

SEVEN-YEAR RESEARCH PLAN OF THE RHODES-LIVINGSTONE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL STUDIES IN BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA

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1. INTRODUCTION :

This plan for co-operative, co-ordinated, social research in British Central Africa is the first plan of the kind in the British Empire.(1) It aims to analyse the organization of modern Central Africa and to show how selected urban and tribal African Communities live within it. We hope in carrying it out both to analyse the scientific relations present in this situation, and to provide the people participating in it, Government, Africans and others, with accurate intelligence of what is happening. I do not claim that the plan could not be improved; the ideal would be to have enough social scientists to cover every problem and area in the region. That is clearly impossible. Neither the money nor the personnel are available, and I aim at the most economic use of available resources.

As set out here, the plan indicates the frame-work within which we shall work. I do not feel that it is fair to present my newly appointed colleagues with a precisely defined programme; I shall need their advice in setting out the technical problems and the principles we shall adopt in studying them. Nevertheless, a general programme was necessary for us in seeking financial support and my colleagues, new to the Central African field, will wish to acquire local knowledge before they feel in a position to put forward their views. What follows is therefore subject to amendment.

The Institute was founded in 1938 to plan social research in British Central Africa. Since we had only one research officer for most of the time, and never more than two, we could not undertake more than two isolated pieces of research. The passing of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act in 1940 enabled us to plan a large scheme of sociological research in Northern Rhodesia, and to provide for research in Nyasaland. We are to receive a grant of £21,200 from the Fund to pay for three sociologists and one economist, and have applied for a further £5,200 for another sociologist. In addition, the Beit Railway Trust generously established a Beit Research Fellowship of £1250 per annum attached to the Institute to initiate modern social anthropological research in Southern Rhodesia. The Northern Rhodesia Government continues to grant us certain services in addition to its annual grant (£1500), and other governments and bodies (2) make us annual donations which maintain the Director and the central office.

The Colonial Development and Welfare Fund and the Beit Trustees grants are for four years, but are renewable for another three years. Therefore the plan of research set out below is based on a seven-year survey. Its principles and details have been approved by the Trustees of

the Institute, and by the Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia Governments where their respective Territories are concerned. However, the plan has been rewritten for publication.

In presenting this plan I acknowledge the work of my predecessor, the late Mr. Godfrey Wilson, and the help of Dr. Audrey I Richards, Professor I. Schapera, Professor S. H. Frankel, and Mrs. M. W. Hughes. I am also greatly indebted to unpublished reports of specialist panels in the social sciences appointed by the Colonial Research Committee.

2. BACKGROUND OF THE PLAN :

In 1928 the International African Institute announced a five-year plan of research, to bring about "the closer association of scientific knowledge and research with practical affairs." Technically, this programme concentrated attention on the problems of changing African cultures. The plan has produced many admirable studies by Fellows of the International African Institute and they have notably advanced both the theories and the methods of social science in Africa. Nevertheless, the plan proved to be no plan at all. If we judge by their several monographs, the work of the different Fellows was in no way co-ordinated(3).

Financial provision for social anthropologists was meagre in the field and almost non-existent out of it; able students were actively discouraged by their tutors from specializing unless they had private means. The early inflow of money into the International African Institute became a trickle.

When the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute was founded not only was this a new development, in creating a local centre in the Colonies for independent social research, but workers were also granted more generous conditions. They came more or less on to the same scales as Government technical officers. Above all, they did not have to pay research expenses out of a grant sufficient only to support themselves and their families; these were all paid for by the Institute. This desirable change might have been fruitless were it not for the passing in 1940 of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, with its generous provision for research. Previously social scientists had on the whole relied for grants on learned institutions and societies which tried to get as many workers into the field as they could with inadequate funds. To do social research at all—which to us then was a great privilege for which we had to pay with insecurity—scientists had to be content with just sufficient to keep them alive. Most anthropologists had only rainy days ahead for which they could not save.

Still higher standards of pay are now set for our new officers. A typical grant in 1936-8 was one of £30 a month out of which the scientist had to keep himself, pay travelling, interpreting, photographic equipment, etc., expenses. The Beit Fellowship is of a value to us of £1250 per annum. The Fellow gets a salary on a scale of £600-£700 with additional emoluments, and all his research expenses are paid. Our grant from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund is averaged at £1290 per officer over seven years.

I set out these figures because they indicate increasing public recognition of the value of the social scientist. Three factors principally account for this. First, there has been an undoubted advance in our theory and methods, to which the work of the International African Institute Fellows has materially contributed, though, as I say, in a plan that was no plan. This advance is apparent to anyone comparing general monographs written in say 1928, 1936, and 1940. This development had to be expected, for every young scientist begins where his predecessors left off, and the advances are particularly rapid in a young science like sociology. Second, Lord Hailey in his *African Survey* stressed with all his authority that sociology was an essential complement to other research. He pointed out that it was necessary to interpret properly vital statistics, the reaction of Africans to Government measures in all fields, developments of indirect rule, etc. This has become increasingly the opinion of Governments and other colonial institutions. Third, and perhaps most important, the Colonial Development and Welfare Act provides for general increase of services to enable the "primitive" peoples of the colonies to progress. The plans to achieve this cannot be carried out without accurate knowledge of social conditions: mass education projects, housing of Africans, female education, modernizing of political units, etc. all depend on this. It early became manifest that social scientists would have to be employed, and clearly they could not be employed on worse terms than other technical officers. They were in equal demand. This improvement in status also occurs at the same time as a general rise in all scientists' working conditions.

At the moment, the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute is the first social science research institute in the colonies to be ready to expand work. The appointment of the Head of the Sociology Department at the Institute of West African Arts, Industries and Social Science, to be Reader in Social Anthropology at Oxford may necessitate the temporary closing of the department. There are too few trained social anthropologists to carry out all the research demanded. Therefore our project, in addition to its intrinsic worth, is important because, if I may quote a colleague, it is the biggest event in social anthropological history since the Rivers' Torres Straits expedition. We appreciate that it is not only on our merits—though we have good work to our credit—that we are in this position; general developments have focussed temporarily on us. I hope therefore that readers of this plan will send me any comments they may have. As the first project of its kind, it must be subject to criticism.

3. THE STATUS OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES :

The Northern Rhodesia Government has for some years strongly recognized the value to it of scientific research into social problems. It has increasingly supported the Institute, financially and in other ways, as our work expanded in all directions. Government departments referred matters to us and there was a give-and-take of information and ideas between our staff and Government officers which has been fruitful for both sides. Shortage of staff at the Institute restricted our work here,

but our new appointments come at a moment when this cooperation is ripe for quick development. More and more Government officers are asking that sociological enquiries should be made in advance so that development plans can be formulated on a sound basis. His Excellency the Governor has appointed the Director of the Institute a member of the newly formed Native Welfare and Development Council.

The path of cooperation is not altogether a smooth one. It is understandable that there is a certain amount of friction and diffidence in the relations of an independent research Institute and Government. The sociologist is still an "outsider" who, unlike other technical officers, bears no responsibility for Government policy. Future cooperation must depend on everyone recognizing that their spheres are complementary and that they are not rivals. Above all, sociologist and Government official must recognize each other's contributions and limitations.

In a recent survey of the success of the International African Institute's work(4), Dr. Audrey Richards, who has herself done notable research in this region, considers this problem in detail. She concludes that "the anthropologist is still frequently regarded with suspicion as being an outsider and a possible disturber of the peace, but it is probable that this attitude will change when the inhabitants of the African colonies, both temporary and permanent, come to understand the nature of the field-worker's training and also come to participate in the research schemes themselves. The need for fundamental research by independent field-workers cannot be over-emphasized, because anthropological science will perish without it. But it will have to be recognized that African Governments need investigations of a special type and publications suited to their particular needs, and they will, presumably, have to provide for these as they do for the work of their chemists, botanists, and other scientists. . . . The training of African investigators and the development of local research centres would greatly contribute to the success of such schemes. The study of culture change has brought anthropologists into the field of modern administrative, social, and economic problems, and the best form of cooperation with specialists in these subjects, having regard to the particular difficulties of cross-cultural study, will need to be worked out in future programmes of research."

Everyone tends to insist on his rights and forget his obligations, anthropologists among others. The African today complains that his chief is not as generous as his fathers but forgets that he no longer gives tribute to the chief; the chief grumbles that his people stint him but no longer acknowledges his obligation to feed them. Perhaps I may be forgiven if I fall prey to this, among other, human weaknesses, and set out only our own claims.

In brief, sociological techniques of investigation have advanced to a point where we can say that the untrained observer cannot produce the same information as the professional, even though the latter has much shorter acquaintance with a specific area or problem. I must emphasize that the professional in these conditions can only envy the time-depth of knowledge, and the wide range of facts, of, e.g. the District Officer or

missionary who has worked in an area for some years. Nevertheless, by the use of proper sampling methods, the collection of statistics, the balancing of information from different sources, the possession of time to consider facts and sort them with comparative reading, etc., the professional is able to set out clearly a balanced picture of a problem or area, and often to give quantitative precision to trends in social development. Notable examples of this near at home are Wilson's quantitative analysis of degrees of urbanization, extent of remittances to rural homes, as correlated with marital conditions, distance of rural homes from industrial centres, location of wives, in Broken Hill; and the work of Schapera on law and custom, marital conditions, land tenure, and labour migration, in Bechuanaland. These may be contrasted with the answers to questionnaires published in the *Nyasaland Commission on Emigrant Labour of 1935*, in which in adjoining districts contrary monosyllabic opinions are given on the same very complicated set of facts.

The techniques of social investigation, though very important, are less so than the background of sociological theory and reading with which the professional approaches the "facts". Facts have significance only in relation to one another, and their meaning is easily misinterpreted. An overall increase in population may be taken by the untrained interpreter to represent merely an increasing population, the social scientist knows that it has many possible explanations, including such important ones as a decreasing mortality accompanied by a loading of the upper age-groups (5). The missionary explains frequent divorces in a tribe by saying that the people are immoral; the sociologist, with his background, sees that the divorce rate is correlated with different types of kinship structure(6).

Nevertheless, while we insist on the importance of the professional training now given to sociological research workers, we acknowledge and welcome the help Government Officers give us and the important contributions they make to research in our field.

In putting forward the claims of sociology as a specialized skill, we recognize our limitations. I have elaborated on this theme in an article "The Difficulties, Achievements and Limitations, of Social Anthropology"(7), and here summarize the main points. Our material is very complicated: it is impossible to isolate facts for experiment and the actual behaviour of human beings with which we deal is affected by a very complicated history of preceding events and by the laws of many sciences. Necessarily therefore our statements of the relations between social facts are made with less precision and certainty than are statements in other sciences. Nevertheless, we can make precise statements which have to be considered in social planning. The proof of this is the extent to which the British Government during the war has used sociological investigation as a basis for its difficult task of creating new communities and new social institutions to meet the needs of total war.

Here this is increasingly appreciated, and the Institute is acquiring the same status as Government technical Departments. We are only at the beginning of this development. One officer cannot do much, but when our team has completed its first tour it will be able to undertake correlated

investigations on a wider scale. Government and our Trustees hope that the present plan shall not be a scheme of research moving to completion, but the beginning of continuous sustained research which will maintain touch with social developments in the Territory. The costs will ultimately be balanced since we will be able to provide much accurate knowledge to Government Commissions which are now seen to be not the most efficient way of enquiring into social problems. As Lord Hailey says, "the appointment of committees to advise on matters involving a knowledge of Native law and custom, of which the members are people who have not previously concerned themselves with such subjects, has more than once failed to yield satisfactory results" (8).

At the same time, the general feeling seems to be that the Institute should not become a Government department, but should remain independent, for the following reasons:

- (a) the sociologist may have to question the basic assumptions of Government policy;
- (b) the sociologist requires independence in dealing with the Africans among whom he works;
- (c) our present financial support from non-Government sources, which is considerable and socially important, would be lost if we were a Government Department;
- (d) our present position, in which we serve also Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia, with its different political constitution, requires this independence;
- (e) the Institute undertakes large-scale work in publicizing the results of its own and other scientific researches, which it could not do if it were a Government department.

4. THE PRESENT EXTENT OF OUR SOCIOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE REGION:

When my predecessor came to Northern Rhodesia, few modern sociological studies had been done in the region. One was by Richards of the Bemba, the major results of which were then not yet published. Read had studied the Nyasaland Ngoni with associated researches among the Northern Rhodesia Ngoni. She too had published only a couple of articles. The Wilsons had published little of their studies of the northern Nyasa region. In 1934 the Merle-Davis team had reported on *Modern Industry and the African*. Smith and Dale had written a good general account of the Ila, but it was weak on economics, land tenure, and social organization. There were ethnographic accounts of the Kaonde-Lunda (Melland), the Lamba (Doke), and the Tumbuka-Kamanga (Cullen Young). Bullock had published an introductory study of the Shona in Southern Rhodesia. These last accounts were all written before 1932, and the spurt in anthropological science. Besides these books, there was a number of articles of widely varying value.

There were some important Government studies, though the brilliant ecological survey of Northern Rhodesia was not yet published. Most important were the reports by Pim and Milligan of the financial and

economic position of Northern Rhodesia (1938) and the Nyasaland Government report on emigrant labour (1935). District Commissioners had written unpublished reports on the human geography of the Territory.

During our lifetime, Richards has published one large study, on Bemba land-usage and diet, a smaller one on marriage, and a number of articles. Brelsford has written supplementary work on the Bemba. The Wilsons published work on the Nyakusa-Ngonde through the Institute and Read wrote on migrant labour and on changing standards of living among the Ngoni. I have published three booklets and articles on the Barotse.

The Bemba studied by Richards are a matrilineal bush-cultivating people, with little internal trade, organized in a powerful kingdom far from the railwayline; their soils are poor and they have no internal cash resources but supply much of the labour for the N. Rhodesian mines. To balance the study of this rural area, Wilson investigated conditions in the urban area of Broken Hill (after a short visit to the Bemba to learn Bemba and get the rural background of the miners). In this study he concentrated on the economic links of town and country. When I joined the Institute as his assistant, Wilson suggested that I study the Barotse, in view of the interest of their undescribed political organization and their treaty status.

5. THE PROPOSED PLAN FOR EXPANDED RESEARCH:

The plan has to meet three main needs:

- (a) it has to cover the major social developments in the region;
- (b) as far as is compatible with (a), it should present the widest possible range of comparative problems in both indigenous and modern social organization; and
- (c) it should deal with the most important social problems confronting the Government of the Territory.

Needs (a) and (c) are clearly met by a study of the problem of labour migration. Richards', Wilson's, Read's, and my work, and that of the 1935 Nyasaland Commission, as well as researches in South Africa and the Protectorates, all demonstrate that it is industrialization with labour migration which dominates the whole trend of social developments. Thus labour migration presents the major problems confronting Government, and this is shown by the following problems posed for me by the Secretary for Native Affairs as among those on which he requires data: "effect of migratory labour system in rural areas; degree and effect of stabilization or urbanization of labour; intermingling of tribes at labour centres, through improved communications, marketing, etc.—tendential effect on local customs; division of labour—effect of existing or potential labour-saving devices on division of labour between sexes or portions of a community. Taboos, e.g. in iron industry making for inefficiency." Clearly then, since this system of organizing labour dominates the whole economic development of the country and the social organization of all its parts, all social problems must be studied within its embrace.

It follows from the results of previous studies on Africa that we must study certain main types of areas: mining and non-mining urban areas;

rural areas far from and near to the labour centres and without cash crops; rural areas with cash crops or fishing or cattle, adjacent to and far from labour centres; and the European farming areas. We are limited to four sociologists for this Territory and they must be placed at the most strategic areas within this scheme. One obviously has to go to urban areas to expand Wilson's work. The main cash-crop area is that of the Tonga, near the line of rail, where maize is grown on a large scale for markets. We already have two studies for rural areas which are chiefly labour exporters (Bemba and Barotse) and I have taken as the third area for study the Chewa-Tumbuka-Ngoni of our Eastern Province, for that is a distant rural area, exporting labour, but with European tobacco-farming and some growing of tobacco by Africans. Fishing is an important industry in many parts of the country and it is essential to have a study of one area where it dominates the cash-economy. Work by Brelsford on the Unga of Bangweulu shows that only 25% of the men are out at work. I propose for the fishing-area the valley of the Luapula, primarily in the region of Cazembe's Lunda. The official reports on nutrition in the Colonies emphasize the importance of securing a better and wider distribution of fish, so that the study has urgent practical importance.

Later I shall show the subsidiary comparative problems which would be covered under this plan, and which justify the choice of these areas rather than of other ones which would have satisfied the chief conditions set out above.

On this plan, in the background of earlier studies, we could therefore study:

- (a) the differential effects of labour migration and urbanization on the family and kinship organization, the economic life, the political values, the religious and magical beliefs, of people living in: (i) towns of different type; (ii) a rural area with no cash crops, far from the line with little internal trade, exporting labour (Bemba); (iii) a rural area, part of which grows Burley tobacco or supplies maize to farmers, which is far from the line but adjacent to European farms where work could be obtained as well as in industrial centres, more trade than in Bembaland, exporting labour (Ngoni); (iv) a rural area exporting labour with no adjacent farms, but with some fish and possible cattle export, and a highly developed internal trade system (Barotse); (v) a rural area growing cash crops, with some fish trade, little internal trade, exporting comparatively little labour (Tonga); (vi) a rural area, with large-scale fishing industry for export, with internal trade, exporting comparatively little labour (Luapula); (vii) European farming areas far from the line (Ngoni) and on the line (Tonga);
- (b) the general establishment of an economic system, based on money, over the typical sample areas, together with the interrelations of the areas both in the impersonal social and economic organization of the Territory and in the movements of labour migrants;
- (c) the drift of population, from Angola and Mozambique, into the adjacent British territories (Barotse and Ngoni), whence it merges into a general movement from these distant reserves to reserves near

the line of the rail (Tonga), the towns (urban worker), and south into Southern Rhodesia and the Union (we shall have a worker in Southern Rhodesia). Here the assistance of a demographer should be obtained to control the collection of sample vital statistics; it is hoped to arrange for accompanying medical and nutritional studies on these sampled villages (see below);

- (d) each of the sample areas presents different types of changing social organization; among the Tonga, with their cash crops there is emerging a class of peasant farmers; the Bemba social situation is dominated by the absence of men; etc., etc.
- (e) it is important to determine, and if possible measure the influences which affect African behaviour, and the comparative work of the team will attempt to relate: general urban, urban with African segregation, urban with poverty, general rural, African rural, tribal, Western European, etc. influences with such factors as period of residence in towns, education, tribal status, occupation, etc. For this study, observations must be made at various points on the geographical scale;
- (f) as part of this study we shall analyse the formation of new groups and relationships, in both urban and rural areas; to achieve this it is necessary to regard mines and stores, district officers and missionaries, as factors in modern Central African Society which function in the same society as Native smithies and exchange-in-blood-brotherhood, as chiefs and magicians;
- (g) the reflex of changes in the religious beliefs and moral and other values of the people, and their effect on current organization, must be considered for variations over the sample areas: as e.g. between the urbanized and the rural African in different areas, between militaristic and non-militaristic peoples, etc.;
- (h) European, Indian and other groups will be considered in the research;
- (i) these studies will be correlated on the economic side by the economist, whose general study will be on the efficiency and inefficiency, the cost and economic effects, etc. of labour migration (for further details of economist's work see para. 6);
- (j) these themes will be drawn together in a cooperative account of the social and economic organization of the Territory.

I must emphasize that I do not view the social processes at work as entirely disintegrative. I state this explicitly because one of my colleagues thought I had not made this clear. My whole formulation of the problem depends on recognizing that there is a Central African Society of heterogeneous culture-groups of Europeans and Africans, with a defined social structure and norms of behaviour, though it has many conflicts and maladjustments(9). The problems set for the urban areas alone indicate my awareness that new groupings and relationships, perhaps torn by conflicts, are emerging.

These are the central themes of the research plan; I do not set out all the subsidiary problems which will be covered in the course of the in-

vestigations. I do not intend the research to be rigidly confined within this framework, though I consider it sets the dominant forms of the problems.

Within this framework, we shall make a number of supplementary studies, (e.g. on the sociological and psychological bases of witchcraft and modern developments in this type of thought).

The selection of the particular areas I have chosen, rather than of other similar ones, was made to present a series of comparative problems and to cover as wide a variety of cultural groups as possible within the limitations of staff. I present these problems in tables, and ask you to note that I have used "blanket-terms" in order to crowd complex comparisons into a small space.

6. THE ECONOMIST'S ROLE IN THE PLAN :

Above I have stated briefly that the economist will correlate facts on the economic side, and study the general efficiency and inefficiency, the cost and economic effects, etc., of labour migration. In addition, as he will be working in cooperation with sociologists in areas of varying culture, subject to various conditions of change, he should be able to make a notable contribution to theories on primitive economic structures. In the course of his study he will have to consider alternative economic structures; the problems of subsistence economics; the reactions of Africans to monetary stimuli; marketing problems; African economic theories and values in indigenous and modern situations; the effects of the inflation within the rural areas which has marked the war years; the differences in internal economic structures of the rural areas studied due to their varying amounts of internal trade.

I set out these problems from my point of view as a social anthropologist, but referred the draft of the plan to Professor S. H. Frankel for an economist's comments. He writes: "In my opinion the economist should work in close contact with all the other research workers in order to integrate their separate studies so as to throw light on fundamental economic trends. He himself would learn from them but, in addition, he should endeavour to draw their attention to the fundamental questions which have to be answered from the point of view of economic analysis. This brings me to the main point. The main research of the economist should, I think, be into the fundamental conditions which determine the economic productivity of the country, the European and the Natives as a whole. He would occupy himself with an examination of the effects of the laws and the customs of the people and their opportunities for income creation, the stimuli which exist towards increasing productivity and, in particular, the obstacles which prevent increased income creation. He would examine the effects of Government expenditure, of social policy generally, of transport facilities and costs, of migration, of lack of education or opportunities therefor and of general beliefs to the development of the Territory and its people as a whole. He would examine the real nature of the type of income which is most required, the wants which influence it and the

possibilities of stimulating activity, including problems of immigration, export markets and the development of local industries."

I am suggesting to our economist that he first works in the Mwinilunga or Luapula area to get personal insight into a subsistence economy.

Miss Phyllis Deane, of the National Bureau of Social and Economic Research in London, is coming on a Colonial Research Fellowship to study the national incomes of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

7. THE WRITING PROGRAMME :

This is planned to bring out the salient comparisons indicated :

- (a) social organization and culture of each area ;
- (b) comparative studies of rural economics and land tenure (already available on Bemba and Lozi, and Nyasaland Ngoni) ;
- (c) a study of the family economy of urban Africans ;
- (d) a study of the economics of farming and industry and of the African rural areas, under labour migration (this will be helped by Miss P. Deane's work on national income) ;
- (e) a general study based on the preceding analyses ;
- (f) a study of political and other social developments in the various rural and the urban areas ;
- (g) an analysis of the conflict of law in African rural and urban courts (with a lawyer's assistance) ;
- (h) the preceding studies to be correlated in a general study of the economic and social organization of Northern Rhodesia, which, if we obtain other expert assistance as set out below, will be supplemented by demographic, psychological, and other analyses.

8. MANNER OF COOPERATION :

The success of the plan depends on successful cooperation both in the research and in the writing (10). The manner of this cooperation will be settled by the staff in the Technical Advisory Committee to the Board of Trustees which has been constituted. Outside social scientists and other scientists will be consulted. I may here, however, set out some general lines of work.

The initial work of each officer will consist in a general survey of the modern culture of the local peoples. The one special topic concentrated on will be land tenure, at the request of the Government. Each officer, in consultation with his colleagues, will write a general account of his region. On his second visit he will begin to concentrate on the problems which I have listed as significant. By that time, we should be in a position to compare our material and make such amendments as are necessary. We do not wish to confine individual officers unnecessarily, but they will be expected, except in unusual circumstances, to concentrate on demarcated problems.

It will obviously be essential for us to agree on certain definitions, concepts, and methods of presenting numerical data, if we are to present our analyses in forms allowing ready comparisons, let alone coordination. The history of our science shows how frequent are disputes over definition

and misinterpretations. Efforts to achieve some uniformity and comparability—which in themselves will be a major contribution to sociological science—are definitely implied in the whole basis of the plan.

We have not yet the experience to decide clearly how we shall cooperate in writing. At the moment I contemplate that each officer should cover the topics listed in an individual study within his own field, and that as these studies are completed cooperative accounts should be written, as a team, to draw the complete analysis. As far as possible these will be published over the joint names of the whole team, every member having the right to dissent. I have recently been writing a joint report with agriculturists, and my experience encourages me to anticipate that we shall not have insurmountable difficulties.

9. NOTES ON THE PARTICULAR AREAS TO BE STUDIED :

I have set out the functional form of the problems. In paragraph 10 below I discuss the areas in the Territory which will thus be left unstudied. Here I elaborate slightly on the specific areas I have chosen, and refer briefly to our existing information on social changes which have occurred in each.

(a) *Urban* : This study must include work in non-mining areas as well as on the Copper Belt. Livingstone is an industrial, non-mining, town; other towns are chiefly administrative and rural centres e.g. Lusaka. Each rural worker can assist in the study of towns in his region : e.g. the Tonga worker in Mazabuka, the Eastern Province worker in Fort Jameson. It appears from past urban studies that there is a steady tendency for Africans to be urbanized, in the sense that the men remain for comparatively longer periods in the urban areas and visit the rural areas less. Wilson has analysed some of the concomitants of this process : e.g. the effect of distance of the rural areas from the towns, of bachelorhood and marriage, and related them to such factors as the amount of money remitted home. But the concepts of detribalization and urbanization need further refining if we are to understand the processes at work. For example, in a sense every African is detribalized as soon as he leaves his tribal area, even though he continues to be acted on by tribal influences : he lives in different kinds of groupings ; earns his livelihood in a different way, comes under different authorities. Does the influence of tribal culture decrease progressively the longer a man is away from his tribe? I have evidence on the Zulu to show that this is certainly not a direct correlation. We must draw a series of correlations of this type, between periods of residence in the town : family ties, tribal culture, political loyalty to the tribe, etc., etc. By the combination of planned urban and rural research, it should be possible for our team to do this from both ends of the migration of men from rural areas to towns.

In analysing the influences which affect the urban Africans' behaviour, we must see where they are forming types of groups and relationships which are "urban", and not purely "African", and the integration of

two forms of organization. This is the line of work which will indicate the forms of the emerging white-black towns of Central Africa.

(b) *Bemba* : Richards' work was done in the early thirties, and she is anxious to bring her data up-to-date. We have set aside £700 to enable her to make a visit to Bemba. She proposes to write her account and then return to bring the facts up-to-date.

(c) *Tonga-Ila* : Modern studies of rural areas have so far been of areas far from the rail-line and therefore I consider the study of the Tonga, close to the line and with a cash-crop, the most important of future rural studies. Wilson has pointed out that only 23 per cent. of the Lenje men were away from their rural homes when in more distant areas the percentage was over fifty. In addition, Bemba is an area which, except in the Bangweulu region, does not produce marketable produce. Barotseland in the past had a cattle industry which is being re-established, and has some fishing for money. For comparative purposes we must study an area which has been able to farm for markets. Predominantly this applies to the Tonga, the Lenje and the Soli of the maize-belt.

Since this plan was first drafted, I have done a short period of research with a team of agriculturists into land-holding and land-use among the Tonga. The form of the problems in this region will be set out in the report ; I worked in the field for only one month and shall therefore present my data as a summing up of preliminary field-research which poses, rather than answers, problems. The agricultural part of the survey, with three officers, is firmly based, and will be invaluable for the sociologist going to this field. We know now in outline the major changes in Tonga organization :

(i) There has emerged a small class of large growers of maize for markets, with a rising standard of living. Though they seem on the surface to be more individualistic than their fellows who are still largely subsistence cultivators, they still recognize kinship ties. The relations of these groupings requires detailed study. It is important to study the reaction of both indigenous social groupings and of the land tenure system to this situation.

(ii) The other groups studied have been strongly organized kingdoms ; the Tonga are an example of our loosely organized tribes, and I have queried whether they ever had chiefs.

(iii) Their matrilineal (with increasing emphasis on patriline) patrilineal system contrasts with the matrilineal matrilocal Bemba, the dominantly patrilineal patrilocal Ngoni, and the Lozi who recognise both lines of descent.

(iv) This worker could help the urban worker in the local towns.

(v) He could make some study of the European farms of the region.

(vi) There is a certain amount of fishing for urban markets in the region, on the Kafue and Lake Lukanga, which merits study. This area offers a particularly interesting field for a study of the fishing industry since the Department of Game Control plans to start cooperative fishing in the Hook of the Kafue.

(vii) I hope this worker will be able to make a comparative survey of the Gwembe Tonga.

I do not know if one man will be able also to study the Ila, but I hope this will prove possible. Below I refer to the importance of a study here, since they are said to be dying out and it is essential to combine sociological and demographic studies of them with any medical survey that may be made, to gauge the correctness of this assumption. The work would be eased by Smith and Dale's study which gives a time-base for the study of culture change. I also consider it important to study the Ila, because :

(i) The Ila are a true cattle people, unlike the Lozi, and their whole adaptation to the Kafue Flats should be compared with the Lozi adaptation to the Barotse plain (see my *Economy of the Central Barotse Plain*).

(ii) They are apparently an intrusion of an East African cattle-complex people in the midst of tribes coming from the Congo-Angola regions.

(iii) The results of this survey would provide comparative data on the "progressive" Tonga, for the Ila are said to be very "conservative".

Mr. C. R. Hopgood's linguistic work will supplement the researches in this region.

(d) *The Eastern Province* : I cannot yet say to what extent this worker will concentrate on each of the tribes, Ngoni, Chewa, Nsenga, and Tumbuka. Dr. Read has already done work in this area, in the early and the mid-thirties, but I regard this as an additional reason for sending someone there. Their respective researches will provide valuable comparative data, and as we are to send a man here, it will be interesting to see whether he gets different types of data from hers.

Dr. Read has most generously offered to make her data available to this officer, and he will have invaluable agricultural surveys as a base.

(i) Unlike the Lozi and Bemba (but like the Tonga), the Ngoni have lost large areas of their land, and therefore present a problem in land tenure adaptation not found in previous studies in this Territory ; this land adaptation includes the Government re-settlement schemes, and it is important to study, somewhere, the effect on social organization and indigenous authority of the introduction of agricultural control into land tenure.

(ii) We have here a number of tobacco farms, at a great distance from industrial centres, and therefore an opportunity of studying the comparative pulls of local and distant labour-centres, both industries and farms (many men go to Southern Rhodesian tobacco farms and not the local ones).

(iii) In some parts tobacco has been developed as an African cash-crop.

(iv) The intrusion of the Nguni elements from the south, and their conquest of a matrilineal culture, afford a field for comparison with other Nguni states, and for the Congo-Angola culture of the Lozi, a patrilineal people among matrilineal neighbours, somewhat affected by temporary Basuto conquest.

(e) *The Luapula Valley* : We know practically nothing of the social organization of the peoples on the Luapula which I have selected for the typical fishing-area. The Institute is about to publish a useful preliminary study of the Unga fishermen of the Bangweulu swamps by Brelsford and this provides an introduction to full study. The Luapula is the boundary between Northern Rhodesia and the Congo. It is one of the more densely populated areas of the country, the huts running unbroken along our bank. The inhabitants are ethnologically very mixed. I am told that by contrast the Congo bank is empty. It is a transit point for labour migrants to the Congo. The fish export from here amounts to about 2,000 tons per annum, and in this trade middlemen of all "races" flourish.

(i) On the economic side this study will enable us to analyse the development of the fish-trade, which in Bangweulu is so valuable that only 25 per cent. of Unga are out at work. However, it seems that from the monetary point of view fishing is not as profitable as mine labour, and it is therefore important to have a full sociological study of the non-monetary factors that influence economic choice.

(ii) There is no data on the social organization of the tribes here. They are of Luba origin, matrilineal, though descent in Chief Cazembe's title is stated to be patrilineal. Cazembe rules an organized Lunda state ; the rest of the population is organized in small tribes (Chishinga, Shila, Ushi, Bena Mukolo), some of which are related to, and under, the Bemba. A worker here could proceed later to make profitable comparative studies of the Lunda of Mwinilunga and Balovale and Kasempa districts.

(iii) The agricultural situation here is also complex and the advantage of a study to Government in its consideration of land tenure would be great.

(iv) The area serves the Congo with fish and labour, and when it is studied, the importance of comparative work done in the Belgian Congo will be enhanced.

10. EFFECT OF PLAN ON KNOWLEDGE OVER TERRITORY

I examine the effect on the territorial distribution of our sociological knowledge, surveyed province by province, except that I consider the urban areas together.

a. *Northern Province* : Richards' work, especially if she can visit the Territory again, covers the central Bemba portion of the Province. She has done some work near Bangweulu, and Brelsford has written on this region. Philpott has written a short article on the Ushi of the swamps. This eastern shore and the islands of Bangweulu merit study as soon as possible, since it is one of the areas where development work is likely to be necessary. The Luapula study falls in this province. The Isoka-Abercorn districts have not been studied. It may be possible for our worker on the Copper Belt to get a knowledge of Bemba by making a short survey in one of these areas. The Citemene control areas need to be

studied for signs of social change. Guthrie is producing studies of the Bemba language.

b. *Central Province*: No provision has been made for work in this province and little is known about the tribes in it. The Tonga worker may later be able to work among the Lenje and study the fishing industry of Lake Lukanga. This is an important complement to Wilson's Broken Hill study. J. T. Munday has done good work on the Western Lala. The Agricultural Department have made valuable surveys here.

c. *Western Province*: Here we have only Doke's ethnographic account of the Lamba. The Agricultural Department has also made surveys here which would facilitate a quick social survey.

d. *Kaonde-Lunda Province*: Melland's book on the Kaonde is merely an ethnographic survey, and this part of the Territory is one of the least known, sociologically. I cannot at the moment see any means of arranging studies of the Lubale, Kaonde, Lunda, Ndembo groups here. I should like to visit the Manyinga Lozi, now in Balovale District. Hudson has published on the human geography of the Balovale District. H. Vaux (D.O.) has some data on the Lunda, and C. White (D.O.) is working on the cultures and languages of the region.

e. *Eastern Province*: I cannot at the moment say how many districts and tribes of this province will be covered in the proposed research. Good historical data have been published by Lane-Poole, Cullen-Young, and Winterbottom.

f. *Southern Province*: If the worker sent to study the Tonga is able to do a short study of the Gwembe Valley Tonga and perhaps to do comparative work among the Ila, to bring up to date the Smith and Dale valuable study and to fill in gaps in its economic and structural sections, this province will be fairly well-studied. Some work on the Leya might accompany the urban work in Livingstone. Hopgood is working on the Tonga-Ila languages.

g. *Barotse Province*: My own work has been concentrated in the Mongu District with subsidiary observations in the Senanga, Kalabo and Sesheke Districts. I need to do further research on the primitive peoples from the Nyengo swamps to the Mashi, and across to the Shanjo and Totela, the immigrant Wiko, and the Kwangwa and Kwandi sections of the Lozi group, and on the immigrant Mbalangwe and Mbunda. Little is known of the Nkoya group of tribes, though we are publishing a history by Clay (D.O.).

h. *Urban Areas*: Developments since I first drafted the plan increasingly emphasize the importance of urban studies. We have been asked to assist in surveys for compulsory education, social welfare, etc. However, urban African workers are still mainly migrant labourers, and, in so far as it is possible to separate the interdependent problems, those in rural areas till provide the basic background.

In short, though the plan will give us a general outline of the modern structure and economy of the Territory and will fill in large areas of the sociological map, many gaps will remain. Continuous research in the type-areas is necessary to sustain conclusions, and for the time being we

must rely on enthusiastic Government officers and others for information on the other areas. I am already corresponding with many who are anxious to do this work, and I hope that after the war when they have more time and we have more staff we can extend our assistance to them. I have stressed the importance of professional training and time, but undoubtedly administrators have made, and will continue to make, valuable contributions to extend our sociological knowledge. My experience shows that it is an important gain if their work can be carried out in cooperation with a professional sociologist.

My work in compiling a bibliography of the region, which must be the foundation for extensive knowledge, is well-advanced, and plans to cooperate in this work with the Salisbury Archives are being prepared. Additional staff will ease this work and the handling of unpublished material. This work will also be carried out in co-operation with the ethnographic survey of Africa which is to be done by the International African Institute under a grant from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. Their research assistant on the Rhodesias and Nyasaland will be working with us. When these studies are complete it will be possible to say what further lines of territorial research are most urgent.

In extending our knowledge over these regions we shall try to cooperate with workers in the Belgian and Portuguese territories on our borders. Here arrangements might be made through the Colonial Social Science Research Council and the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures.

11. NEED FOR SPECIALIZED SOCIAL STUDIES :

We have provided in our plan for studies by sociologists and an economist. We hope that as the basic social data is collected it will be possible for us to have complementary work done by other specialized social scientists. I have felt all along that research of this kind were best organized in teams in a specific area. The value of the ecological survey to me in my study of Barotseland drove home to me the need for correlating the research of different scientists. It has been again emphasized by my recent work with the Agricultural Department, the first experiment of this kind in the Territory. Not only did we find that our specialized analyses illuminated different aspects of the same problem, but also in discussing our day-to-day field work data we found our respective researches were made much easier. I can acknowledge this here from my point of view, and as the agriculturists asked me to come on a second survey with them, and accepted my African Assistant in my place, I am sure they agree with me.

I hope therefore that before our team has been long at work, we shall see further research organized in this way. It was not possible to provide for it at once; a beginning had to be made on a smaller scale and it seemed best to do so with sociologists to collect basic data.

However, our researches will not give anything like a full analysis of the human problems we are to study. Human behaviour is the result of a long and very complicated history of events, and it has to be explained.

not only by that history, but also by analyses of very many sciences. For example, in our Tonga survey the agriculturists concentrated on the changing systems of land usage, while I worked on settlements in relation to kinship and political organization, inheritance, cooperation, and family budgets. A hydrographer and pasturage specialist would have given valuable assistance; and a psychologist should have helped in assaying changing group values.

I therefore set out here how important are studies in these different disciplines, and outline our cooperation with Government departments.

12. DEMOGRAPHIC RESEARCH :

A correct analysis of population trends is an essential basis for sociological, medical, agricultural etc. research where this is to be used in anticipating and controlling future developments. In planning for our expansion I have stressed, with the support of the medical, agricultural, and other authorities, that our work is largely stultified unless we have properly compiled vital statistics. For example, it is frequently stated that the Ila are dying out and indeed a debate in Legislative Council took place on this problem in August 1945. This statement needs verification, and if true the extent of their decline must be calculated. It seems that there may be an overall increase of population in some of our districts, but we do not know how far this is due to the net reproduction rate or to a declining mortality rate with loading of the upper age groups. Professor Gray's work on social security had to be carried out without proper population data. For the planning of agricultural, educational and labour policy, we must know precisely what population changes are occurring. It is now recognized that a specialist has to collect the data required and to analyse the figures collected. The handling of figures on sex ratios, age group distributions, etc., and the calculation of trends from them is a specialized skill(5).

Dr. R. R. Kuczynski is advising the Colonial Office on the collection of vital statistics, censuses, registration of vital facts, etc., and published reports indicate that plans for co-ordinating this work through the Empire are being prepared. But the results of censuses will not be available for some time and in the meantime it would be worth while to make large sample surveys of selected areas. We have pointed out that sample surveys could well be made in the areas of our sociological research. Since these areas have been selected on the basis of specific social and economic variations we might find that these are correlated with population trends. I hope too that our researches will be supplemented by medical data. In addition, it is necessary to have complementary sociological research to interpret vital statistics(11).

Should the Colonial Office be unable to meet the above request, the Trustees have agreed to allocate funds to procure at least the advice of a trained demographer to assist our research workers in collecting and interpreting data which, even if on a very limited scale, will enable us to pose possible population trends, and not only to calculate gross population on sampled ratios of people per taxpayer,

13. MEDICAL AND NUTRITIONAL RESEARCH :

I have discussed the relation of sociological to medical and nutritional research with the Director of Medical Services, and we found that we were completely agreed on what this should be. Here, therefore, I can summarize specific plans for collaboration :

(a) *The role of the sociologist in this research :* We have in this Territory in Richards' *Land Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia*, the best example in Africa of how much the sociologist has to contribute to a full understanding of a tribe's system of production, distribution and consumption ; its labour incentives ; its dietetic tastes ; etc. A knowledge of these is clearly essential if African habits are to be changed. Only sociological and psychological research can analyse the economic organization, the structure of social groups, the systems of land tenure, the religious and magical beliefs, etc., all of which affect the actual nutritional situation in which work has to be done. Similar research on African practice is necessary for an understanding of the African reaction to medical services. Without knowledge of how witchcraft belief works, of African physiological concepts, of the African use of patent medicines, etc., it is impossible to analyse how he uses our doctors and medicines. The Director of Medical Services appreciates this fully, and informs me that he would like a sociologist to carry out preliminary researches on these themes in limited areas in which medical-nutritional research or development teams are to work.

(b) *The need for medical-nutritional research to complement sociological research :* We are further agreed that medical data is necessary to complete the accounts which will be presented by our sociologists of their type areas : as, what specific deficiency and other diseases are associated with the social conditions described by Richards ; what are the relative incidences of venereal diseases found among the tribes with different divorce rates, related to differences in social structure, etc. The Secretary for Native Affairs has asked : "How can customs which make for the spread of venereal diseases best be modified ? What are such customs and where prevalent ?"

Thus it appears to me that there are three chief forms in which we shall cooperate with medical units :

(i) We might send officers to study areas where, owing to the material poverty of the people, it is essential to undertake immediate development work. Examples are the densely populated region of Lake Bangweulu and the Valley Tonga on the Gwembe. Here I asked the Trustees to advise Government that they are prepared, if staff allows, to second a sociologist to work with any research team established for these urgent purposes. I have warned the Trustees that it will not be easy to find a sociologist who in the incidental course of his work will obtain the detailed data that Richards collected on Bemba diet.

(ii) We should work in any medical-nutritional research plan, in which the areas studied will be selected on the basis of dietetic, endemic

disease, or other variation. Here again the sociologist will supplement the other research and be provided at the request of the Medical Department.

- (iii) We require medical researches on sampled groups in the type-areas selected for social-economic variation in our general plan. I emphasize that it would frustrate the whole sociological research plan if, in order to provide assistance to the Government under (i) and (ii) above, our workers have to leave the fields I have demarcated for them. The Director of Medical Services agrees with me that it is most essential that we pursue the study of labour migration that I have outlined. He states that it will be valuable to have medical data on sampled areas within these type-areas and he will try to provide for medical-nutritional research by his staff within the fields of our research plan. This will necessitate our workers doing not only general studies of the whole type-areas, but also intensive studies of samples within them selected in cooperation within the Medical Department. These samples could also be studied demographically. The team (anthropologist, biochemist, medical man, and agriculturist) which worked in Nyasaland about 1938(11) in this way has not yet published its report.

14. LEGAL RESEARCH :

A full study of legal problems in Central Africa depends on the cooperation of lawyers, sociologists, and administrators. These problems may be summarized :

- (a) The nature of African customary law : how far there is a common body of law over large areas : codification ;
- (b) the procedure and efficiency of Native courts ;
- (c) the changes occurring in substantive law under modern conditions and the extent to which African law is adapting itself to meet new conditions ;
- (d) the relation of British and African law, where their concepts are common, where they diverge, etc. ;
- (e) special studies, such as land tenure, marriage laws etc. ;
- (f) comparative studies of the methods used by other Governments in meeting their problems.

I consider that the sociologist with a legal training, or the lawyer with a sociological training, will not work as satisfactorily as a lawyer on the basis of good sociological data. From our point of view, I have acknowledged the great help given me in my studies of Barotse law by Mr. E. G. Unsworth, Crown Counsel. On the other hand, a lawyer coming to work in a Territory which has been studied sociologically, will not be making his researches *in vacuo*. The sociologist relates particular legal systems to their economic-social background, defines the relation between legal and other rules, describes the functioning of African courts, places trends in the changing conception of specific rights and obligations on a sampled quantitative basis, etc. Expert legal knowledge is a necessary comple-

ment in defining legal principles, the study of the conflict of African and British legal principles, etc.

I have myself had a legal training and have for some time specialised on African legal problems. Should I do the urban research I will study the working of African Urban Courts.

The Board of Trustees has informed Government and the Colonial Social Science Research Council that it welcomes the insistence on the need for cooperation with sociologists in the study of African law and its modern developments, and will be glad to give all the assistance it can to any research project on this subject in Central Africa initiated by the Colonial Social Science Research Council ; further, it has asked Government whether such a project might be usefully organized through the Institute or through Government.

The urgent need for legal studies is indicated by typical problems set out below. Recent cases show a need to define clearly the basic principles of African law. It is already clear that indigenous African law is not capable of meeting all present problems : for example, the failure of African courts to enforce executory contracts bears hardly on women whose husbands are out at work. There is a particular need to analyse African rules of procedure. It is necessary immediately to attempt to fix a point at which marriage occurs in matrilineal societies, to make provision for the guardianship of children in marriages between men of patrilineal and women of matrilineal tribes, to consider the problem of Christian and civil marriages. The Secretary for Native Affairs has supplied me with the following problems among others, which he considers require to be reported on by our workers, and these entail also legal investigation :

- “(a) can a common denominator, such as consent of guardians and passing of a token, be evolved for a valid marriage ? Difficulties in way of any uniform procedure.
- (b) Custody of children—difficulties in way of making interests of the children of paramount importance.
- (c) Difficulties operating against making of wills.
- (d) Identity—customary reasons for name-changing.
- (e) Comparative effect of tribal sanctions and modern sanctions which have replaced them, e.g. those relating to religion, witchcraft, etc. law etc.”

I doubt whether information is yet available to answer these queries for the whole Territory, but certainly a research lawyer should be able to indicate the general position and the points at which further research is required. The Government of Kenya has just published an excellent general account of the working of Native tribunals and of the problems of changing laws in land tenure, marriage, succession, etc. (*Report on Native Tribunals*, by Arthur Phillips, Crown Counsel). Phillips, on the basis of office records, personal interviews, questionnaires, shows the history and present state of a large number of problems : he himself calls it a “preliminary” investigation. In such an investigation Northern Rhodesia is fortunate in that the Institute can immediately provide sociological assistance, and preliminary work has been done by Mr. E. G. Un-

worth. A survey of this kind would involve the help of the Provincial Administration to the fullest extent. Government has informed me that it will ask its officers to collect legal data in answers to questionnaires drafted by us, and the legal authorities have promised to help. South African authorities on African law and administration might be asked to assist, as they have done much work on these subjects.

15. COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION AND HISTORY :

Most of what I have said about legal research applies to research on colonial administration and history. I instance typical studies.

The most striking example of a general commentary is that part of the Hailey Survey concerned with problems of political organization, history, administration, etc. More localized is the series of reports by Sir Alan Pim on the finance, economics, and administration of Northern Rhodesia, the three Protectorates, and the Sudan. Perham's *Native Administration in Nigeria* and Meek's *Law and Administration in a Nigerian Tribe* are more specialized studies of particular areas, which here in the south are paralleled by Schapera's studies, for the Bechuanaland Administration, of law and custom, land tenure, and labour migration. Orde Browne's *The African Labourer*, and his report on *Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia*, are studies of specific problems.

The types of problems covered by this research are constantly arising in administration. Most Governments meet them by appointing *ad hoc* committees to investigate them. For example, in recent years in Northern Rhodesia committees have been appointed to study African housing and its administration, and land tenure. The basic data necessary to consider these problems should always be ready at hand, and this is only possible when specialists are constantly at work analysing problems of this type.

The Pim-Milligan report on the economic and financial organization of this Territory provides an invaluable base for research in this field, and there are other valuable reports. I indicate types of problems that might be investigated. These can be considered under two heads :

- (a) *General* : e.g. local government problems, the machinery of Government, public finance, formation of public opinion.
- (b) *With reference to Africans*, a field in which we shall be providing the basic social data that is so necessary. We shall be investigating the attitudes of tribes to their Native authorities, the extent to which the people play Native authorities against British, the working of Native treasuries, etc. In selecting the areas for our sociological research, I did so in order to produce data on the comparative development of local government in tribes with different types of social structure and different histories of British administration and land policy. I consider that in analysing this material the assistance of an expert on colonial administration, who would be able to draw comparative lessons from the history of Europe and from other Colonial areas, would be so valuable as to merit the term essential.

Several studies in this field have already been made, and a list of them indicates the type of work that needs to be covered, e.g. Richards on the

Bemba (*Tribal Government in Transition*), Brelsford on *The Succession of Bemba Chiefs*, Gluckman on *The Barotse Native Authorities*, Philpott on *Labour Migration from Barotseland*, Carey-Jones on the financing and administration of Native treasuries and expenditure of their funds.

It is important that these studies be comparative, and the placing of our own officers will be invaluable for these more specialized investigations.

The organization of proper archives is essential for this work, as for all research. Before the war some records were sent to us and Government accepted a recommendation of the Trustees asking that archives be established in the new museum we plan to build. Since then, the Southern Rhodesia Archivist has proposed to the Central African Council that the archives of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland should all be collected at Salisbury. It is not for me to comment on the point of policy involved, but the Trustees have accepted my advice that Salisbury archives would technically be more competent to handle the documents than we are.

16. LINGUISTIC RESEARCH :

Linguistic problems range from the need for producing dictionaries and grammars, the developments of vernacular literature, the improvement of translations and teaching, to problems of *linguae francae*, the use of basic English, literacy surveys, etc. Guthrie is producing studies of Bemba, Hopgood (partly financed by us) of the Tonga-Ila group, and White of Luena-Lunda. Some work has been done on Lozi, Nyanja, and other languages. I understand that the staff of the new African secondary school is to include a trained philologist.

I do not demarcate the pure linguistic problems. Students of these, and of related educational problems, will have to cooperate with the African Education Department chiefly, but we are prepared to assist where we can, as in making mass education surveys, the study of semantics, etc. Language is an essential tool of the sociologist, and in the course of using it to study social facts he has to investigate meticulously the connotation of words and their emotional value. In studying systems of beliefs, (e.g. the meaning of "ancestral-spirit", of "witchcraft"),—and social relationships (e.g. what is a "mother's brother", a "chief"), the sociologist is moving constantly in the field of linguistic research. Mutual help between sociologist, psychologist, and linguist is therefore essential.

17. PSYCHOLOGICAL RESEARCH :

A very large group of problems must be covered by psychological research. It is an essential complement to sociological studies. For example, in a recent Legislative Council debate it was stated that Government is considering the amendment of the Witchcraft Ordinance. Psychological and sociological investigation is needed to analyse the problems involved in these beliefs and how they are used by the people in modern situations. We are anxious that psychological research, complementary to our own work, be done in this region. I consider special problems :

- (a) *Industrial Psychology* : Research work by an industrial psychologist on the problems of skill, adaptation, training, etc. is really essential

to round off our central researches on labour migration, and we have asked the Colonial Social Science Research Council to bear this in mind when planning research in industrial psychology.

(b) *Psychoanalytical and psychiatric* :

In 1943 the Institute published a study, *The African as Suckling and as Adult* by Mr. J. F. Ritchie, of the effects of prolonged and unrestricted suckling, followed by an abrupt weaning, on the characters of Northern Rhodesia Africans. The study has received first-class reviews, one of which (12) emphasizes : " Firstly, the data he presents are of intrinsic interest and importance ; and secondly, he has done a great service to African studies by reminding us of the contribution that psychoanalysis can make to them." I cite this to indicate the opportunity offered by colonial conditions for comparative studies both of the normal personality and of the psychoneurotic. Modern psychologists are agreed that the child's relations with its parents in early life are of overwhelming importance in character development, and the differences in the child-rearing customs of Africans (or all peasants?) and educated Europeans, provide a ready-made field laboratory. Since, too, there is increasing emphasis on the effects of the " broken home ", most valuable data could be obtained from studies in families of polygynists, and in the types of kinship system common in our Territory, where divorce is so common and easy that it can be described as a normal incident of the functioning of the social structure. Both sociological and psychological interpretations are necessary to avoid one-sided analyses.

(c) *Social psychology* : The borderland between social psychology and sociology is not yet clearly demarcated and we have yet to solve the problem of " transposing the findings of either science to the universe of discourse of the other " (12).

Their different techniques and results emphasize the differences between them, but clearly there must be the closest possible working relationship. Social psychology is concerned directly with the factors that determine all individual behaviour, as is sociology : the beliefs, practices, and institutions, which set the field in which the individual has to live and act. We are here concerned with the formation and development of political and other attitudes ; the effect of magical and other beliefs ; the bearing of aptitudes on trends of social development, etc.

18. EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH :

Investigations in this field cover problems in educational administration (finance, wastage of teachers, relations with missions, etc.) techniques (school curricula, vocational training, literacy campaigns, etc.), and psychology (development of children, problems of school life and work). These fall into relationship with the education departments, but we also enter this field, as is shown by our constant cooperation with the African Education Department. We shall have to assist in studying such problems as education of African girls, at present not too acceptable to the

men ; indigenous methods of education in relation to modern educational programmes ; effects of education on standards of living ; educational curricula in relation to economic opportunity. I have warned my Trustees that observations on the educational mechanisms which shape growing children (13) are not easily made by the ordinary sociologist, but I hope that sociologists working with psychologists and educationalists may be able to produce useful data. However, I anticipate that many of the problems confronting educationalists will be covered while we investigate rural problems and the effects of modern conditions on family life : e.g. a study of family labour problems may show why it is difficult to get girls into schools, as well as better methods of spacing terms and holidays ; the division of labour between the sexes in so far as that affects vocational education (14).

19. CONCLUSION TO ABOVE PARAGRAPHS :

Accepting the preceding arguments, the Trustees have informed Government and the Colonial Social Science Research Council that they would welcome any steps to arrange for specialist psychological, legal, colonial administration and historical, educational, and linguistic research in the region, and that, subject to other commitments, they would do their best to arrange for the full cooperation of our staff in these researches.

20. COOPERATION WITH GOVERNMENT :

We are fortunate in that Government has promised us its full assistance as soon as staff allows. We used to get copies of District Officers' tour reports until the war, and have regularly received copies of reports from the Labour Commissioner. I have stressed above that mutual recognition of each other's responsibilities, and of their interlocking, will afford a basis for easy cooperation. I do not go in detail into cooperation with the Provincial Administration as the problems we share with them have been referred to in discussing legal and administrative research. Nor do I here consider the effects on our research of the proposals to establish development centres (15), staffed by district and technical officers, as it will be a couple of years at the earliest before they begin to work.

21. RELATIONS WITH AGRICULTURAL AND VETERINARY WORK :

There are obviously large fields where these interlock with sociological research : the study of land-holding and usage, the establishing of pastoral industries, the effects of labour migration on subsistence productions, the social values attached to cattle in overstocked areas and the effect of bride-wealth practices, taboos on the use of manure, etc. The Chief Secretary and the Secretary for Native Affairs have posed for us the problems : " what psychological or traditional obstacles are there to progress in soil conservation ; what customary factors militate against individual tenure or collective enterprise ; what barriers among Natives do we have to overcome to improve diet."

The fundamental point is that to study peasant cultivators, associated, and if possible coordinated, researches by these various specialists are essential. Otherwise, though each may present a thorough analysis of his own aspect of the situation, we cannot fully understand the problem.

In all my published writings I have emphasized the enormous value the ecological survey has been to me, and in detailing the fields of our new officers I have pointed out where basic agricultural research is available to help them. It is now accepted that sociological data are equally necessary to supplement agricultural and veterinary research. For example, the ecological survey says it is possible to extend the cultivation of a certain type of garden in the Barotse Plain; my analysis of labour problems there shows that these gardens have to be cultivated at a season when there are heavy demands on available labour. Our first effort in teamwork this year, when I accompanied a number of agricultural officers on a survey in Mazabuka District, has been a happy augury of future cooperation in our research. When we have completed work in the fields indicated, I hope that we will find it possible to send one of our officers on all such investigations. Sociological data are particularly necessary in planning re-settlements, such as those made in the Eastern Province.

22. DEPARTMENT OF GAME, FISH AND TSETSE CONTROL :

Our proposed studies in the fishing areas, and of consumption of fish in urban and other rural areas, will be correlated with work of this Department, and the Acting Director and I have already discussed this. This is but one set of problems among many where our work will need to be associated.

23. LABOUR DEPARTMENT :

I need not underline the importance of our research for this Department or how valuable its assistance to us will be. It is one of the Government Departments with which we have had closest relations in the past. The Labour Commissioner has sent the following query: "There is no doubt that changing conditions are altering the African's outlook to the question of dependency and this concerns us at present when disposing of compensation money both in the case of death and in the case of injuries. In the former there is a growing tendency among Africans themselves to wish to provide for their children, which in some cases is contrary to Native custom, and in the case of those injured and unable to do much for themselves, information is sought on how far their relatives are prepared to assist them. I would be grateful if this aspect of social security could be included in any enquiries made." This would be covered in a study of changing family relationships.

24. INFORMATION AND PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICE :

Here again we have cooperated closely in the past, and will continue to do so. The Office's work, particularly among Africans, must depend upon accurate knowledge of the social conditions in which it is working,

and the effects it is producing. As part of the function of this office is to interpret Government policy to Africans, so it is necessary to know how the people are responding, what are their aspirations and their concepts of welfare.

25. COOPERATION WITH OTHER INSTITUTIONS IN THE TERRITORIES :

I shall not analyse this since it is obvious that we must work with municipalities and management boards, mining companies and other industrial concerns, trade unions, European farmers and recruiting agents and finally with African authorities and people. The cooperation of missions will be particularly sought. At various times we have attempted large surveys in collaboration with the General Missionary Conference, but wartime difficulties prevented us from completing the projects.

26. NYASALAND :

I set out the plans for the proposed research in Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia without detailing more than the areas where work is to begin. The problems to be studied so far as I can see at present are similar to those described in Northern Rhodesia.

The Nyasaland Government has agreed that our worker there should go to the Southern Province, since previous studies have been in the north, with Read on the Ngoni and the Wilsons on the Ngonde. There is no record of previous work of this nature among the Yao, Nguru and Amanganja peoples who form the bulk of the mixed population of this Southern Province. The Yao are matrilineal people, but they have been largely Islamized and provide the only example for the study of Islam in this region. The Nguru immigrants from Portuguese East Africa are now so intermixed with them that they cannot be separated in any study, a picture duplicated by immigrants from Angola into Barotseland. It seems that social differentiation has proceeded far to produce "sophisticated townsmen, fish traders independent village storekeepers peasant tobacco growers, and backwoodsmen near the Portuguese border", and this has been accompanied by interesting contrasts in political development. The Yao also provide African doctors, with practices ranging into distant Barotseland. Finally, their *vinyau* masks need to be studied, for previously it has been said that East African were distinguished from West African cultures by the absence of masks(16).

The Nyasaland Government has raised its annual grant to us from £50 to £100 and has generously offered our officer the same medical services as we get from the Northern Rhodesia Government.

27. SOUTHERN RHODESIA :

In selecting the field for the Beit Research Fellow I consulted the Keeper of the National Museum at Bulawayo and Mrs. A. W. Hoernle. They recommended that he should work in the "Shona" rather than in the Ndebele areas. The Southern Rhodesia Government has agreed to

his studying a block of reserves east and south of Salisbury : Sabi, Wedza, Chiduku, Bikita, Ndanga, Maranka, Muwushu, Mutema, and Gutu. This Government has also kindly offered to give the Fellow all the assistance it can.

There is no published account of "Shona" economics or land tenure, and analyses of political organization are inchoate. Reports on modern developments here will provide particularly valuable contrasts with more northerly analyses.

28. GOVERNMENT'S PRACTICAL PROBLEMS :

In the course of setting out my research plan, I have referred to problems posed by Government as of immediate urgency and indicated how we could study them in the framework of the plan. I stress that except where problems have to be studied at once, it will ultimately be more fruitful to concentrate on the major plan, since the focal point, labour migration, dominates all subsidiary problems. This is shown in the list of "practical problems" already sent to me, to which I have referred in setting the theme of labour migration.

One point I must stress : the extent to which the Institute can assist Government depends directly on the extent to which facilities for research are given by the Government to the Institute. To take but one example, in modern political and economic organization the work of the administrator and the technical officer may be more important than that of the chief, and therefore have to be studied. This should be clearly appreciated if our studies are to be fully rounded (17).

I have always stressed the reciprocal value of the constant give-and-take between Government officers and sociologists resident in the Territory ; knowledge of practical problems is a constant stimulus to research.

We have recorded again our readiness to assist Government where desired.

Presenting our material to the public is by no means easy. Scientists must be allowed in writing their analyses to concentrate on theoretical problems, otherwise scientific progress will be stultified. I refer here to general writings, and not memoranda written in reply to requests from Government. By adding simple summaries the general bearing of the argument can be brought out, and provision for presenting the results of scientific research to laymen exists in our journal, *Human Problems in British Central Africa*. I consider that our work in interesting various specialists in this journal is of growing importance, as it indicates that they appreciate increasingly the need for having analyses in all disciplines to interpret fully the situations in which we have to work. On the other hand, Government often requires detailed data beyond what the sociologist customarily publishes. We have arranged to cyclostyle studies of this kind in our *Communications from the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute*.

29. AFRICAN ASSISTANTS :

It is clearly uneconomic for highly paid and trained European officers to collect all the detailed data that are required by the Administration.

For example, in the region round the Barotse Plain, people specialize by tribes and areas, and it is a suitable field for developing local markets. The Government Ecologist and I have studied this economic situation. We cannot afford the time to map the detailed distribution of products or trade-routes. This work could be done by Africans. It is also uneconomic for technical officers to have to spend the major part of their time in the field collecting routine details : number of wives, number of children, number of Kimberley brick houses, etc. This work could also be done by African assistants. The Institute is planning, if an additional application to the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund is successful, to create a team of African Assistants to assist in surveys of this kind. They will be trained by our own officers and other technical officers, and will help not only our own staff but also other departments.

30. SOCIOLOGICAL HELP TO GOVERNMENT OFFICERS :

Our work in assisting Government Officers and others to record social facts has steadily increased, and generous acknowledgments of its value have recently been made. I expect this work to expand continually.

The Trustees have offered to help Government by giving courses in local social problems to officers.

31. MUSEUM :

It is probable that the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum will be separated from the Institute when the Curator returns from the army. Nevertheless links between the two institutions will remain close. The Museum's policy has been defined as the presentation of the history of man in Northern Rhodesia. As part of this policy, it will depict in its exhibits the analyses of social conditions which will be produced by the staff of the Institute (18).

32. GENERAL POLICY OF THE INSTITUTE :

The Institute's plan aims at the systematic analysis of social problems in British Central Africa. We also work to stimulate general public interest in social problems and in sociological research. I have analysed our attempts to do this in my last triennial report (2), and here sum up the main methods by which we do this :

- (a) enrolling of members (now about 200) ;
- (b) organization of discussion circles, language classes, and lectures ;
- (c) the publication of : (i) *The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers*, general sociological and psychological studies ; (ii) *The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, *Human Problems in British Central Africa*, which sets out what these problems are and what scientific research of all kinds contributes to understanding and solving them ; other technical officers assist in writing this journal ; and (iii) the *Communications from the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute*, giving detailed analyses of specific problems ;
- (d) the distribution of books from our reference library ;
- (e) answering of queries.

33. THE INSTITUTE AND COLLABORATION WITH OTHER BODIES :

Since there was no body to coordinate research in the social sciences, the Colonial Office formed a Colonial Social Science Research Council in 1944. There are dependent panels on each of the social sciences. The Institute has acknowledged the great value that the new Council can have in coordinating research in social sciences and stated that it is anxious to have the advice of the Council on its own research plans, which it is ready to fit, if possible, into wider research schemes. We recognize that our work should be coordinated within the framework of wider plans for social research in Africa, since comparative studies are of fundamental importance. It may well happen that the Council, aware of research developments elsewhere in Africa, might indicate that it would ultimately be more profitable for us to vary our programme to produce comparative material which would fit in with the results of these other researches. At the same time, while accepting this general principle, the Institute maintains its local autonomy, based on its contact with local problems.

34. COLLABORATION IN SOCIAL RESEARCH THROUGH-OUT AFRICA :

With the founding of the Colonial Social Science Research Council, the sociological research department of the West African Institute, and probably an East African Institute, it becomes necessary to consider definite plans for coordinating research plans. I consider this most essential, and it must depend on reciprocal interchange of information between all these bodies. I further consider that the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures and the Inter-university Committee for African Studies in the Union of South Africa should be brought into the circle. This last is particularly necessary for us, since our economic system is closely linked to the Union, and in addition our social problems have in many respects the same form. I would further suggest that our several research plans might require emendation to produce the comparative data over the whole of Africa which ultimately would be more fruitful than a too exclusive concentration on local problems. Finally, we have sent our research plans to all British African Governments, to the Departments of Social Sciences at Universities, and to research institutes.

I comment first on the territorial interlocking of problems. Clearly, this occurs along the borders of the research regions, as on the Tanganyika-Nyasaland-Northern Rhodesia borders. Our problems link too with those of Uganda through the Congo. We require a study of the Katanga, which I have proposed be sponsored by the International African Institute, while Uganda would profit from a study, similarly organized, of the Ruanda-Urundi whence migrants pour into Uganda.

Functionally, problems are demarcated by social structure, not by Territories. I suggest that many Kenya problems, with a labour migration basis in some areas, are more akin to ours than are the problems in Uganda. For the East African Coast towns comparative studies of the

greatest value will be made in the West African towns, and a study of the Islamized Yao would have to be correlated with studies of Muslim communities in West and East Africa. Investigations into cash-crop farming may be more fruitful in West and East Africa than here, and certainly studies of cooperative farming. As a final example I take a study that might be organized by the Colonial Social Science Research Council: Barotseland, Buganda, and Basutoland, all have strongly entrenched treaty rights, but varying land tenure systems. Valuable results would be obtained from a comparative study of political developments in these three areas.

We have proposed that all these bodies should regularly interchange information of plans, and that where possible consultation by Directors should be arranged.

My examples have all been taken from sociological problems: the need for interlocking of research is even clearer when we examine educational, legal, administrative, etc. research. For example, Makerere College is already conducting research in the use of basic English and interesting work has been done on this and on mass literacy methods by the Army Education Corps at Nairobi; Native Councils in South Africa and Kenya provide interesting comparisons of the development of local self-government, as against rule through indigenous chiefs.

In our application to the Colonial Office we made certain suggestions on the coordination of local institutes with central direction. In brief:

- (a) local institutes should be able to send members of their Boards and staff home on leave, to meetings of the central committee;
- (b) the central committee should plan research falling across the boundaries of the institute regions;
- (c) the central committee should arrange for local research workers home on leave to lecture, and for University lecturers to undertake research through the institutes;
- (d) the central committee should run a journal, to cover all the colonial areas, in which the results of local research, as published by local institutes, would be reviewed and coordinated;
- (e) the local institutes should tap local funds, and the central committee allot funds from the Colonial Office. To these I would add:
- (f) the central committee should assist in the training and placing of personnel;
- (g) the central committee might initiate specific social studies, in collaboration with the local institutes;
- (h) the central committee, with the British Universities, should sponsor comparative studies such as *African Political Systems*.

Livingstone, 1. ix. 45.

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Note : The first annual report of the Colonial Social Science Research Council (*Colonial Research*, 1945 CMD. 6,663) appeared after this plan had gone to press.

TABLE COMPARATIVE PROBLEMS

(Note: Luapula peoples not included, owing to lack of sociological data)

TYPE OF PROBLEM	BEMBA	LOZI	TONGA (and Ila)	NGONI-CHEWA-TUMBUKA
1. Indigenous human geography	Bush-cultivating on shifting basis with sparse population. Tsetse—no cattle	Complex gardening and fishing; cattle keepers: transhumant. Close correlation of environment and social organization—see next column.	Ila are transhumant plain-dwellers like Lozi but significant economic and social variations to be compared with Lozi. (see R.L. Paper No. 7.) Tonga were scattered soil-selectors, prevented from keeping cattle by raids of others.	Ngoni are southern cattle-complex people by origin, with developed gardening system. Abut on tsetse area. Now fish-eaters though ancestors were not.
2. Indigenous internal trade and local markets	Practically none	Considerable internal trade but no markets	Medium internal trade, no markets	Medium internal trade—there are markets.
CORRELATE REACTION TO MONEY				
3. Indigenous type of settlement	Large and unstable villages, frequently splitting with shifting cultivation	Small villages with fixed core of kinsmen but shifting outer membership; royal villages of unrelated people	Ila had large villages which were dominant political units, highly autonomous and hostile to one another. Tonga in very small villages	Large villages, with Ngoni over subjected indigenes.
4. Indigenous family organization	Matrilocal: struggle of fathers to assert rights over children; family unstable; wedding spread temporally	Patrilocal, family unstable with children going to various villages. Divorce easy and frequent	Ila are matrilineal but patrilocal; family unstable with frequent divorce. Tonga family seems to have been stable and increasingly so under modern developments.	Ngoni patrilocal family stable with difficult and rare divorce; probably not so in subject tribes.
5. Indigenous kinship organization	Strongly matriloclans which are not localised	Patrilineal bias but with frequent matrilineal succession. No clans, all lines descent important. Lozi impose patriliney on conquered matrilineal peoples.	Matrilineal bias balanced with patrilocality. Matrilineal clans.	Ngoni are patrilineal, patriarchal conquerers of matrilineal groups.
6. Indigenous territorial organization	Basic in political structure	Amorphous and not structurally fixed, but becoming increasingly important in modern Administration	Tonga have very varied kinship links in villages and between adjacent villages	Basic in political structure; probably nuclei of patrilineal lineages

7. Indigenous political organization	Culturally homogeneous, strongly organized kingdom; slight economic differentiation. Chieftainships of graded status pass through matrilineal brothers to nephews	Culturally heterogeneous strongly organised kingdom; comparatively great economic differentiation. Non-territorial political units; dual chieftainship. Chiefs selected from royal family	Ila small chieftainship on culturally, homogeneous base; constant internecine feuds. Tonga probably no chiefs, organized in small local communities with fluctuating allegiance to ritual experts and men of dominant personality	Strongly organized kingdom under southern invaders; some small matrilineal chieftainships. Ngoni have hereditarily fixed chiefs
8. Status	Dominates social organization based on birth and personality	Dominates social organisation, based on birth and luck which gives primary estates in land.	Egalitarian	Dominates social organization, based on Ngoni birth
9. Ritual	Ritual position of chief powerful—balanced by dependence on priests. Strong persisting ancestral-cult.	Centralised national ritual, but chiefs' ritual powers comparatively small; national priests unimportant but commoner councillors very powerful	Personal and family ancestral-cult. Family headmen are priests	Ngoni: tribal patriarchal lineage ancestral-cults. Chief is priest.
10. Modern economics and social organization	Plentiful land except in one area; indigenous groupings persist in form but many men absent	Land plentiful, indigenous groups persist but many men absent	Break-up of villages among Tonga and development of small peasant farmers and middle peasants on basis cash-crop economy	Large areas of land lost; are now being re-settled. Effects on social groups not known except in Nyasaland.
11. Labour	Little specialization: labour migration severely affects rural labour problems. No new machines	Specialization. Economic tasks throughout year—fall in home production. Few new machines	Tendency of middle peasants to employ others. Use of plough and other modern tools.	Severe effects of absence of men. Ploughs.
12. Modern political	Chief has lost wealth; direct rule preceded indirect.	Under treaty, retain many rights and chief wealthy. No period direct rule. Problem of subjected foreigners. Conflict of past organization with modern needs.	After period of direct rule, small chieftainships being amalgamated under indirect rule. Some of tribes have lost land. Tonga "chiefs" may be Government creation	Defeated in war. Period of direct rule. Chief has lost wealth.