtful cases.

Dr. Richards asked if there was a formal hierarchy of courts over and above such informal settling of cases between clients and patrons.

Dr. Maquet replied in the affirmative. The Mwami's court was the apex of the pyramid.

M. de Heusch asked if the numbers of 7, 14 and 21 had any particular significance in Rwanda society. He had found in another area that hereditary councillors numbered 7 and he thought the figure significant.

M. van der Meulen gave reasons why 8 should be thought important.

M. Coupez pointed out that "nane", the word used for 8 was also used for part of the patrimony given to a son.

Dr. Maquet thought it was also used for the 8 cows given for bride-wealth.

The Chairman closed by making comparisons between the values of the old stratified society of Rwanda and the modern stratified societies in South Africa and in the U.S.A.

Dr. E.H. Winter

The Life History as a Research Tool

There are a good many aspects of the life history question which I might discuss. However in the limited time at my disposal this afternoon I think it would be best if I limited myself to one particular question which is after all of central importance, namely, why should anybody collect life histories in the first place? In other words, what good are they and what use can be made of them?

Life histories in one form or another have, of course, long been a major tool of the psychologists interested in the structure of personality. Within the broad anthropological field the greatest interest has been shown in the life history by those belonging to the various culture and personality schools. Among these Kardiner may be selected as a typical example. He, in fact, gives the collection of autobiographies a central place in his method.

Kardiner, it will be recalled, divides institutions into two groups which he terms primary and secondary respectively. Among the former are to be found the family and economic systems. Of all the primary institutions those concerned with the socialization process assume paramount importance. The interaction of the growing individuals with these primary institutions create a set of constellations within the individuals which are termed the basic personality structure. The basic personality structure is seen as mediating between the primary and secondary institutions. Thus, crudely speaking, children are treated in a certain way with the result that they develop certain characteristic ways of handling situations. The result is that when they are adults they respond to the supernatural spirits of the society in a particular way. Kardiner says therefore that beginning with the primary institutions we should be able to predict the resulting personality structure. Once this has been done, we should be able to find reflections of this in the secondary institutions, particularly in the fields of religion and folklore. However, he says that the final confirmation of the analyst's constructs only occurs when these hypotheses have been tested against the life histories. That is, the aspects predicted for the basic personality structure must turn up in the autobiographical material if they are to be granted validity.

I have introduced the fact that psychologists and those interested in the field of culture and personality make extensive use of autobiographical material merely to draw attention to the fact that, once collected, they may be utilized in the solution of problems other than those with which British anthropology has concerned itself. I certainly do not intend to enter upon a defence of the culture and personality approach in this context. In particular I do not wish to be thought of as advocating the particular theories of Kardiner. I myself have a very low opinion of the concepts of primary and secondary institutions, a view which I imagine is shared by most of those present.

Again I am aware that the mere fact that autobiographies can be of interest to students of culture and personality is a very strong argument against their employment by certain anthropologists. For example, some of the students of Radcliffe-Brown feel that no matter how entertaining books in the field of culture and personality may be, they certainly are not social anthropology. Among such people I rather feel that a man with a life history is apt to be as suspect as a man with a Rorschach card. Such an individual is apt to be sharply segregated from those with honest genealogies in their files.

This being the case, I should like to turn now to the more sociological application of the life history. On the most general level there is the fact that all schools of social anthropology operate with subjective concepts, such as beliefs and attitudes. We all, for example, explain certain types of behaviour as being determined in part by, let us say, particular types of witchcraft beliefs which are current in a certain society. Given the fact that we are interested in beliefs and attitudes, or to use Radcliffe-Brown's term, "sentiments", I submit that the life history which is a subjective document offers a rich mine of material for the elucidation of such orientations. It is only one among a variety of techniques, but I submit that it has great utility in this particular sphere.

However, I should like to leave this very broad and basic level and become more specific in terms of the place which I visualise for the life history in terms of particular sociological systems. In British anthropology the two dominant schools of thought are those derived from Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown respectively. I realise, of course, that both of these approaches have much in common, particularly when viewed in the perspective of American anthropology. I also realise that many individuals cannot be classified as belonging to one group or another. However, for rough purposes such as the present, I think it is legitimate to talk in terms of this dichotomy.

First we may turn to Malinowski. Malinowskian "institutions" are tied together in at least two ways. In the first place they are tied together in any concrete activity. It is from such activities that the observational data from which the institutions are abstracted, are derived. Thus a particular event, a funeral, say, has implications for kinship, economics, social control, etc. This is one type of inter-connection. However there is a second, in that the same individuals participate in the various institutions. Malinowski himself seems to have realised this clearly. He has said "...a full cultural analysis in descriptive terms or as part of a scientific theory, must project the whole gamut of cultural processes and products onto the life history of a representative individual..." (*Malinowski, A Scientific Theory of Culture*, Chapel Hill, 1944, p.107). In carrying out this programme the collection of actual life histories would seem imperative.

In the system of Radcliffe-Brown the concept which is most directly relevant for the material which a life history may bring forth is that of the person, or, as he has called it on other occasions, the social personality. For Radcliffe-Brown the person is the human being seen as an aggregation of statuses in the social structure. He sharply distinguishes this concept from that of the individual by which he means the human being as a biological organism. In his view the human being as individual is the subject matter of the biologist and the psychologist while the same human being as a person is the subject matter of the sociologist. It seems to me, although here I stand subject to correction, that this concept of the person has not been fully exploited by Radcliffe-Brown or his students.

When the concept of the person is used as the master organising concept for the interpretation of the life history I believe that the latter can become a very useful research method for the handling of problems of social structure. When we look at the life history in that manner we do not see a personality structure, nor do we look for clues as to the basic motivational system of the culture.

Rather we see a human being as adapting himself to the requirements of his various statuses and attempting to resolve conflicts brought about by contradictory requirements.

Recently Fortes, in discussing lineage systems, has emphasised the great utility of the concept of the person in dealing with what he refers to as a generalisation of long standing, namely "that a married person always has two mutually antagonistic kinship statuses, that of spouse and parent in one family context and that of child and sibling in another". (Fortes, The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups, mimeo. 1952) I have recently worked in a small patrilineal society in the west of Uganda. Here, of course, the status of the woman as daughter and member of one lineage, and as wife and mother of another was one of the focal points and problems in the social structure. Here I found the life history of great aid in giving me insight into this problem. In this way I got a very clear picture of, among other things, the young girl's insecurity in the home of her new husband, her gradual identification with it and also her very common feeling of hostility towards her own lineage as a result of the marriage. Many of the women felt that they had been exploited in marriage by their male relatives, and this sharply affected their attitudes towards their own lineages and the groups of their husbands'.

To date very little has been done with the life history in terms of the concept of the person. I can, however, refer you to the recent work of Professor Aberle which is concerned with certain problems in the Hopi social system. (D. Aberle, The Psychosocial Analysis of a Hopi Life History, Comparative Psychology Monographs, Vol. 21, no. 1, Berkeley 1951) By such an extended analysis of the life history called Sun Chief which was published several years ago, Professor Aberle, who has not himself worked among the Hopi, has been able to make a very stimulating analysis and to have largely resolved certain contradictions which other workers had developed on the basis of field work among this Pueblo group.

Thus I would hold that one of the advantages of the life history as a particular type of data is that it can be used by the practitioners of several fields within the social sciences. A second merit of the life history alluded to above is that it allows people who have not worked in the society in question to have at their command a body of relatively raw data which they can use to draw their own interpretations. I think it will be admitted that one of the difficulties from which anthropology has suffered has been that of communicating data collected in the field in a form suitable for its independent use by others. Of course, there have been many ways of handling this particular problem. Professor Wilson's appendices to her recent volume on the Nyakusa are a case in point.

I do not mean to imply by this that a life history can be published by itself. I firmly believe that it must be preceded by a thorough structural analysis. However, given such an analysis, I do believe that the life history is a particularly valuable type of data which can be transmitted to other people.

In conclusion I wish to stress very strongly that I by no means consider the life history a necessary tool of research in African societies in the way, for example, the collection of genealogies and censuses of households are necessary. Nor do I even mean to

imply that it is the only way by which subjective attitudes can be ferreted out. Observations of behaviour, the recording of remarks as they occur in social situations, the analysis of ritual forms, etc., all have their place. Also I believe that in many societies it may prove impossible to collect life histories. However, I do submit that as a research tool, the life history has certain advantages and that the method deserves more attention than has hitherto been accorded to it.

Discussion on Dr. Winter's paper

Dr. Southall said that he thought most of the conference would accept the value of Dr. Winter's remarks about life histories but the method raised questions about time. How much time could be given to this method as compared to other, and perhaps more speedy, techniques?

Dr. Winter thought that it would be valuable to do life histories in the middle of a period of field-work, and after that other less time-consuming techniques could be used.

Dr. Richards asked how long was taken over each biography. There seemed to her to be rather a fine distinction between asking an informant what he thought about the institutions of marriage in his society, and asking him to describe his own marriage as part of his life history. Was Dr. Winter using the life history as a means of getting a chronology of events in a particular man's life, and his particular reactions to those events, e.g. by asking "What do you remember and then what happened next, etc.?" Alternatively, was he using the life history as a means of getting basic information on the nature of the institutions such as marriage for instance? She wondered whether Dr. Winter would not get as much of the latter type of information by means of intensive interviews as commonly used by anthropologists as by the laborious process of the life history.

Dr. Winter agreed that there was perhaps little to choose between these two methods and he admitted that life histories were time-consuming. Interviews had to be arranged on a sort of system and informants failed to keep their appointments. The method involved concentrating on a limited number of people, but he thought this gave greater reliability since it enabled the anthropologist to know his informants well. For instance, he found a man who continually withdrew from the interview situation and it was interesting to find out the causes of this attitude.

Mrs. Reining asked about the interviewing situation and whether it had been found possible to interview informants alone when collecting their life histories.

Dr. Winter said it was imperative to see people alone for this purpose.

Dr. Mitchell asked for information as to how Dr. Winter obtained life histories in connection with the position of the wife shortly before marriage.

Dr. Winter admitted that it was very difficult to check on the

reliability of such information, but he felt it necessary to have some sort of idea of what actually happened in a particular situation, as well as what people said about it. Hence he took entire family groups i.e. two families each with several wives. The two men were brothers and the women were selected as being the wives of these men. All were asked to start talking about their lives and when they ran dry of information he started them talking on a topic that seemed to be a key one and this started them off again. For instance, if a woman had been married several times, he tried to find out what caused the breakup of her marriage, what she thought when she returned to her own home after the separation, what her father's attitude was and what she felt about the next marriage.

Mr. Whiteley was doubtful about the wisdom of choosing intimately connected family groups. He thought that a third or fourth household with no immediate connection would have been a better check.

Dr. Winter however preferred the first method since he found that each member of the family gave a varying account of the same specific event, and in some cases there was no apparent connection between the two different views. In such cases information was got from outside sources.

Dr. Mitchell said he still failed to see why Dr. Winter spoke of the life history technique. It seemed to him that the first interview in such a life history was used to give a line of approach. On this basis Dr. Winter selected subjects which interested him and hence from then on he was really collecting facts according to a concept and this seemed to him to move away from the life history proper. Could Dr. Winter explain what method Dr. Aberle used?

Dr. Winter said that Aberle had decided that with the present conflict of views about the Hopi the only thing to do was to study them subjectively in an intimate family situation in order to discover the individual's own reactions to events in the society. At the moment Laura Thompson described Hopi life as being like the Garden of Eden while Radcliffe-Brown saw it as one of tension and suspicion. He Aberle did a great deal of questioning and hence he admitted that there was nothing particularly new about this life history method. The same, possibly untrue, answers were obtained when more ordinary interviewing was done by anthropologists, say, after a meeting of a council when the councillors might be asked what they thought for instance of the chief's handling of a particular case.

M. de Heusch thought that there were similar difficulties in the use of the life history method in psychology and in sociology. The problem was to surprise the victim into revealing himself. He wondered whether there was not some more objective method of setting up a test situation to get the information from the individual.

Dr. Winter agreed as to these difficulties. He said he had collected dreams at the same time as the life histories and found it one way of collecting material which the informants would not give spontaneously.

Mr. Morris said he was still somewhat confused as to what Dr. Winter was getting. Was he getting a formal statement which might or might not be true?

Mr. Mukwaya said that he did not quite understand the difference between what Mr. Morris called formalised statements and reality.

Mr. Morris answered that he had meant that a formal statement made by an informant about events in his life might be quite untrue. How was it possible to check each statement without wasting much time?

Mr. Mukwaya asked whether Dr. Winter would explain how the life history method could be used to collect material on the values system described by Dr. Maquet that morning. He thought it possible that the interviewers introduced a values system that wasn't in the minds of the people before the interviewer came to live among them. How could one get at the values system without introducing the anthropologists' own opinions?

Dr. Winter thought that life histories were a distinct help here.

Dr. Maquet admitted that some information could be got this way, but he would rather use it as confirmation of data he already had. The first task he thought was to assess the formalised scale of values recognised by the community as a whole and this was in itself a difficult task. The second task was to find out the whole range of individual values centring round these and often at a sub-conscious level. He knew there was danger of distortion but he thought it was possible to make out what was in the culture at an implicit level. He agreed that the interviewer might make his informant express openly values that he had never voiced before, but he did not think he would be building something quite new.

Mr. Sutton thought the life history would have to be very carefully handled as a tool of the anthropologist. In more complicated societies it was a dangerous matter to start dealing with people's life histories since it involved delving into things which were closely bound up with their self-esteem.

Dr. Winter agreed that it would be impossible to use his methods in more complex societies. Even with the Batoro he had got explosive reactions when he had started asking some questions.

Professor van den Berghe congratulated Dr. Winter on starting such a lively discussion on method. He would like him to give an example of a life history and show what he meant to get out of it. Would Dr. Winter agree that life histories should not be used as a first step but that they might prove a useful method during the later periods of field work?

Dr. Winter agreed in general but said that he preferred to work at problems of social structure currently with taking down life histories, and he added, in answer to a question of M. van der Meulen that he studied at the same time the behaviour of the informant in situations of every day life.

The Chairman concluded by saying that the conference had had a fairly exhaustive discussion of one of the methods of getting at values. She did not herself think it was the only one. Dr. Maquet had hinted at others, and useful data could also be got by the analysis of ritual and of lineage structure.

Session VI

Thursday February 26th

9 a.m.

Chairman Dr. V. Neesen

Mr. A. B. Mukwaya

Some of the Problems of Land
Tenure in Buganda

The problems of land tenure in Colonial Territories have been widely discussed on many occasions. Today I do not intend to cover the whole field of discussion usually covered but I will try to show how some of these problems have been solved in Buganda. I will also try to show that the particular solution applied in Buganda has created problems of its own to which scientific answers deserve to be sought.

Here I must warn you. In many discussions, on subjects concerning Uganda, Buganda has occupied a position which is not related either to its area or to the size of its population. Buganda is only one of the four Provinces in which for administrative purposes the Protectorate of Uganda is divided. It covers about a quarter (27.5%) of the area of the Protectorate which is 95,981 square miles; and it carries 28.7% of the total population of just under five million.

But in relation to the problems of land tenure its significance is much greater than the area or the size of its population warrants. It is the only Province where the individual rights as distinct from the collective rights in land have been legally recognised. It is true that the collective rights of the other tribes to their lands have been recognised, but with only a few exceptions neither the traditional rights of the chiefs nor of the peasants have been recognised; nor have new rights in private ownership been created.

(a) The Buganda System

We can imagine the situation that may be faced by an Imperial Power taking over a new territory. It finds that certain areas are occupied by the indigenous inhabitants who hold certain types of rights in land. For example, in Buganda there were the two types of land rights commonly found in politically organized kingdoms. They were, the rights of control over the disposal of land exercised by the King and his chiefs, and secondly, the rights of occupation and use claimed by the peasants. Under the circumstances one of the following courses was open to the British Government:

- (i) it could refuse to recognise any of the existing rights;
- (ii) it could recognise one or other or both of the types of rights; or
- (iii) it could create entirely new forms of land rights based on those prevailing in Great Britain or some other country.

Each of these solutions to my knowledge has been applied in at least one territory.

Sir Harry Johnston in the famous Uganda Agreement of 1900 chose to recognise the type of rights exercised by the King and his chiefs: that is the rights of control over the disposal of land. By the terms of this Agreement, 9003

square miles were allotted in a form of proprietary tenure to the King, his family and to a number of chiefs and other landowners originally estimated at 1,000.

As you know there are other parts of Colonial Africa where the land rights of the chiefs have been recognised by the British Government. But the peculiar characteristics of what is known as the Buganda Mailo¹ system are as follows:

- (i) large estates varying from one to eight square miles each were granted to individuals
- (ii) the rights of the grantees were made statutory by the Land Law of 1908
- (iii) this form of tenure was later included in a system of registration based on a proper survey and a public record and which included titles guaranteed by the state.

Under this system the legal rights of the mailto owners include:

- (i) the rights of transfer by sale, gift or will to any native of the Protectorate;
- (ii) the right to all minerals subject to a duty of 10%, and
- (iii) the right to collect rent (busulu) and other dues from the peasants.

I have outlined this system very briefly. It has been described fully by several writers and it was discussed at the Astrida Conference of 1951. I will, however, describe two of the developments which the system has followed and I will discuss the problems which this development has created. These are:

- (i) the rights of the peasant holders; and
- (ii) the sub-division of the estates.

(b) The Peasant Rights

It was unthinkable at the time the mailos were allotted that the peasants settled on the estates would ever require legal protection. The peasants were either the relations of the landowners in the kinship type of villages; or else, they were the followers and subjects of the politically appointed chiefs for whose welfare and well-being the chiefs were responsible. New conditions were, however, created by the introduction of cotton as an economic crop. Then the peasants began to derive economic benefits from their holdings and the mailto owners started to exact part of the produce or part of the proceeds as their due under custom.

In 1927 the Government stepped in to regularize the position of the peasant holders and the Busulu and Envujo Law of 1927 was enacted. The result is that today the peasant holders have the following legal and customary rights:

- (i) once granted a holding and so long as he is in occupation, a peasant holder cannot be evicted except by an order of a court;

- (ii) the holding can be inherited by the peasant's heirs
- (iii) the annual rent payable is fixed at Shs.10/- with additional dues of about Shs4/- per acre of economic crops; and
- (iv) the customary rights are preserved for him, e.g. grazing rights, water rights, the right to the use of all the products of the forest and fishing rights.

This development in the nature and the number of rights of the peasant holders has meant that although large estates were granted to a few individuals, the estates are not entirely at the free disposal of the owners as their rights are to that extent limited. But before we discuss the other effects of this development let us follow the second development mentioned.

(c) The extent of sub-division of the Mailo Estates

Another aspect of the present system of land tenure in Buganda is the very rapid growth in the number of the mailo owners. As stated above, the number of chiefs and land-owners was originally estimated at 1,000. But over 3,700 allottees had been registered by the time the allotment was completed in 1909. Today the total number of mailo owners is variously estimated at between 50,000 and 60,000 individuals. This is between 11% and 13% of the total adult male population of Buganda.

The process of fragmentation has been facilitated and accelerated by both the right of the owners to dispose of their mailos freely to other natives, and also by the system of registration which gives the security of an almost absolute title. The exact forms the process has taken are shown by the figures and other data analysed from a sample of 98 original estates in two areas of Buganda. On first registration, the 98 estates were distributed among 78 proprietors. By 1920 the number of registered proprietors had grown to 135, and by 1930 to 225. This number became 476 in 1940 and was 687 in 1950. Table 1 below shows how these owners are distributed according to the size of the estates owned at ten year period intervals.

Table 1

Increase in the number of mailo owners at 10 year periods, distributed by size of the estates owned.

| Size of Estates in Acres | 1920 | 1930 | 1940 | 1950 |
|-----------------------------|------|------|------|------|
| 1 to 20 | 19 | 67 | 243 | 415 |
| 21 to 100 | 28 | 62 | 140 | 181 |
| 101 to 300 | 36 | 48 | 41 | 45 |
| 301 to 600 | 31 | 31 | 35 | 32 |
| Over 600 | 21 | 17 | 17 | 14 |
| Total | 135 | 225 | 476 | 687 |

The above table shows also that the number of owners who own twenty acres or less has grown since 1920 from 14.1% of the total to 60.4%. And that another class of small landowners who own between twenty and one hundred acres has in the same period grown from 20.7% to 26.4% of the total. Therefore these two groups of owners formed in 1950 as much as 86.8% of all the landowners.

But as Table 2 below shows, this class of owners possessed in 1950 only 24.7% of the total area. It also shows that the average estate so owned was only 21.4 acres. The rest of the land amounting to 75.3% was still owned by groups of big landowners who formed 13.2% of the total. The average estate in this group is 427.0 acres.

Table 2

Changes in the average size of the estates in groups and the percentage area in each group at 10 year periods.

| Size of Estates | 1920 | | 1930 | | 1940 | |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | Average p.c. |
| 1 to 20 | 13.71 | 0.50 | 12.79 | 1.66 | 11.75 | 5.53 |
| 21 to 100 | 52.12 | 2.85 | 48.00 | 7.76 | 45.48 | 12.33 |
| 101 to 300 | 182.14 | 12.70 | 172.68 | 16.06 | 160.59 | 12.75 |
| 301 to 600 | 438.45 | 26.33 | 487.58 | 29.28 | 435.38 | 29.52 |
| Over 600 | 1416.53 | 57.62 | 1434.68 | 47.24 | 1210.67 | 39.87 |
| Totals | 382.42 | 100.00 | 229.45 | 100.00 | 108.46 | 100.00 |
| 1950 | | | | | | |
| | Average | p.c. | | | | |
| 1 to 20 | 10.86 | 8.73 | | | | |
| 21 to 100 | 45.63 | 16.00 | | | | |
| 101 to 300 | 152.77 | 15.05 | | | | |
| 301 to 600 | 426.24 | 26.42 | | | | |
| Over 600 | 1247.01 | 33.80 | | | | |
| Totals | 75.15 | 100.00 | | | | |

Let us now turn to the main agents of distribution. These are inheritance, gift and sale.

The Buganda law of inheritance allows a more or less complete freedom of bequest. But the common custom is to leave the major part of the estate to one heir and to distribute only a small proportion among the other children. A study of the sample mentioned above showed that out of forty estates which had been inherited before extensive subdivision, seventeen had been inherited in such a way that the principal heirs received more than a half of each of the estates. In the case of these twenty estates rather more than two-thirds of the properties was inherited by the twenty principal heirs leaving only one-third to be inherited by fifty three other individuals. It was only in the case of three small estates each of which was less than three hundred acres that the properties were inherited more or less equally by the nineteen successors.

Gifts play a not insignificant part in the distribution of land in Buganda. In 1950 the area acquired through gifts formed 7.6% of the sample, and about 18 out of every 100 owners had acquired their estates through gifts.

The extent of these gifts is an index of the strength of the clan relationships which run through the whole institution of mailo owning. Those who are normally given gifts apart from the wives, are the clan or other relations who might not be considered in the final distribution of the deceased man's property.

These clan relationships are also known to influence the owners in the sale of their estates and sometimes to determine the actual prices paid. These prices range from the maximum economic price paid by a complete stranger through sliding prices paid by degrees of clan relatives to only a few shillings paid by the nearest of kin. At some point or other the sale becomes an outright gift. But it is not easy without more exhaustive enquiries to determine how many of the transfers of mailo titles are influenced by considerations of clan relationships.

This can be said, however, that the sales of mailo estates have followed a particular pattern. Before 1920 a few estates were sold at ridiculously low prices averaging about 3s. per acre. But since then the majority of the estates sold have been between 10 and 30 acres each, and the sums of money paid at any one time rarely exceeding 1,000 shgs. The average price has ranged between 20 shgs. and 40 shgs. between 1920 and 1950 but it has been tending to rise rapidly since 1946.

The result has been that the number of landowners has rapidly increased through the process of selling and buying. Reference to Table 3 below will show that more than a half of the present landowners have bought their estates and that the majority of these own estates of less than 100 acres each. In fact about two-thirds of the owners of estates of less than 100 acres each bought their properties; whereas the majority of the owners with estates over 100 acres either inherited the estates or were the first registered proprietors.

Table 3.

Distribution of owners in 1950 by method of acquisition of their estates.

| Size of Estates | Allotted | Inherited | Given | Bought | Total. |
|-----------------|----------|-----------|-------|--------|--------|
| 1 to 20 | 4 | 37 | 97 | 277 | 415 |
| 21 " 100 | 5 | 44 | 26 | 106 | 181 |
| 101 " 300 | 13 | 27 | 1 | 4 | 45 |
| 301 " 600 | 8 | 16 | 1 | 7 | 32 |
| Over 600 | 3 | 8 | - | 3 | 14 |
| Total | 33 | 132 | 125 | 397 | 687 |
| Percentages | 4.80 | 19.21 | 18.19 | 57.78 | 99.98 |

On the other hand, as Table 4 shows, more than a half (52.5%) of the total area of the sample was inherited and only about a quarter (23.8%) of the same area had been acquired through purchase. This means that although the increase in numbers is mainly due to sales, a much larger percentage of land changes hand through inheritance. Further evidence for this was provided from villages covered by the Immigrant Labour Survey, conducted by the E.A.I.S.R. It was found that a pattern of family organisation based on the institution of mailo owning was

developing in many of the Buganda villages.

Table 4.

Percentage distribution of land owned in 1950
by each category of owners.

| Size of Estates | Allotted | Inherited | Given | Bought | Total |
|-----------------|----------|-----------|-------|--------|--------|
| 1 to 20 | 0.14 | 0.93 | 2.11 | 5.55 | 8.73 |
| 21 " 100 | 1.21 | 4.23 | 2.04 | 8.52 | 16.00 |
| 101 " 300 | 4.02 | 8.39 | 0.94 | 1.70 | 15.05 |
| 301 " 600 | 6.80 | 13.25 | 2.51 | 3.86 | 26.42 |
| Over 600 | 3.89 | 25.70 | - | 4.21 | 33.80 |
| Total | 16.06 | 52.50 | 7.60 | 23.84 | 100.00 |

A comparison of Table 3 and Table 4 above, will show that the regularity in the growth of the number of the mailo owners which might suggest a more or less proportional sub-division of the estates is not reflected in the second table. The process is rather that of a mason chiselling small chips off a stone to give it a shape. Some of the estates entirely break up in the process of paring and trimming but most of them take a definite shape and are stabilized at a convenient size till perhaps the next generation when the process starts again. In other words there is evidence to show that large estates are still in existence after fifty years of great political and economic change. This in spite of the fact that the number of small landowners is rapidly growing.

An aspect in the growth of these numbers is the increase of women owners. The number of women owners in the sample increased between 1920 and 1950 from nine to seventy and the property held by them from 3.5% to 15.3%. This in spite of the fact that although the land laws make no discrimination against women as mailo owners, inheritance rules decree that a man leaving no male issue is succeeded by one of the clan relations and this has not allowed a great deal of property to pass into the hands of women through inheritance. At the same time only a few women can at present raise enough money to buy their own estates.

(d) Some of the Problems of Land Tenure.

I have briefly shown how a particular solution of the question of land tenure applied to Buganda has developed into a system of land owning and holding which is almost unique in Africa. The solution was the grant of large estates to a few individuals in a sort of proprietary and statutory tenure. The developments have been that the peasants were legally protected in their holdings by the withdrawal of the power of eviction from the mailo owners and by the limitation of the rents and dues. The second development has been that because the particular form of proprietorship carried a full power of transfer there has grown a big class of small

landowners.

We can now discuss how far this system has been successful. But in judging the system by results we shall have to consider not only the question of social justice but also its success or failure in the solution of agrarian and other problems such as:

- (i) how far the system has assured the peasant holders a subsistence level?
- (ii) how far it has assured them or will be able to assure them in the future something more than bare subsistence? and
- (iii) what has been the effect of the system on the population-carrying capacity of the land; and how far the distribution of land is designed to ensure the maximum of well-being to the population?

(i) The problems of social justice. It has been said, and that truthfully, that the grant of mailos gave an unfair advantage to a few individuals. The question is whether justice would have been better served by recognising the rights of the peasants either as temporary occupants or in a form of peasant proprietorship. This is a question on which experience from other areas or other territories could perhaps throw some light.

But the evidence for the success of the mailo system is that the injustice is not generally felt by the people themselves. There is no politically or socially expressed hatred of landowners as a class. What is common is the fear and suspicion of the Government, the Europeans and the Indians. This is so in spite of constant assurance and the expressed policy of the Government that it is not intended to develop Uganda as a country of non-African farming settlement. I believe the feeling of insecurity is created by the absence of security in all the other Provinces and in the neighbouring Territories.

(ii) Subsistence Agriculture. So long as a peasant holder limits himself to subsistence farming even with one or two cash crops added, the Buganda system is ideal for him. The size of his holding is sufficiently large to serve all his requirements. He is legally protected in his holding. The rent he pays was statutorily limited more than twenty years ago and bears no relation to the present land values or the value of the economic crops. And he is free to move elsewhere if his holding shows any signs of exhaustion.

The system was particularly valuable in the early stages of the introduction of cotton and coffee as economic crops. In the early days the landowners could be seen going round the villages armed with orders from the authorities and a thirty-five yards string to measure out quarter of an acre plots for each of the

peasant holders. It was the same with regard to coffee: the landowner usually saw to it that the requisite number of trees had been planted.

With this encouragement from the chiefs and landowners the peasants took on the cultivation of the new economic crops which in the end proved very profitable both to the peasants and to the landowners.

There is this further to be said for the mailo owning classes. They set a standard of social and economic success which formed an ideal for the peasant holders. It is an ideal which is set by their own people in their own society and therefore reasonably attainable.

(iii) Economic Development. It is not surprising therefore that everywhere the need for something more than mere subsistence is expressed. This desire raises its own problems. On the one hand the land-owner finds his land encumbered by the settled population of peasant holders whom he cannot evict. He may not be able, therefore, to develop his land in any way, or to find an area on his land big enough to start a farm for himself. On the other hand a progressive peasant will soon find himself without enough land on the three to five acre plot to go into large scale farming. He is surrounded by other holders from whom he cannot buy land and whom the landowner cannot remove for the desired expansion of his progressive tenant. Furthermore each peasant is protected in his holding, it is not possible to transfer him or to reorganise the holdings in such a way that the land can be used to the best advantage, e.g. by applying mechanization. The problem, therefore, is whether the system can be so adjusted to the needs of the landowners and the peasants as to allow for the rationalisation of agriculture and the consequent economic development. This is a problem which every country faces at one period or another in the course of its development. But it is not often that the problem is faced scientifically and systematically before it creates social upheavals.

(iv) The distribution of the population. The impetus the mailo system originally gave to the distribution of the population was tremendous. Allottees of the mailos who were unable to stake their claims anywhere near their birthplaces were forced to do so in the outlying parts of Buganda. Then for the first years streams of mailo owners and their relatives and followers could be seen trekking to all parts of Buganda in order to settle in their own mailos. The inducements given to the relatives and followers were often gifts of a few acres in individual tenure or sales at greatly reduced prices. The inducement often took the form of a remission of the rent and other dues for a period of years. This process is still going on. It is often found that in some parts of Buganda there are still estates which are populated by the mailo owners alone with their families and sometimes friends. The risks they take and the hardships they bear can only be borne for the sake of very valuable forms of property.

There is this other fact that a peasant holding is normally an individual holding which is occupied by one family and can only be inherited by one heir. The other children must look elsewhere for holdings of their own with the consequent distribution of the population. On the other hand there is a tendency for the landowners in the more densely populated areas to reduce the size of the holdings and thereby to create problems of over-population and soil erosion. The discussion of this point may include the question whether a system of tenure in which the government controlled the distribution of the population might have increased the population-carrying capacity of the land. This is a problem which many African territories are bound to face sooner or later.

In conclusion I must admit that I have tried to limit the subjects for discussion to a few well-known problems, but, I believe, for a subject as wide as land tenure the limitation is absolutely necessary if the discussion is to be profitable.

Some of the problems I have mentioned and to which experience and knowledge of other systems can give answers are:

- (i) how can justice be done to all the inhabitants of a territory through a system or systems of land tenure?
- (ii) how best to assure the peasants a subsistence level of agriculture?
- (iii) what type of tenure would best serve the need for economic development?
- (iv) how to ensure the maximum well-being of the total population?

Discussion on Mr. Mukwaya's paper.

Mr. Wrigley said he questioned Mr. Mukwaya's statement that the allocation of mailo land to individuals had proved valuable in the introduction of new crops to Buganda. He suggested that it was in their capacity of chiefs rather than in their status as landowners that the new chief landowners had got coffee and cotton planted in the first instance. He thought that coffee and cotton had only really got going after the 1927 Busulu and Envujo law had been passed: many landowners did not know how to obtain the new dues recognised and hence they lost interest in what their tenants planted.

Dr. Mitchell said he wanted some estimate of the population-carrying capacity of the land. He was interested in knowing the point at which the land becomes too short for the population and labour had to be forced on the labour market.

Mr. Wrigley said that on the basis of his experience in the Masaka area it was necessary for a peasant to have four acres for subsistence and two more for cash crops.

Dr. Richards explained that there was still a good deal of unoccupied land in Buganda and that peasants who found holdings short in one area were able to move to another. In fact there was a great deal of inter-village movement among peasants in Buganda.

Professor Wilson returned again to the question of population pressure. She wanted to know whether it was difficult for the energetic and capable man to get additional land in Buganda; whether land technically owned by one heir was in fact inhabited by his landless relatives as well; and whether the landowner had any control over the use to which his land was put?

Mr. Mukwaya replied to the first point that it was not difficult for an energetic man to get land and that was in fact why the number of landowners was growing so rapidly. He said that his statements about one heir commonly getting most of the land did not refer to any specific legal provision. A landless relative often came to live on the heir's land if it was big enough but it was still relatively easy for him to get a plot elsewhere by paying the 10/- busulu due a year. In answer to Professor Wilson's third point he explained that the landowner had no control over the use of his land and this was an important point. A law had been passed in 1946 which would give the Government a certain amount of control over land use but it had never been applied.

M. de Heusch asked how Mr. Mukwaya accounted for the increase in the number of women owners since 1920. Was it due to the giving of land to princesses?

Mr. Mukwaya said that at the time of the original allocation of mailos in 1920 some princesses were allotted estates and perhaps this set the fashion. Some men however left land to their wives or their daughters. In spite of this however, most of the land now owned by women was acquired by gift.

Mrs. Reining asked about the price of land in Buganda. Mr. Mukwaya had suggested that the price was between 30/- and 40/- an acre, and this contrasted favourably with Buahaya where the pressure of population on land caused a rise in prices and land was being sold up to 1000/- an acre.

Mr. Mukwaya said that land was more expensive round Kampala but here the situation was complicated because of the existence of the European and African population. Here it might be sold for 200/- an acre or more.

Dr. Mitchell said he assumed that the number of estate

owners given in Table 1 gave no indication of the size of the economic unit since the estates were in fact let out to tenants. He asked whether Mr. Mukwaya had any material to show how the land was being utilised, i.e. the amount being cultivated, the amount resting and the proportion of the land being used for cash crops as against subsistence crops. He also asked whether there were any figures to show the size of holdings at different distances from Kampala.

Mr. Mukwaya said that the table only showed ownership of land. It gave no indication of the amount of land actually being used by the owner himself. Some of the landowners might in fact be absentees. The small landowner of course cultivated his own plot, but in the case of the large landowner the figures of registered land holders had no relation to the number of cultivators.

Dr. Southall spoke about the landownership near Kampala. If the distinction between landownership and land use was kept clearly in mind he thought it would be found that the holdings near the town were very much smaller than those further out. Near the town there was a system of leasing and mortgaging small plots or building shops and not for cultivation purposes. Smaller plots were also to be found in the rural areas immediately round Kampala where there was yet another system of temporary leases on land, usually for one year at a time. Those who wanted larger gardens usually went much further outside the suburbs and got a plot in customary tenure.

M. Biebuyck asked ~~whether there was any rule as to the distribution of land among heirs - say two thirds to the main heir and one third to subsidiary heirs?~~

Mr. Mukwaya said that there was no general rule on this point. The process of splitting up was going on very slowly. If a man had 8 square miles for instance and he left only four to his main heir, that was still a big estate. If that heir lived another thirty years and divided it up, his main heir would probably also get a relatively large estate. Since the Agreement was only made in 1900 the process of fragmentation had not got very far yet.

Dr. Richards suggested distinguishing the division of land that had taken place in the case of the large mailo estates given out in 1900 or 1908 with that practised in the case of the smaller estates about which Mr. Mukwaya had been speaking, that is to say, plots of about 20 to 40 acres bought by their owners of recent years.

Mr. Mukwaya thought it was too early to begin to generalise as to the type of fragmentation that was occurring in the case of smaller estates but he thought it was rare in his experience to find

anyone owning an estate less than 10 acres - as distinct from renting it.

M. Biebuyck asked on what principle a man's heir was chosen. Was he always the child of the deceased? Did the main siblings of the heir have any share in the revenues of the estate?

Mr. Mukwaya said there was now a rule that the main heir should be the first born. Where a will was made the person named as heir inherited, but if there was no will, then the heir was chosen according to custom. The mailo was not part of the social system of the Baganda, and therefore it tended to be governed by British inheritance patterns.

M. de Heusch asked what the pre-European system of land-tenure was.

Mr. Mukwaya described it as a political organisation and a clan organisation. In some areas the clans owned the land, and in others a chief appointed by the King. There were two types of village - the kinship type with the head of the clan acting also as the ruler of the village - and the other villages where the chief was appointed by the ruler. The clan chose an heir if there was no will made.

The Chairman emphasised the importance of the relation between the system of land tenure, the economic use of the land and demographic distribution and brought the discussion to a close.

Mr. J.H.M. Beattie

The Kibanja System

of Land Tenure in Bunyoro.

The system of land holding may be regarded in Bunyoro, as in other countries, as the resultant of the two forces of environment and history. Environment lays down certain limiting conditions; history determines the modes in which the social system, of which land tenure is a part, conforms to these conditions. I shall, then, after briefly describing what the country of Bunyoro is like, and giving some account of the ecological relations between man and environment which subsist there, attempt to summarise the recent history of Bunyoro so far as it relates to the development of rights over land. This will lead to some account of the kibanja system of land tenure as it at present exists; to an account, that is, of the nature, distribution and interrelations of rights relating to kibanja land. In conclusion, I shall indicate some possible relations between the system thus described and some other features of the wider social system of which it is a part.

I shall not attempt in this paper to describe all the kinds of rights in land which are to be found in Bunyoro, but will confine myself to those associated with the kibanja system. And it should be said here at the outset that by no means all occupied land in Bunyoro is held under the kibanja system, probably the greater part of it is not. Exactly how much is, and how much is not, is unfortunately, in the absence of a survey or of an adequate system of land registration, not possible to determine. I should add, also that since my study of land tenure and social organisation in Bunyoro is as yet only in an intermediate stage, the account to be given makes no claim either to completeness or finality; as will be plain in the sequel, much further enquiry will be needed in the field before a full picture of Nyoro land tenure can be presented.

The present Bunyoro Kingdom, which is coterminous with the administrative district of the same name, contains a land area of 4,735 square miles. It is bounded on the west by Lake Albert, on the north and east by the Victoria Nile, and on the south by the Kafu-Nkusi river. Most of the district lies at an altitude of between three and four thousand feet, and is fertile and well watered, but it falls to undulating savannah in the north, and descends by a steep escarpment to the dry Lake Albert rift in the west. Much of northern Bunyoro is occupied by the New National Park and Sleeping Sickness Reserves, there are some hundreds of square miles of forest and swamps, and it has been estimated that about 2,350 square miles are actually available for African cultivation and grazing. Of this, only about a quarter is actually cultivated or grazed over, so it is plain that there is no shortage of land in Bunyoro. Population density over the whole kingdom is about 24 to the square mile, very considerably less

than the figures for the neighbouring kingdoms of Toro, Ankole and Buganda. The total African population of Bunyoro is about 110,000, and the country is ruled, under the supervision and tutelage of the Protectorate Government, by a hereditary king, the Mukama, and a graded hierarchy of non-hereditary, transferable, territorial chiefs. The Protectorate administration is represented by a district commissioner and two assistant district commissioners.

Bunyoro, though proud of its pastoral traditions, is no longer a cattle country. There are now about 5,500 cattle in the district, that is, approximately one cow to every 22 people, a figure very much lower than that for the whole Protectorate. These cattle are for the most part confined to a small region in the north-west and to the neighbourhood of the townships of Hoima and Masindi.

The typical Munyoro farmer nowadays is a small agriculturalist, with four to eight acres under cultivation, about half a dozen goats, a few chickens and, sometimes, a few sheep. He does not live in a compact village, but in a separate homestead, sheltered by his small banana grove and surrounded by his fields of food crops, usually with similar households within shouting distance. He cultivates eleusine millet, cassava and sweet potatoes as well as bananas (which he uses mostly for making beer), and probably has one or two fields of cotton and tobacco, the former sometimes at some distance from his home, from the proceeds of which he derives a cash income of 150 to 200 shillings a year. The average holding, with provision for fallow land, has been estimated to require about fifteen acres. There has as yet been little attempt by private individuals to develop larger units of land by modern agricultural methods, though a few of the wealthier people employ paid labour to develop larger holdings, and attempts are being made to initiate co-operative farming.

There are, in the absence of written records, evident dangers in attempting to reconstruct the nature of rights in land and the history of their development before the arrival of the first Europeans. It seems likely, however, that at some period in the remote past the country was occupied by scattered groups of negroid peoples, organized on a clan or lineage basis, and that the impact on these of successive waves of immigrants of different stock, some at least of whom were pastoral in their way of life, produced the dual system of social organization typical of the interlacustrine Bantu kingdoms. Though there is nothing in Bunyoro history to suggest that the gulf between the two groups, the Bahima or Bahuma and the Bairu, was ever so complete or so rigorous as it was in e.g. Ankole, the distinction was, and still is, significant, and was complicated by the arrival of the Babito, the royal clan of Nilotic origin, which reached Bunyoro some twenty or so generations ago. To them now attaches much of the same prestige and authority associated in other countries with the Bahuma. In fact, in historical times, the great chiefs have included Babito and members of commoner clans, as well as Bahuma; the cattle-oriented Bahuma were for the most part employed as herdsmen by the ruling Babito and other chiefs, and when, in the course of the last sixty or seventy years, the cattle disappeared through the agency of war and disease, most of the Bahuma vanished too. But it seems that even in the pastoral times of the last century the majority of the inhabitants were peasant agriculturalists, most of whom possessed few, if any, cattle.

We may suppose that during Mukama Kabarega's reign (1866-1899), which concluded the pre-European period of Bunyoro history, rights in land were, in general, vested in three categories of persons, and validated in three different ways. First, the whole land, and everything in it, belonged to the Mukama, a right which derived ultimately from conquest and could only be extinguished by conquest, or by successful rebellion. In virtue of this right the Mukama could allot to his relatives and others the control of different regions of the country. We may call these rights feudal, or fiefhold, rights, provided that we understand by these terms simply the holding of an estate in land "on condition of homage and service to a superior lord". Thus were created the second grade of rights, those of the territorial chiefs and sub-chiefs, who were responsible to the Mukama for the general well-being of their areas, and who received from the peasant cultivators in these areas a tribute of grain, beer and labour, some of which, together with a proportion of the herds in their areas, they had to pass on to the Mukama. It has been said that these rights were rights over people and not over land. This is in the main true, none the less these "fiefs" were territorial grants, over people certainly, but also over the produce of the land, and over people only so long as they occupied certain limited and specified areas.

The third category of rights in land was vested in the clan heads, and these rights related to the actual utilization of the soil itself. Banyoro used to say "the Mukama rules the people, the clans rule the land." We are told that before the flight of Kabarega the clans were localized (though it is said that they occupied their localities by grace of the Mukama), one clan, or more likely one sub-division of a clan, occupying one mugongo. (A mugongo is literally the raised portion of land between swamps or streams, which are plentiful in Bunyoro, and may be several square miles in extent.) Emigongo are still almost invariably named after one of Bunyoro's hundred or more clans, so it seems probable that clans were at one time localized in this way. It is of passing interest that the fishing villages on the Lake Albert shore, whose contact with the rest of Bunyoro is severely restricted by a steep escarpment, and which contain untypically stable and homogenous populations, are still divided topographically into sections, each exclusively occupied by the men of a single clan and their families.

Nowadays the clan heads, though they exercise other functions, have no longer anything to do with the allocation of land, which is now in the hands of the Mukama's "civil service" of appointed chiefs. There is no clear evidence as to the rights over land which they formerly held, or the way in which these rights were exercised. But it may be supposed that in Bunyoro as elsewhere the land was held by the clan for the clan's benefit, rights of cultivation and usufruct being granted to clan members as long as they continued to occupy and cultivate the plots allotted to them.

None of these lesser rights, it is clear, amounted to permanent, indefeasible rights over specific parcels of land; all were held conditionally, on condition either of the Mukama's favour, or of productive occupation. The notion, new to Bunyoro as to other parts of Africa, of permanent, indefeasible rights in land amounting to freehold did not develop until after the capture of Kabarega, the

institution of a British administration, and the land settlement in Buganda in 1900. We must now give some account of its development.

The re-introduction of chiefs by the Government at the beginning of the century, after several years of political chaos, was inevitably accompanied by the idea that a chief's area was, like the fiefs held by his predecessors, an official "estate", from the occupants of which he could exact services and tribute which were now commuted to a cash payment, obusulu. This, initially shs. 4/-, was later increased to seven shillings per adult male, one shilling of which was passed on to the Muruka chief. As chiefs at this time (and until 1933) received by way of salaries only a small percentage of the poll-tax, this was their major source of revenue, and it was evidently enough to make the position of chief a sought-after one. Since with the coming of settled government chiefs in Bunyoro as elsewhere had become civil servants (though unsalaried ones) rather than fief-holding lords, some provision for their support after retirement had to be made, and this appears to have been done by cutting bits off the existing "official" estates (bwesengeze) to serve as places of residence and sources of revenue for retired chiefs. These estates became the permanent property of the recipients. At the same time, or perhaps even earlier, the Mukama had begun to give princes and princesses (members of the royal Babito clan) plots of occupied land for their permanent personal use and enjoyment.

These estates, though private, were only held by ex-officials and members of the royal family, and the next step, which was taken about 1907, was the assigning by the Mukama of certain areas, with full busulu rights, to certain other persons who were neither ex-chiefs nor Babito. These persons included serving chiefs of various ranks, ex-ritual and domestic functionaries of the Mukama's household, and other "people of standing who were well known", people who "though they may not be doing government work, are looked upon as dignitaries among the people", to quote from a later instruction by the Government. Allocations of this kind continued increasingly to be made for the next twenty-four years, and in 1931 it was reported that all the best of the occupied lands had been taken up by kibanja holders. Something evidently had to be done. In that year, out of 22,000 tax payers about 18,000 were paying obusulu, about 12,000 on official bwesengeza estates, and the other 6,000 on kibanja plots to private individuals. These kibanja plots varied in size from about five acres to several square miles, and the numbers of obusulu-paying tenants on them varied from two or three to eighty or more, with an average of about six per kibanja.

This development, over a period of about half a century, from a system of fief-holding chiefs possessing rights over the people who occupied the areas allotted to and administered by them, to a landlord and tenant system not confined to the Mukama's officials, and implying, in the case of the private kibanja holder, permanent rights to plots of land qua land, may be supposed to have been accelerated by two associated factors. First, Bunyoro was not exempt from the universal process whereby, with the introduction of a money economy and the cultivation of cash crops, the basis of land holding tends, to quote Meek, to change from one of community and custom to one of individualism and contract, the conception of ownership beginning gradually to replace that of usufruct and fiefhold.

The Banyoro chiefs early made the point that in order to provide security for the development of their land, and for the borrowing of money on it, some form of permanent security of tenure was needed, and though it has been said with apparent truth that the power to collect rent, not the desire to develop their plots, was the real attraction of bibanja estates, there can be no doubt that the general alteration in the attitude to land brought about by the social and economic changes consequent on the coming of the Europeans affected the Banyoro no less than it affected neighbouring peoples. The second factor which accelerated in Bunyoro the development of a system of quasi-freehold estates was the Buganda Agreement of 1900, whereby large numbers of chiefs and others in that country received estates (mailo) on what amounted to freehold tenure. The Banyoro have constantly asked the Government for the allocation of mailo on the Uganda model, and the hope that this may some time be approved has not yet been abandoned. It is felt to be unfair that such grants were approved in Buganda, and subsequently, on a lesser scale, in Ankole and Toro but withheld in Bunyoro, despite earlier intimations that they would be considered.

In the year 1931, then, an enquiry by the Government revealed that the greater part of cultivated Bunyoro was included either in official estates or in privately owned bibanja. 84% of the population lived as rent-paying tenants on these two kinds of estates. The Protectorate Government could not contemplate with equanimity a state of affairs in which a class of landlords performing no economic function in return for the share which it received of the produce of cultivation exacted rent from a community of cultivators who themselves possessed no guaranteed security of tenure. As a result of an enquiry, therefore, recommendations were made for the total abolition of the old system and its replacement by a form of land holding more in conformity with enlightened modern opinion on these matters.

These recommendations, which were accepted by the Government, are set out in the Thomas and Rubie Report (Enquiry into Land Tenure and the Kibanja System in Bunyoro, 1931; Report of the Committee: Government Printer, Uganda, 1932). This report recommended the abolition of the landlord-tenant system implied by the existence of large tenanted estates, the abolition of obusulu, the payment of salaries to chiefs, and the compensation of all those land-holders who stood to lose by the reform. On the principle that "every man is entitled to the free and undisturbed occupancy of the land which he cultivates" it recommended the issue of certificates of occupancy to actual cultivators, guaranteeing to the holder "undisturbed occupancy, subject to necessary conditions, of the land, of whatever extent, of which he is actually making use, with the right to dispose of the results of his labour upon that land to his heirs, or by sale to another native". Arbitrary grants on the old model were to be abolished, and the only title to land was to be its actual occupation and cultivation. It was supposed by the investigators that "the national collection of tribute and its allocation to tribal purposes" would remove "almost the only attraction of the private ownership of large tenanted areas". Subsequent events failed to justify this supposition.

These recommendations appear to have been adopted in all essentials, and to have been without enthusiasm. Government, which received laying down the form of procedure Directions are on

for the obtaining of certificates, providing that the Gombolola chief must visit the area applied for, confirm in writing that the applicant is actually occupying and cultivating it, and mark out boundaries. The area marked out was to be "slightly over twice the area which the applicant is cultivating or can cultivate". Provision was made for the inspection of holdings and the checking of boundaries by the Head Land Clerk of the Native Government, and for periodic inspections by chiefs and administrative officers. No limits were laid down as to the extent of the areas appropriate for grant under these certificates; in fact all reference to areas and acres was officially discouraged, lest any suggested figure should become standardized and claimed as of right by applicants.

By these means the Government hoped to arrest the process which had been gathering momentum since the beginning of the century, to eradicate the system of large tenanted bibanja, and to institute instead a system of cultivated smallholdings, limited in area to the extent that the occupier could make use of, and his right to which, subject to certain conditions, could be confirmed by the grant of a certificate of occupancy. These rights did not constitute freehold; the smallholdings were not mailos. The land was "held by the Governor for the occupation and the use of the inhabitants of the Obukama bwa Bunyoro-Kitara", subject to the conditions laid down in the 1933 Agreement; the certificates conveyed right of occupation not of ownership, and were to be valid only so long as the land was occupied and cultivated by the certificate-holder himself.

The system of landed estates for members of the ruling classes and other privileged persons was, however, too deeply engrained by 1931 to be readily eradicated. Though the reform achieved the important ends of abolishing the old official estates, and of placing the chiefs on a salaried and pensionable basis, it failed to diminish appreciably either the number or the extent of the old tenanted bibanja. Though the payment of obusulu, despite one or two abortive attempts to revive it, was stamped out, large tenanted bibanja continued to exist and exist to the present day, and they seem to have lost little of their attractiveness. We shall later consider why this should be the case. Meantime, it is now clear that many of the rights to bibanja over large populated areas which have been granted prior to 1933 to Babito, ex-chiefs and other influential people, of which there were about 600, were confirmed instead of being withdrawn after the institution of the new system, and that in at least a large number of cases the old estates continued to exist in the hands of their original owners or their heirs with undiminished, or only slightly diminished, boundaries. The only substantial difference between their pre-and post-1933 tenure is that obusulu may no longer be collected from the peasant cultivators on these estates. There is ample evidence also, that many more rights of occupancy to large tenanted bibanja have been granted since 1933, ample unallocated land having become available for this purpose with the abolition of the official estates. Up to date about 5,000 certificates have been issued, and it may be supposed that about a quarter of these are over bibanja containing at least one household besides that of the certificate-holder. To suppose that 150 to 200 of these are over areas containing ten or more houses would. I think be a conservative estimate! I must state quite frankly that these figures are of necessity no more than more or less informed guesses, based on very

limited field observation, and discussion with the Agricultural Officer, the Land Clerk, Chiefs and others. The land register contains no information as to the sizes of the bibanja therein recorded, nor as to the number of persons resident on them, and a district-wide survey of all bibanja holdings has yet to be made. Some idea of the numbers of tenants per bibanja in the years before 1933 may be derived from a sample of 365 tenanted bibanja, listed by the Native Government for the purpose of assessing compensation. Of these 53% contained less than five tenants, 77% less than ten, and only 11% contained more than ten tenant householders.

The present position of land holding in this district, then, so far as it can be ascertained, is that a considerable number (it is unfortunately impossible to say how many) of the rights of occupancy certificated since 1933 are rights, not of actual cultivators over the smallholdings cultivated by themselves and their families and employees, but to considerably larger areas, measurable in some cases in square miles rather than in acres, and frequently containing numbers of peasant cultivators, who are themselves debarred from taking out rights of occupancy over the areas they are actually cultivating.

Before going on to consider in detail the kibanja system of land tenure as it at present exists, it may be worth while asking why the attempt to implement so carefully thought out a programme of land reform was not wholly successful. We have seen that it was in large part successful, but the expressed ideal, that every cultivator should possess free and undisturbed occupancy of the land which he cultivates, and that this right should be certifiable by a certificate of occupancy, was not achieved. Why?

The answer, which is largely implicit in what I have said already, seems to be fourfold. Firstly, the system of landed and populated estates for the ruling classes and those associated with them, historically connected as it was with the pre-European quasi-feudal rights traditionally attaching to territorial chieftainship, and supporting as it did the privilege and prestige of an aristocracy whose rights nobody questioned, was evidently too deeply engrained in Nyoro psychology to be modified by the promulgation of a totally new and different system. Secondly, the old system gained vitality from the hope, dangled for many years before the Banyoro chiefs, that freehold tenure would some day be approved, in which case possession of a large kibanja might be expected to create a prescriptive right to freehold over the same area. Thirdly, the group of persons to whom the burden of the task of introducing the new system, with only limited supervision, was entrusted, the Mukama and his chiefs, was composed of precisely those persons who possessed vested interests in the old system of tenanted estates, and who regarded these as their proper right and prerogative. The "landed gentry" were in effect asked to dispossess themselves, and they cannot be altogether blamed if they did not make a very thorough job of it. Finally, and not least important, the people of Bunyoro as a whole, peasants as well as proprietors, evidently acquiesce in the present system; complaints are of individual abuses, not against the system as a whole, and no legislation is likely in the long run to be effective unless all or a considerable proportion of the people have some interest in seeing that it is carried out.

I now go on to describe, in such detail as is available, the kibanja system of land tenure as it at present exists. I have said that about 5,000 persons possess certificates of occupancy in Bunyoro, on which about 1,500 or more are over bibanja containing one or more unrelated settlers, and many over areas containing a good many more. What is the nature, distribution and inter-relations of the rights relating to these kibanja lands?

Let us take for consideration what we may suppose to be a typical populated kibanja on which live the man who holds a certificate of occupancy in respect of it (who is called the mukama w'ekibanja) and four or five unrelated peasant cultivators. We may visualise this kibanja as covering about 150 acres, half of which is occupied by the farms of the kibanja holder and his "tenants", the other half being unoccupied land covered by elephant grass and bush. What persons have rights in this piece of land or any part of it?

Ultimate rights in the land of Bunyoro, as elsewhere in the Protectorate, are vested in the Governor. The land is "held by the Governor for the occupation and use of the natives of the Objukama bwa Bunyoro-Kitara", subject to rights already recognised and to the Governor's right to "appropriate and place under his direct control" areas for certain public purposes (roads, forests, townships, etc.,) and "to grant a valid title to any person", being guided by the Protectorate Laws and the Secretary of State's instruction. He is required in each case to consult the Mukama and to give "full consideration" to his wishes. In fact only about 30 square miles have been alienated, on either freehold or leasehold tenure, to non-natives in Bunyoro district. The Agreement (1933) also lays down that the administration of the land for the occupation and use of the natives shall be entrusted to the Mukama and Native Government, subject to the Governor's instructions. So much for the Governor's rights in the land, which are of little concern to the kibanja owner or his occupiers even if, as is unlikely, they are aware of their existence.

In dealing with the rights of our certificated kibanja holder himself, it will be necessary to distinguish between those rights which he holds by law, and those rights, no less real as social facts, which, unless he is unusually well versed in the law, he believes himself to possess, and which practically everybody, including his tenants, acknowledge as the proper rights of abakama b'ebibanja. His legal rights are stated in the form of certificate of occupancy, which entitles him to undisturbed occupation of the kibanja cultivated by him so long as he continues to occupy and cultivate it, unless the land or any part of it is required for any work for the good of the country, in which case he will be compensated for any damage to his crops or other improvements. It confers on him absolute ownership of all the buildings he erects, and all the trees and crops he plants. He may sell these to another native of Bunyoro, but he may not sell, transfer or sub-let any portion of the land itself. He may, finally, leave by will to another member of the tribe his rights under the certificate and any improvements to the land. In the absence of a will, his heir by native custom will succeed to them. He may not collect any tribute or similar impost from any native living on the land, and the rights conferred by the certificate

are to be cancelled by a discontinuation of cultivation or occupation of the land by the certificate holder or his successor.

I now give some account of the rights which our kibanja holder possesses over his land by custom and general acknowledgement, not all of which, it will be observed, are consistent with those conferred on him by law. Although the right to collect rent no longer exists, (though an attempt to do so was punished by the courts as recently as 1946), a complex of rights sufficiently valuable to render the possession of a large kibanja a thing to be desired evidently survives. The hope that freehold may ultimately be granted is not, I think, a sufficient explanation of this desirability.

These, then, so far as I have been able to ascertain, are the rights which our kibanja holder, unless he is unusually well versed in the law, believes himself to possess, and which are generally recognised as being proper to his position.

First, he has the right to retain his kibanja, his right to which, he believes, derives from purchase and the Mukama's grace, not from his cultivation of it, even though he neither occupies nor cultivates any part of it. He may allow others to cultivate in it, leaving only an agent or musigire to look after his interests there. Or he may leave it uncultivated and untenanted for years, perhaps staking his claim by planting a few permanent trees, and expect his claim to be admitted on his return. Many bibanja are thus held by people who are employed in far-away parts of the Protectorate.

Second, he has the right to sell it, if he wants to. Despite the conditions of tenure given on the certificate, our kibanja-holder makes no clear distinction between the sale of the improvements on the land and the sale of the land itself. He believes that the registration fee of shs.5/-, which he paid when he obtained his title to his kibanja, was the purchase price of the land, which thereby becomes his personal property. Up to the present time practically all Bunyoro writings, official and otherwise, relating to the registration and transfer of bibanja use the language of sale and purchase.

Third, he has the right to accept or refuse peasants from elsewhere who wish to cultivate or settle on his kibanja. It is conceivable that this right could, in the event of all or most cultivable land in Bunyoro being absorbed into bibanja, become a source of considerable profit to the abakama b'ebibanja. There is, however, no land shortage, and I have obtained no evidence that any money or goods are demanded from prospective tenants. But there are cases of kibanja holders who hold more land than they can use, and yet refuse to allow other people to cultivate on it.

Fourth, he has the right to expel a settler from his kibanja. But public opinion would not approve such expulsion unless good cause were shown, e.g. being a particularly troublesome person, a thief, or (the most usual ground) being a witch. If the settler and his ancestors had been settled on the land for many years, perhaps even before the present kibanja holder obtained his rights over it, it would, I am told, be more difficult to evict him, whatever his misdemeanours. It is said that

this right would be supported by the native courts, though I have not yet come across a case of this kind. I should add that signs are now beginning to appear that an attempt by a tenant to develop his holding on modern lines, by planting permanent crops, etc., is coming to be regarded as a ground for eviction.

Fifth, he has a right of ownership over all anthills, grass and timber on his kibanja, and is entitled to a leg of meat from any wild animal killed thereon. Potter's clay and sand are also regarded by the kibanja-holder as his property, and others may be refused, or have to pay for, access to them.

Sixth, he has the right to impose conditions on his tenants with regard to the type of building they may erect on their holdings in his kibanja. Some kibanja holders refuse to allow their tenants to build permanent houses with corrugated iron roofs, presumably lest the builder should be regarded by so doing as asserting a right which might come into conflict with that of the kibanja owner himself. Not all kibanja holders impose this condition, but some do, and the condition appears generally to be accepted without protest.

Seventh he has the right, and indeed the duty, to act as arbitrator in minor disputes between settlers on his kibanja and even in major ones, the complaint may pass through him before it is taken to the nearest official chief. He is the mukama, the ruler, of the kibanja and is so known, and in this context he is himself a minor, if unofficial, chief.

Eighth, and perhaps the most important as it is the least tangible, he has the right to an attitude of general respect and obedience from the people resident on his kibanja. As a landlord, even though a relentless one, he possesses a status superior to that of his peasant tenants, and he is well aware of this and sometimes emphatic in expressing it. The proprietary attitude adopted by the owners of large bibanja is well expressed in the following quotation from a letter from one of them, whose tenants had complained of oppression: "I do not want trouble with them, they can continue digging provided they understand that we are the owners of the kibanja, and consequently they should cooperate with us." Many similar dicta could be quoted.

What remains to the kibanja holder, then, is some degree of power, authority and respect, and power and authority, even though limited, unproductive and devoid of any appreciable present profit, are still desirable in their own right. This is probably the most important of the factors which vitiated the hopeful surmise that the diversion of rent from the pockets of the kibanja owners to the public purse would "remove almost the only attraction of the private ownership of large tenanted areas." It may be added that our kibanja holder regards himself as owning, not simply occupying his kibanja, and that he regards himself as possessing what virtually amounts to a freehold right, devoid only of the power to rent. This right, in the case of the large kibanja holders, derives ultimately from their social status and from the king's favour, and it can be passed on to their descendants.

The rights, or lack of them, of the non-kibanja owner, settled on the kibanja of another, are in the main the obverse of those described as pertaining to the kibanja owner. He has, firstly, the right to reasonable security of tenure of the area he cultivates, so long as he is not a witch or otherwise undesirable, and he may pass this right on to his heir. He has, secondly, the right to move elsewhere if he wants to, and he can himself become a kibanja owner (though he is unlikely, unless he is an "important" person, to obtain a large tenanted kibanja) if he can find a piece of available uncertificated land elsewhere, pay the registration fee, and make a few small presents to the local chiefs through whom his application for a certificate will be submitted. He has, of course, no right to take out a certificate of occupancy over the land he cultivates in the kibanja of another, even though he and his forbears may have occupied this land for generations. This fact has occasionally given rise to complaint, and even to litigation, for it sometimes happens that a wealthy or important person is given a kibanja in which peasant cultivators are already settled without the knowledge of these persons, one or more of whom may himself have been contemplating the taking out of a certificate of occupancy over his ancestral land. His right to do so is, of course permanently negatived by the grant of an overriding right to another. Nor, as I have said, is it likely that the kibanja owner would permit an enterprising tenant to extend the boundaries of his holding in the course of the intensive development of his land by modern methods.

It would be wrong to conclude from the foregoing that the average Nyoro peasant tenant feels himself to be oppressed, or resents the kibanja system in its present form. There are complaints, but they refer to particular abuses, and never to the system as a whole, and they are remarkably infrequent. Whether this will long continue to be the case, as agricultural methods improve and the general level of development rises, is very open to question. Now at any rate, one of the notable things about Bunyoro is the absence from the Native Courts of the spate of litigation about land so familiar in other areas. And it must be remembered that many Nyoro peasants, perhaps the majority, live on non-kibanja land, and so can, if they wish, take out certificates of occupancy over their farms if they are sufficiently interested; that by no means all, probably a minority, of the 5,000 certificates so far issued are over-populated kibanja; and, most important of all, that only about a quarter of the available cultivable land in the country is at present in use.

It remains to consider the Bunyoro kibanja system, which I have now somewhat cursorily described, in its relation to some other aspects of the social system, in particular, to political power and authority, to social status, and to economic development and differentiation. We saw that the system developed from a political, quasi-feudal right, vested ex officio in the Mukama's territorial chiefs, to a private right of exploitation, at first confined to political functionaries past and present and to members of the ruling family, and later extending itself to a wider range of persons of public repute and importance. Since 1933 any person who has the necessary money, and wishes to obtain a certificate of occupancy, can do so. The kibanja system, then, begins by reflecting exclusively political authority and power,

and then moves into a second phase where it is an expression primarily of social status. It may, in recent years, be tending to express economic status, both because only the man who has acquired a certain amount of money will contemplate the "purchasing" of a kibanja and the rise in social status that this implies, and because it provides a means as yet not greatly exploited, for the progressive cultivator to obtain greater security, or the appearance of such, over the holding he proposes to develop. This account does not express simply a historical succession; the past, especially in Bunyoro, still lives in the present, and all three stages are still represented in the contemporary scene.

What is clear is that a large tenanted kibanja in Bunyoro today is not an agricultural estate being developed on progressive lines by the certificate holder (there is as yet little private development of the land by modern agricultural methods in Bunyoro); it is rather a tenanted though rent-free estate, still regarded as the proper perquisite of the royal family, ex-chiefs, and other important persons, and its size bears no relation to the extent of the cultivation undertaken by the certificate holder. Land held under a kibanja certificate is undistinguishable in the field from non-kibanja land. It is safe to say that a large kibanja is still an overt expression of the prestige and local importance which attaches to members of the ruling classes, and to new recruits to this class, and it is, so far as I can ascertain, the prestige which attaches to the proprietorship of large bibanja, and the rather limited and sterile authority that their possession implies, that is the major factor in their continued popularity, and their survival despite the Government's attempt to eradicate them.

I have tried to show this pervasive, deeply rooted and enduring if emasculated "landlordism" as a historical growth, the product of a complex of factors which include the semi-feudal political structure of pre-European Bunyoro, the social stratification typical of centralized social structures in general and of the interlacustrine Bantu peoples in particular, and the 1900 land settlement in Buganda. I have then tried to describe it, as far as the evidence so far available allows, in its present-day form as a complex of rights and obligations relating to the use and control of land. I have not said anything about the effects of the kibanja system, in the form which it has now assumed, on the agricultural advancement, by improved agricultural methods and large-scale farming, of the people of Bunyoro as a whole. But it is plain that in general these effects, where they are operative and where such advancement is planned, must be prejudicial. The consideration of the practical means which should be taken to remedy the situation in so far as it is remediable, important though the problem is, does not fall within the scope of this paper.

Discussion on Mr. Beattie's paper.

The Chairman opened the discussion by saying that he was particularly interested to hear this broad historic sketch of the development of land tenure in one particular tribe. The fact that the Government of Uganda had opposed the institution of large land-holdings seemed to him a striking point.

Dr. Southall asked what a man had to pay who wanted to get a certificate of occupancy.

Mr. Beattie said that in addition to the registration fee of Shs.5/- the ordinary peasant would just give various small presents to those in authority who would be likely to help him.

Mr. Wrigley wanted to know whether the selling of bibanja^x was frequent and what prices were given for land.

Mr. Beattie replied that an owner had no legal right to sell land but he had the right to sell the improvements he had made on the land. This distinction was not clear to the average Munyoro. Selling was not frequent since there was still unsettled land which could be brought into cultivation. Prices could be as high as about 50/- an acre. 100/- an acre would be considered very high indeed.

Mr. Ehrlich wanted to know the causes for which tenants were evicted from land and the action the administration took.

Mr. Beattie explained that tenants who wished to develop their land in an economic way might find themselves at loggerheads with the landowners. The problem had however not yet arisen in any acute form as such development of land was unusual. The administration was already considering what to do, but had not yet, so far as he knew, had a concrete case to deal with. He thought that some form of security for the peasant cultivator would have to be worked out.

Mr. Baxter asked whether attempts now being made to introduce co-operative farming were at a kibanja or a territorial level.

Mr. Beattie said that one or two attempts at introducing co-operatives had in fact come up against the kibanja system, but development had not yet reached a point where real conflict might arise.

Professor Wilson wanted to know what attracted a man to an already developed estate instead of opening up new land for himself.

Mr. Beattie thought that the attraction of kibanja land was partly social and partly economic. People like to live near an existing settlement and also there was the proximity of ancestral graves which tempted people to stay. It was also easier in many ways to settle on kibanja land than to open up new land.

Dr. Richards thought Mr. Beattie's material extraordinarily interesting from a comparative point of view. Mr. Mukwaya had described the 1900 Agreement in Buganda and the system of free-hold introduced in the case of chiefs and office holders at that time. Since that date the policy had been subject to very severe criticism and different arrangements had been made in Bunyoro and Busoga. But the aristocrats in these two areas had begun to envy the Buganda system and

^xNote that the word Kibanja is used rather differently in Buganda, Bunyoro and Buhaya respectively. Digitized by Google

to try to acquire large estates. The Basoga had continually asked the Government to be allowed to acquire freehold rights over stretches of land but these had been refused. In Bunyoro Mr. Beattie had shown the ways by which men who thought they ought to be allowed to own estates were getting round the restrictions of the certificates of occupancy.

She hoped that the comparative study of land tenure among the Interlacustrine Bantu which the East African Institute of Social Research was going to undertake would be of value not only as showing similar social systems reacting to differing economic factors but also because nowadays it was clear that Africans who believed they had secured important privileges in one area were being emulated by their neighbours in contiguous areas.

Mrs. Reining said that the 1933 policy of protecting the tenant described in the paper had been tried in the Bukoba district of Tanganyika. In that area the tenants were registered. This froze the size and development of the original tenancies and since then a whole new system of land holding had grown up alongside of the registered tenancies.

Gouverneur Deschamps asked for an explanation of a sentence in Mr. Mukwaya's paper. Page six stated that there was no hatred of landowners as a class and yet three to four years ago the French papers reported that there were riots in Buganda on this very question of land ownership.

Mr. Mukwaya said that the papers had not reported the matter accurately. There was some friction between landowners and peasants, but as a matter of fact in the case mentioned it was the landowners who led the peasants. The grievances that led to the riots were, in his opinion, the price of cotton, the constitution of the Buganda government as a government, and the people's dislike of the then Prime Minister of Buganda.

Mr. Tamukedde added to this the fact that the 1945 disturbances had been caused by the people's dislike of a recent measure providing for compulsory acquiring of land for public purposes by the Buganda government.

Session VII

Thursday February 26th
2.30 p.m.

Chairman Professor L. van den Berghe

Dr. J.J. Maquet

The Rwanda Premise of Inequality

The Rwanda system of political and feudal relations reveal one of the fundamental premises of that culture. The political organization was made of two structures: the administrative one and the military one. Closely connected with them was clientship. In these three systems of relations, the social roles of the superior and inferior can be described in terms of paternalism and dependence.

When paternalism and dependence define the permanent roles expected from two persons, much more is implied than when they express the transitory roles of a father and his young son. In the latter case it is known that the son will grow up and one day, even if he has to wait till after his father's death, he will be equal to what his father was when he was young. But when paternalism and dependence are linked in permanent and reciprocal roles, the assumption is that there is a fundamental inequality between the two persons. The subject will never grow up. He will never "reach his majority". It is implied without any doubt that there is between the ruler and his subject a difference so fundamental that it never can be suppressed. This fundamental inequality of men is the cultural premise underlying the social roles of the ruler and the subject.

... The Rwanda society was made up of three hereditary groups with a very different participation in social power. This difference was explained in terms of innate qualities. On the other hand, in a very great proportion of the political and feudal relations, the superior and the inferior belong to different castes. This indicates in what sense Banyarwanda feel men to be unequal.

This was not an inequality founded on differences in individual qualities or possessions. Of course, a very clever and artful man, a very wealthy possessor of great herds of cattle could exert much greater influence, could have access to many more amenities of life and would command much more respect than a not very intelligent or not very wealthy man. But those differences were not regarded as entailing such a significant quality between them if they belonged to the same caste. Caste affiliation was mainly what made men unequal.

Several stories expressed the differences between the three castes and the qualities which were thought characteristic of them. A definite physical appearance was considered typical of each group. The **Mutwa** was short, pygmyoid, with face and nose flat, cheek-bones prominent, forehead bulging, eyes narrow and slightly oblique. The socially recognized characteristics of the **Muhutu** were: woolly hair, a flat broad nose, thick lips, often everted, and middle stature. **Batutsi** were slender and tall, with a light brown skin, thin lips and a straight nose. To these physical stereotypes, moral qualities were added. **Batutsi** were said to be intelligent in the sense of astuteness in political intrigues. They were capable of commanding, refined, courageous and cruel. **Bahutu** were hard-working, not very clever, extrovert, irascible,

unmannerly, obedient and physically strong. Batwa were gluttonous, loyal to their Batutsi masters, lazy, courageous when hunting and without any restraint. These stereotypes, admitted with only minor qualifications and slight differences and emphases by all Banyarwanda, Bahutu and Batwa as well as Batutsi, were thought to be essentially linked with class affiliation.

Caste inequality was, of course, not founded on a difference of qualities, objective or assumed. If a particular Muhutu was recognised as intelligent and courageous as a Mututsi, his status remained nevertheless unaffected. What mattered indeed was not to have the qualifications of the upper caste but to have been born in it. This was sufficient to determine a very different share in social power and fundamentally different rights.

The Rwanda principle of inequality could be expressed in the following terms: people born in different castes are unequal in inborn endowment, physical as well as psychological, and have consequently fundamentally different rights.

That premise, closely connected with the caste structure, was suggested to us by the analysis of the political and feudal structures. Indeed, when a principle of inequality exists in a society in respect of a certain type of relations, it does not fail to spread to other relations more or less similar. In Rwanda, the premise of intercaste inequality has permeated those of the intra-caste relations which could be regarded as analogous in certain respects. A Mututsi who was the lord of another Mututsi was thought to be superior to his client in approximately the same way as he was superior to his Bahutu clients. Of course, some distinction remained between inter- and intracaste relationships of superiority, but the latter tended to be patterned on the former ones.

The extension to intracaste relations of the premise of intercaste inequality made of it a principle of integration with a very wide bearing as it could, and did in fact, pervade all the human relations in which a superiority of one actor over the other was implied. It could be the relation between a mother and her young child, a father and his son, a man and his wife, and old man and a youngster, a craftsman and an apprentice, etc. These relations constituting the texture of social life, the impact of the premise of fundamental inequality on collective living could not be overestimated.

In order to understand better how the inequality premise influenced the whole of the Rwanda social life, we propose to make explicit the different aspects of that influence. They will be expressed as a set of theorems, whereby we mean only general propositions or statements which are not self-evident.

Theorem One

When two persons are involved in any kind of social relation, it is their mutual hierarchical situation which is regarded as the most relevant element of the relation.

Superiority and inferiority were foci of the Rwanda social structure to such an extent that as soon as they entered as a component in the content of a social relationship, other components were regarded as less important and were coloured by the hierarchical situation of the two actors. In the Euro-American culture, relation-

ships of inferiority are defined not only as regards the people taking part in them but also as regards the matters concerned. A business executive may give orders to one of his employees within very well-defined limits of competence and time, but he cannot oblige him to accept his views on, for example, artistic or political questions. In Rwanda, on the contrary, when one of the persons involved in the relation was superior to the other from a certain point of view, the superiority was diffused, as it were, over the whole relation. For his subject, a chief was always a chief in whatever matter.

This first theorem is a consequence of inequality conceived as essential. When two persons are unequal by nature, the superiority of one over the other cannot be limited to a certain sphere. Obedience in everything can be required. There is no field in which a father could be wrong and his son right.

Theorem Two

As in almost any human relation there is some superiority of one actor over the other, as that aspect is always stressed and as inferiority relations are patterned on intercaste relations, paternalistic and dependent attitudes were to be found in almost any human relation in Rwanda.

The only exceptions were the relations between people who were equal from every point of view, as for instance young men of about the same age and belonging to the same caste.

This is still very noticeable now, even in relations with Europeans. A clerk usually assumes towards the European he assists a dependent attitude different from the behaviour of a European employee. The clerk expects from his employer a behaviour similar to the paternalistic attitude of the Rwanda superiors and he is puzzled and disappointed if the employer does not assume such an attitude.

Theorem Three

There is no private sector in the life of the inferior vis-à-vis his superior. The superior has the right to control the whole of his subordinate's activities. This is not resented by the inferior as an unbearable meddling. On the contrary, it is expected by the inferior who feels that such an interference is a proof of the interest his superior extends to him. When a European employer avoids intruding into the privacy of a Banyarwanda subordinate, the latter tends to interpret it as a withdrawal from the protective role expected from any superior.

If some subordinate were to refuse his Banyarwanda superior's interference on the grounds that he should not be concerned with his private affairs, such a pretension would be regarded as, at least, a definite lack of respect.

Theorem Four

Strictly contractual relations are not possible. To enter into a contract implies that the intended parties are independent of one another. If a man is submitted to another for the whole of his life, how could he freely commit himself to give the other certain services? And how could the other promise to secure him a rigorously exigible counterpart? When entering into contractual relations, it is necessary that each prospective partner should be independent from and equal to the other. In the western world, admittedly, it frequently happens

that an agreement which verifies the juridical forms of a contract is entered into by persons who are not independent and equal. Circumstances may exert such a pressure that freedom to accept or refuse some obligation is purely illusory. However, conditions of independence and equality are often realised. In ancient Rwanda such a situation could almost never have happened as it was rare for two persons who might otherwise be related by a contract, not to be already involved in paternalistic and dependent relations.

Moreover, after the contract has been concluded, it is necessary that each partner should be able to defend himself against any demands of the other which exceed the terms of the covenant, and that he should have the means to oblige the other to fulfil what the latter has agreed to give or to do. This implies again that one party is not completely dependent on the other. Now, the extent of the superior's obligations is left, in Rwanda, to his will and pleasure. Consequently it was unthinkable for the party who was at the same time in a position inferior to the other party to claim some particular fulfilment of the agreed promises from the other.

This appears clearly in the difficulties Banyarwanda meet when they have to adjust themselves to European labour contracts. They are confused by the fact that the employer requires from them at the same time less and more than they expect. Less because the employer does not ask for more services, for longer office hours for instance, than what has been stipulated, and more because he is very exacting in the execution of what has been undertaken, for instance in matters of punctuality.

Theorem Five

With such socially accepted conceptions about inequality, those who occupy the superior position in most of the social relations in which they are involved, tend to develop a permanent authoritarian behaviour. This is characterised by propensities to command, to be self-assertive, arrogant, protective and compassionate.

Chiefs, rulers and other superiors try to extend not only the size or range of their power (the number of people controlled) but its density (the degree of control on the subordinates). Any independence manifested by the inferior will be resented as rebellious.

This leads to intolerance. The superior's opinions should never be opposed by the inferior who is always and everywhere expected to manifest his dependence by attitudes of compliance.

Theorem Six

Even if the caste system and the political and feudal institutions have succeeded to a large extent in moulding personalities in such a way as to make inferiors self-effacing, submissive, compliant and dependent, the conditioning has not been perfect. Often the inferior wants to disagree with his superior's opinions, to avoid executing an order or obeying his commands. A straight refusal being regarded as insulting disrespect or revolt, the only way out for the inferior is to appear to behave always as expected and to fall in with any desire of this superior while concealing his own opinion. He must never say no to any order but find clever excuses for not doing it. Consequently dissimulation is very

highly thought of as a skill necessary to master for someone wanting to live more or less securely under such a political regime.

Many stories and proverbs give evidence of the frequency of covert disobedience to the rulers and the appreciation in which an astute excuse and a "good lie" were held. This was the only way to adapt oneself to such a situation.

Theorem Seven

It is commonly accepted in the western tradition that truth has a high value and that language is the medium properly used to express truth; that is to say, what reality appears to be to the person who speaks. Undoubtedly in western practice, language is used, even in the cognitive sphere, for many other purposes than to express what the speaker thinks. Moreover, most of the scholars who, in recent years, have studied the problem of the origin and function of language, do not hold the traditional view. However, in the almost unanimous opinion of the carriers of western culture, the ideal verbal behaviour must express truth and not what is useful to the speaker. This is, for example, what is inculcated into the children in the schools.

In a society in which human relations are imbued with such cultural premises as the one we are considering in this chapter, truth cannot be recognised as such a dominant value. Indeed, one is supposed to use language not to say what is thought to conform to reality but what is thought to conform to the ruler's opinion. Nobody, the ruler included, entertains many illusions on the sincerity of what is said, but submission has been expressed at the right time and this is felt to be most important.

This theorem could be formulated in this way: the verbal behaviour towards a superior must express dependence rather than truth.

Theorem Eight

Once it is taken for granted that in hierarchical relations, behaviour must conform to the superior's expectations even to the point of agreeing with all his opinions, a similar attitude tends to spread to other fields. Each time there is a conflict between what is useful to the speaker and what he thinks, he is apt to say rather what is useful or expected.

Thus a dependent attitude in hierarchical relationships favours the extension to all social relations of a pragmatic usage of language.

We have read the premise, as it were, into the Rwanda political and feudal organization. But this does not solve the question of their mutual priority. Had the political organization of Rwanda, as it existed at the beginning of this century, been built in order to express a belief deeply buried in the psyche of those who have slowly formed and shaped it? Or, on the contrary, is it that the premise of inequality and its sequels have been evolved from the political organization as an ideology and a set of attitudes which fitted the political situation well?

To raise such a question is certainly legitimate in the sense

that it expresses a genuine problem which, if it could be solved, would add significantly to our knowledge of the working of social systems and of cultural premises. But there are certain facts crucial to the solution of that question in this case that we are not likely ever to know. We should, for instance, have a good knowledge of the Batutsi culture and its premises before the pastoralists reached Rwanda. It seems possible, however, to make some comments on this problem.

Batutsi came into Rwanda as conquerors. Even if their arrival into the country inhabited by Bahutu looked rather like a peaceful infiltration it was nevertheless a conquest. They wanted to settle in the country and they built a permanent system of economic and political relations with the Bahutu whereby they established themselves definitely as masters and exploiters. That is to say, a caste society evolved from their will to stabilize the conquest situation with all its advantages. Now, the more obvious rationalisation of a caste structure is the belief that there are inborn and fundamental differences between the members of the different castes.

This is not meant to be a schematic view of the historical origin of the Rwanda inequality premise. It is possible that Batutsi had previous to their arrival in Rwanda such a belief, perhaps already embodied in their social organization, or in their external relations with surrounding peoples, and that quite naturally they shaped the Rwanda new situation according to their ideology. Again it is possible that some themes and types of organization of the Bahutu cultivators were particularly apt to be used in the formation of the Banyarwanda ethos as we have described it. But a conquest evolving into a caste structure is sufficient to account for a premise of inequality. Even if, prior to the conquest each of the two groups concerned had severally an egalitarian ideology, the establishment of hereditary groups whereby the statuses of vanquishers and vanquished is perpetuated suffices to give birth to a theory of inequality.

We are of the opinion that such a theory is a necessary "superstructure" (in the Marxist sense) of a caste system. Undoubtedly a body of inheritance laws, opportunities for a certain kind of education restricted to the wealthiest, a difference in languages, etc., may maintain for some time a high social power in the hands of the conqueror's descendants, even if the cultural ideology is that all men are born equal. But such a lack of internal coherence ("all men are born equal" versus "political and economic power is restricted to those who are descendants of the conquerors") is very likely to result rapidly in an evolution from a caste system to a class society. A "racial" theory seems the only ideology perfectly consistent with a caste structure. It is very probable that conquerors adopt it not only for consistency's sake, but because it is more efficient, more easily understood and accepted particularly when there are different physical traits which are the characteristic of the caste.

It should be understood that when we speak of "the adoption of an ideology by the conquerors", it is not meant that some day the conquerors made a conscious choice among the possible ideologies. But that, once a caste system operates, the patterns of political domination and of economic exploitation require people to behave "as if" the upper caste members had another nature than the lower

caste members. When the "idea behind" this behaviour is made more or less explicit, as in tales and proverbs, it is rationalised in terms of fundamental and inborn inequality.

If there is such a necessary link between the caste system and the premise of inequality, then to know whether the conqueror's ideology, prior to the conquest, was egalitarian or not is only an historical question: when the vanquisher settles and establishes a caste system, the inequalitarian ideology is produced, as its corollary. However, the question of the previous premise of the conqueror's culture remains very important in another connection. To what extent does an anterior egalitarian ideology deter the conquerors from establishing a caste system? Is the conqueror if imbued with an ethos of equality, inclined to admit that his principles are valid also in his relations with the vanquished group? Or does he think that obviously the conquered groups are different people? Because of our ignorance of the Batutsi cultural premises before they entered into Rwanda, these questions have to be left unanswered in the case of pre-European Rwanda.

Discussion on Dr. Maquet's paper

Professor Wilson said she was interested in Dr. Maquet's theorem about truth. She thought there was a great deal of evidence that the Hausa-speaking people in the south of Northern Nigeria who were not stratified and who were relatively speaking democratic in their ideas in spite of having chiefs, had to speak the truth. It was considered a misdemeanour to speak other than the truth to a chief. Now however among the newer heterogeneous populations no-one was embarrassed by being caught out in a lie. It remained however part of the instruction in the initiation ceremonies that no-one must lie to his chief. This was an example of another type of verbal behaviour between an inferior and a superior.

Dr. Maquet said that in Rwanda also there was official teaching as to the importance of speaking the truth to a chief. At the warriors' training school they were trained in a strict code which included rules as to telling the truth. However, a chief did not expect any criticism and hence it became impossible for people to speak the truth to him or about him.

Professor Wilson thought there was a difference in the position in some South African tribes where it was considered the duty of councillors to criticise the policy of the chief and the chief himself summed up the criticisms made at the end of the meeting.

Dr. Richards offered some examples from a Northern Rhodesian tribe which seemed to her to fall into an intermediate pattern. Among the Bemba it was believed that there would be severe supernatural penalties in the case of a man lying to his chief. Nevertheless as in the case of Rwanda it was impossible to tell the chief he was in the wrong on any public occasion. Yet the councillors had ways of showing their views very clearly. The Paramount Chief himself had explained to her that he would be afraid to proceed with a measure if the faces of his councillors had "become dark" - that is, if they sat with set faces

looking at the ground.

Dr. Maquet agreed but wanted to insist that he had put emphasis on the major caste differences. These were verbally acknowledged by the different castes involved.

Mr. Whiteley referred to Dr. Maquet's statement that there was no position in which a Banyarwanda father could be wrong, and his son right. What happened when the son became the father?

Dr. Maquet reminded the speaker about the two main relationships underlying the Rwanda political structure. These were inferiority-superiority and paternalism-dependence. These were understood in the pattern of intercaste relations. A chief and a servant though belonging to the same caste yet had inferiority-superiority relations within that caste. In the case of the father to son relation, however, the relationship never changed, that is to say, it was one of paternalism and dependence even when the son grew up and became a father in his own right.

M. de Heusch asked why all three castes in Rwanda were able to belong to the same religious cult. He wondered if its functions was to support the monarchy or not. The Mwami was not allowed to belong to this religious society, but there were a great number of court officials who were members. The founder of the society was a Mututsi but nevertheless the Batutsi were very much distrusted as members of the society. He wondered if the society had originally been a revolutionary movement.

Dr. Maquet thought the society nevertheless had a mainly integrating function and acted as a support to the monarchy.

M. D. Biebuyck

Maternal Uncles and Sororal Nephews
among the Lega

"Bule myoza ku mubcle u bule mebuto" ("As are the hairs
on the body, so are the ties of kinship")

Introduction

The Lega - in rare available literature incorrectly referred to as Warega - are spread over a vast area of the eastern Belgian Congo stretching between the 26th long. and 28th 30' long., and between the 4th lat. and the 2nd lat. Their culture is fairly homogeneous, though at least three main currents may be distinguished. We will therefore concern ourselves here with the Lega-groups of sector Beia (Maniema District, Pangi Territory) which are surely the truest of all Lega and quite the most interesting ones.

Formerly Lega were mainly trappers and gatherers, rearing small livestock and practising shifting cultivation and fishing. Under Belgian administration, however, they have become primarily agriculturalists.

Descent is reckoned patrilineally and marriage is virilocal. Agnatic relationships are of primary importance in many circumstances, such as marriage arrangements, co-operation in war, hunting expeditions, the organization of circumcision rites, and, above all, in the institution of the all-pervading bwame association. But in many other vital spheres of life, such as mutual aid co-operation, the need for protection, the exchange of valuables, and ceremonial duties, extreme stress is laid on seven groups of "male mothers", (bamwizio)² on the corresponding groups of sororal nephews and nieces (beigwa), on relations with the wives' families (butokali), on buninabo-links (the ties existing between two individuals who are sororal nephews of a same lineage) and on buninanina-links (uterine relationships).

What is actually considered to be a clan (kelongo), a sub-clan (kebundu or bukolo), a lineage (kekalo; kebanda; ibele) consists, almost in all cases, of an agnatic nucleus into which strange elements (beidande) have been absorbed. In most instances it is extremely hard to distinguish the true children of the land (bana ba kase) from the assimilated ones (beidande), because they have become through time and Lega-patterns of kinship an inseparable unit which is identified with a closely tied agnatic group. These beidande generally belong to one of the following groups of people:

- a) the descendants of bakobe, individuals who had become serfs through war expeditions.
 - b) the descendants of sororal nephews who left their group and went to settle with their maternal uncles, and vice versa.
 - c) the descendants of poor individuals who had established themselves with a powerful neneke ("master of the land").
 - d) the descendants of males who had come to join their married sisters'
-
1. Over three years field-work among the Lega and related groups was carried out under the auspices of "L'Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale" (IRSAC), Brussels.
 2. Looked at from the point of view of a male.

village.

- e) the descendants of persons linked through buninabo (sororal nephews of the same lineage) and who had come to live together.
- f) the descendants of persons who came to set down in the same region because of a buninanina-link (uterine relationship).

Lega are polygynous. Nowadays the marriage-tie is extremely unstable. Junior levirate is in vigour and secondary marriages occur with the father's widow, father's younger brother's widow and the mother's brother's widow. Sororal polygyny is only practised in a wide classificatory sense; the sororate and secondary marriages with a brother-in-law's daughter do occur, but are not very frequent. Double marriages too are rare, whereas exchange marriages are unknown.

Lega never had a paramount chief, nor did they know a common tribal authority. The exercise of political authority was restricted to a very small group, the limits of which coincided with a minor lineage or a group of two or more minor lineages.

The Bwame closed association is by far the most important aspect of Lega culture. Men and women have both of them access to a separate, though parallel hierarchy of stages, each of which is acquired through a long and painstaking process of preparation, an elaborate cycle of rites and ceremonics, considerable exchange of goods and lavish payments and the distribution of valuables.

Terminological Usages Prevailing Between Maternal Uncles and Sororal Nephews and Nieces

The mother's junior or senior male siblings and half-siblings are grouped into the classificatory category of bamwizio (sg. mwizio).

This is the universal terminological use among the Lega with whom we are concerned here. It is however not the unique pattern of classificatory grouping, since there exists among a rather small group of Lega principles which differentiate mother's brothers into two groups. The mother's elder brothers are then classified with grandfathers (batatangulu) and mother's younger brothers only constitute the category of bamwizio. This sporadic arrangement is parallel to some universal uses of Lega terminology, that is to say the division of mother's sisters into elder sisters (= grandmothers, bakuku) and younger sisters (= little mothers, bammage); the differentiation of father's brothers into elder brothers (= grandfathers, batatanzulu) and younger ones (= little fathers, batata banabato). The term mwizio changes according to whether one is speaking about "my, your, his maternal uncle". Nyokolume thus means your maternal uncle; ninalume, his maternal uncle.¹ A term such as nyokolume clearly illustrates the exact significance of the word, nyoko being 'your mother' and lume being the root for "male". That is to say "your mother male".²

A male speaker refers to his mother's brother's wife by means of a descriptive term, mwikulu wa mwizio, wife of my maternal uncle.

1. Among the eastern Lega and the Bembe the term mwico does not change, but is always accompanied by the appropriate possessive pronoun.
2. Father's sister, whether his senior or junior sister, is called mamage, "my mother". There is no use at all to consider her as a female father, as is done, for example, among the Nyanga (shenkhari).

He addresses her as mwikulu wane, my wife. A female speaker addresses her as mmage, my mother.

A man calls his sister's son or daughter mwigwa wane, my sororal nephew or niece. The word is unchangeable and currently used with the possessive pronoun following it, thus: mwigwa wane, my sororal nephew; mwigwa wobe, your sororal nephew, etc. Lega contend that there is a correlation between this term and the verb kuijula which means to be able to stand up against something which exceeds the powers of all others. Even if this etymological explanation is not the true one, it is very significant from the semantic point of view. The sororal nephew, from a Lega point of view, is a person who is able and allowed to do and to realise things which outdo the possibilities of all other relationships.

The mother's brother's wife calls her husband's nephew iba wane, my husband, using the term mwana wane, my child, to denote her husband's sororal niece.

The main problem of classificatory terminology rises when we examine the type of terminological relationship prevailing between cross-cousins and their descendants. The different aspect of this relationship are as follows. In a situation in which two families which have been complete strangers to each other have become linked through marriage, a male speaker will call a son or daughter of his mother's brother, provided he is still alive, mubiala wane. Lega think that there is a correlation between this term and the verb kubia which means to denude, to take the things somebody had, to nag or to tease. The term is used by males and females and is applicable in both senses. The face-to-face behaviour of two male babiala is marked by moderate joking (bubiala), or better, their relations are based on profound friendship and are devoid of any constraint.

The relationship between a male and his mother's brother's daughter shows the same moderation; he treats her as a sister (mubetu wane). He could never marry her nor take her as a sexual partner. For, as Lega put it, she is a potential mutamba, or producer of marriage payment, to him. The relationship between a male and his mother's brother's son's wife is not coloured by imposed restraints. He calls her mwikulu wane, my wife; he may dance with her, chat and joke, or touch her breasts. But any sexual claim upon her would be seriously condemned by public opinion and would threaten to disturb the smoothness of the interrelationships of both families.

On the other hand, a male must completely abstain from close contact with his father's sister's son's wife. He may not dance with her and may not engage in privileged joking with her. The same type of behaviour characterises his relations with his father's sister's daughter.

There seem to be two main reasons for explaining this difference in attitude and its unilateral aspect. First of all, as Lega state themselves, the links existing between two male babiala is very much like that which prevails between elder and younger brothers. There is implicit the notion that mother's brother's male descendants, as a group, are senior brothers and that father's

sister's male descendants, as a group, are junior brothers.¹ This implicit notion then may justify the distinctions in behaviour which characterise the relations of male cross-cousins towards their respective wives. A younger brother may engage in a certain degree of moderate joking with his senior brother's wife, whom he calls "my wife" and who may become his spouse under the existing levirate. Secondly, in this type of behaviour is already foreshadowed an Omaha-system of cross-cousin terminology. The mother's brother's son will, sooner or later, become a maternal uncle and the father's sister's son his sororal nephew. This means, among other things, that his father's sister's son's wife will become a mukamwana, daughter-in-law, a woman who has to be avoided; the mother's brother's son's wife, on the contrary, will become "my wife". It may further be noticed in this context that a man may inherit the wife of his mother's brother's son, during the lifetime of the mother's brother, but not vice versa. For the same reasons the relations between a male and his father's sister's daughter are characterised by reserve and distance. She is very much the same as his mubetu, sister, but a very peculiar one, for she may never become his mutamba, i.e. the woman who may produce a marriage payment in his favour.

A male calls his father's sister's daughter's husband mukozi wane my brother-in-law. This seems not to coincide with the inherent Omaha-system, for he might be expected to call this individual mutenzia wane, my son-in-law, as a husband of his future sororal niece. It should be pointed out however that the groups of brothers-in-law and sons-in-law are almost completely merged among the Lega. Finally, the terminology existing between a female and her husband's father's sister's son's wife entirely coincides with the inherent Omaha-system, for she calls her mukamwana, daughter-in-law, just as if she already were the wife of this woman's husband's maternal uncle.

The Omaha-system completely establishes itself on the death of the mother's brother. His son, however young he may be, then becomes called mwizio and his daughter mmage. The Omaha-system thus establishes itself through the recognition of the criterion of decedence, as P. Murdock calls it. This arrangement contributes to the establishment of a long range relationship between the two families or minimal lineages linked through an original marriage-link. It brings about the Lega saying "bwigwa tabukuzinda" ("the relationship of sororal nephews never finishes.")

By the application of this principle the following groups of "male mothers", of direct and constant importance to an individual, have come into existence:

- a) from the point of view of a married or unmarried male:
 1. the bamwizio be idulu, the real maternal uncles; mother's brothers and, if dead, their sons. This category comprises two kinds of people, according to the degrees of proximity:
 - bamwizio wanda: mother's male siblings and half-siblings, i.e. descendants of a same father.
 - bamwizio ba mubuto: mother's classificatory brothers, members of her minimal lineage
1. This principle is common among the Bembe, where cross-cousins on becoming older use to call one another senior brother (mother's brother's son) and junior brother (father's sister's son).

2. the bamwizio ba mbusa, more distant classificatory "male mothers", comprising:
 - the maternal uncles of father and their male descendants.
 - the maternal uncles of mother and their male descendants.
 - the maternal uncles of father's mother and their male descendants.
 - the maternal uncles of mother's mother and their male descendants.
 - the maternal uncles of father's father and their male descendants.
 - the maternal uncles of mother's father and their male descendants
- b) from the point of view of an unmarried female:
 1. the same category of bamwizio be idulu
 2. the category of bamwizio ba mbusa only comprises two groups
 - the maternal uncles of father and their male descendants.
 - the maternal uncles of mother and their male descendants.
- c) from the point of view of a married female:
 1. the same category of bamwizio be idulu.
 2. the category of bamwizio ba mbusa consists of:
 - the maternal uncles of father and their male descendants.
 - the maternal uncles of mother and their male descendants.
 - the maternal uncles of father's father and their male descendants.

Next to that, the members of a sub-clan, or even a clan may consider another clan or lineage as being in a position of maternal uncles or sororal nephews to them. This is for example the case for Banasalu-clan. This clan has considered the Banakagela-Banampombo linked clans as sororal nephews, since the two sisters of the four founders of the four Banasalu sub-clans gave birth to Kagela and Mpombo, some eleven generations ago. The very long survival of this link is primarily due to the close geographical proximity of the three groups, the mother of Kagela having been married to Bagilanzelu-clan, closest neighbour of Banasalu-clan, and Mpombo, whose mother had been married far away, having come to join the son of his mother's elder sister.

It may further be stated that the notion of a mwizio-mwigwa link looms extremely large in the mind of the Lega. It was pointed out above that the "male mothers" recognised generally belonged to the minimal lineage which provided the linking woman. We know, however, of examples whereby an individual was given a considerable amount of goods, on initiation or other ceremonial occasions, by members dispersed within the whole clan to which the lineage of the linking woman belonged, and this because of the mere fact of his being a sororal nephew of that lineage.

The neighbouring Ngobango and Zimba tribes are still nowadays considered to be sororal nephews of the Lega, and labourers from these tribes working within Lega territory still enjoy special privileges

and prestations from the Lega.

On the other hand, stress must be laid on the fact that the several categories of "male mothers" recognised are often reduced under Lega marriage arrangements. It often happens that an individual has two or more groups of maternal uncles belonging to a same maximal lineage, or that several of these different groups are settled within his village, or even that some of them belong to his own patri-clan.

The following traits should further be noticed with regard to the Omaha-system as occurring among the Lega. If the lineage, as a unit, has been considered as a homogeneous group of "male mothers", through the generations, the terminological relationships which persist between Ego and a given member of one of these lineage groups are quite definite and differentiated. Let us illustrate this point by means of an example.

Suppose that father and father's mother's brother are alive and that I have a son:

My father calls his mother's brother: mwizio, male mother.
I call my father's mother's brother: tatangulu, my grandfather.
My son calls his grandfather's mother's brother: tata, my father.
My father calls his mother's brother's son: mubiala, joking relative or cross-cousin.
I call my father's mother's brother's son: tatangulu, grandfather for, as outlined above, this man as well as the father's elder brother and father's senior brother is classified with the grandfathers.
My son calls his grandfather's mother's brother's son: tata, father.
My father calls his mother's brother's son's son: mwana wa mubiala, child of my cross-cousin, which is much the same as "my child". I call my father's mother's brother's son's son: mubetu wane, my brother: my senior brother (mukulu wane) if born before me; my junior brother (muto wane) if born after me.
My son calls his grandfather's mother's brother's son's son: grandfather or father according to whether he is called elder or younger brother by myself.

This interpersonal terminology changes, or better, shifts, if the father or father's mother's brother dies. If my father's mother's brother dies, his son becomes father's "male mother" but remains my grandfather. The sons too of my father's new "male mother" continue to be my brothers. If my father dies, my father's mother's brother remains my grandfather; my father's cross-cousin, however, now becomes my "male mother" and his sons continue to be my brothers. If my father were alive and his male cross-cousin died, the child of his cross-cousin (mwana we mubiala) would become his "male mother". This man whom I used to call brother would then become neither my grandfather nor my maternal uncle but would be considered as being my mubiala.

Categories of Maternal Uncles and Marriage-Prohibitions

Ka mulume kasonga tugu wa kunse kwa nina, ntasonga wa kunse kwise ("A man may surely marry a girl from behind his mother. He may not marry a girl from behind his father.")

As a general rule, it may be stated that a man is not allowed to marry a girl from the minimal lineage-group of any of the seven cat-

gories of "male mothers" described, at least before six generations have passed and the terminological point of mubuto uzinda ("kinship is finished") has been reached. The significance of the number of generations is reflected in the five separate terms for descendants: mwana, my child; muyukulu, my grandchild; kayokolo kane, my great-grandchild, kankumbamazu kane, my great-great-grandchild; and kampetamegongo kane, child of my great-great-grandchild. Below that there is not any specific term available and we have arrived at mubuto uzinda of "kinship is finished".

Even if on the side of the "male mothers" this point has been reached, marriage-prohibitions may remain. This is particularly so if the links between both lineages have been firmly maintained; if both groups live in one another's neighbourhood or are established in the same village or sequence of villages (mutanda); if older people who know quite well the exact kinship tie are alive; or if, because of situations resulting from the structure of the compound family and from birth- and death-ratios, the relations of generations is a very unbalanced one.

Lega Sayings with regard to Maternal Uncles and Sororal Nephews

1. Kelongo mctula enazi nu mwigwa, ku kuboko kwe ikazi ukokomezia mwigwa mbandi: ("a clan: four hearths and a sororal nephew; on the female side is firmly established the sororal nephew, he whom we cannot deny anything.")
This song is frequently sung during initiation into the bwame closed association. The concept is even illustrated on plaited discs and by means of ivory carvings. It firstly refers to basic structural arrangements with regard to Lega kinship-groups. These almost always comprise an agnatic nucleus, into which sororal nephews and other people too have been absorbed. It further stresses the high degree of privilege and regard of which sororal nephews are the object.
2. Mwigwa mpiku, munda munyama u mwecyamine mpiku: ("the sororal nephew: a kidney; deep within the animal has slept the kidney") The kidneys too, of each animal killed are a privileged part of the sororal nephew.
3. Nkoko lenalingelaga, mwigwa wa konyama u wanendile nazo: ("the chicken I have spurned; the sororal nephew has gone away with it.") A sororal nephew is his uncle's pet and favourite; in his village he may take away, without sanction, chickens, goats, meat, food and other valuables.
4. Mwigwa kyogo kya nkenze kyakomana lusu: ("the sororal nephew is a housepole of nkenze wood" i.e. a very hard wood used for the men's gathering house.) This is a precept mengu given to the youth during kongabulumbu-rites: "Do not ever imagine clan-daughters and their descendants to be a negligible quantity."
5. Kwita muntu, kutene na mobia mwa Kasumba: ("to kill a man is to fly to the maternal uncles to Kasumba" - lit. a place where one is at home; a spot one frequently visits.) An uncle's village is, in all circumstances, an ideal refuge.
6. Kabegabega, mwana we mutamba, ambega: ("the little wrongdoer, child of the marriage payment provider, does wrong against me.") A sororal nephew may engage in all kinds of liberties. He is,

however, not allowed to seduce his uncle's wife. If so, the maternal uncle is unable to react severely against him, but the final issue will be a gradual slackening of good relations.

7. Bwame keteta kya nkame kyankananie bamwizio: ("the bwame association, a big packet of rafters which my maternal uncles have tied up for me.") This song stresses the high degree of co-operation between both kinsmen with regard to the bwame initiation.
8. Kalembo ka tatago, nsybulaga ukankula mcga, nabulaga ukalapaga na ba kwisula: ("little billy-goat of my father, I did not imagine that you would butt me; I thought that you would fight with those at the confines of the village.") This refers to the desperate complaint of a Mulega: "my agnates, you are ill-disposed against me, you do me wrong, I am but weak. Why did you not quarrel and settle matters with my maternal uncles? They surely would have protected me against your wrath."
9. Bamwizio babazaga melela, nne u wakelwa ge ibungu: ("my maternal uncles have dug out very light canoes, but I am belated without hope of salvation at the water-side.") This is to say that there is no hope left to me of ever getting initiated to the bwame association. My maternal uncles who were powerful bame, all of them, have died out.
10. Keluka bamwizio bansesa itonde ta bamwizio: ("Keluca-bird, my maternal uncles cut me the tail. They are not my maternal uncles"; or from maternal uncles only true assistance and loyal help is expected.)
11. Lutunge lumozi ntabuta: ("one thigh does not bring forth.") and Ikazi na idume na mutcli magulugwa lwendo: ("left and right, each side is cleaved by the large river.") These sayings give the reasons why Lega never lay stress on the agnatic group only.
12. Nevertheless it is continually asked: Ku baso hu ku bonyoko kuni kusoga: ("among your fathers and among your mothers, where is it best?") The answer is: among your fathers, for there reciprocal respect, security and congeniality are better assured. Lega even assert that the more an individual is well integrated within his patri-group, the more he will be honoured by his maternal uncles.

Some Privileges, Rights and Duties Existing among Maternal Uncles and Sororal Nephews

1. A sororal nephew possesses the right of ntiko; a maternal uncle has the right of idego. Ntiko is the right a sororal nephew has to inherit from his maternal uncle. Idego are claims exercised by maternal uncles on special payments when their nephew or niece dies.

When his maternal uncle dies, a sororal nephew may get several kinds of things. He may be awarded a wife, bikulo (shell-money, goats, tools), and isigi (the bride payment given or to be given for a female cross-cousin of his). With regard to the bwame association, a sororal nephew may get the initiatory objects and paraphernalia of his uncle, provided he has acceded to the same degree in the association. This however is only a provisional legacy, for the day a younger brother or son of his maternal uncle gets initiated to that degree, he has to return all objects to him. Rights of possessing the knife of the ant-eater, of organising the muscmbc

circumcision rites, or of making lutala circumcision lodges may also temporarily pass on to the sororal nephew.

To inherit from the property left by a maternal uncle, is further always subject to certain conditions. If the mwizio has left behind brothers or sons, to them only belongs the right of distributing the wives and goods. Ka nkazi kubegania nte ka ndunc kasila. ("The female side distributing means the male side has died out.") This does not exclude the fact of the sororal nephew receiving some part of the goods, even if his uncle has many close agnates. He will, however, rarely be alone to benefit by them, for sororal nephews are numerous under the principles of Omaha-terminology and because of the several categories of maternal uncles recognised. The order of primogeniture and the order of classificatory distance will then determine how the goods have to be divided. Strictly speaking a sororal niece may not inherit from her maternal uncle. On his death, she may however be awarded chickens, goats, shell-money and pieces of bark cloth. Chickens are really her property, because they represent the privileged part of all sororal nephews and nieces. Pieces of bark-cloth are hers, if worn by herself; if given to her husband, they become part of the mubego gifts. Mubego gifts are presents which a man continually gets from his wife's family or from her maternal uncles as long as the marriage-link lasts. They form the counter-part of igambia or mekcsi, gifts presented by a man, his family or maternal uncles to his wife's family or maternal uncles. To the mubego group also belong the shell-money and goats a woman might get at her maternal uncle's death.

Maternal uncles, on the contrary, cannot inherit from their sororal nephew. On his death, they may however temporarily take over some of the rights he possessed, for example the knife of the ant eater, musembe and lutala mentioned above, etc. Yet they exercise claims to idego-payments. On the death of their sororal nephew, the seven categories of "male mothers" referred to previously are engaged in a complex series of distributions and redistributions of goods. When their unmarried sororal niece dies, three groups only of "male mothers" participate in the same cycle of exchanges. If their sororal niece was married, four groups of "male mothers" and the girl's agnates, as a fifth group, are concerned with the idego transactions. We do not emphasise further these idego payments now, because the relevant material has been condensed in an article to be published in AFRICA

2. A man often gets presents from his maternal uncles, which he afterwards uses as mekcsi payments to his wife's family. When a marriage is dissolved, these mekcsi gifts, plus the marriage payment, less the mubego gifts, have to be repaid to the husband's family. If he gets these payments back, a man does not have to return to his maternal uncles the part of gifts received from them and used as mekcsi.
3. When a man brings forth his first son, the maternal uncles of this son have to receive the milindic payment. It generally consists of ten kanuc measures of shell-money, an iron tool and an axe. This payment is thought to belong to the group of muyolclo offerings, a kind of thanksgiving, because pregnancy is said to be a sort of illness.

4. As soon as it begins to crawl, their sister's child receives its first muyolelo offering from its maternal uncles; a chicken, meat, fish and earth nuts.
5. If their nephew gets seriously injured, his maternal uncles claim the mesululu payment: a he-goat and the weapon or knife that injured him. The real maternal uncles will then award one leg of the goat to the maternal uncles of their nephew's father and one shoulder of it to the maternal uncles of their nephew's mother. If other categories of maternal uncles happen to be nearby, they are allowed to partake in the meat distribution.
6. An individual who has several categories of maternal uncles living within his village is called ketutuma. A man having several categories of maternal uncles living in the same sequence of villages (mutanda) is called mubake. Both of them are highly considered by society and are said to consolidate the agnatic kinship ties. They never will be sent to war in the first ranks.
7. When leaving the circumcision lodge, a nephew goes to receive a muyolclo offering from his maternal uncles: four or five chickens and one iron tool.
8. Even if the amount of marriage payments necessary is sufficient a sororal nephew always gets some supplementary goats and shell-money from his maternal uncles.
9. A nephew visiting his uncle's village may freely take away chickens, food, money, tools, nets and even goats. A maternal uncle enjoys the same privileges in his nephew's village, except that he may not take goats. There was only one means of prohibiting a nephew from taking goats, dogs and chairs, namely by tying around it a katembetembe (lit. little phallus), a small ivory figurine or other ivory carving.
10. Although a nephew may inherit his maternal uncle's wife, he must abstain from seducing her during his uncle's lifetime. This would be considered as sengane, misplaced joking, although this type of seduction is not believed to result in metala, incest illness.
11. Concerning a secondary marriage with a maternal uncle's wife, it should be noticed that a sororal nephew never can get a wife of his uncle who has been initiated to bunyamwa. Bunyamwa is the highest woman's degree of the bwame association, parallel to the men's kindi degree. Such a woman has to remain within the closely tied group of agnates. If her husband dies without leaving behind close agnates, she is usually given to the mukondi we idumba, supervisor of the grave (in this case, an initiate of the kindi degree).
12. The nephew's privileged portion of each animal killed is the kidneys (mpiku). The maternal uncles' part is either mutibi, the middle portion of the back, or kasele, the haunches.
13. A sororal nephew was often sent as a messenger to his maternal uncles, in case a man of his lineage was guilty of kaselc, blood-revenge. He then secretly informed them that a man

would be sent to them to be killed.

14. A sororal nephew may get buncnckesc within his maternal uncle's group. This means that he may become "master of the land" and supreme authority, when settling among them.
15. Maternal uncles and sororal nephews are continually engaged in a mululo assistance, that is to say, in all circumstances they provide one another with necessary goods. Formerly co-operation in wartime was usual. Maternal uncles, on the other hand, readily engaged in musubo, revenge, when their nephew had been done wrong or had been killed.
16. It was a universal custom to notify the sororal nephew about any war expedition planned. A small packet of magungu leaves, containing a kezombo fruit, which was a symbol of the sororal nephew, was then sent to him. If the nephew disliked the proposed expedition, he hurriedly came to his uncle's village to put his veto. A goat, called mpenc za malonga ("the goat of reconciliation") was then killed by the warriors.
17. A maternal uncle or sororal nephew is never paid for services rendered. Another for example has to be paid for initiation into the bunsingia, dance and initiatory techniques of the bwame association by a sororal nephew at his uncle's.
18. The ant-eater (ikaga) is a kitikolo, an animal prohibited to younger people; it is, at the same time, an animal of kulongana, an animal to be distributed among a mass of kinsmen in the village of the possessor of the knife of the ant-eater. It is the exclusive right of a sororal nephew to take off the animal's shells and to kill the goat, which has to be eaten together with the meat of the ant-eater. His privileged portion of the animal consists of the kidneys, buscsasesa-cuttings and three shell-lengths of the tail. When enjoying his privilege for the first time, he has to give a knife to his maternal uncle.
19. When a wife is inherited, her new husband has to give an important part of goods to her family (bulambi). Her maternal uncles do not get anything on this occasion.
20. A man guilty of incest was seldom banished out of his group. But he was no longer allowed to contract a bubaki marriage, that is to say a marriage with a girl of his sub-clan or clan; neither might he claim the marriage payment provided for a girl of his own lineage. He might however marry a wife either with his own goods or with goods received from his maternal uncles.
21. A sororal nephew might intervene in the kabi ordeal. A woman found guilty of sorcery and collapsing under the effects of the powerful narcotics, could be relieved by him. This was called ubulwa kabi. He gave her an egg to eat together with a concoction of herbs and stirred in her mouth a stick previously dipped in human excrement.
22. The relationship of maternal uncles to sororal nephews is a very important one with regard to the bwame association. The

development of rites and degrees of this association has been an intricate process of continual shifting of emphasis, accretion and adaptation. New rites, for example existing among other Lega groups were regularly introduced into the group. This mainly happened by way of sororal nephews or maternal uncles. As soon as the rite had been introduced within one or other group of maternal uncles, a powerful initiate among the sororal nephews went to acquire it there for his own group.

Many did not succeed in acceding to the association within their own group, whether because of lacking the necessary initiatory payments, or because of rejection. They then went to their maternal uncles to be initiated there.

With regard to the highest degree of kindi, a sororal nephew often took over the role of kuye or mwikalizi. An initiation into kindi takes a very long preparation, in order to get the necessary goods. Moreover it is a common pattern that the initiated try to annoy as much as possible the initiate. During the preparatory period they regularly come to his village to ask presents, to count his goods stored and to invent all possible reasons for delaying the beginnings of the initiation. It is then that a maternal uncle or sororal nephew initiated to the kindi degree will run to his kinsman's aid and come to settle in his village as a kuye. Kuye is a little bird which is said to lure the other birds by its songs so that they may come together. The kuye in this case will urge his bame colleagues to be benevolent towards his kinsman. He will oppose their covetousness and will insist upon the initiation being held by issuing the warning (kotampo) that he will not leave his kinsman's village before all initiations are completed.

When preparing his initiation, a man goes to visit most of his maternal uncles and sororal nephews, asking them to help him with goods, (mululo: mctumwa). His sororal nephews will contribute with all kinds of goods (goats, tools, nets, shell-money, clothes, resin torches, antelopes, food, chickens). His maternal uncles help too, except that they may not give him chickens. Initiated uncles or nephews will generally come to join their kinsman's village in order to assist in his initiation. During and after the dances they will get their ~~part~~ of the nkindo and mwikio distributions in the same way as other participants. But before returning home, they have to receive a return payment (ikaso or menganangana).

The real sororal nephew is a gosia or musc, a person who will assure help wherever dangers or difficulties arise. It may happen for example that, during the very secret kasisi rite of the yananio degree, one or more goats are lacking. This elicits opposition and threats of prohibition on the side of the initiators. In such a case it is usually the sororal nephew who provides the necessary support to his maternal uncle.

23. With regard to the ancestral cult, a man always invokes the spirits of his patrilineage, when offering in his own village. When staying at his maternal uncle's or passing by their ancient village settlements (makindu) he sacrifices to the spirits of his maternal uncles' lineage

Discussion on M. Biebuyck's paper

Mrs. Reining asked for further clarification of the degree to which the Lega kinship terminology could be classed as an ~~Omaha~~ system.

M. Biebuyck explained that the Omaha terminology only came into use after the death of either ego's father or his maternal uncle. It was not used by ego before that event. He thought that insufficient attention had been given by anthropologists to the study of changes in terminology that took place in the life-time of one individual as he grew older and gradually assumed different positions in the kinship system. He had found this change in terminology at the death of the father or the maternal uncle in all the Lega groups.

Dr. Southall asked for further information about the local grouping of kinsmen.

M. Biebuyck replied that all the members of one lineage tended to live in one village. Both the clan and the lineage were localised groups in the old days, but since 1935 the Belgian administration had introduced changes in the settlement pattern. Before that most villages tended to be organised on a similar structural pattern.

Mrs. Reining asked whether it was true that the Lega could marry within the clan. Did this mean that the clan was an endogamous group?

M. Biebuyck explained that the Lega could marry within special linked clans.

Dr. Richards asked what forms of property were passed down on the paternal side. The ties of a man with his mother's relatives had been shown to involve a complicated series of exchanges and forms of mutual co-operation. Was the agnatic group held together by ownership of land or some other form of property which made it a corporate local group as distinct from the ceremonial and other ties uniting a man with his maternal relatives?

M. Biebuyck agreed that this was so, even in the case of the shallow patrilineages of the Lega which sometimes numbered only three generations.

Dr. Richards again asked whether the power of the maternal uncle as against that of the father tended to vary according to the presence or absence of a hierarchical political system. It had been her impression in Northern Rhodesia that maternal uncles who could claim high rank or office achieved stronger powers over their sisters' children than the latter's own father did, thus producing great variation from family to family in the position of the mother's brothers over against that of the father. Were the unusual powers of the maternal uncle described by M. Biebuyck universally exercised irrespective of the rank or wealth of the individuals involved?

M. Biebuyck said his description only applied to the particular

area in which he was working, in which rank was not an important phenomenon. He would like to ask Dr. Maquet whether individual maternal uncles among the Hutu in Rwanda were beginning to achieve more power over their sisters' children now that the Hutu were able to reach higher positions in the status system.

Dr. Maquet thought this question might be examined but he added that the mother's brother always had a very important position among the Rwanda.

Dr. Southall thought that it might be found that the role of the maternal uncle would prove to be more important when he lived far away from the village of his sister's children. In this case he might be found to fulfil an important function as a channel of communication between possibly hostile groups. He asked M. Biebuyck if there was a marked distinction between the duties fulfilled by maternal uncles living in a man's own village and those who lived far away.

M. Biebuyck said there was of course some distinction although in the majority of cases ego's maternal uncles did not live in his village. Even in the case of a mother's brother living far away he came to his maternal nephew's village to share in work or other forms of co-operation.

Mr. Mukwaya thought that possibly the position of the maternal uncle among the Lega was due to the strength of polygamy or some such other institution rather than to the political system.

Mrs. Reining agreed with him and thought it should be realised that in societies with a high degree of polygamy many children had to share their father with other half-brothers and sisters whereas a group of full siblings had their own maternal uncle.

M. de Heusch however pointed out that maternal uncles also fulfilled important functions in monogamous societies and M. Biebuyck added that the rate of polygamy was lower among the Lega than among surrounding tribes.

Dr. Richards wondered whether the position of the maternal uncle among the Lega was such an unique phenomenon. She thought it could be paralleled from many other parts of Africa even though the exchanges of gifts seemed to be here unusually complex and the role of the mother's brother in the initiation into the bwame cult gave him perhaps a special position.

Dr. Winter agreed but pointed out that there was one unusual phenomenon in the Lega kinship system and that was the fact that a man could obtain a wife through bride-wealth got from his maternal uncle.

Session VIII

Friday February 27th
9 a.m.

Chairman M. le Gouverneur Deschamps

Mr. C.C. Wrigley Agrarian Structure in Buganda

The subject of this paper is the problem of the size of farming units, or "exploitations" (I propose to use this convenient French term throughout, in order to make and keep it clear that the problem has no direct or necessary connexion with the structure of land ownership). The geographical context is Buganda, more especially the subdivision of Buddu county where I am working, and the economic context is the production of commercial crops, more especially coffee, which is the predominant cash crop in that area.

I would justify the choice of subject by saying dogmatically that, with the exception of the rate of population growth, there is no more important factor in the economic and social life of any people than the division of its land between many or between few "exploitants".

It is often believed that the issue is between productive efficiency on the one hand and social justice, political stability and so forth on the other. Neither of the propositions implied by this should in fact be accepted without question. It is not necessarily true that the small producer is less efficient than the large. Nor is it necessarily true that peasant agriculture makes, in the long run, for a more egalitarian society than a regime of large "exploitations". Until quite recently critics of the agrarian revolution as it was carried out in England used to point to the French peasant as the model of what might have been. What they forgot, and what the rise of the French Communist Party has reminded us, was that the French masses were by no means all peasants. There was an urban proletariat too; and precisely because of the survival of the peasants, it has remained politically impotent, unlike its English counterpart, and in consequence economically depressed and socially disaffected. It is possible, since there is going to be an urban proletariat in Buganda, that here too it might be better for social health, ultimately, that the bulk of the rural population also should become a proletariat, allied in interest and sentiment to that of the towns. This is a suggestion only, and a mild protest against too ready an acceptance of the contrary view.

In Buganda the farming structure is still very fluid, as it has been for the past fifty years. Government policy in the matter has undergone at least one complete reversal, and there are signs that it is in process of undergoing another. In the first stage of Uganda's history, everything pointed to the rise of large "exploitations". In the first place it was assumed that the main instrument of economic development would be the European planter. This view was the predominant view up to about 1913, when the success of African-grown cotton began to cause some doubts, and the view of a large faction within the administration up till 1921, when many of the existing planters were ruined by the slump. In the second place, so far as "development" was expected to be carried out by Africans at all, it was mainly the

chiefs and large landowners who were expected to do it. Under the Agreement of 1900 the land of Buganda - that part of it which was not to become Crown property - was allotted to the ruling classes of the time in large freehold estates. The smallest of these were of 160 acres and there were many of 8 square miles or even more. The object of this arrangement was not primarily economic. It was to put an end to the prevailing anarchy and to create a settled aristocracy of landowners who would be bound to the British connexion by ties of interest. But once the arrangement had been made it was hoped that the new landowners would develop their properties; and it was they who received rather spasmodic and half-hearted encouragement to plant coffee and other plantation crops.

But in the early 'twenties there was a complete change of policy and outlook. From this time on the emphasis was on agricultural production by Africans rather than by Europeans and by African peasants rather than by estate-owners. The reasons for this change were both ideological and practical. This was the heyday of the ideas loosely grouped under the concept of Indirect Rule, that is, a preference for the adaptation of existing African institutions rather than their replacement by European importations. On the economic side this implied the encouragement of production by and for Africans in preference to the introduction of European enterprise. This was also the time of a widespread idealisation of the independent peasant, when the large English landowner was economically decadent and politically out of favour, when peasant-dominated states were being created in Europe as a bulwark against Bolshevism. To the conservative thinker the peasant was the symbol of social stability, to the radical, the symbol of equality. But the policy of the Uganda Government would hardly have changed as abruptly as it did if economic factors had not pointed in the same direction. Neither the European nor the African estate owner had in fact accomplished what had been expected of them. It was now impossible for the most ardent champion of European enterprise to ignore the fact that the country's economy was based almost entirely on cotton, which was almost entirely African-grown, whereas the planters had achieved, and were likely to achieve very little. This was partly the result of sheer misfortune or miscalculation. High-priced arabica coffee had been planted where soil and climate were much better suited to robusta; a lot of money had been sunk in cocoa, which was a total failure; rubber trees came into bearing at the precise moment when the market collapsed; they were badly hurt by the currency changes of 1920. But there were more fundamental reasons as well. The plain fact was that at inter-war prices (except perhaps between 1924 and 1929) planting in Uganda did not pay the European planter, or paid him very little. Throughout this period there was hardly any non-native demand for land, and the planted acreage on the existing estates barely increased at all after 1920. Many of the planters either went home or, by going into cotton ginning or commerce, acknowledged the truth of the old economist's dictum: "There is more to be got by manufacture than by husbandry and more by merchandise than by manufacture."

Nor were the great African landed proprietors of Buganda much less of a disappointment. In the first quarter of a century at least after the introduction of freehold very few landowners took up agriculture on

a commercial scale. Why should they have taken the trouble to assemble and direct a labour force when they could live comfortably off rents and the undefined but often large share of the cotton and coffee grown by their tenants, or else could realise a nice capital sum by selling off their estates? (One of the biggest coffee estates in Buganda was indeed founded by a landowner in the twenties, but this was a rather special case. He had held high office in the financial department of the Buganda Government, until the day when the accounts were first properly audited. After his two years in gaol, he retired to his estate in Buddu and started to grow coffee, which he did with great success, and his son after him. He was clearly exceptional in three ways: he had unusual enterprise; he had capital; and he had good reasons for abstaining from political activity and from the social pleasures of Kampala.)

From the early twenties on, therefore, it was to the peasant and his acre and half-acre plots of cotton or coffee that the Government looked for the progress of the country. "The prosperity of Uganda," wrote the Acting Governor in 1922, "now depends wholly on peasant production." In the same despatch he described the "ultimate desideratum" as being "the division of the land among a large number of peasant producers. On this basis the economic prosperity and social development of the tribe (the Ganda) can be most surely developed." For some years this had been the opinion of a minority which included the Director of Agriculture and certain provincial administrators; it was now the official policy of the Protectorate Government. There followed a series of measures designed to strengthen the position of the peasant against both the European planter and the African landlord. In 1923 it was finally decided that non-natives would be allowed to acquire no further freehold rights. This decision, it is true, merely confirmed a ruling which had been in force since 1916, but that ruling had been a fiat of the Colonial Office which had not, at that time, greatly pleased the local administration. In 1923 it was also decided to make an intensive effort to extend African production of coffee, hitherto regarded as primarily a European plantation product. As a result the estimated acreage of African-planted coffee in Uganda, most of it in Buganda Province, rose within six years from about 1,500 to over 22,000 acres. And in 1927 the Central Council of Buganda was somehow induced to pass the Busulu and Nvujjo Law, the Peasants' Charter, which made a customary tenancy legally secure and heritable and fixed rents and tithes at sums which the falling value of money has since made nominal. On the part of the Protectorate Government this measure was meant to be a mitigation of what were now regarded as the folly and injustice of the original land settlement. In practice it has probably facilitated rather than hindered the rise of large "exploitations", in that it has made it less easy for a landowner to live off the rents of his land without cultivating it himself as a demesne.

The policy of encouraging peasant agriculture as the basis of the economy held the field without serious challenge until towards the end of the Second World War. Since then there has been a noticeable though by no means a decisive change, again connected both with currents of thought in Europe and with the local economic situation. In the ideology of colonial policy "development and welfare" have gained ground at the expense of the

theory of gradual evolution. There is a connexion of the same general kind between the groundnuts scheme and the introduction of elected local councils as there was between the principle of ruling through traditional chiefs and the encouragement of peasant agriculture. Moreover small-scale production of any kind is no longer in general favour; the tractors-and-fertilisers school of agrarian economy is in the ascendant; and there has been a general revulsion against continuing to rely upon the "ignorant man with a hoe". One reason at least is evident. With a sellers' market prevailing for primary products the inter-war situation was reversed: quantity has come to matter much more than cost, and the low-cost producer has thus lost his special advantage. And in respect of quantity it seemed that peasant production was approaching its uttermost limits. The average combined volume of Uganda's two main exports, cotton and coffee, was actually a good deal lower in 1946 - 48 than it had been in 1936 - 38. It was not surprising therefore that the late Governor, in his foreword to the Development Plan of 1946, should have spoken a little wistfully of the advantages, which he described as axiomatic, of large-scale production under European direction. This solution he rejected decisively enough, but it was clearly for political and social reasons that he did so. So though we cannot speak of a change of policy there has been a distinct change of attitude, visible in the experiments with mechanisation, in the encouragement of co-operatives and in the respect with which Agricultural Officers speak of the relatively large-scale African farmers who now exist, in contrast to the growers of what they call backyard coffee.

Let us now take a look at the actual structure of African farming in Buganda. I can only speak of my own small corner, and since I have only just begun my study I can give no more than very tentative first impressions. A few things however are fairly clear. Thirty years ago or less the structure appears to have been very simple. There were landowners and there were tenants. Broadly speaking the tenants were the "exploitants" and they were all on very much the same level. Since then the structure of landownership has changed enormously, a large proportion of the old estates having been broken up into fragments varying generally from 5 to about 70 acres, with the largest number round about the 20-acre mark. But a far more important change has been a differentiation in the size of "exploitations". On the one hand there are now a considerable number of people, mostly but not all landowners, who cultivate an area very greatly in excess of the average, who have ceased to be peasants in the ordinary sense of the word and have become substantial farmer-employers, using immigrant labour, most of it from Ruanda. On the other, there is a large number of people with small, sub-standard holdings. These are for the most part immigrants who came as labourers and have lately been squeezing themselves into nooks and corners of unoccupied land. Thus there has been a double deviation from the standard type of peasant who combined subsistence production and production for the market in roughly equal proportions: on the one hand commercial enterprises in which subsistence production has become altogether subsidiary - there is no farmer however who does not grow his own food - and on the other a reversion to almost pure subsistence agriculture; for on the small holdings referred to there is rarely more than a quarter of an acre of cotton and a dozen or so sad-looking coffee trees.

To fill in the picture further I would divide the present-day "exploitants" into the following classes. The division of course is an arbitrary one, there being in reality an almost infinite series of gradations. First, there are the very large coffee-growers who operate on a scale fully equal to that of non-native planters. Of these, in my particular area, there is only one, or rather one father-and-son combination. These people, as far as I can ascertain, have only one compeer in the whole county and very few in all Buganda. They have 165 acres under coffee, employ from 50 to 100 men and claim to sell 200 tons of coffee (that is of dried cherry, equivalent to about 100 tons clean). This figure, if true, would be about five per cent of the entire production of the sub-county, which contains some five thousand taxpayers and probably about half that number of independent growers of coffee. In fact, I treat it with some reserve. All the same, they cannot fail to be making several thousands of pounds a year. They possess a large, lavishly-furnished house, a large American car, and a well-stocked shop. They have installed pulping machinery for their coffee and are the moving spirits of a co-operative which has applied for one of the first coffee-curing licences to be issued to Africans. There is a continuous concourse of employees and hangers-on at their headquarters, where the atmosphere is rather like what one imagines at the house of a great chief in the old days. Indeed I suspect it is the desire to play a chief's role, rather than the desire for wealth as such, that provides their driving force. To that I would add the Protestant ideology of personal achievement - it is noticeable that in this predominantly Catholic district a large proportion of the more ambitious farmers are either Protestants or Moslems.

Secondly, there is a more numerous class of people, who without being in the same class as the pair just described, are nevertheless very substantial farmers. These have anything from 15 to 80 acres of coffee, sell from 5 to 40 tons a year (some of them also sell bananas or maize on a commercial scale) and employ from 5 to 20 labourers. Few of them wield the hoe themselves to any extent.

Now we come to the main mass of cultivators. Among these I would distinguish, as my third class, the well-to-do peasants. These people have iron or tiled roofs to their houses, pictures on the wall, a table with a cloth; they eat meat and sugar regularly; their wives are well-dressed; they aim to send their children to Junior Secondary Schools. Such standards of consumption cannot be sustained with an output of less than half a ton of coffee, considerably more if hired labour has to be employed or if there are many children of school age. The peasant of this type may in fact sell from half a ton to five tons a year. He generally employs one or two porters fairly regularly and one or two more occasionally, but he nearly always does at least some manual work himself.

The middling peasant has a grass roof to his house. Meat and sugar are rather occasional luxuries to him, nor does he usually aspire to more than primary education for his children. He sells between 200 and 1,000 lbs. of coffee, and rarely employs regular hired labour. Not uncommonly he supplements the cash income derived from his holding by the practice of some semi-skilled craft such as carpentry or barkcloth-making.

Both the preceding classes live in ways which conform, in greater or less degree, to the current Ganda norm, and which would be considered as very adequate by most of the peasants of Asia, or for that matter of large areas of Eastern and Southern Europe. Below them, however, is a class of people who are definitely poor. These have holdings which are both small by Ganda standards (less than four acres) and of poor soil, and which do not appear to yield a cash income of more than £5 a year. Poverty is of course relative. These people are not destitute. They have probably nearly enough, though probably not quite enough, to eat. But their homes are mere hovels, their clothing sketchy. If they eat meat at all it is offal. Sugar is something which is bought for sick children - and in parts of the village where this class predominates every other person seems to be ailing. The majority of them are immigrants, and many are immigrants who have only recently acquired land and may work their way up in time to the middling peasant class, as a good many of their countrymen have already done. But they also include an appreciable number of Ganda who for some reason - ill-health, idleness, lack of generous relatives or most commonly drink - have fallen below the level of output and consumption achieved by most of their neighbours.

All these classes are landholders. There is also of course the numerous class of landless labourers - immigrants without exception - who make the larger "exploitations" possible.

Such a description is of very little use without an estimate of the proportions of the population which fall into the various classes. At this stage I find it very difficult to give figures that would be worth anything. But for what they may be worth -. In the one village that I have studied at all intensively there are as it happens, no large farmers. In the sub-county there are perhaps thirty or forty such - say 2 per cent of the cultivators. In my village I estimate that 19 per cent of the taxpayers are well-to-do peasants, 27 per cent middling peasants, 33 per cent poor peasants and 20 per cent landless labourers. The last are the most doubtful, owing to their migratory habits, and there would obviously be more of them in a village which contained large farmers.

So much for the present situation. The question now is: what is going to happen next? Are the large farmer-employers a portent, destined to multiply in numbers and swallow up the independent peasant into their wage-earning system, or will they remain as at present, a minor element in the economy and society of Buganda, or even perhaps disappear. Looking at the matter from an economic point of view, it must first be said that there are few obvious advantages of scale in coffee-growing. Mechanisation has yet to be proved economic, and in any case can hardly be applied to the major operation of picking. (Being unmechanical myself I am prepared to believe that a machine can do anything, but stripping a coffee tree of its fruit is surely one of the last things.) The only processing that needs to be done immediately is to lay the cherries out in the sun to dry, so no elaborate equipment is needed on the farm. Nor does the grower need any appreciable amount of capital. The early advocates of European agricultural enterprise in Uganda laid great stress on the introduction of capital. But how, after all, did the planters spend

Digitized by Google

increase, either at the expense of the poor peasants or by the use of new resources.

Let us first, however, look at the way in which the existing big "exploitants" came into being. In the twenties and thirties conditions were in many ways very favourable to them. To begin with, though the land was very fertile, population was very sparse, partly perhaps because this had been a border district, partly because it lacks surface water. Even twenty years ago, I am told, there were more buffaloes than people in areas which are almost covered with bananas and coffee today; and I have found only one man over thirty who was born in my particular village. Thus not only was land very cheap to buy, but the permanent usufruct of forty, fifty, even eighty acres could be acquired without paying anything but the standard rent of ten shillings a year. Once acquired, such areas could be developed easily enough, because labour as well as land was reasonably plentiful. This is a paradox, explained by the fact that the labourers were migrant foreigners, usually as yet unable and probably not even anxious to acquire land for themselves, and, as labourers, very easily exploited.

The position is now very different. The price of land is surprisingly low even now, but that is probably due to the potential buyer's lack of capital. It is evident to the naked eye that there is very little good land left uncultivated. The future labour supply depends on many factors, such as the pace of industrialisation, the rate of population growth in the surrounding districts and territories, the success of the Plan Decennal, but the most likely conjecture is that the supply of immigrants available to the Ganda farmer will not be greater, and may be less, than it has been hitherto. The system of large "exploitations" can therefore not expand unless the "exploitants" are able to lay hands on the land and, failing mechanisation, the labour of the poor peasants. With regard to the labour he may be successful. It is true that when an immigrant becomes established on the land the first result is his withdrawal from the labour market. But when he finds that his holding is too small to occupy him full-time or to give him the income for the standard of living which is customary in his new society, there is a tendency for him to go back to part-time wage labour, and this tendency is likely, I think, to become more pronounced. Moreover the statement that a Muganda does not do unskilled wage-labour is not as axiomatic as it was. At any rate, I have found one Muganda who works from time to time on the roads, and another, a landowner at that, whose cash income comes mainly from carrying other people's coffee to market, which is usually considered a labourer's job. The land, however, is another matter. If one thing is certain it is that no peasant, however poor, will voluntarily give up his independent source of food supply, and without a change in the law he cannot be made to do so.

On the whole therefore I do not believe that the system of large "exploitations" is likely to make spectacular progress in Buganda or to become the dominant factor in the economy for a very long time to come.

Discussion on Mr. Wrigley's paper.

Mr. Baxter asked whether Baganda small holders often went out to work as they did in Kenya.

Mr. Wrigley said he did not think this was common.

Dr. Richards thought an exception should be made for people working in Kampala as clerks, mechanics etc. These often lived 12 to 15 miles away and bicycled in and out of the town. They employed labourers to help their wives.

Mr. Baxter pointed out that the social implications of this kind of urban employment were much less serious than in the case of Kenya Africans who were often away for a year or 18 months at a time.

Mr. Ehrlich asked if Mr. Wrigley could give any indication as to what was happening to the soil as the result of this method of cultivation. Did he think that if the soil continued to be misused some sort of restriction would have to be imposed by the administration?

Mr. Wrigley said that it would take quite a long time for this type of exploitation of the soil to have any effect. He did not know what would happen at the end of this particular coffee bearing cycle. The present cycle would last about 20 years and there was very little spare land for the cultivator to move to. However, in this respect the European planter was no better than the African.

Mr. Ehrlich thought that European coffee planting was not on a large enough scale for there to be any problem but planters of tea were very conscious of its effect on the soil and were making efforts to preserve it.

Dr. Worthington said that in drawing up the Uganda development plan he had not got the sort of analysis that Mr. Wrigley and Mr. Mukwaya had given to guide him. Plans for various projects were made and some of them had failed. He thought there must be a close relation between Mr. Wrigley's percentage figures on different peasant types and Mr. Mukwaya's figures of holdings. Could Mr. Wrigley give any ideas as to the present trends in the land tenure system? Could he also give the relation between the African coffee industry and their cotton and food production?

Mr. Wrigley said that his figures were units of cultivation whereas Mr. Mukwaya had given figures of ownership. With regard to trends there was still considerable division of owned land going on. Some land-owners owned less in Buddu than some of the tenants who merely rented. Cotton was not largely grown in Buddu as compared with coffee and maize. Food production had been maintained, but the supply of bananas to Masaka and Kampala which were formerly important activities had diminished. The people were self-supporting as regards food, except for meat.

Mrs. Reining pointed out that there was a big difference between the effects of banana and coffee trees on

the soil, and cotton. A plot of bananas and coffee could be kept almost indefinitely in use, whereas cotton had to be planted each year.

Professor Wilson asked the density of population in the area and also wanted to know if there were any emigrants from it.

Mr. Wrigley said that the density was 78 per square mile.

The only emigrants were those going to Kampala to work as clerks, but there was now a considerable drift back to the land owing to the high cash returns that could be obtained in this area.

Dr. Mitchell asked (a) whether the increased production of nylon and coffee essences would cause the cotton and coffee markets to collapse. (b) Was there a developing division of labour, e.g. into cultivators as distinct from mechanics, drivers, etc.?

Mr. Wrigley said it was impossible to prophesy but the present price of coffee was very high and would probably rise. It could fall quite a long way and still leave the African cultivator a good margin of profit. There were of course skilled labourers, but that they did not form a significant part of the population. The area in which he was working was however the richest part of Uganda, and it must not be taken as being typical of the whole.

Dr. Southall thought useful indications as to trends could be got by going back to 1930 for instance, and finding out how much fragmentation had gone on since then.

Mr. Wrigley said he had been trying to do that by asking about holdings in the recent past and also what a man intended to do with his land when he died. So far as he could see, the Ganda population had not been rising so that excess population had not to be dealt with yet.

Dr. Neesen expressed surprise at this. Yesterday he had heard figures of 42 per thousand children with a total mortality of 30. This meant an increase of 12 per thousand.

Dr. Richards said it was important to distinguish between the increase of the immigrant population and that of the Baganda themselves. The increase in immigrants between the 1931 and 1948 census had been 25% whereas that for the Baganda themselves had been, relatively speaking, low. There seemed also to be a differential birth-rate between the two groups. In industry the Baganda participated as skilled and the immigrants as unskilled labourers.

Dr. Maquet asked if Dr. Neesen's figures referred to the Baganda themselves or to the immigrants.

Dr. Neesen said he had got the figures from calculating the differences between the birth-rate and the mortality rate, but he thought that these figures included both Ganda and immigrants.

Mr. Wrigley said in answer to Professor Wilson that there

was beginning to be strong opposition on the part of the Baganda to immigrants taking up land.

Mrs. Reining asked if the trend towards coffee growing was due to the relative shortage of arable land.

Mr. Wrigley thought however that coffee was increasing in Buddu because cotton was very chancy in that area owing to the rainfall. It also needed a great deal more labour for successful cultivation.

Gouverneur Deschamps asked whether there was the same conflict between the rural and the urban population in Buganda as there was in France. Was there a clash between the old feudal aristocracy and the new bourgeoisie?

Mr. Wrigley said there was very little conflict of that sort. The Farmers' Union was a political union which opposed the Buganda Government for not being democratic enough and the Protectorate Government for pegging the price of cotton and coffee below that of the world market. The conflict seemed to be between the landless labourer and the landowner.

Dr. Neesen thought that when there was a change from a seller's market to a buyer's one the difference between the efficiency of the large-scale and the small-scale cultivator would become apparent and that the large-scale planter would survive better.

Mr. Ehrlich also thought that the backyard coffee was being sold in an artificial market and therefore it was likely to fail on a buyer's market.

Mr. Wrigley however repeated that the method of processing was the same. The coffee was left to dry in the same way and the expenses were not so different.

Dr. A. W. Southall

Belgian and British
Administration in Alurland.

1. The Comparison.

I am here attempting a comparison between the colonial administrations of two Powers at a somewhat unusual level. It is more normal to attempt such comparisons at the level at which policy decisions are taken, as Dr. Mair has done, or to assess current developments in a colony as a whole, as Dr. Maquet has done. This is largely a question of assessing the publicly declared intentions of Colonial Powers, and their implementation at some of the significant points of the system.

The present comparison refers only to a single tribe, which found itself straddling an international frontier, and so became exposed to the administration of the Belgian Congo on the one side and of Uganda on the other. I think the facts to which I draw attention are real, but I am doubtful whether an unequivocal interpretation of them can be made. Too many variables inevitably enter into any historical human situation of this sort for one to have any certainty that the factors compared are logically comparable in the strict sense.

2. Traditional Structure.

The first point to investigate is whether the two sections of the tribe represent similar social structures occupying similar environments. The Alur tribe was split roughly in half, there being (at the time of the 1948 census) some 85,000 Alur in Uganda, and 110,000 in the Congo. There may have been two significant differences between these sections. Only two major chiefs had to be dealt with separately in Uganda, as against six in the Congo. The second difference was that the Alur had been a proselytising people, and the Uganda Alur represent the longest settled group, among whom non-Alur have been absorbed to a considerable degree; whereas the Congo included most of the frontier along which the Alur had been continuously absorbing members of other tribes such as Okebo and Lendu as their subjects. When the Belgians established administration they found it necessary to withdraw, if necessary by force, their Okebo and Lendu subjects from the Alur, setting them up with new chiefs of their own independently of the Alur. In Uganda the numbers of Okebo and Lendu were smaller, and they were left under the rule of Alur chiefs.

There are minor differences in the physical environment of the Congo and Uganda Alur, a greater proportion of Congo Alurland lying above 5000 feet and a much smaller proportion below 3000 feet, but there is no reason to suppose that any such environmental factors materially affect the terms of this comparison. There are densely populated areas on both sides of the frontier, but the Congo Alur have excellent alternative land into which they can move, while the Uganda Alur have none.

3. The first experience of foreigners.

The first significant impact of foreigners on Alur-land arose from the establishment of Emin Pasha at

¹ L. Mair, Native Policies in Africa
Dr. J. J. Maquet, The Modern Evolution of African Populations
in the Belgian Congo. Africa vol XIX, No. 40

Wadelai on the Nile. This led to plundering excursions by his followers to keep themselves supplied with livestock. The main sufferers were the Alur within a few miles of the shores of Lake Albert and the Nile, on both sides of the subsequent international boundary, but more on the Uganda than on the Congo side.

European and Arab elephant hunters began to wander about Alurland in considerable numbers, and at about the same time the practice of slave raiding was introduced. The presence of firearms exacerbated the fighting between different Alur chiefs, and the pressure to obtain guns was one of the principle incentives behind the slave trade.

The first acquaintance of the Alur with Europeans seems to have led them to the conclusion that Europeans were wanderers without any permanent stake in the country, there for what they could get before moving on. No missionaries had penetrated to Alurland at this time.

4. The First Experience of European Administration.

The history of European administration in Alurland is, for its first twenty years, a very chequered one. The first sphere of influence into which Alurland fell was that of the Lado Enclave, the rump of the Egyptian Empire in the Sudan which remained theoretically under the administration of Emin Pasha on behalf of the King of Egypt after the rest of the Sudan had been overrun by the Mahdists. Emin abandoned the Lado Enclave in 1888, and Alurland remained unadministered until 1893 when the Lado Enclave was handed over to the Congo Free State for the lifetime of King Leopold II. In fact, no regular administrators were appointed to Alurland on behalf of the Congo Free State until 1897. The Belgians occupied Wadelai once more as a post, and the British founded the post of East Wadelai on the opposite (eastern) bank of the Nile. The next two decades were a period of chaos. Slave raiding chiefs enjoyed the last years of the slave routes, which neared Alurland from all sides, elephant hunters rapidly massacred the herds for their ivory, enlisting the assistance of chiefs and being enticed by them to add their guns to the effectiveness of inter-chief feuds. Government agents appeared, chiefs submitted, revolted, fled into the bush, and finally submitted again. The administrations of first one power and then another had hardly time to start gaining control before boundaries were altered, territories exchanged and new masters took over.

From the 1890s the east bank of the Albert Nile, and the lowland Alur occupying it, came into the Uganda sphere. Most of the rest of Alurland, abandoned by Emin in 1888, received the attentions of the Congo Free State from 1897 until 1910, but the west bank of Lake Albert was also nominally in Uganda until ceded to the Congo in 1910 in exchange for other territory. In the same year Stigand took over Alurland north of Mahagi and west of the Nile as part of the Lado Enclave reverting to the Sudan by the death of King Leopold II. In 1911 the Belgians began to take over the west bank of Lake Albert. In 1914 Uganda received the Lado portion of Alurland from the Sudan in exchange for the Bari and Lotuke areas east of the Nile north of Nimule. The consequence of all this was that the south-western parts of Alurland were subjected to more or less continuous Belgian attempts to bring them under control from 1893 onwards when the first official arrived in the Mahagi areas. The north-eastern part of Alurland, now

in the West Nile District of Uganda, did not come into effective contact with European administration till 1914 when Weatherhead arrived on behalf of the Uganda Government as first District Commissioner of the West Nile.

Most of Alur chiefs fled from the control of the Belgians, some to Uganda, some into the Lado area where there was no effective control. There was an unusually rapid turnover of administrators in charge of Maigagi Territory, no less than twenty-nine between 1900 and 1920. By 1910 a number of the smaller chiefs had submitted for the time being but two more fled into Uganda during the next three years, and all the greater chiefs were still at large. They wandered in the bush eluding pursuit, but were bold enough to plan attacks on the government station as well. Between 1912 and 1917 all chiefs were brought to final submission. Subsequently a number of these were arrested from time to time, spending periods in jail for disaffection or being relegated altogether.

When north-eastern Alurland became definitely part of Uganda and Weatherhead arrived to administer it, none of the chiefs had till then come under any effective control. I am inclined to attach some historical importance to the fact that Weatherhead was a singularly able and energetic administrator, and that he persuaded the Uganda Government to give him a period of three continuous years service in the district. During his first year, with a staff of one European, one or two Asians and forty African police, he cut 250 miles of road, with 80 bridges and 35 rest camps along it; built a permanent station with offices, gaol, police store and guardroom, clerk's house, hospital, market, station store and workshop, station lines, police lines, and District Commissioner's house, and himself spent 273 days on safari, and drew a plane table map of the district.

With the outbreak of the Great War in Europe this was a difficult period for both Colonial Administrations, and no doubt, especially so for the Belgians. It was only with the greatest difficulty that Weatherhead dissuaded the Uganda Government from abandoning the West Nile District altogether. The result was that he was without European assistance for long periods at a time. The same difficulty occurred in the Congo but with the additional disadvantage of many changes of personnel.

By the time Weatherhead began to establish British Administration among the Alur the Belgians had already been struggling for seventeen years to control an enormous area with inadequate staff. The result had been that many small posts had been set up, but without any effect on any but the immediately surrounding areas.

Weatherhead profited by stressing the distinction between his administration as a permanent factor in the countryside in contrast to the previous fluctuating attempts at administration which, to the Alur, had appeared no more stable than the parties of slavers and elephant hunters who had preceded them.

It is to be noted that Alurland was a remote frontier area in relation to both the Congo and Uganda alike. But, Uganda being such a compact country by comparison, this factor probably counted for much more in the Congo.

Weatherhead began to deal with the chiefs of Uganda Alurland in 1914, and here the two major chiefs accepted his authority without any attempt at resistance, and the others followed suit. It is impossible to establish whether they were motivated in this peaceful submission by logical deductions from the subjection of their fellow chiefs in the Congo in spite of efforts of the latter at resistance. In 1917 the greatest chief of the Uganda Alur was banished for being unco-operative and "too steeped in beer and old ways" and his eldest son put in his place.

The other tribes of the West Nile District gave more trouble. They lacked any centralised political authorities, and each small section required individual treatment. This was paralleled in the Congo among the Lendu neighbours of the Alur, who continued unsubdued after the Alur chiefs had realised that the cause of freedom was lost.

5. First Administrative System.

Both Belgian and British administrations proceeded by way of recognising the de facto authorities they found, and both immediately began to amalgamate some of the smallest units which had previously been independent. Up to this point it might be held that both administrations had operated on similar principles, and that differences in application were due to differing historical circumstances. We must now discuss the increasing divergence of administrative policies once effective control had been secured.

On both sides of the border the original integration of de facto authorities into a recognised administrative system resulted in a three tier hierarchy, the sultans, wakils and headmen of Uganda corresponding in this respect to the chiefs, okils and notables of the Congo. For convenience I shall use the British terms for both. Each level of the hierarchy had a significant correlation with a particular level of the traditional political system - the sultan with the greater independent traditional chiefs, the wakil with the lesser independent chiefs and the chieftlets who were satellites of the greater chiefs, and the headman with clan or lineage heads.

The greatest of the Congo chiefs, by this system, had under him some two dozen wakils, while the greatest Uganda chief had under him a double layer of headmen (referred to as 'big' and 'little' headmen respectively), co-ordinated under a much smaller number of wakils, who were sons, brothers or brothers' sons of the chief himself.

It seems that, in the Congo, the headmen forming the lowest tier of the hierarchy corresponded, and still do correspond, very exactly to the configuration of politically organised clans and lineages as visualised by the people themselves. Very small units were amalgamated to form the jurisdiction of wakils, and on the other hand, where the population of a wakil has grown much beyond the 2000 level it has been split up and a new wakil created. Similarly where a lineage has grown rapidly it has been officially recognised as having its own headman. The recognition or liquidation of the office of headman is largely in the hands of the wakil and his council of headmen, subject to the confirmation of his sultan. However, the traditional motivations which influence wakil and headmen in this

respect make for only very gradual change.

The only innovation in the Congo system was the introduction of the capitais, and even they had a certain traditional parallel. They are to be compared with the Uganda nyamparas to be described later. In this form the structure of Alur administration in the Congo has hardly changed during the last 35 years.

In Uganda, while retaining the original nomenclature and much of the original ideology, the system has in fact been transformed by progressive amalgamation. During the first decade, amalgamation centred upon the little headman so that they were eventually merged into the big headmen as a single cadre. Subsequently some of the original big headmen were themselves amalgamated. Some minor chiefs who were originally recognised as wakils were amalgamated after the first few years. More recently, a number of wakils' areas have been amalgamated, so that the Uganda wakils now rule populations which are often as large as those of the Congo sultans.

The nyamparas were introduced at about the time that the little headmen were abolished. They thus continued to represent groups which had otherwise lost their official representation as a result of amalgamation.

In the Congo, the population under a headman ranges from as few as 40 to as many as 800, that of a wakil varies from about 400 to 2800, and that of a sultan from 3000 to 33,000.

In Uganda, rationalisation has been preferred to the maintenance of traditional units, and the population of a headman now varies from 800 to 3000, that of a wakil from 3000 to 11,000 and that of a sultan from 19,000 to 68,000. Thus the range of variation in the Uganda unit is very much narrower than in those of the Congo, while the units themselves are immensely larger.

The transformation in the size of Uganda administrative units and the relatively unchanging perpetuation of those of the Congo, is inevitably linked with other important factors such as the remuneration of the hierarchy, the performance required of them, the qualification for offices and the underlying theory of local government.

The system of remuneration is critical, because it is the only means open to the Government of changing the general status of the hierarchy. The more a chief can be raised to an economic level to which his abilities could not raise him in any other sphere, the more exacting the demands which can be made on him and the adjustments required. The Congo system has picked out the sultan to bear the main burden of local administration and to enjoy the major privileges of it. In Uganda the attempt has been made to raise the status of the hierarchy as a whole, in order that more might be required of it at every level.

Both Belgian and British systems of remuneration were based at first on percentages of tax collected. For example, Weatherhead suggested that, in Uganda,

each grade of chief should receive 5% of the tax collected in his area, thus devoting 15% of the total tax to the payment of the three tier hierarchy. Such a system obviously encourages chiefs to collect tax, and relates them directly to the population ruled by them and hence, presumably, to the burden of their responsibilities.

The Congo has retained a system of this type, together with many refinements, while Uganda has abandoned it altogether. I take the Sultans of Anghal and of Okoro as representative of the Congo and Uganda systems respectively. The sultan of Anghal has almost exactly half the population of the sultan of Okoro, and receives almost exactly twice the salary, the amounts being £1000 and £420 a year respectively.

The Congo sultan's pay is based on the following items: a fixed remuneration of either 5 or 8 francs, according to the Administrateur's estimation of his merit, for each tax payer in his county. Then he receives a further 3,5 or 8 francs, depending on the same estimation of merit, for each 100 francs of tax which was actually paid in the previous year. In respect of the current year's tax he receives 3% of what has actually been received at the end of each quarter. Finally, he receives 20 francs out of every luwalo, or local government tax paid.

Congo Wakils get only 4 francs on each of their taxpayers and five francs out of every luwalo. Capitas' pay is reckoned as one franc for each of their taxpayers, but they actually receive it very erratically, and neither they, nor the sultan, nor the Administrateur were able to explain precisely on what principle the system works in their case.

This extensive development of the incentive system of payment may be related to its general prevalence in the industrial wage structure of the Congo in contrast to the situation in Uganda.

In Uganda a sultan is now paid on a salary scale related to both number of taxpayers and length of service, the scale for a sultan with more than 8,000 taxpayers being £240 p.a. x £15 to £420. That for wakils with over 2000 taxpayers is £114 x £6 to £180, that for headmen with over 750 taxpayers £34 p.a. x £3 to £52, and that of nyamparas is £6 a year static.

Thus while a Congo sultan is paid at a rate easily equivalent to twice that ruling in Uganda, a Congo wakil gets approximately only half the salary of a Uganda headman, whose population is comparable with his own.

This situation is correlated with the functions of the several grades of chief in Uganda and the Congo. In both countries the duties of chiefs were first defined as the maintenance of law and order, to which was soon added the collection of tax. These duties still loom large, as indeed they must in any administrative system. In the Congo, at first, no native courts were recognised, and the chiefs were left to sort matters out according to their traditional lights, beyond which matters were dealt with direct by the administrators summoning the chiefs and issuing orders. Not till 1921 do Belgian records refer to the setting up of native courts on the model of those established among the Uganda Alur.

Weatherhead began to issue instructions for the regularisation of courts as soon as he had the chiefs of the Uganda Alur under control, and the system was sufficiently crystallised to be established by proclamation in 1919. Thus was constituted a District Court, consisting of the sultans presided over by the District Commissioner, with competence up to 1000/- (civil) and 1 year's prison, 300/- fine or 24 lashes (criminal). Similarly, county courts were to consist of the wakils, presided over by the sultan, trying civil cases up to 200/- and criminal up to 3 months' imprisonment, 100/- fine or 15 lashes. Subcounty courts of headmen presided over by a wakil could try up to 40/- (civil) and criminal cases up to 10/- fine or 10 lashes. These powers have tended to increase, for example since 1941 the Sultan's court can try up to 500/- (civil) and 6 months prison or 500/- fine (criminal).

In the Congo the tribunal de territcire is the counter part of the Uganda District Court. The Congo sultan's court has unlimited jurisdiction in civil cases, and up to 1 month's prison or 1000 francs fine (criminal), being much more restricted than the Uganda sultan's court in this latter respect.

The Congo wakils have only arbitral powers, but do regularly hold court, while the headmen in theory hold preliminary hearings before suits reach the wakil. In this the Congo wakil corresponds rather to the Uganda headman, who also has arbitral powers only, attempting to settle some cases in this way before they come before the wakil.

The Uganda nyamparas and the Congo capitias both stand aside from the rest of the administrative hierarchy. They are considered by the Alur to represent the assistants who always accompanied important elders on any mission. They are regarded as having always existed, their recognition by the government and the granting of salaries to them constituting, for the Alur, no innovation of great moment. They have no real jurisdiction of their own, and are essentially agents, of the wakils in the Congo and of the headmen in Uganda. In Uganda they are usually drawn from local groups which, as a result of amalgamation, no longer have a headman of their own. In the Congo every group which has a headman also has a capita, and one among the capitias under a single wakil is recognised as their chief, and takes some responsibility for organising them in the performance of the wakil's orders.

The Congo headmen are unpaid elders whose chief duty is to represent their people before the wakil, sitting as members of the latter's informal court. As a result of the Uganda policy of amalgamation, headmen in the Congo now represent a much lower and more traditional level of grouping than they do in Uganda.

In the light of what has already been said, it is not surprising that the qualifications for administrative office are much nearer to those regarded as traditional by the people themselves in the Congo than in Uganda. In the Congo many sultans suffered periods of imprisonment or even deposition, especially during the first years of administration, but in no case did the Belgian authorities pass over a ruling family altogether. If a particular office holder was judged to have forfeited his position, he was always succeeded by the nearest

male kinsman, usually a son, who enjoyed the people's favour and was judged capable of his duties by the Government. The duties of Congo wakils and headmen being far less onerous than those of sultans, and also comparatively little removed from certain aspects of their traditional roles, it is rare for the government to refuse to ratify the people's choice for such offices. Now the people's choice is based on the rule that a man should be succeeded by his ablest son, and if at all possible his eldest.

In the Congo the hereditary principle is permitted and in fact encouraged. The chief difficulty resulting from the acceptance of the principle of office holding for life is that the holder may become incapable through age. But with the recognition of hereditary succession, it becomes easy for an aged chief to nominate one of his sons, approved by the Government, to assist him and to succeed at his death. There can be little doubt that this system offers the easiest solution to the problem of training for office, and can permit a very smooth and gradual changeover from one office holder to another, thus avoiding tensions and disputes which have sometimes attained serious proportions in Uganda.

It is, however, a system which offers little scope for training to new tasks, and rather puts a premium on conservative roles. This may justify the fact that it has not been regularly adopted in Uganda. It is, perhaps, at this point that we begin to see the relevance of administrative practices even at the lowest levels, to decisions of higher policy.

The principle of Indirect Rule has enjoyed great prestige in the British colonies. It is also frequently claimed that Belgian administration in the Congo is modelled upon it. Britain has also committed herself, by many public declarations of policy, to the development of administrative systems which would enable her colonies ultimately to rule themselves.

I throw out the suggestion at this point that Indirect Rule, and training for Self Rule are at many points incompatible. The local administration of the Congo Alur is a better example of Indirect Rule than that of the Uganda Alur. It also shows no sign of training for Self Rule, to which, indeed, the Belgian Congo had in no way committed itself, at least until the last few years.

It is this difference in policy objectives which explains the continuous pressure behind the Uganda administration of the Alur, to amalgamate small groups, and to increase the pay, the educational level and the general responsibilities of the lower ranking chiefs. This has meant the transformation of traditional political groupings, departure from hereditary principles and other traditional qualifications for office, and departure from traditional administrative roles. In the Congo none of the chiefs are liable for transfer to areas other than their own, but in Uganda there is increasing pressure for the acceptance of this principle by the hierarchy, and it is in fact already extensively practised. Linked with the principle of transference is the official desire to break loose from the limitations of hereditary chieftainship, and the

appointment of able persons with no hereditary qualifications.

Advisory councils had been encouraged for many years in most districts of Uganda, and certainly since 1941 such a council had existed in the West Nile District, composed mainly of a selection of the chiefs of the Alur and the other tribes of the District. By the African Local Government Ordinance of 1949 the councils system was regularised for the whole of Uganda at the statutory level. The two Alur counties of West Nile District send to this council their two sultans, three of their twelve wakils, and for every 1500 taxpayers 1 representative elected by the elders meeting under each wakil. The chairman and vice chairman are elected by the council itself from among the sultans. The council makes bye laws "for the good rule and government of the District", passes resolutions, considers matters sent to it by the District Commissioner, and debates the budget of the African Local Government. The budget is prepared by a Standing Finance Committee, appointed by the District Commissioner, but mainly from nominations of the council. The council has a Standing Committee which gives preliminary consideration to all business and prepares agenda for the council.

This African Local Government takes over from the District Commissioner the administration of all local matters in which it proves itself competent. It occupies its own building, has its own finances, and constitutes a sort of embryonic shadow organisation for the administration of the African population of the District.

This does not necessarily lead to greater efficiency, rather, it may be, the opposite. There is risk of duplication, and sometimes even of confusion, but there is perhaps no other practicable way of giving experience of administrative responsibility. It is a mere beginning, not yet very effective, not yet fully understood by the population in whose interests it was created, and not yet fully able to substitute common interests at the District level for tribal loyalties.

In Congo Alurland there is no means of a statutory kind whereby the population may bring its views in a regular fashion before the Belgian Administration, still less is there any means whereby the people can, through their own representatives make rules or bye laws for their own good government.

The Alur themselves, on both sides of the frontier, express a preference for the Uganda system, but this does not necessarily prove it to be the better one. Significantly enough, when the context is a discussion of current evils such as the increasing prevalent cattle thefts, I have heard Uganda chiefs praise the Congo with the approval of their elders, "The Congo system is good," they say, "if a chief asks for an undesirable character to be removed and not allowed back, he is removed and does not come back. It is not like in Uganda where even the worst robber will be 'inside' for a few years and then come back home again to start on the same activity". However, it is difficult to show that this sentiment is based on reliable facts. Uganda sultans also undoubtedly envy what they conceive to be the greater power and wealth conferred on sultans in the Congo.

There remain a number of other factors with which it is impossible to deal adequately in this paper. For example, the relation between political and economic development is differently planned in the Congo and Uganda. In the former, a certain economic achievement in terms of peasant agriculture is regarded as a compulsory minimum, whereas in Uganda it is treated as something highly desirable which the chiefs must be persuaded to achieve. Thus, in the matter of anti-erosion contouring, in the Congo this was made compulsory, teams were sent round to measure the contours for each person's field and the latter punished if he failed to construct and maintain them. In Uganda, instructions for contouring were included in the agricultural rules which the Agricultural officer persuaded the District Council to pass as bye-laws, but were not to be made a compulsory or punishable matter until each sultant and his wakils had become convinced and began to have people prosecuted for it. In Uganda compulsory plots of cassava are grown by each household as a famine precaution, levies of cleusine are made to provide a further reserve at every wakil's headquarters. But, in the Congo, minimum areas are laid down for the cultivation of all the main crops, and the regulations are enforced by special field inspectors of whom there are a number in every county.

There has always been a tendency for the Congo Alur to migrate to Uganda. This constituted a serious problem for the Belgian authorities from the year 1922 until 1930, during which period large groups sometimes crossed into West Nile District. The Belgian authorities attributed this to intensive recruiting, mainly for Kilo-moto mines, to head portage and to the high earnings available in Uganda. Since 1930 the Congo Alur have continued to cross the border, not, however in order to settle in Uganda Alurland, but in order to go down country in the same way as large numbers of the Uganda Alur themselves do. It is interesting to note that parts of Congo Alurland have been alienated to European settlers, yet this does not seem to arouse any particular resentment in the Alur.

To pass on, finally, to more speculative ground, from the many hours I spent listening to Alur conversation and in conversing with them, I drew the conclusion that they are highly ambivalent in their attitudes towards the issues dealt with in this paper. At the most spontaneous level, they express a general resentment against their European conquerors for having deprived them of their freedom and put an end to Alur expansion and dominance over other tribes. Yet this attitude is confused with one of envy and desire for European skills and power, again with resentment at the fact that they have still failed to acquire these, which is attributed to deliberate withholding on the part of Europeans. This conflict of attitude is closely related to the rather obvious fact that the Alur, in common with so many other tribes, have one foot fixed in their traditional way of life and the other planted in the modern mass economy, and so they are all the time pursuing contradictory ends in an attempt to make the best of two incompatible worlds.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the static nature of administrative policy in the Congo is linked with the fact that hatred of the Government and its officers is deeper and more consistent than in Uganda, in spite of feelings of respect and even

admiration for one or two of the past administrators individually. On the other hand, in Uganda, the system seems to offer just enough prospect of advancement to cause vacillation between hope in British policies of development, and despair at what seems to be their imperceptible rate of progress to the ordinary 'man in the bush'. If I camped in a Congo village I was pressed to stay for ever on the ground that no administrative official would dare to come while I was there. Whereas, if I camped in Uganda, and took a visiting official round to meet the people in their homes, they were thrilled to have the social distance between themselves and their rulers apparently reduced in this way.

Powerful arguments could be adduced for the view that the Belgian policy is realistic in demanding of Alur chiefs an administrative competence which they can be expected to achieve, and treating them in a way that they understand if they do not like. On the other hand, it would be said that the Uganda system induces mainly tensions, through raising hopes which cannot be fulfilled, and demanding administrative standards which the available personnel cannot possibly achieve.

| BELGIAN CONGO | UGANDA | ALUR |
|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| Belgian Hierarchy | British Hierarchy | Traditional Hierarchy |
| CHEF | SULTAN | CHIEF |
| | WAKIL | CHIEFLET MINOR CHIEF |
| OKIL CHIEF CAPITA | (BIG HEADMAN) | CLAN OR LINEAGE HEAD |
| | NYAMPARA | |
| NOTABLE CAPITA | LITTLE HEADMAN | SUBLINEAGE HEAD |

Discussion of Dr. Southall's paper.

The Chairman opened the discussion by saying that he wished that more studies of this kind could be done in cases where tribes straddled international borders. He thought the comparative results obtained were very valuable. He thought that administrators would be very much helped by reading what had been written by anthropologists who were able to talk to Africans in their own language as Dr. Southall had done.

M. Biebuyck said he was astonished to hear that there was no institutional mechanism by which the Congo Alur were able to bring their views to the Administration. In the area where he worked there was a Conseil de Territoire and Africans were able to make representations of their views to this Council.

Dr. Southall reminded the Conference that he had described the courts dealing with local cases in the Alur territory. On both sides of the border there had always been meetings between the Sultans and the European administrative officers. He was really referring to the fact that there seemed to him to be no formalised system by which the Congo Alur could be compelled to meet together to consider what could be done to improve their position. He thought that public relations could be improved on both sides of the border. It seemed to him that the Congo Alur had very little idea of administrative measures that were being introduced; for instance that such measures as the introduction of pay for Capitas or the prohibition of polygamy were not clearly understood by the ordinary people. They seemed to have no idea of the logical reasons underlying these measures. He had heard Alur say, "Well, if we are not to be allowed to marry here we will go over the border to Uganda where we can get married."

M. Biebuyck asked about the relationship between the Notable and the Okil.

Dr. Southall explained the difference by means of a table.¹ The chief Capita and the Notable sometimes came from the same lineage. The Notable might be an old man and a customary head while a Capita had necessarily to be an able bodied man so that he was usually chosen from among the younger men.

M. Biebuyck asked about the clan and lineage of the Okil and the Sultan.

Dr. Southall replied that the Okil might be the head of the lineage or he might be a higher chief, while the Sultan tended to be of the same lineage or clan as the Okil.

Mr. Baxter asked if Alur visited each other across the border.

Dr. Southall agreed that there was constant movement backward and forward, and there were often court cases over border matters. There was a joint Anglo-Belgian court on the border to deal with such cases.

Professor Griaule thought this demonstrated the absurdity of colonial frontiers. Such boundaries were rarely established on logical principles. He wanted to know whether the Anglo-Belgian frontier took ethnographic points into consideration.

Dr. Southall said that in the case of Uganda, large tribes such as the Baganda were not cut across by frontiers, but where there were smaller groups the matter was not so easy. Where there was a

¹See table at end of discussion.

mixture of people attempts were made to make administrative divisions to correspond with tribal groupings wherever possible.

Dr. Maquet said that in Ruanda Urundi ethnographic distinctions were taken into account. Ruanda Urundi is divided into two separate kingdoms, while in the Congo the province (territoire) is occupied by a mosaic of different people. The district is here rather a confused unit with regard to tribes. For example, the Balega are dispersed over four and a half territoires. The frontiers had been very badly chosen. Sometimes tribes had been incorporated in the territoire of their enemies. The situation was not sufficiently understood by the administrators.

Professor Santa Rita said that in Portuguese Guinea it was impossible to make administrative divisions correspond to ethnographic ones. The present frontiers looked allright on paper but they did not satisfy the tribes in question. However, the matter was difficult since it would need a revision of international treaties to make frontiers correspond exactly to ethnographic divisions.

The Chairman pointed out that international boundaries at any rate provided a means of escape for the delinquent. A man prosecuted on the Congo side of the border could escape to Uganda and vice versa!

M. Biebuyck asked about salary scales. If there were only two big chiefs on the English side of the border then surely they could not be very important.

Dr. Southall said the chiefs were paid according to a scale which covered the whole of Uganda. A chief of the same level in Buganda might have a very much larger population to look after than his counterpart in the West Nile.

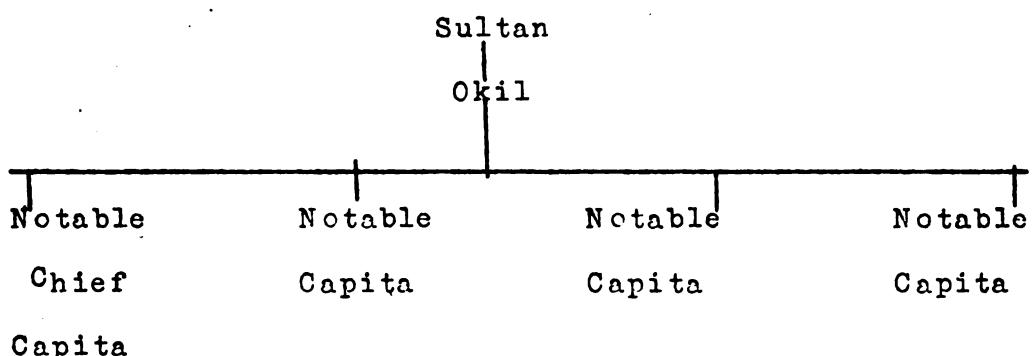
Mr. Reining asked whether tax applied to the same type of person in each territory.

Dr. Southall said the position was similar except that there was a plural wives tax in the Congo and a rebate for the number of children born to monogamous persons.

Professor Diez asked whether Dr. Southall had any suggestions for training the administration to reach the required standard of efficiency.

Dr. Southall said there were training schools, but the people who attended them were usually chiefs who were already rather good. There was also some confusion of policy, since the administration sometimes favoured hereditary chiefs and sometimes non-traditional chiefs who had been through training.

Table illustrating the relationship between
the Notable and the Okil.



SESSION IX

Friday February 27th
2.30 p.m.

Chairman Professor M. Griaule

M. D. Biebuyck

The IDEGO payments on the
death of a male or female
among the Lega.

IDEGO -PAYMENTS AND NTIKO -HERITAGE.

On the death of a male among the Lega two categories of persons are engaged in a complex distribution of valuables. The first category of persons are those who may exert claims to ntiko, i.e. who have the right and privilege of being heirs to the property left by the deceased. This category comprises two kinds of persons: a) the close agnates of the deceased; b) his sororal nephews and nieces, whether real or classificatory ones. To the second category belong persons who have the right of partaking in idego-distributions. To these belong members of the seven groups of 'male mothers' recognised by the Lega. On the death of a female ntiko-rights are not enforced. Idego-distributions occur but a distinction is made between a married and an unmarried woman. With regard to an unmarried woman the seven groups of 'male mothers' are again engaged, but in the case of a married woman the payments have to be divided between four groups of 'male mothers' and her close agnates.

Sororal nephews never have claims on idego-distributions and it may be interesting to trace in what degree they have rights to the ntiko-heritage, left by their uncle. When his maternal uncle dies a sororal nephew may inherit several things. These are a wife; bikulo, i.e. lega money, goats or tools; an isigi, i.e. the bride-payment given for one of his female cross-cousins. If both uncle and nephew were members of the same degree of the bwame association, the sororal nephew may get certain initiatory objects and certain paraphernalia of his maternal uncle. But he gets these objects only provisionally, for when a younger brother or a child of his maternal uncle becomes initiated to that bwame degree the sororal nephew will have to return all these initiatory objects to him. There are always certain conditions attached to inheritance from a maternal uncle. First of all, if the maternal uncle has left behind brothers or sons, the right of distributing his wives and goods belongs to them only. The Lega say: Ka nkazi kubegania nte ka ndume kasila (tr: "If the female side distributes it means the male side has died out"). This means that initiative is with the agnates and that they can distribute to the nephew according to their wishes. Again, if his maternal uncle died without leaving close agnates, a sororal nephew might inherit all the goods left by him, but he will rarely be alone to distribute them, for a man has many sororal nephews under the principles of Omaha structure and several groups of 'male mothers' are recognised. In that case, the order of primogeniture and the order of classificatory distance will determine of how the goods have to be divided.

Strictly speaking, a sororal niece may not inherit from her maternal uncle. On his death, she may however get chickens, goats, money and pieces of bark-cloth. These chickens are really her property, because they are traditionally reserved for sororal nephews and nieces. The bark-cloth too is hers, provided it will be worn by herself, but if she gives it to her husband it becomes part of mubego. Mubego is the term used for the many gifts which a man gets continually, as long as the marriage link exists, from his wife's family and from her maternal uncles. They form the counterpart of igambia, the many goods given by a man and his agnates to his wife's family and maternal uncles. On the break-up of the marriage link, these mubego gifts are subtracted from the amount of igambia-payments and actual marriage-payments before the difference is paid by the bride-givers to the bride-takers. To the mubego category belong further the goats and money a sororal niece might have got.

IDEGO-DISTRIBUTIONS TAKING PLACE WHEN THE DECEASED IS A MARRIED OR UNMARRIED MALE.

I illustrate the procedures followed and show the groups of 'male mothers' engaged in the case of an individual called Lumbeku. I like to stress from the outset that the idego-payment is a fixed pattern among all Lega, although the amount of goods given varies from region to region or according to the degree of wealth of the agnates of the deceased. The number of goods given in my present example may be considered as a fairly common one, if not the standard type.

As soon as Lumbeku died a message was sent by his agnates to his real maternal uncles, the Banakeluka, a minimal lineage established in the same mutanda, or sequence of villages, as Lumbeku's group. Being thus informed about the death of their nephew, three male siblings (Beitanyama, Muswala and Melanga) of Lumbeku's mother immediately set out for their nephew's village, accompanied by some of their wives and two other agnates, elders of the two other extended families of their minimal lineage. Sorrow on the loss of a nephew is manifested, on the side of the maternal uncles, by angeriness, suspicion and feelings of retaliation. This means that they make for their nephew's village carrying their spears, meditating even armed retaliation, if they do not get due compensation for their hard loss. The saying is: Basia mubabo, beia ketumba bakongia ge isula (tr: "Give them the mubabo-goods, or the possessors of the corpse make noise on the confines of the village.")

On their arrival, they did not make for their nephew's hut but stayed at the confines of the village, accusing his agnates and launching all kinds of invectives at them. This was a sign for the agnates to make a first step of reconciliation. For that purpose they had amassed the first goods which consisted of three parts:

- a) mivulovulo: a lavish dinner comprising meat, bananas, pounded earth-nuts, rice, salt and palm-oil.
- b) mesonga: a he-goat called kelemba kya mesonga or mpene za makwa, a substitution for the loss of working power. This goat was provisionally set aside.

c) mubabo: a payment of twenty kelunga. Kelunga is one of the most current measures of Lega-money, consisting of forty double rows of small pieces of shells of nkola- and nkese molluscs which are threaded on raffia-fibres. The length of each row is measured from the top-point of the middle finger up to the middle fold of the arm. Nowadays 20 kelunga are evaluated 80 frs. This money too was provisionally set aside.

This first amount of goods was primarily provided by members of Lumbeku's extended family, although other agnates of his minimal, and even minor and major, lineages had contributed to piling-up these goods.

The maternal uncles were partially satisfied with this first payment. They now consented to assist at the idelو, mourning ceremonies, which may take about a month. In the mean-time, other interested parties had been informed about the death of their nephew and had sent their representatives. The close agnates of Lumbeku went further in search of the necessary idego-payments, for everything has to be ready before the end of the mourning. The idego-transactions start with the mekulu-proceedings. Two speakers are chosen, generally an agnate and the senior real maternal uncle of the deceased. The senior maternal uncle, in this case Beitanyama, placed a long walking stick on the ground. It represented the corpse of the dead nephew of which the real maternal uncles, in this case the Banakeluka, were possessors. Now began a dialogue between the two speakers in which they asked one another to cite the names of the several other groups of 'male mothers', now present, who had legitimate claims to idego.

1. Beitanyama asks where Lumbeku's mother's mother came from. The second speaker, on behalf of the agnates, replies that she was a girl of Banakonga-lineage. Beitanyama now places a small stick obliquely against the walking stick on the left side.
2. He then asks where his mother's mother's mother came from. She was a girl of Bananzibu-lineage. A second stick is placed in prolongation of the first one.
3. Who were his mother's father's mother's brothers? They were of Banikumia-lineage. Beitanyama places a third stick on the left side of the walking-stick, obliquely against it and parallel to the two former ones.
4. Where did his father's mother come from? She was a girl of Bagunga-lineage, Beitanyama places a fourth stick obliquely on the right side of the walking stick, at the same height as the first one.
5. Who were the maternal uncles of his father's mother? They were of Banamwalu-lineage. Beitanyama places a fifth stick in prolongation of the fourth one.
6. Finally, who were the maternal uncles of his father's father? They were of Banangumbu-lineage. A sixth stick is placed parallel to the two former ones, on the height of the third stick.

divided among the seven groups of 'male mothers', symbolically represented by the large walking-stick and the six smaller sticks. These goods were split into two parts: the goods directly given to the real maternal uncles; and the goods set apart for the other six groups of 'male mothers'.

To the real maternal uncles, in this case the Banakeluka, the following goods were given: 100 kelunga, i.e. 400 double rows of the kelunga-measure of Lega money, described above as equivalent to 400 frs.; 1 big she-goat called kebuti kya maliba (600 frs.); ten axes (masaga) which equal the value of a he-goat (300 frs.); one spear (ishumo); one large knife (mwene); one sickle-shaped knife (mugusu); one piece of bark-cloth (isusi) used for the care of small children. Another 70 kelunga, ten iron tools and one he-goat was given to the six other groups of 'male mothers'. They distributed them according to the following scheme:

1. Banakonga, maternal uncles of Lumbeku's mother, received 20 kelunga, two iron tools and the he-goat.
2. Bananzibu, maternal uncles of his mother's mother, received ten kelunga, one iron tool.
3. Bagunga, maternal uncles of his father, got 20 kelunga and one iron tool. They protested saying that it was not sufficient and got another five iron tools.

Let us remark here that the distribution of goods is always characterised by the mbiso-proceedings, that is to say that, on every occasion, the giving party tries to give as little as possible, hiding away provisionally part of the prestation due. This, each time, elicits a mass of protests but always ends with the addition of some more goods.

4. The Banamwalu, maternal uncles of his father's mother, received 10 kelunga and one iron tool.
5. The Banikumia, maternal uncles of his mother's father, only got five tuko twa kelunga (20 frs.)
6. The Banangumbu, maternal uncles of his father's father, received five tuko twa kelunga.

With regard to these six groups of 'male mothers' it should be pointed out that the persons having a right to these idego-payments belong to the small and closely knit group of direct and collateral descendants which provides the linking woman. The goods have to be divided within the framework of this small kin-group by their senior representative.

More important is the type of redistribution which takes place within the lineage of true maternal uncles. Let us therefore turn again to our example. The Banakeluka minimal lineage is composed by three extended families: Banakasololo, Banamube and Bananyange. Kasololo is the extended family group to which belonged Nyampala, mother of Lumbeku. Their senior, Beitanyama, charged to make an harmonious redivision of the idego-goods, disposed first of all of 110 kelunga-measures of money (100 given to him as idego and ten remaining from the 20 kelunga given as mubabo, the Digitized by others Google

having been distributed among members of his lineage present at the mourning ceremonics.) He gave ten kelunga and one iron tool to the Banamube extended family. He gave another ten kelunga and one iron tool to the Bananyange extended family. The remaining 90 kelunga, 11 iron tools and the she-goat were left to be divided among members of his own extended family. These Banakasolelo consisted of two branches, in this case the Mwezi and Sabakubumba families.

There were thus two possibilities. It might be decided not to distribute the idego part, but to give it to an unmarried member of the group as an isigi, bride-payment. Or the valuables might still be further divided according to following pattern: the Sabakubumba family might get 30 kelunga and four iron tools, while the greater remaining part might be left to the Mwezi family, Mwezi being the father of Lumbeku's mother. The Mwezi family consisted of three living males and two females of whom the elder one, Lumbeku's mother, had died. There was no further division of the goods within their group, except for the piece of bark-cloth given to the younger female. Beitanyama, the senior, would take care of them until some necessity such as an insufficiency of bride-wealth, or wealth for law-cases, initiation ceremonies or exchanges forced him to award them to one of his siblings or to a sororal nephew. If the Mwezi-family had been a compounded one, i.e. if Mwezi had also had children by another of his wives, this fraction of half-siblings would have got its part, say twenty kelunga, the spear and one axe.

IDEGO-PROCEEDINGS WHEN THE DECEASED IS AN UNMARRIED WOMAN.

The transactions are here simpler and the amount of goods exchanged is less considerable. The mukulu-proceeding is less complicated, for it is only the walking stick of the maternal uncles which is placed on the village-ground. Mivulovulo, mesonga and mubabo preliminary exchanges are of the same pattern, except for the mubabo money-payment which only amounts to ten kelunga. The groups of 'male mothers' claiming a right to idego-payments are only three: her own maternal uncles; her father's maternal uncles; and her mother's maternal uncles. The amount of idego itself is more reduced: five tuko twa kelunga and two iron tools are given to the maternal uncles of her mother; five tuko twa kelunga are awarded to the maternal uncles of her father; one piece of bark-cloth is given to her mother or little mother; and 80 kelunga, a she-goat and eight iron tools remain the property of the real maternal uncles who divide them in the same way as described above.

IDEGO-PROCEEDINGS WHEN THE DECEASED IS A MARRIED WOMAN.

In this case the woman's maternal uncles as well as her male agnates go to receive the payments at her husband's village. The mivulovulo, mesonga and mubabo payments are of the usual type, but it must be noted that they are directly transmitted to her agnates and not to her maternal uncles. It is their task to give part of them to the maternal uncles. One stick only, that which represents her agnates, is placed on the village-ground. Thereupon the following idego has to be given: 120 kelunga, one she-goat, ten iron tools, the knife with which she used to plant young banana-shoots (muluga or kemungu) and one piece of bark-cloth

(isusi).

The agnates first remit 30 kelunga and the ten iron tools to her real maternal uncles, who have to take ten kelunga and one iron tool from their portion to be remitted to the maternal uncles of their sororal niece's mother. The piece of bark-cloth becomes the property of a sister or daughter of the man whose daughter died, whereas the digging-knife is given to one of his wives or to one of the wives of his elder brother. The agnates themselves cede another ten kelunga to her father's maternal uncles and another five tuko twa kelunga to her father's father's maternal uncles. The remaining 85 kelunga are to be distributed within the group of the dead woman's agnates, whereas the she-goat remains the exclusive property of her father or elder brother.

Let us choose an example to show how these 85 kelunga are parcelled out. Suppose the dead girl, Mpasa, belonged to Banamubembe sub-clan, which consists of eight maximal lineages, of which the membership is very reduced nowadays because of a high mortality-rate and absence of men as migrant labourers. These eight maximal lineages have become established in one large village, although some of their older members have continued to live in neighbouring bush-villages. In this village they are divided into four hamlets called: Banakeluka, Banikumia, Banitongwa and Banamuganza. The Banakeluka-hamlet groups together the descendants of two maximal lineages, Banantengi and Banayunza, the founders of which were siblings. Banikumia-hamlet is occupied by the descendants of Walikungu-lineage. Banamuganza-hamlet comprises the descendants of Muganza-lineage, a group of former serfs who have been incorporated. Banitongwa-hamlet groups the descendants of five maximal lineages: the descendants of Itengwa and Isabumba, children of the same mother; the descendants of Yango and Mwenda, children of another wife of Mubembe; the descendants of Kyalanga, a man who formerly joined his sister who had become Mubembe's wife. Mpasa's maximal lineage was Banitongwa and hence it was only Banitongwa-hamlet which might claim rights to the idego-distributions. Ten kelunga were given to the Isabumba-lineage; five tuko twa kelunga were remitted to the Kyalanga-lineage and another five to Yango-Mwenda-lineages. 65 kelunga remained the property of the Itengwa-lineage itself. This lineage is split into five major lineages, Numbe, Bubala, Kegunda, Kabungu and Muganga, the major lineage of Mpasa being Kegunda. The descendants of Kabungu could participate in the idego-transactions since they are descendants through the female line since Kabungu had only left behind daughters. Each of the three other lineages, got ten kelunga, whereas the remaining 35 kelunga were the property of the Kegunda-lineage. This last lineage being very reduced in membership, the 35 kelunga will, as a rule, not be redistributed but reserved as a contribution to the bride-payment of one of their members.

SOME GENERAL REMARKS CONCERNING IDEGO.

It was pointed out above that idego-transactions are universal among Lega and that they operate in the same directions. This is true. Everywhere the two stages of preliminary payments (grouped under the name mubabo) and the idego-payments proper are

distinguished, although a different terminology may be used, e.g.

| <u>Beia</u> | <u>Bakyunga</u> | <u>Baliga</u> | <u>Basimwenda</u> | <u>Bamuzimu</u> |
|-------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| Mubabo | Mubabo | Kagenge | Kakingi | Kagenge |
| Idego | Idego | Idego | Busi'u or Ileho | Busiku |

Valuables distributed differ from region to region, though goats and iron tools are universally used. Among the Bakyunga of Shabunda-territory, for example, shell-money has almost entirely been lost during war-expeditions. It is replaced there by a greater number of goats (up to four) and iron tools (up to 50). Among the Basimwenda of Mwenga-territory shell-money has been lost very long ago and replaced by other monetary standards, mazinge (copper discs) and tulanga (oval pearls). Among the Bainyendu of Mwenga-territory tebele (oval pearls) and mlinga (copper bracelets) are regularly given. In some regions too, other valuables may be added to those mentioned in our example, such as hunting-nets, dogs, salt, oil and beer.

2. The idego of the Babembe, who form the extreme eastern wave of the Lega-complex, is less important and consists of the payment of only one goat, called 'asa'o' or 'mbuci ca asa'o'. The groups of maternal uncles involved are less numerous. On the death of their nephew, the real maternal uncles get the goat and make the following distribution of it: one leg and the back for themselves; one leg and one shoulder for the maternal uncles of their nephew's mother; one shoulder for the maternal uncles of their nephew's mother's father. The exclusion here of all maternal uncles on the side of the father is the more remarkable as the Babembe, in other circumstances, recognize five groups of maternal uncles. As an example, the day a woman definitely joins her husband's village, she carries with her two goats (mbuci ca ibombwe lya wetu mwiwa), which are remitted to her husband's real maternal uncles. The first goat is parcelled out as follows: one leg and the back for the real maternal uncles; one shoulder and leg for the husband's mother's real maternal uncles; one shoulder for the husband's mother's father's maternal uncles. The second goat is distributed as follows: one leg and the back for the husband's close agnates; one leg and one shoulder for the husband's father's maternal uncles; one shoulder for the husband's father's father's maternal uncles. If their nephew has died very young, the payment of two chickens to his real maternal uncles may suffice.

3. At present, idego-payments are losing much of their importance among Lega. Owing to an important economic development and to the rise of new social and religious values, greater stress is now laid on a closely knit extended family group because of the loss of effectiveness of more extensive kinship links. The general tendency now is to maintain the idego-payments within the extended family. The males of the extended family incline to monopolize within their ranks the rights to idego to be paid for their daughter. The real maternal uncles tend to restrict to their group the claims to idego and to exclude the other groups of 'male mothers'.

4. Customarily idego was paid for everybody, except for:

a) the Kanyamwa. Kanyamwa is the spouse of a man initiated to the highest degree of the bwame-association and a woman who has herself passed through the bunyamwa rites. Lega when speaking Kiswahili and comparing new customs with the old ones, maintain that the bunyamwa-rites had the same meaning as ndoa, or marriage as conceived by Catholics or Protestants. By this they want to stress the character of indissolubility of the marriage-link between this mwame and his wife initiated into the bunyamwa. A kanyamwa could never again be married to another man. She could never be inherited out of her husband's close family-group, and idego could never be paid for her. On the occasion of her initiation into bunyamwa, two or three goats (kwabuga) were given to her father or elder brother, this being the very last claim her patri-group could put upon her. The two or three goats belonged to her father or elder brother, who usually gave part of them to her maternal uncles.

Nowadays, because of the suppression of the bwame-association and an extreme craving for money, idego is being paid for a woman who had been initiated to bunyamwa.

b) kyalubunga and kinamulungu. Kyalubunga is a child born of an unmarried woman and a stranger in adulterous union. Kinamulungu, referring to a custom which only occurs among a small group of Lega, is a child born of an unmarried woman and a kinsman of hers in a union which is not considered as being adulterous, since the father wants his daughter to bring forth one or two children in his village before being married.

5. It formerly happened that a man himself might be given as idego-payment, if his family had refused to award the idego-valuables to his maternal uncles. The Beinangi-clan presents an interesting example. Actually a lineage called Banakasalaguzi has been incorporated in this clan. It is said nowadays that Kasalaguzi had three children: Kaseke, a male, Nyabibe, a female, and Kentolo, a male. In fact, Nyabibe was a daughter of Lwembo, an elder classificatory brother of Kasalaguzi. She had been married to Lukwe, a child of Kasalaguzi, to whom she never bore any children. In the present genealogy Nyabibe is mentioned as a child of Kasalaguzi, and not as his daughter-in-law. She there represents two names, that of her husband, Lukwe, and that of her husband's sister, Ngelia. This Ngelia had been married to Ba-Gilanelu-clan and had given birth there to a son, Itetente. On the death of Ngelia, her husband's family refused to pay idego to her family, whereupon Kaseke, senior of Kasalaguzi-lineage, took his nephew, Itetente, as a substitute for idego-payment. Itetente was now incorporated into the group of his maternal uncles where he inherited the wife of his maternal uncle, the so-called Nyabibe.

6. A Mulega often died in a Kasele-revenge, i.e. an individual of another clan or tribe came and killed an enemy of his without warning. This ^Dhappened rarely

but might give rise to a real war (izombo). Both parties considered it senseless to engage in a war because of a mere personal revenge. They therefore decided to meet ge ibamba, as a place situated between their territories. The lineage group of the murderer then agreed to give goods as a substitution for the loss caused to the lineage of the deceased. These goods were generally not accepted and had to be replaced by a girl, called malonga or kemonano, the girl of reconciliation. Soon after, the maternal uncles, informed of the murder of their nephew, set out for his village in a really war-like manner to ask full explanations. "Why did you not engage in a war? We were ready for revenge." The only means then to appease them was by the payment of idego, which in this case was often an unlimited one, lest the maternal uncles would turn to armed attack.

7. It happened sometimes that a man committed homicide by misadventure, e.g. during a hunting party. In this context, we know examples where a father wanted to give his son as idego to the maternal uncles of the slain man. This rarely succeeded for the mother of this son fled with him to her agnates.

8. We have pointed out previously that idego goods are amassed co-operatively by the lineage group of the deceased. There are however instances of another means of getting the necessary goods. I will illustrate this with an example. The predominant aspect of Legaculture is the bwame-association, of which the various distributions of goods are one of the most interesting characteristics. An important payment (musego) is there given to the mukomi, the mwame who within a certain degree, and within the limits of a certain group, has been the last one to be initiated and who comes to remit to the new initiate a basket of collectively possessed initiatory objects. This payment then is usually given during the initiation itself. But it may happen that musego is paid long before the actual initiation in order to help a mukomi who is in need of idego-goods to be paid for a dead kinsman. This happened in the case of Beikalantende. Kebangala, an initiated mwame of his clan, had been indicated as his mukomi, but several months before the initiation his mother died. Kebangala, who lacked the necessary goods to be paid for her, explained his trouble to other mwame of his group, who decided to ask Beikalantende for the musego-payment.

9. There are often reciprocal payments presenting themselves on the death of an individual. If for example a wife had gone to her father's village with her husband's consent and had died there the father had first to pay ibanga nsenda to her husband: one goat, 20 iron tools, one hunting-net, four chickens. After that he could lutumbi, announce his arrival to receive the idego-payments. If a man died his wife's family might have to pay kasa (one goat, ten iron tools and one hunting-net) when it was established that the woman had behaved badly and had committed for instance adultery or sorcery.

Discussion on M. Biebuyck's paper.

The Chairman opened the discussion by stressing the importance of studying myths and symbolism in the analysis of ceremonial distributions of the kind described. He would like to know, for instance, whether there was any myth associated with the distribution of the walking stick used in the funeral rites of the Lega. He also wanted to know whether the numbers of goods distributed to different groups of relatives had any special symbolic meaning, such as he had found in the case of the Dogon and other peoples in French West Africa.

M. Biebuyck said he was trying to study myths and symbolism among the Lega but he did not believe that any such complex symbols as those described by Professor Griaule would be discovered among them. He did not believe in any case that the numbers of goods distributed in the Idego ceremony could be symbolic because the figures differed in each case he had witnessed.

The Chairman was not convinced by this explanation. He thought Africans gave surface explanations to satisfy new-comers to the area and that they were reluctant to explain the real meaning of the symbols they used. In several tribes of which he had experience there were traditional stereotyped lies which were used in answer to strangers who inquired about the meaning of symbols. It was only when he had become very familiar with the people and had begun to play the same game himself that he began to find out the secret meanings of symbols.

M. Biebuyck did not think it likely he had been so deceived because he had witnessed many secret aspects of the Bwami ceremony which Europeans had been trying to find out for many years.

Dr. Southall asked whether the Chairman distinguished between the type of esoteric information revealed to initiates when they became members of formally constituted age groups or secret societies and the use of symbols in other types of ceremony attended by the general public. In the first case it was almost invariable to find stereotyped explanations given to uninitiated inquirers but in the second case he doubted whether there was always an inner symbolism of the type the Chairman suggested.

The Chairman said he was convinced that there were common metaphysical features in most African systems of beliefs although he acknowledged that there were a series of subsidiary metaphysical systems such as those characteristic of the Western region of West Africa, the Cameroons and South Africa for instance. He was just going back to West Africa to study the ceremonial rebuilding of a ritual house which was believed to be the point of origin of 48 different tribes. He was certain that wherever members of these scattered tribes existed today he would find that the same common metaphysical system would be recognised.

Professor Wilson agreed with the Chairman on the importance of studying symbolism and thought there was a widespread distribution of symbolic ideas such as for instance those she had found common to the systems of the Nyakusa and the Tonga Ngoni. She thought however that there was a considerable difference in the symbolism of these Central African people and of these West African people mentioned by the Chairman.

Dr. Richards thought it was unnecessary to argue about the importance of studying symbolism, since all the members of the conference were convinced of its importance. She thought that it was the symbolism of the numbers used in the idego ceremonies which should be discussed. M. Biebuyck thought the numbers of goods distributed at each ceremony differed whereas the Chairman believed that these figures had symbolic meaning.

The Chairman said he was certain such symbolic meanings would eventually be found. In the common metaphysical system he postulated, the number 60 and its multiples, two and thirty, or three and twenty, were male symbols; while the number 80 and its multiples four and twenty, were female numbers. He thought the idego distributions could be analysed in the light of this and other suggestions.

Mrs. Reining asked who provided the idego payments.

M. Biebuyck replied that they were essentially provided by the extended family group on the agnatic side but that there was also an element of exchange since the side that received goods also gave them. Nowadays there was an effort to limit the recipients of gifts to a much smaller group.

Mr. Morris asked if the distributed goods were really valuable economically or whether the transaction was mainly symbolic. Was the exchange limited to the case of the rich or was it universally carried out?

M. Biebuyck replied that the money and goats were economically valuable but that the iron tools were kept for exchange purposes and were very old. The distribution of goods took place invariably, on the death of a poor man as well as that of a rich one.

Dr. Winter asked whether the walking stick took the same form in the case of a woman as in that of a man.

M. Biebuyck said that there were different symbols in the case of a married and an unmarried woman.

Dr. Winter also asked whether maternal uncles took a secondary role in the case of the idego ceremony for a woman. He thought that these ceremonial usages looked quite different from the male and from the female standpoint. He suggested that such problems of social structure should be re-expressed in terms of the woman's point of view as well as that of the man.

Mr. C. Reining

The Zande Development Scheme

It has been suggested that I give an impromptu talk on the Zande Development Scheme. Since I have only just started on my work with the Azande, I will content myself with a description of the Azande and of the Zande Development Scheme. I will then try to answer any questions you may have.

The Azande are a sudanic-speaking people who occupy a large area in the region of the Nile-Congo divide in the middle of Africa. Since the watershed proved to be a convenient boundary for the partition of this part of Africa among the European powers, the Azande have been split up among three territories: the Belgian Congo, French Equatorial Africa and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. There are about 180,000 Azande in the Sudan; about twice that number in the Belgian Congo; and about 75,000 in French Equatorial Africa.

The Azande were interrupted by the Europeans in the course of a programme of conquest and expansion. They seem to have been very successful in assimilating large numbers of surrounding tribes into the Zande way of life. There was a remarkable uniformity of language and custom throughout the loosely organized Zande empire, but it contained many partially assimilated tribes some of which now seem to be going back to their original languages and customs.

The last Zande resistance in the Sudan was overcome by 1905. They were administered for 20 years by Major P.M. Larkin and then for 20 years by Major J.W.G. Wyld. There was little change in the way of life of the Azande during these 40 years except for those customs which threatened peace or the sensibilities of the District Commissioner.

The Azande have always been primarily agriculturists with a considerable supplement to their diet from the animal, insect and vegetable products of bush and forest. They raise no domestic animals except chickens and dogs. The great shortage in their diet is meat and they are renowned for their passion for meat.

A great change has now come into the lives of the Azande. They were chosen to be the subjects of what has been termed a "social experiment". The Sudan Government put the Zande Development Scheme into operation about 6 years ago. The basic idea behind this experiment was to find out if it was possible to make a remote African people more independent of the products of the outside world by producing manufactured goods on the spot. These manufactured goods were to be primarily for consumption by the people themselves, with any surplus to be sold to neighbouring peoples for money to buy other necessary goods.

The Azande were chosen for this experiment because they are in the most remote part of the Sudan where prices for imported goods are at their highest. They were also chosen because they are in a well watered part of the country where there is little danger of famine, although the diet is not particularly good as to variety or quality. It was felt that the Azande would be able to survive quite well despite the

diversion of part of their energies to the development scheme.

The central idea of the scheme is to spin and weave into cloth, by the most modern factory methods, the cotton grown by the Azande. To this end, the growing of a plot of cotton has been made compulsory for every Zande householder in the Sudan. In order to facilitate supervision of the agricultural programme, the Azande have been re-settled on to a very regular pattern of so-called 'lines'. The Azande have been noted for their tendency to live in a rather scattered fashion throughout the countryside. Previously, during the sleeping sickness epidemics of the 1920's, they were resettled on to the roads in order to get them out of the areas where the tsetse fly lives.

Beginning in 1946 there was a vast programme of moving every Sudan Zande household into a definite plot on a line. Base lines were surveyed and cleared of trees and bushes; the homestead lines were laid out at right angles to these base lines. Each householder was registered for a plot with a frontage along a line about 160 metres wide and extending 600 to 1200 metres back from the line. Each line consisting of 50 to 60 homesteads, is under the direction of a "headman", which seems to be a new administrative position. A sub-chief is in charge of two to seven or more lines, usually consisting of these people he was responsible for before the re-settlement programme began. A sub-chief's area can now be seen on a map as a cluster of lines. Above the sub-chiefs are the chiefs, whose areas vary greatly in size. The sub-chiefs and chiefs are based on the traditional political system of the Azande. By 1950 the Azande had been re-settled for a second time.

Along with the re-settlement of the Azande and the organisation of the cotton growing programme, an industrial centre has been developed. This has been built up, at a place now called Nzara, where there was nothing before but bush and a good source of water. Nzara is about 18 miles from Zande District headquarters at Yambio. A ginnery was first set up to gin the cotton raised by the Zande on their new holdings, then a press was installed for expressing oil from the cottonseed. Most of the oil is sold as cooking oil, and the remainder is made into soap at the soap factory which has also been established at Nzara. The most important part of the industrial site is a spinning and weaving mill which has now been completed and is producing cotton cloth. Two grades of unbleached muslin are being produced. One is a general purpose material and the other a double weight material intended for trousering. The materials are exceptionally strong.

The factories are all of the most modern type, completely electrically operated; and with humidity and temperature control throughout the spinning and weaving mill. The electricity is generated locally by a large diesel driven plant. The diesel engines are being run on a mixture of diesel oil and gas from locally produced charcoal.

The Zande Development Scheme is under the control of a government corporation which is independent of the local administration. The Sudan Government has invested about one million pounds in the establishment

of the Equatoria Projects Board, which is the name of the organisation responsible for the Zande Scheme and other related projects. There are two parts, i.e. the Equatoria Projects Board Production Division which is responsible for the manufacture of the products mentioned above, and the Trading Division which handles the sale of the products and also is planning to set up a wholesaling system whereby the small Zande traders may be able to get goods at more favourable prices and in greater variety.

I have been engaged by the Sudan Government to investigate the effects of the Development Scheme on the Zande people. Although I am a government anthropologist, my terms of reference are very broad, and I am left to do very much as I please. The only conditions made are that I spend all my time studying the Azande and that I prepare a report at the end of my study "suitable for the use of administrative personnel". The time given for the study is generous -- five years.

It seems that my work is somewhat different from traditional social anthropology. The Azande are hardly an untouched primitive people, nor will I be able to fall back on descriptive material as an original contribution. There has been a good deal already written on the social life of the Azande. French, Belgian and British missionaries and administrators have written numerous books and articles about the Azande. They were studied about 25 years ago by Professor Evans-Pritchard. Mrs. Culwick has written a report on the study she made of the diet of the Azande and their eating habits. The research staff at the Yambio Experimental Farm has conducted a "socio-agricultural survey" designed to study Zande agricultural methods and their social implications. I see it as my job to continue from the base afforded by these previous works, rather than to begin again with a new slant.

I am particularly interested to see if I can combine academic interests with practical ends. There has been a great deal of discussion among anthropologists as to whether academic anthropology vitiates practical work or vice versa. I believe there can be work done by an anthropologist in the areas of his academic interests which will produce material of value to the administration of the people being studied, and I am interested to find out if this can be accomplished in my study of the development of the Azande.

My academic interests centre around the changes that have accrued in the social structure of the Azande under European administration. I am fortunate in having the time depth afforded by Professor Evans-Pritchard's work. He has promised to write up the material still in note form on the Zande agricultural and political systems, so that we may compare the situations at the times of our studies. I may also be able to get at the basic changes in Zande society by comparing the present condition in the three different territories. This would seem to give me a measure of control that may help to clarify the complex picture presented by the present-day Azande.

Discussion on Mr. C. Reining's paper.

Mr. Baxter asked whether the Sudan Government was continuing its former policy of allowing District Commissioners to stay a long time in one place so that they came to know the language of the people.

Mr. Reining replied that the Zande had only had two District Commissioners over a period of forty years - Major Larkin and Major Wyld. There seemed to have been a change since Major Wyld left, since there had recently been three administrators, none of whom spoke Zande.

Dr. Worthington said he had been concerned in a small way with the discussion that led up to the Zande scheme, and he was therefore very much interested in getting an outside opinion as to whether the project was likely to achieve its object.

Mr. Reining emphasized the fact that he had lived a very short time in the area. He did not think that people should assume that the whole life of the Zande had been disrupted. He would rather say it had been interrupted. The only new factor introduced had been the growing of cotton. The town centered round the new factory only affected two thousand people directly. He thought the scheme would finally work, but that it would take much longer than originally planned. It had already been going five years, and he thought it might be successful in fifty.

People connected with the scheme had been talking about a lack of communal feeling among the Zande, and wanted to resettle them in villages. It had been decided that it was unwise to do this. The whole process was now to be slowed up, and if it could survive five years he thought it might do very well. The Zande had already benefited by the circulation of goods, and the receipt of money for grain.

Mrs. Chilver asked whether the headmen were traditional or Government appointed.

Mr. Reining said that the headmen were an innovation, and that the sub-chiefs, who were over the headmen, resembled more closely traditional ideas.

Mr. Baxter asked what would happen when sons grew up and began to want new land, or when a man died.

Mr. Reining thought that a grown up son would get a new plot from the Government. When a Zande died the homestead had anyhow to be abandoned according to Zande custom. He did not know whether this would prove a problem. The Zande were supposed to move a lot because of fear of witchcraft. To meet this, the Government had arranged that they could move after a year to a new plot.

Mr. Biebuyck asked whether, apart from the two thousand people affected by the scheme, the remainder of the tribe remained in their traditional villages.

Mr. Reining explained that the Zande lived on scattered plots and not in villages. Those affected by the scheme were living in homesteads which were placed so as to be out of view of neighbours. He thought this conformed to their traditional system of separate homesteads.

Mr. Baxter asked whether the clerks who had the disposal of the plots became very powerful.

Mr. Reining did not think the scheme had been going long enough for this.

Mr. Wrigley asked whether the Zande previously exported a cotton crop to buy clothes or whether they were self supporting before the introduction of the scheme but were living at a lower level.

Mr. Reining answered that the peasants grew some cotton and they sold some grain and cassava flour as well as wild honey and beeswax.

HOOVER INSTITUTION

To avoid fine, this book should be returned on
or before the date last stamped below

**FOR USE IN
LIBRARY ONLY**

STANFORD LIBRARIES

DT 365
J75
2nd
Feb 195
f

DT 365 .J75 f
Report of the ... JointACQ5271
Hoover Institution Library



3 6105 080 457 190

Digitized by Google

