

Colonialism and Change

Studies in Anthropology 4

Colonialism and change

Essays presented to Lucy Mair

Edited by

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Foreword by

MEYER FORTES

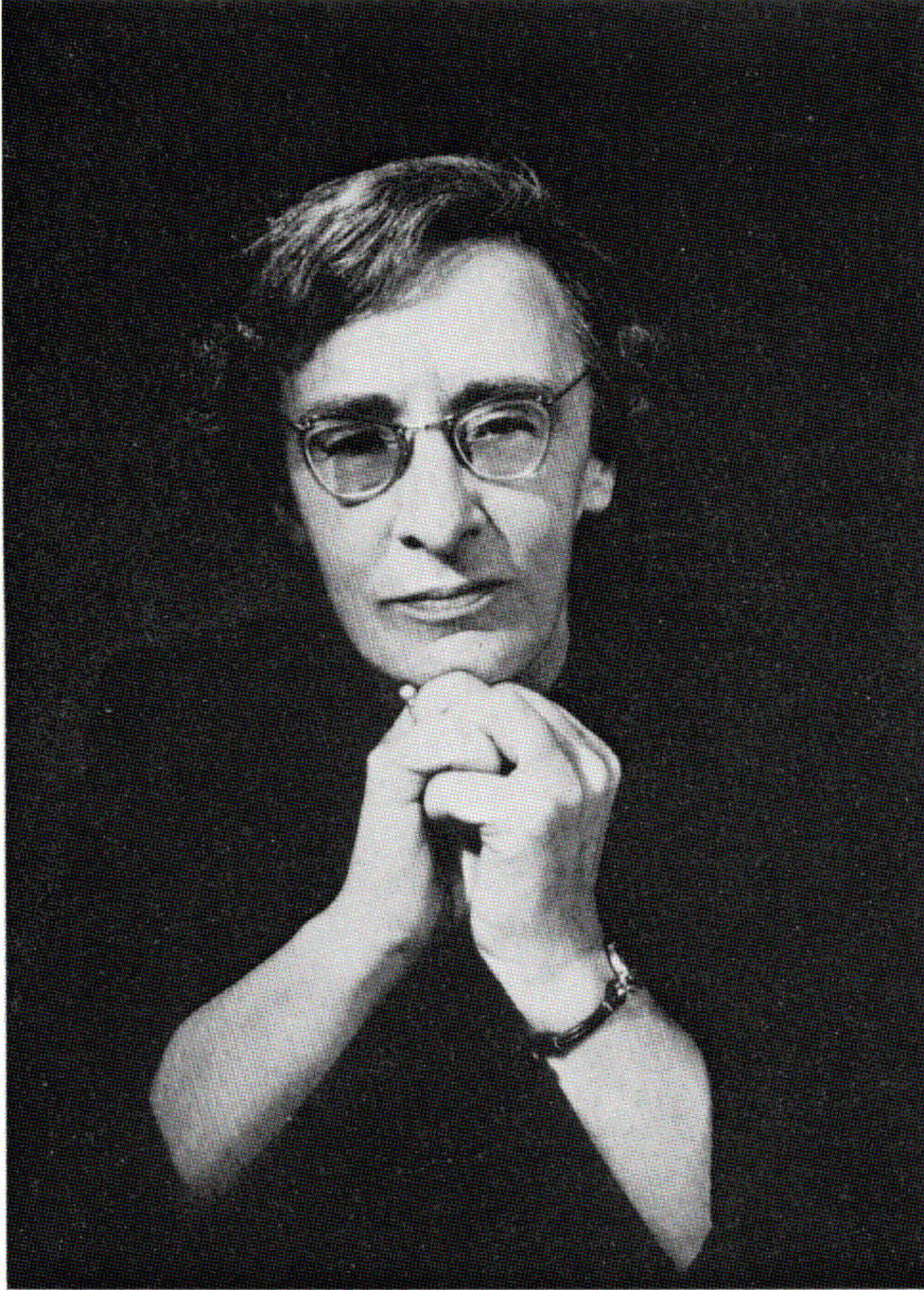
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Dr. LUCY MAIR

Editor's Preface

The editor would like to express his heartfelt thanks to all those who have in some way made this volume possible, including the many who readily and eagerly accepted the invitation to contribute essays but whose contributions regrettably had to be left out either because they could not meet the deadlines of the editor and the press or because of limited space. (One contributor withdrew his paper at the last minute on the grounds that it seemed out of place in a collection entitled *Colonialism and Change*.) New deadlines would, in the opinion of the editor, have delayed publication, already late, almost indefinitely. The editor is particularly indebted to Mrs. Carolyn Larsen for her generous and expert assistance in re-typing and proof-reading the final drafts; to Mrs. Alberta Curley for helping with the figures; and to Miss Jo Frederick, a Graduate Assistant, for valuable aid with references. Finally, I wish to express on behalf of the contributors and myself our gratitude to Dr. Lita Osmundsen, Director of Research personally, and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, for a generous grant-in-aid which made the publication of this volume possible at a very difficult period of worldwide economic inflation/recession.

M. O.

Sacramento, California
March, 1972

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Foreword

For Professor Lucy Mair A Tribute of Friendship

MEYER FORTES

I first met Lucy Mair in 1930 or 1931, when I occasionally sat in on Malinowski's seminars at the London School of Economics. But we did not become fully acquainted until I turned seriously to social anthropology and became a regular member of Malinowski's and Seligman's seminars. Malinowski's charisma was at its height and the group of research students gathered around him included such future anthropologists of note as S. F. Nadel, Godfrey Wilson, J. Obrebski, and Gunther Wagner, all, alas, no longer with us, as well as Margaret Read, Monica Wilson, Hilda Kuper, S. Hofstra, P. Kirchhoff, and K. Oberg. From time to time visiting anthropologists on their way to or from the field joined us; and Raymond Firth and Audrey Richards were, like Lucy Mair, also present in their capacity as members of the teaching staff. It was, to say the least, a lively seminar, with plenty of disputation, fanned by Malinowski himself, and invariably followed by extramural recapitulation and analysis in a nearby pub or cafe.

Lucy Mair had just got back from her first field trip to Uganda and we had long talks about Uganda social and political organization. Officially she was supposed to be teaching and researching in what was called Colonial Administration; but her field work in Uganda seemed to me to be straight social anthropology, as we were becoming acquainted with that discipline. Her book on the Baganda, technically superseded as it was in depth by her later research, seems to me to foreshadow clearly the approach to, and the style of dealing with her data, that have characterized the whole of her scholarly output. Indeed, as I look back, I am emboldened to say that they were constantly in evidence in seminars and

other discussions and it is obvious that they were — and continue to be — fundamentally shaped by her African experience. For, apart from her survey of the New Guinea native administration under the Australian mandate shortly after the last war, Dr. Mair's research activities and scholarly interests have been concentrated on Africa for the past forty years. In pursuing them she has worked and travelled in all of the former British colonial territories and is also well acquainted with the ethnography and the social and administrative affairs of the former French and Belgian African colonies.

Backed by an encyclopaedic command of the literature, theoretical as well as descriptive and historical, this has led Dr. Mair to an approach not usually associated with the functionalist method. Her intensive studies have almost invariably served as the springboard for the comparative enquiries and the concern with general principles that a wide professional public has become familiar with through her publications of the past ten years or so. Specialists in African sociology, government, and administration during the colonial period and since, have long been indebted to her for judicious and comprehensive surveys of the data available and the theories current on major topics within their field. Her contribution to the famous *African Survey* in which she collaborated closely with Lord Hailey are well known. For my part, I regard her masterly comparative analysis of *African Marriage and Social Change* in the book *Survey of African Marriage and Family Life*, edited by Arthur Phillips (first published in 1953) as one of the most outstanding contributions of our period to the elucidation of this thorny subject. It is marked not only by the rigorous examination of facts which is characteristic of Dr. Mair's approach but by the blend of concern for the human issues and impatience with biased interpretation that are equally characteristic of all her writings on applied anthropology.

It should be remembered that Dr. Mair's professional compass has never been limited to the subject matter conventionally associated with social anthropology. The study of colonial administration in all its aspects, from the level of the tribal "bush" village to that of policy-making central institutions, has been a major concern of hers. The merging of this interest with her anthropological interests led to the development of the pattern of applied anthropology Dr. Mair established at the London School of Economics. As taught by her and practised by the research students under her direction, the keynote of applied anthropology was its basis in field research.

What has chiefly interested her about colonial administration has been to see its institutions and agents in action, in villages, in courts of law,

tax offices and so on. When the new political movements arose in the early years of self-government in the ex-colonies, she went to see them in action, at local political meetings as well as in the corridors of central power. Her book on *New Nations* reflects this approach to modern political developments in the "Third World".

In colonial days, this pattern of research in ex-colonial territories required, in the first place, a knowledge of the political and social institutions of the indigenous society, ideally as it was before the arrival of the colonial government. It required, likewise, a knowledge of the structure and modes of operation of the colonial governmental institutions, as they impinged on the indigenous society. The task then was to analyze the changes that had taken place in the indigenous social system in response to the influences and pressures of colonial rule.

Anthropological field techniques and theory have provided the key to the research procedures followed by Dr. Mair in working towards these objectives. Thus, applied anthropology, in her hands, became primarily the anthropology and sociology of social change in Africa, that is to say, a source of information and interpretation of what was happening, for example, as a result of the establishment of Indirect Rule or of experiments in creating local authorities on the British pattern, rather than of precepts or plans for arriving at policy decisions.

Dr. Mair has, in various places, considered the functions an applied social science can honestly fulfil in relation to the policy objectives of a government and its administrative agents, whether in a colonial context or in that of a sovereign state. She is on the side of those of us who would like to see a strict distinction respected between advisory and investigatory functions and also believe that anthropologists as such are not qualified or bound to take on the former role. They might attempt to forecast what could be the outcome of particular measures or even of general principles in a given society at a particular stage of its history, provided the observational, statistical, and other data are at hand. But that is as far as they can be expected to go in their professional capacity, within the framework of their discipline. Anthropological detachment is essential but it need not of course imply the abandonment of personal ethical and moral values. There are other avenues than those of their trade for anthropologists to promote ethical and moral ends they hold dear. But without knowledge and understanding of the facts it would be difficult to take sensible or even humane action in this regard.

It is in this spirit, I believe, that Dr. Mair has over the years guided the research of students who have worked under her direction, amongst them the contributors to the present volume.

I referred, earlier, to Dr. Mair's style of dealing with anthropological and other scholarly material. For me the outstanding quality of Dr. Mair's style of work is the way she is able to put complex arguments into plain language without loss of technical point or sacrifice of scholarly precision.

This ability to clarify is as evident in the short book reviews as in her papers on subjects like land tenure, marriage, chieftainship and clientship in East Africa, as well as in her books on *Primitive Government*, *New Nations*, *Witchcraft*, etc. Her short book on *Australia in New Guinea* (1948) is an object lesson in the application of an anthropological approach to a postwar colonial problem. Dr. Mair succeeds in extracting order from a miscellany of historical, geographical, ethnographical, and administrative material, which looks superficially quite higgedy-piggedy. Not that she is unable or unwilling to hit hard on occasion. The most generous of critics, and always ready to consider things from other people's points of view, she nonetheless makes no concessions to sloppy thinking or to misrepresentation of facts and arguments or to polemical bias in matters of scholarship.

Speaking personally, I would rather be guided by Dr. Mair's judgment where my own work, or that of others, is concerned, than by the opinions of many more widely publicized colleagues of our generation.

Like most British anthropologists of our generation, Dr. Mair came into anthropology by a side door, so to speak, after a brilliant undergraduate record in Classics at Cambridge. One of her teachers was Francis Cornford who, with Jane Harrison and Gilbert Murray, revolutionized the study of Greek culture and philosophy in the nineteen-twenties by drawing on the anthropological and sociological theories of that time. It would be easy to attribute Dr. Mair's style of thought and of work to this background. But I doubt if this is appropriate. After all it was Malinowski who persuaded her to take up anthropology; and it was the intellectual and social climate of the London School of Economics in the thirties that fostered his and his students' commitment to this, at that time, academically underprivileged branch of human science. These essays by former students of hers, brought together in the present volume, are a tribute to Dr. Mair's contributions to the growth of these studies at the L.S.E., and to the international fame gained by them in the past thirty years.

Looking back over the years of our friendship, I can recollect no time when Lucy Mair was anthropologically inactive. In addition to her teaching and research work she has served on the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute and was one of the founding members and at one time Secretary of the Association of Social Anthropologists of the

British Commonwealth. It is inspiring to see her vigor unabated. The series of synoptic books she has brought out over the past dozen years have proved to be a boon to students. They show her to be at the top of her form. Long may this last. We offer these essays to her with affection and admiration.

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Introduction

MAXWELL OWUSU

The conception and the actual birth of a *Festschrift* for truly outstanding scholars and teachers by their students, colleagues, and friends is nothing new. All the same, I am encouraged by the fact that it has been possible, in spite of exciting problems, most of them unanticipated, for me to initiate and successfully carry through an enterprise traditionally reserved for older, and well established European social scientists.

In the preface to his much-quoted book, *Facing Mount Kenya*, written about thirty-five years ago under the supervision of Malinowski, Lucy Mair's teacher, Jomo Kenyatta observes rather woefully: "In the present work I have tried my best to record facts as I know them, mainly through a life time of personal experience, and I have kept under *very considerable restraint* the sense of political grievances which no progressive African can fail to *experience*." He continues, more hopefully: "I could not do justice to the subject without offending those 'professional friends of the African' who are prepared to maintain their friendship for eternity as a sacred duty, provided only that the African will continue to play the part of an *ignorant* savage so that they can *monopolise* the office of *interpreting* his mind and speaking for him... [The African's] power of expression has been hampered, but it is breaking through, and will soon sweep away the patronage and repression which surrounds him" (my emphasis). Jomo Kenyatta was writing in the good old colonial days when indigenous African social (natural) scientists were a rarity and when the very few who were present had often been forced by the colonial situation to play subordinate intellectual roles to Europeans. Even today foreign scholars still dominate African studies, but the picture has changed

considerably since the 1930's and will continue to change at an even faster rate as the growing number of African intellectuals seriously commit themselves to the sacrifice of time, energy, and money in the pursuit of objective, relevant, and responsible scholarship.

The scholarly role of the European social scientist, particularly the social anthropologist in Africa and other non-Western societies, has from its very inception been and still remains an unenviable one. As an academic discipline, social anthropology is closely associated with the latter 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century — the high tide of Western imperialism and colonialism. Though today “colonial anthropology” may be dead in many areas of the non-Western world, it is perhaps true to say that the average Western anthropologist, himself hardly a colonialist or imperialist, was, as a highly privileged *white* person, invariably identified with the colonial system of *white* domination by the people he studied. As Jack Goody, a British social anthropologist, accurately observes: “The anthropologist arrived as a representative of a technologically advanced society to put the local inhabitants under the sociological microscope” (*Comparative Studies in Kinship*, 2).

There are, of course, other reasons why Western-educated Africans, a group most familiar with the traditions of Western epistemology, whether as members of Victor Turner's (*Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960* III, 2-3) appellate international body of professional anthropology, the general reading public, or merely as common men with common sense, are often intolerant of outsiders who, after spending a brief period studying African societies with the help of native interpreters, set themselves up as sole or primary authorities and experts on particular “tribes”. Here again, Jack Goody's reminder that “it is only a figment of the anthropologist's imagination and not one that he [the anthropologist] would be prepared to extend to an understanding of his own personal situation” that makes the anthropologist an expert after only a couple of years' sojourn in a “strange” country (*Comparative Studies in Kinship*, xiii) is apropos. There is an ancient African proverb (proverbs are the distilled wisdom of a people) that “the stranger who returns from a journey may tell all he has seen, but he *cannot* explain all”. What is even worse from a *scientific* point of view, many of the “tribal” monographs ingeniously protected by an “ethnographic present” tend to have a take-it-or-leave-it cast to them. It is virtually impossible to falsify, replicate, or evaluate them *objectively*. Often it is not clear whether the accounts painstakingly presented are about informants, about “scientific” models, or about the anthropologists themselves. In fact, Raymond Firth's remark (see E. R. Leach, *Political Systems of Highland Burma*, vii) that “ethnographic

facts may be irrelevant — that it does not matter so much if they [anthropologists] get the facts wrong so long as they can argue the theories logically” only increases one’s doubt about the “truth value” of anthropology, in the empirical sense.

Traditionally, the role of the anthropologist, particularly the so-called applied anthropologist, has also been a problematic one. In teaching those concerned with “primitive folk” the principles and facts of his subject (with perhaps some special reference to their problems) and in investigating those aspects of “primitive life” which he was requested by an administration to study, answering specific problems put before him by a colonial official who might or might not use the data in formulating his policy towards native life, the anthropologist found himself in an awkward position (Melville Herskovits, “Applied Anthropology and the American Anthropologist”, *Science*, LXXXIII [1936], 215-22).

It is perhaps fair and of some relevance to point out that on the eve of the Second World War, a war whose aftermath led to increased and persistent “nationalist” agitation for independence of subject peoples from colonial rule, there were only a handful of trained European anthropologists. There were perhaps only twenty in the whole of the British Commonwealth at this time, according to Meyer Fortes (*Social Anthropology at Cambridge Since 1900*). As often as not, what the colonial administration wanted to know from the anthropologist was, no doubt, how a particular measure — whether recommended by the anthropologist or by an official on “scientific” grounds or on grounds of colonial morality/philosophy or personal ideology, whether in the interest of the colonized or not — could best be accommodated to administrative requirements, defense and strategic needs, and imperial policy which insisted on spending as little as possible for the welfare of colonized peoples. The colonial official, *not* the anthropologist, had authority to take and implement decisions and was accountable to the home government. Of course, a number of anthropologists were increasingly employed in official positions.

Most usually, however, anthropologists held university and other academic positions (appointments) specifically charged in some instances, so it seems, with the search (made possible by the “flood of government largess”) for “scientific” knowledge as a basis for smooth, “enlightened” administration of distant and “primitive” territories under colonial rule. This was, of course, in addition to their more pedestrian teaching and other obligations. Dr. Mair, whom we are honoring here, herself began her academic career in 1932-38 as a Lecturer in Colonial Administration at the London School of Economics and Political Science. For

a year (1945) she was made Lecturer at the Australian Land Headquarters Civil Affairs School. She returned to London in 1946-56, this time as Reader in Colonial Administration. After 1956, perhaps when it was clear that it was only a matter of time until all British colonies, following the 1947 examples of India and Pakistan, would be granted political independence, the "Colonial Administration" lectureship was naturally rechristened "Applied Anthropology". From 1956-63 she was, hence, a Reader of Applied Anthropology. In 1963, she was made Professor until her retirement in 1968.

Dr. Mair has been the recipient of a number of colonial and other academic distinctions. In 1949 she was awarded a colonial office grant that took her to Nyasaland (Malawi) and which resulted in her publication of *Native Administration in Central Africa*, having published *Welfare in British Colonies* in 1944. She delivered the Lugard (of indirect rule fame) Memorial Lecture in 1958. Here, then, is a brilliant and most distinguished scholar and teacher who meets nearly all the popular qualifications of the *colonial* anthropologist, a true daughter of that era of British imperialism (Dr. Mair was born outside London, in 1901, the turning point of British rule in Africa), and an arch supporter or clever defender of that heartless imperialism while it lasted. It would be easy to rescue Dr. Mair from such a cruel and baseless charge. But, in this as in other things, her ruthless honesty, rare wisdom, and uncompromising respect for Africans — and all human beings, for that matter — are best guarantees for a safe-conduct anywhere.

Those of us *Africans* who had the honor and privilege of working intimately with her during our undergraduate and postgraduate days (and, happily, some of them are contributors to this volume) remember very well, as we look back, Dr. Mair's sincerity and genuine concern for the welfare and progress of her academic wards, whatever their origins. She was always sympathetic without being patronizing, helpful without being paternalistic, objective without being aloof. Many of us, from warm tropical countries, perhaps could not have attained our present measure of success as professional social scientists in that ever-reserved, cold, and bleak London social climate without her warm and constant "maternal" attention, encouragement, and careful but demanding and rigorous academic supervision.

It is significant to note that Dr. Mair was not unaware of the special problems of the European anthropologist working in the *colonial situation* and of the somewhat biased nature of their work. Her almost unique approach, her emphasis on contemporaneity, avoided many of the serious pitfalls of her rigidly functionalist colleagues. For instance, the pre-

vailing and dominant “functionalist theory” prevented many a concerned anthropologist from posing the *right* questions — pressing questions dealing historically with the social, economic, and political implications of the tyranny of European-appointed African chiefs, with forced labor, discriminatory practices against Africans, forcible seizure of African lands by Europeans, and so on. These were some of the issues which no responsible African anthropologist could ignore or treat lightly. Virtually no systematic studies were done on European and other minority communities in Africa by anthropologists. The relationships between Africans and their European masters, between one group of Africans and other groups, between Africans and Asians or Levantines, were scarcely subject to the familiar microscopic analysis.

When, therefore, many of the pre-independence sociological and anthropological findings are considered invalid or irrelevant, as it is now fashionable to do in some quarters, it is because the anthropologists of that period failed to perceive the real aspirations of the indigenous population, the oppressive conditions, the unsettling experiences, and other urgent problems — in fact all aspects of the total social reality of the peoples they studied. Naturally, African anthropologists — following closely in the footsteps of the European anthropologists, it should be emphasized — have often posed equally misleading or meaningless questions. The professional interest of the anthropologist in trying to understand his subject *holistically* often led him to take the colonial situation for granted instead of combining scientific analyses with meaningful consideration of historical continuity and the direction of change. Thus the anthropologist was prevented from asking and tackling those major intricate questions which were (and still are) so important both to the progressive, educated African and to the illiterate or semi-literate African peasant and urbanite. The situation seems particularly tragic today when the kinds of *factual knowledge* about non-Western peoples, which the anthropologist claimed or was believed to possess, are considered indispensable for effective policy formulation and execution. Even a cursory look at the teeming number of “tribal” monographs written by the outside experts demonstrates one thing — the cumbersome “scientific” jargon apart, they are of little practical use, being mostly backward-looking instead of forward-looking or contemporaneous, focusing on the speculative reconstruction (a functionalist taboo, incidentally) of the so-called exotic and vanishing indigenous *traditional* social and cultural systems. The studies were more concerned with the construction of highly abstract kinship terminologies, contrived genealogies, and neat models than with real consideration of the total impact of admittedly highly

selective and uneven colonial development schemes and policies on African populations; with the bonds in the color bar more than with the contradictions in apartheid, a system based on a denial of human rights and democratic freedoms and on socioeconomic exploitation; with the *ordered* anarchy of the so-called acephalous segmentary systems more than with the unsettling effects on traditional polities of indigenous and European colonial conquest and rule.

Thus, the anthropologist, *the* social scientist *par excellence* of non-Western societies and cultures, working in the colonial situation missed a great opportunity (a chance that could hardly be recaptured with any assurance or certainty) of recording for posterity and analyzing, systematically and at firsthand, the real and true nature of colonial society and practice. Of course, now that the whole subject of Western colonialism is said to be a dead issue — the Portuguese presence in Africa notwithstanding — anthropologists, spurred on by a new, bolder, more humanistic and, no doubt, scientific professional ethic, are busy wiping the heavy dust off their buried and forgotten field notes to try to recapture part of the colonial experience for us! It does seem an interesting commentary on the sociology of knowledge that, in a *post-colonial* situation, anthropology should now be preoccupied with patterns of European imperialism and colonialism.

But, all said and done, Dr. Lucy Mair's work stands out as a shining example of what anthropology could have, and still can, become: a science in the service of genuine human understanding, if not human advancement — a consideration every anthropologist could do well to emulate.

The African anthropologist or sociologist is primarily interested in *understanding* his society *scientifically* as part of a general and more urgent concern for directing or changing that society — to modernize his society without losing his essential humanity and Africanness. This means that scholars must — will have to — *rethink* all areas of anthropology, not just kinship, for anthropology to emerge at last as a true *empirical-historical* discipline. Anthropology must provide not only coherent analytic information but also meaningful and falsifiable (verifiable) knowledge. Dr. Mair, more than any single European scholar, understood the African's position very well.

In 1934, she wrote in the concluding paragraphs of her *An African People in the 20th Century*, "African societies have so far produced few, if any, sociologists. Consequently, the demand made by Africans, however intelligent, however highly educated, cannot be taken as decisive in determining the lines along which African development should go. The decision should be made on the results of a scientific study of the actual

problems involved.” She went on to say, “The position of the person who sets up to know what is good for somebody else is not an enviable one: his motives are always suspect. It is embarrassing to find oneself uttering, in all honesty, one of the texts which are most frequently cited by the devil for his purpose” (see p. 288).

Dr. Mair did a lot, sometimes going out of her way to encourage and urge Africans to become sociologists themselves, to prepare the ground for the eventual assumption by the Africans themselves of the direction of research into African societies as a basis of policies for modernization and technological change.

Though many of the small number of Africans who have received formal anthropological training are employed in government ministries, there is a growing number (still a drop in the pan compared with the size of the contingent of European anthropologists working in Africa) of African anthropologists holding positions in universities and concerned with research and teaching. But whether the African anthropologist is an administrator or a professor, he is — or should be — seriously concerned about the overwhelming problems of modernization in Africa.

It is no accident that these essays written to honor Dr. Mair all deal with various aspects of the impact of colonialism and modernization in Africa — a worldwide process characterized, among other factors, by:

1. Structural changes affecting the *total* society in the direction of large-scale integrated units. In Africa the process would seem to lead eventually to continental (Pan-African) governments and economies.
2. Diffused and increasing awareness of one’s total environment, particularly of its expanding or contracting range of opportunities, situational possibilities, along with the consciousness and rational understanding of the nature of both internal and external constraints and limitations, on change within one’s environment.
3. A wide range of choices and the ability to make effective and socially beneficial and viable decisions.
4. Increasing levels, complexity, and depths of role differentiation and redefinition, associated with the rational organization of society.
5. A change toward self-reliant and self-sustaining economic growth, and development.
6. Higher and more dignified standards of living for the *total* population through industrialization and *appropriate* scientific-technological change.
7. Revolution in attitudes and tastes based on institutionalized commitment to meaningful (aesthetic and spiritual) constructive innovation and maximization of indigenous creativity.

8. Democratization of society, economy, and polity through the elimination of inequalities and unjust and unreasonable privileges of age, sex, race, religion, class, ethnicity, status, origin, etc.
9. Popular participation in, and support for, domestic and foreign policy decisions and their implementation.

The volume and the choice of focus represent, I think, the most suitable and lasting tribute that African and non-African scholars alike, with a serious and genuine interest in the elimination of racialism, racism, class oppression, economic and technological exploitation, tyranny, colonialism, and war, can pay to a most dedicated and truly outstanding scholar and teacher of major influence, a woman who in her lifetime has done much to correct the confused and tarnished image of Africa imposed largely by an unyielding European presence.

Dr. Lucy Mair is primarily a political anthropologist who is interested in social implications of technological change in new nations which were former colonial territories. Her chief regional focus has been Africa, though she has studied and published on non-African populations. It is, therefore, altogether appropriate and fitting that four of the essays should be devoted to themes on political anthropology (by Gutkind, Otite, Owusu, and Vincent); one on socioeconomic development — that is, on the new “applied anthropology” (by Aluko); two on the effects of urbanization (by Nukunya and Southall); and two on religion (by Bond and Brain). Each one of the essays is concerned with the integration of theory and fact and is written in the same spirit of dedication, objectivity, honesty, and humility so characteristic of Dr. Mair’s lifelong work.

“I can only assure the reader of my honesty, and leave him to judge whether this book is a specious plea for the maintenance of the African in subjection or an objective analysis of the reaction of an African society to European civilization” (Mair, *An African People in the 20th Century*, p. 288).

Maxwell Owusu

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June, 1972

*Comparative Politics, History, and Political Anthropology*¹

MAXWELL OWUSU

THE MORALITY OF POLITICS

One of the major interests of Professor Lucy Mair has been the study and interpretation of political developments in the newly independent countries of Africa and Asia.² Her dedication to objective and dispassionate analysis which is not, in her words, “concerned with dividing sheep from goats”, is exemplary. Dr. Mair’s humility toward research data, and her humanistic concern for a just society everywhere, make her very critical of oppressive, racist, and other forms of arbitrary rule, phenomena she rightly sees not as “cultural peculiarities of geographical areas” but as “universals of life in society”.

We ought, therefore, to critically examine in *every* study of political systems to see “how freedom is balanced against constraint, arbitrary action against respect for rules, the exercise of power against the checks on its abuse”.³ In today’s world, where internal coercion and violent external aggression are familiar facts — if not dominant styles — of

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² Lucy Mair, *New Nations* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1963).

³ Lucy Mair, *Anthropology and Social Change* (= *LSE Monographs on Social Anthropology* 38) (London: Athlone Press, 1969), 140.