

1. General considerations.

The concept "social change" covers a vast range of phenomena whereby alterations, substitutions, transformations have been brought about in social life and social relationships through the interplay of a number of interrelated and overlapping factors. M. Fortes, while stressing the significant advances made in recent research on the social systems of small-scale societies by the isolation of the time factor involved, has stated that the topic of social change represents a somewhat "amorphous subject matter" (1). S. F. Nadel also has affirmed that "social change" does not represent a special chapter for analysis and that its study does not require a special method of social inquiry. The interdependence of social phenomena has to be explained in social research and this interdependence is most visible when change sets in, i. e. "when some variation can be seen to provoke concomitant variations in others" (2). Social change then does not represent one social field among others, "it is all social fields, considered in their temporal, dynamic concept" (3).

Change, as the inevitable temporal element of all aspects of social life, cannot be studied in general terms. It has to be conceived with reference to specific social institutions, whose modifications through time can be analysed "in the context of their relationships with other co-existing institutions" (4). It has also to be viewed in reference to specific social relationships which are modified in form, or content, or function. But in this analysis of the temporal aspect of the institutional framework, never should we omit to look at the people themselves - whether as individuals or groups (5). The decisional element involved in

change is indeed an important one.

Though most of the essential factors making for social change in modern Africa have to be attributed to the acculturative or contact situation, the analysis of change should not be conceived in terms of contact, but be considered as a social process (6). The phenomenon has to be viewed as a succession of interlocking alterations, modifications, variations and transformations brought about in the social institutions and social relationships.

There are various ways in which the methodological approach in the analysis of social change has been defined. This, it would seem, is essentially due to the different ways in which discussions on social change have been oriented and social structure and social organization have been defined (7). Some scholars, like R. Firth and S. F. Nadel, have made a distinction between social organization and social structure (8). This distinction contains some useful analytical tools particularly with regard to the study of change, but cannot always clearly be drawn in res. (9). On this basis two kinds of changes - structural and organizational - have been recognized by R. Firth. As structural change, he designates the "alterations of the principles with which a society is operated, the framework upon which its social relationships are constructed" (10). Here then one is dealing with the changes in the character of the social system itself, with "the disappearance of former roles and the emergence of new ones" (11). Organizational change, then, deals with changes in the ways of doing things, with "alterations not in principle, but in detail, where the position of individuals or groups in the social system have altered but the character of the system as such is not affected" (12). Organiza-

tional change does not modify the basic relationships between members of a society, whereas structural change involves shifts in the patterns of activity of large numbers of members of the society (13). Taking into account R. Firth's definitions, we could say that studies on social change in Africa have usually been oriented toward the analysis of structural change, i.e. radical situational changes (14). A more complete and dynamic treatment would have to include the organizational alterations.

Whenever stress is placed on the social process of change, never should the well-observed fact of persistence and continuity in social life be lost sight of. The phenomenon of persistence forms an integral part of the entire process (15). M. Herskovits wrote that "changes are more readily discernible than is the retention of old customs" (16) and this holds true from many points of view. There are many instances where change and its social concomitants are self-evident, as when people leave their local kinship group to settle in town and are thus able to reduce and to re-orient the network of kinship relationships in a more personal way; or when the introduction of cash-crop farming leads to a new division of labor and the occupation of new roles by women. But there are many instances, too, where change is less obvious, as in some aspects of marriage, family, kinship, small group relationships, etc. In both types of situations, however, the phenomenon of retention of the old is at work, and has to be assessed as well. The concept of continuity, of course, not merely refers to global retention of so-called traditional traits or customs or patterns; but more so to "the perpetuation of selected features of culture," to the persistence of the old but with

reduced frequency or under restricted circumstances (17). Current processes in change are characterized by the addition of new elements as much as by the substitution of elements, by the partial disappearance of traits as much as by their total transformation, by the reinterpretation of existing form, or function or content as much as by the elaboration of new ones. Tribal dances become the basis for new types of voluntary associations in towns, but they now serve new functions (18). The tene institution has been formally maintained among the Bakango. But, whereas it originally served the function of pacification by substituting exchange and economic cooperation for conflict, it first evolved toward a mutual aid organization in labor situations. Later it inspired the organization of financial aid, and to-day it orients certain Kongo initiatives towards the creation of cooperatives (19). The very phenomenon of "tribalism" has acquired new content and meaning in the new urban settings; here it has become a means for classification of heterogeneous people and a basis for voluntary associations (20). The fact that, outside the tribal areas, many tribal customs and values persist, in various ways, does of course not imply that the tribal system as a whole has continued to operate there; (21) nor does it mean that the tribal system continued to be operative in all spheres of life with the same intensity or meaning. Recent research on African urban systems has, in this respect, heavily stressed the necessity for thorough analysis of different fields of social relationships, in which different social systems (some more "modern," some more "traditional" are operative. Under the conditions of rapid and wide-sweeping change, the Africans are involved in a number of different sets of social relation-

ships, which "stem from forms of social organization which are distinguished from, and in many respects opposed to one another" (22).

In this respect it is necessary to realize that conflict is "an integral part of even stable social systems" (23). In other words, conflict, strain, disorganization are not to be considered as the necessary outgrowth or concomitants of the process of change, particularly of rapid and wide-sweeping change. It is, however, evident that the magnitude and intensity of these conflicts may increase or decrease under the continuing conditions of change. It is almost certain, too, that structural change leads to greater strain. J. Middleton has shown for the Lugbara, who conceive their society as an unchanging social order, that structural, or more radical change alterations in the range and intensity of relationships were involved which led to their use of the concept of inversion. Changes brought about e.g. by the increased social mobility, as a consequence of British administration and labor migration, came to be expressed in terms of the emergence of new sorcerers; changes resulting from external British political influences led to the development of the Yakan cult, which is controlled by prophets and aimed at resisting, and later at accepting, the new power relationships (24). The involvements of modern Africans in many different systems of social relationships, to which we referred, does not necessarily result in conflict and strain, because as A. L. Epstein has shown the different systems "operate for most part in the different spheres of social life" (25). Whenever, under conditions of rapid and radical change, crisis situations develop, they do not neces-

sarily result in disorganization, but rather in the emergence of various new mechanisms for orderly change to new patterns (26). The many forces of destructure and restructure are all at work at the same time in their destructive and positive effects. Social change is, as many writers have pointed out, not necessarily degenerative; neither can it be considered as necessarily being developmental or progressive in nature as some aspects of political or economic change may be conceived.

Social change is uneven; its tempo is different in different tribes, in different spheres of life, in different situations. In discussing this process, we should never consider it in terms of the total system or of the total man or of the total society. Many factors account for this. Individuals and groups may adhere to conflicting, and even contradictory, principles of social structure in different spheres of life, in different situations. African societies do not all have the same capacity for internal resistance; (27) some tribes e. g. are known for their traditionalism or for their massive resistance to patterns of western impact; others are known for the sluggishness and inertia with which they adopt, and adjust to, these new patterns; still others have shown great capacity for adjustment and adaptation. The factors involved in these differential reactions towards acculturation are complex, and as yet not clearly isolated. But then to take the example of only the more receptive groupings, not all of them have been exposed to the same type of economic, political, or cultural pressures exercised by outside forces. There has always been great variance in the character, intensity and duration of these pressures, and considerable differences in the degree of

coercition, direct interference, and planning, with which these pressures came to bear upon the African societies. But inside the various societies, there is a further unevenness in the endowment of different sectors of the society and in the specific characteristics of the traditional roles held by these sectors (28). This implies that some individuals or groups will alter their customs more rapidly than others, that the different social segments will modify their patterns of behavior in different directions, and in ways which are independent from one another (29). Different social categories and classes, different generations or sexes, townsmen and peasants, settled urbanites and migrant laborers in towns, etc., may change their customs in varied ways, at a different tempo and rate; all of them may, in different situational contexts, adhere to divergent social principles. Furthermore, change may occur in overt behavior and action patterns, without corresponding changes in values; in function or content, but not in form; in certain models of social relationships, and not in others.

These considerations should make it clear that there is not a simple situation of social change in Africa. This - together with an as yet considerable lack of detailed, numerically well-validated studies on particular situations or processes, - makes it impossible at the present stage to achieve much more than common-sensical generalizations. The tendencies toward immoderate generalizations have obscured many studies on the process of social change in Africa, and in the absence of sufficient quantitative data, many statements have been qualified by such loose terms as "usually," "broadly speaking," "generally," etc.

It is not difficult to indicate some very general trends in social change, which are by no means restricted to Africa and seem to be the logical outcome of urbanism, industrialization, economic and demographic growth, christianization, education, etc., wherever they are manifest. But the detailed characteristics of the processes, the specific trends of social change, as they appear in a particular African society, or a number of such societies, not only in the total field of social relationships but in the different spheres of life, social segments and situations, cannot easily be ascertained, because of the multitude of variants and contrasts and the lack of valid studies in all these fields. Take e. g. the case of the process of social change in African towns. Some of the trends apparent there are fairly similar to phenomena observed elsewhere in the world, and which seem to be the normal consequences of urbanism, such as greater heterogeneity of the population, anonymity, secularization, complex social stratification, geographical and social mobility. But the process operates in highly divergent situations, and the interplay of external factors at work is highly varied. Thus the emergent types of new social relationships in these towns are linked to the varied combinations of such factors as: the rate of growth of these towns (slowly growing and mushroom growth); the nature of the links with the surrounding tribal and rural areas; the degree of relative homogeneity or diversity of the population; the relative predominance of particular tribal groupings; the nature of traditional hostilities or allegiances between these tribes; the number and character of foreign elites; the degree of nobility of the townsmen linked to national and inter-

national labor movements; the character of the administrative and governmental policy; the degree of industrialization; the housing conditions; the types of rights (with respect to land, cattle, women, status positions) which townsmen have maintained in their respective tribal areas; the relative distances at which townsmen live away from their tribal groups; the religious affiliations of townsmen, etc. (30). The complex and varied interplay of these interlocking factors make fruitless those studies on social systems in towns, which are conceived under such general labels as detribalization, individualism, breakdown of traditional society or secularization and rationality.

We are concerned here with the recent phases of the process of social change in Africa - as it was set in motion by the impact of external forces derived essentially from Western Europe. These forces have, with increasing intensity and magnitude, affected the social life of Africans over the last five centuries; often they acted upon them with great rigidity and much coercion. Two things should be made clear. First, social change is not new in Africa; it has always occurred in conjunction with various phenomena. The progressive replacement of vegetation zones, the introduction and spread of new plants and agricultural techniques, the migration and overlapping of tribes, the development and subsequent disappearance of large population agglomerations, or the general shift from food-gathering and hunting economies to agricultural and/or pastoral ones, or the early spread of Islam, or the development of slavery and slave-trade, are some of the processes which have been at work for centuries and which have in various ways modified the social systems of Africa. The so-called traditional

cultures, which were observed by the end of the XIXth century, were as a matter of fact the end result of many successive alterations and adjustments which had occurred in the past (31). The precise nature of the changes that were brought about in the past is hard to assess; but much could, and will be learned from them, through the rapid progress now realized in the fields of archaeology, ethno-history, linguistics, etc., that will help us to understand certain phenomena apparent in the present process of social change. Secondly, we should realize that with the end of colonial rule, the processes of social change are being reoriented through the interplay of new forces now introduced into Africa and the great moment which the purely African decisional factors have now acquired. Because of the heterogeneity of forces now at work in shaping the African societies, it is less and less easy or even feasible, to access the nature of the processes or to make statements about the trends of change. Particular African values have gained new strength and vitality; planning and legislation will increasingly interfere with the general process of change. It is true that planned change, in an attempt to control various economic, political and social events and phenomena and as a reaction against conservatism, has been widely initiated in Colonial Africa. Not only technological and economic systems have been affected by this process, but also often through legislation or direct interference - domestic and kinship relationships, marriage and religion, land-owning units have been manipulated in that way. Planning for change mostly meant reorientations of the social systems in the western direction of efficiency, rationalization, productivity (32) and it is, indeed, very hard to ascertain to what extent and in what sense these imposed changes have been accepted or integrated.

2. Factors in Social Change.

In discussing some of the factors which make for social change in Africa, we should, first, realize that it is a vain attempt to try to correlate in strict terms certain types of changes with particular factors, say the missionary factor or the monetary system or the colonial administration. It is highly sterile work to try to ascertain to what kind of factor some changes in habits or institutions have to be related foremost. What we are always dealing with is the interplay of several factors, some of which may be more clearly stressed or operative in particular situations. Certain phenomena, too, say urbanism which is the direct consequence of industrialization, mining, administrative and other economic needs, have in turn, become a major factor of change. In the course of time, the intensity with which separate factors are operative has increased or decreased, although the general trend has been for the totality of factors to become more and more intensive and dominant.

We may say that a group of complex processes came to bear on African societies, in the different spheres of social life, from the end of the XIXth and beginning of the XXth centuries on, when European establishment and politico-administrative control developed and spread widely. K. Little has shown how in former British West Africa, European influences before the end of the XIXth century had worked only in specific ways, and how they had been essentially restricted to the coastal areas. Increased inter-tribal warfare and local slave trading had by that time affected the local social systems in the hinterland, as had barter and money on the coast. But till the end of the XIXth century the West African societies

had essentially remained non-monetary systems, based on subsistence economy. W. Watson has shown how among the Mambwe in Northern Rhodesia's early missionary activities had had very limited influences. However, this is not necessarily so. Christian influences which worked on the Bakongo from the late XVth century on have definitely left a profound impact not only upon some aspects of their religion and rituals, but also upon their general way of thinking. Elsewhere, missionaries in attracting freed slaves, outcasts, etc. at the very beginning of their activity set the scenery for major social and political developments in the future. Certain embryonic administrative units and the creation of new chieftancies by Arab slave-traders had in some parts of Africa (e. g. the Congo) a lasting effect. Modern social changes in Africa have been set in motion by a rapid and fairly short acculturative process whereby African societies came in permanent contact with the systems and personnel of different European countries. This was a direct contact, established through many agencies: missionaries, military personnel, administrative officials, traders, industrial and business people, sanitary agents, educators, judges, agricultural officers, shopkeepers, etc. The acculturative process was also increasingly mediated through various mass media, such as the book, the press, the radio, motion pictures, etc.

The acculturative situation that developed was one in which - in different degrees and ways - the balance of power was unequal, mutual respect was often weakly developed, overt or latent hostilities had originated, unequal opportunities were provided, economic exploitation and desire to help and to promote were variously combined. Inevitably this process led to many environmental and

demographic changes (e. g. of game; erosion and exhaustion of the soil; land scarcity; introduction of new crops and new agricultural techniques; improvement of livestock; increase in population; labor recruitment with the resulting absence of young males and disproportion in the sex ratios); it led to the introduction of new economic, religious, politico-administrative, social and legal systems (e. g. industry; markets; labor efficiency; plantations; various forms of christianity; stabilization and centralization; new subdivisions for viable units; new types of authorities; new types of criminal law; new conceptions about property; new legal distinctions in matters of land; new types of population agglomerations). It also brought about new types of conflict and strain, new dilemmas, which were solved, in the earlier stages, through various nativistic and revivalistic movements, and in the later stages, through nationalism, movements, pan-africanism, etc.

As said already, the impact of the Western world on African societies was increasingly deep from the end of the XIXth century on. It is useful to recall here, in general terms, some factors, effects and consequences of this impact. The Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 resulted in the subdivision of Africa among various Colonial powers. New political and administrative frameworks were created, which largely ignored the basic facts of African history and cultural relationships. Tribal units, which until they had been solidly coherent, were broken up and incorporated into different new political entities; others which never had been close to one another were brought together in a new and unfamiliar territorial framework. Within each of the new colonial territor-

ies, colonial administrations developed which though inspired by different legal and political principles, led to some similar developments everywhere. Slave-trade and inter-tribal warfare were suppressed, and peace was introduced. This rapidly resulted in greater geographical mobility for the individuals. Territorial units were stabilized and large-scale migratory movements stopped, so that the geographical mobility of groups diminished considerably. Greater centralization, and the build-up of large viable units (e. g. districts, "circles", "circonscriptions"), resulted in the appointment, at the lower levels of the hierarchical administrative structure, of new types of authorities; it gave rise to regrouping, merging of units, resettlement. For an effective administration, for the maintenance of order, for economic development, systems of communication had to be devised; roads and railways were built, water-ways were opened. This, at the earlier stages at least, led to large-scale recruitment of labor, mostly compulsory, and to the gradual development of new clusters of population, e.g. around the administrative centers; it also led to resettlement of villages along the communication axes; it facilitated visiting and contact between the members of formerly fairly isolated groups; it opened the possibilities for trade. New legislations were introduced, with regard to land, to criminal and public law, to the administration of justice, to the status of traditional authorities, to sanitary measures, etc. The outcome of this was e. g. the new distinction between various categories of land (crown lands, "terres domaniales," "terres indigènes" etc.), alienation of land on behalf of foreigners, and in some parts of Africa at least, the creation of "reservations"; or the emergence

of new types of courts, judges, and judicial procedures; or the curtailment of certain traditional powers and privileges held by chiefs, headmen or seniors, etc. Soldiers had to be recruited for the local forces, and this recruitment was compulsory in the earlier phases of colonial administration; ex-servicemen often received considerable advantages, were settled in particular areas or received land from the administration, and became important agents for the spread of new, less particularistic, ideologies, gradually agricultural policies were developed in the administrative framework, aiming at first to get people interested in agriculture and to improve and increase the local output; later to introduce new crops and new techniques, and to open new markets for export of local crops. This affected the land tenure systems, the work patterns and division of labor, the inheritance systems; it liberated individual initiative and made possible a greater individual independence from local cooperative kinship units.

The new possibilities opened, and the new conditions set by, the administrative net works, enabled a rapid economic growth. Plantations and mining compounds developed; new population agglomerations grew around ports, mining and trading centers, administrative headquarters, plantations, etc. Massive recruitment of labor and migrant labor gave rise to major demographical changes among the rural populations; age and sex distribution were affected in the villages. In the urban areas new heterogeneous populations, characterized by the presence of excessive numbers of young adult males, developed; impersonality and competitiveness grew; new divisions of labor emerged; there developed a new search for status and prestige. The commercialization of labor and the corresponding

spread of a money economy had wide effects on the value systems and led to various forms of social restratification. Increasingly the factor of urbanism became an important one, both in its destructive and positive effects on urban populations and urban social networks, as well as on rural populations and social networks. The fact is that people who, in the beginning of colonial rule, had been compelled to engage in migrant and wage labor, because of the lack of incentives they found in it, increasingly became attracted by the advantages urban agglomerations had to offer: more money could be earned there, and money was necessary for paying taxes and for buying valuable commodities; greater educational opportunities were offered, and this implied better jobs and new careers, new wealth, status and prestige; escape from certain traditional obligations and restrictions was possible there; an outlet for insoluble conflicts and dissatisfactions was easily found there; new types of leisure and entertainment were presented. Missionary activity was strong and widespread, in many parts of Africa, even before effective colonial administration was established. It resulted not only in the introduction of a new moral and religious outlook, but also in the spread of the educational system and of literacy. In assessing the missionary factor in Africa, we have to realize that, particularly in the earlier years of their activity, and because of their very close contact with the rural populations, missionaries have played a great role in "manipulating" the "human objects" (33). In many parts of Africa they were the first to detach individuals from their tribal and kinship groupings, and to procure new statuses to social categories of former slaves, refugees and outcasts. They

interfered directly, at the local level, with marriage and family customs, with domestic relationships, with various types of rites and cults. Many of the rural Christians, because of the direct support they received from missionaries, were able to set up new villages or hamlets next to the pagan ones, and thus to subtract themselves to some extent from local political control; some were able to become chiefs, judges, counsellors, etc. Many of these Christians were among the first political and social in the traditional communities, they were among the first to adopt new habits and customs. The general effect Christian teachings had on the rural populations was to enable them to doubt about the validity of certain religious sanctions and the efficacy of certain rituals, and this kind of scepticism prepared the path for major changes in societies where ritual sanctions were too prominent. Christian beliefs, doctrines, rituals occasionally also became the bases for new syncretistic movements, which have been so powerful in attempts at revivalism and cultural resistance. Essentially through the activity of the missionaries - less so, and generally later, through governmental influence - education was no longer a function of the family and the kinship group. The new educational factor enhanced economic successes and social mobility; it gave new opportunities for jobs, new opportunities to the younger generation, new possibilities for women. It helped the rapid emergence of new social categories and it produced the new social elites able to develop new political and economic claims. It upset family structure in creating new relationships between parent and child.

In the later period of colonial rule in Africa, the ideology

of planned change became an increasingly powerful factor. Particularly since the 2nd World War there was a general acceleration of economic and social development plans, expressed in vast economic programmes, housing and resettlement schemes, agricultural experiences, social services. Various kinds of force accompanied these programmes, including legislative procedure. These projects implied vast, rapid, wide-sweeping alterations in beliefs and practices, in values and needs, in knowledge; they led to a direct manipulation of social and territorial systems.

In the shaping of new social systems, the factors evolving from the acculturative situations created by Western Europe, have of course not been the only operative ones.

Let us first mention that the acculturative situation has yielded many types of organized reactions against the impact of the western world. By means of various nativistic movements and new types of closed associations, and through the creation of separatist churches and the organization of various new types of voluntary associations, particularly in towns, through the elaboration of nationalist and panafricanist ideologies, or in terms of "negritude" and "African personality", Africans have expressed and found outlets for the tensions and strains in which they were involved. These reactionary movements have in themselves become major factors in the process of social change, although the extent of the influence exercised by them on the value systems and institutions of the African peoples is generally not well known.

The introduction and spread of Islam, through non-white channels, in West Africa and some parts of East Africa has yielded religious and political effects the amplitude of which can scarcely

be measured. As a powerful adaptive and conservative force Islam has not only brought about vast alterations in the social, legal, religious systems, but has also given new meaning and strength to millennial African values and institutions.

The legislative action of local governments and chiefs has, in some parts of Africa, as e. g. the Republic of South Africa, had a strong and direct impact on the social systems. I. Schapera has clearly shown how this affected the family and marriage systems of the Tswana tribes (34).

Finally, a potent factor in this whole process of social change is, and has always been, the nature of the different African social systems themselves. Comparative studies on nine kingdoms and multi-kingdoms, four segmentary societies, and one segmentary state in East Africa have shown that the reactions to British administrative policies there had yielded widely differing results (35). Or to give another example, the question has been raised whether patrilineal societies are better fitted than matrilineal societies to adapt themselves to new situations of rapid economic change. M. Read in comparing the patrilineal Ngoni with the matrilineal Cewa has shown that the patrilineal group adjusts itself more readily than the matrilineal one to the absence of large numbers of young adult males under conditions of labor migrancy. W. Watson in comparing the situation among the patrilineal Hambwe with that prevailing among the matrilineal Bemba has indicated that Bemba uxori-local marriage, lack of residential stability, high divorce rate, methods of shifting cultivation, lack of permanency in villages have worked against them under the present economic circumstances (36).

The process of social change in modern Africa is determined by the interplay of these interlocking factors. Out of their varied combinations grow many of the original and, regionally, highly diverse developments which are responsible for the fact that there is no simple situation of social change in Africa.

At best, can we maintain that some of the general social consequences revolving around these factors are following:

- greater geographical mobility;
- labor migration at local, national and international levels;
- new divisions of labor between the sexes;
- more achieved statuses through education, labor, wealth, and politics;
- less sharp opposition between men's and women's roles and statuses; women have acquired new occupations and new statuses; new psychological characteristics have been attributed to them;
- greater social stratification and emergence of social classes;
- growth of new elite groups;
- new age statuses (biological age becomes more important than sociological age; the relationships between generations change;
- the child acquiring still greater importance in the family structure);
- growth of individualism;
- secularization;
- greater specialization of labor and skill;
- more rivalry for prestige between individuals;
- greater pressure on the land resources;
- development of supra-tribal feelings and unities;
- decision making in the new urban agglomerations;
- greater stress on the elementary family;
- diminishing importance of large-scale kinship relationships and kin groups;
- great development of voluntary associations.

We now have to look into the details of some of these general social consequences.

3. The trends of social change.

Given the great number of variables at work, and the diversity of societies and social networks involved, it is no simple task - as already stated - to isolate and characterize the quality, quantity, and degree of change occurring in these different social systems. It is clear that there are wide regional differences; that old and new are blended, or overlapping, in different ways and degrees; that old and new may be clearly distinct in distinct spheres of life or in different situations. It might be said e. g. that, as a general trend, tribal and ethnic endogamy is no longer retained as a major social principle, and that more and more intertribal and interethnic marriages do occur, particularly within the urban agglomerations. In studying marriages in several Senegalese towns, P. Mercier found, however, that there existed great differences in this marriage pattern according to the particular tribes involved, to their numerical representation in towns, and to the socio-professional status of the individuals involved (37). It might also be affirmed that the practice of polygynous marriage is weakening, in towns as well as in tribal areas, and that this trend of change is due to educational, religious, and economic factors. However, it is not easy to generalize about the details of this process. P. Mercier's data on Senegalese towns showed that, even within the same town there were considerable variations in this matter, which were linked to such factors as ethnic groups, religion, socio-professional categories, duration of presence in towns (first generation,

as opposed to second generation, city-dwellers), membership of different brotherhoods in Islam. He was able to observe that, in some cases, the proportion of polygyny in towns was equal, or superior, to that in certain rural areas.

The great local differences which can be observed in the process of social change, are essentially related to the overall distinctions that have to be made between urban and rural areas, between Christians, pagans and Moslems, between differential tribal responses. Although it often is no simple matter to make a clear-cut distinction between urban and rural areas - since it is necessary to place in the first category many plantations, mining compounds, small commercial and administrative centers, peri-urban areas, and since mutual influences between town and country have levelling effects - it is nonetheless certain that urban agglomerations are the greater incubators of social changes, and that the particular urban contexts make for certain opportunities, choices and situations which are largely absent from the tribal context. It is also clear that there are considerable differences between towns (e. g. in the rate of growth, the heterogeneity of the population, the relationship with the hinterland, the degree of industrialization, etc.), where the varied interplay of multiple external factors brings about highly different settings in which the process of change has to take place. Tribal responses to change have always been diverse, not only because of the different nature of the tribal social systems (take e. g. the simple distinction between patrilineal, matrilineal, bilineal and bilateral

descent systems; or the distinction between segmentary and highly centralized political systems), but also because of differences in the degree of isolation, in the proximity to urban agglomerations, in the reaction against "manipulation," in demographic and other pressures on the band, in productivity of the soil, in dominant value-orientations, etc. In the towns, as well as in the tribal areas of Africa, there is a great variety of types of religious life. G. Parrinder in his study on the Nigerian town Ibadan has fully identified the different types of religious that may occur among a fairly homogeneous urban population, ranging from the many categories of mission churches to various separatist sects, from Islam to many pagan cults and rituals (thunder God Shango; tutelary spirit of the town; burial rites; taboos; witchcraft beliefs, etc.) and to secret societies, such as Ogboni which are directly in conflict both with Islam and Christianity (38). Pagans, Christians and Moslems adhere to different beliefs, institutions and customs, and often, too, to different value systems, although the latter do not necessarily follow the pace of other changes. Among the Christian Nyakyusa, e. g. monogamous marriage has replaced polygyny; some of the old values, however, linked to generous hospitality continued to survive together with the traditional patterns of hoe agriculture, whereby most of the agricultural work is done by women. Thus the acceptance of Christianity, linked to the continuity of the traditional agricultural technology, was not accompanied by a corresponding modification in values which would be consistent with it. The result was that Christian monoga-

mous family heads were unable to produce as much food as previously, a prerequisite for pursuing the patterns of generous hospitality - and that they could not ensure the entertainment on which prestige and standing rested (39). W. Watson has pointed out how among the Nambwe of northern Rhodesia major changes in institutions and values were located within the religious movement of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, whose members drink no beer, don't dance, don't shake hands, don't practise polygyny or divorce, and furthermore establish separate communities, and challenge the chief's authority (40). J. P. Lebeuf has shown how in the towns of Bangui and Ferk-Lamy (Central African Republic) the Moslem groups, of Hausa and Bornu origin, are able to adjust themselves more successfully to urban conditions than pagan and christianized groups, which maintain strong links with the tribal homelands and return home, whenever possible, to take part in important rituals (41). Thus, whenever we try to assert the trends of social change in Africa we have to realize that:

1. there are wide regional differences in the process;
2. the social systems, existing within a same town, and also though to a lesser extent within the same tribal area, are "made up of loose, semi-independent, to some extent isolated, sub-systems"
3. there are always three possible types of changes: behavioral change followed by norm change; norm change followed by behavioral change; simultaneous change in norms and behavior (43).

4. the criteria to be taken into account for ascertaining changing norms and behavioral patterns are extremely numerous. Thus to take the example of an urban agglomeration, differences in norms and patterns of behavior between city-dwellers have not only to be projected against tribal, educational, professional, economic or religious distinctions, but against many other phenomena. Taking into account e. g. the tribal factor, we cannot limit our discussion to simply opposing members of tribe A to members of tribe B. Other facts have to be considered, such as: e. g., distinctions between migrant tribesmen and more or less permanently settled tribesmen; tribesmen whose wife and children continue to live in the tribal area and those who have settled with their wife and children in town; tribesmen who have married a girl from their own tribe (or better, from a social unit to which they are traditionally closely attached) and those who have contracted an inter-tribal marriage, either with a girl born in her original tribal area or with a woman born in town; tribesmen who live in towns which are not far away from, or in the middle of, their tribal region, and those who are far away from it, so that regular visiting becomes rare and difficult; tribesmen who live in modern brick houses, set up under a house-planning program, and those who live in slums or compounds where people cluster together on a tribal and kinship basis; tribesmen who, although settled fairly permanently in town continue to consider themselves as mere "visitors" or strangers in that town, and those who feel to be fully ur-

banized and integrated.

5. planned change and legislation have in many parts of Africa, or in many spheres of social life, considerably affected the normal course of the process of change, thus causing greater strains, and major conflicts between behavior and values.
6. in all societies, certain models of behavior and social relationships are characterized by a great force of inertia, while others exhibit a remarkable plasticity in maintaining their form but changing their content and function (44).

a. Women's status.

F. Agblemagnon has indicated that in traditional African society women have mainly been regarded in the role of a wife. This involves that the society expected them to perform the duties of good mothers who would give many children to the community (45). The values attached to fertility in women are still prominent in Africa, to such an extent that "une femme africaine ne s'accomplit vraiment qu'en devenant mère" (46). Among the Luvale of Northern Rhodesia, the continuity of these values, combined with other developments such as marriage instability, has given rise to a strange situation in which female puberty rituals are formally maintained, as a necessary prerequisite for fertility in women, whereas at the same time in the context of the rites the deliberate use of herbal preparations against conception is taught because of a lack of confidence, on the women's part, in marriage (47).

During the greater part of the colonial period in Africa, women were largely ignored and it is true to say that from many points of view their status deteriorated (48). Women's opportunities for a career in towns were rare and limited; whenever they moved to town, they had to do it as someone's wife or someone's close relative; for unmarried adult women the possibilities practically boiled down to petty trading and/or prostitution (often in a discrete form). In the villages, particularly - but not only in those regions where there was heavy labor migration - the bulk of agricultural work - steadily increasing because of colonial policies and rural economic development - rested on women; the distance of local

markets and the absence of improved communication systems placed essentially on women's shoulders the heavy burden of carrying loads; money returns for selling ground crops were very low and women could only benefit from them to a limited extent.

Furthermore, the attitude of the African male with regard to better educational facilities and greater economic and social freedom for women has always been ambiguous. Nowadays African males admire educated women, but at the same time they fear that they may be difficult to manage (49). Gradually, but fairly recently, better opportunities and more outlets have become available to women. New agricultural techniques, the introduction of new crops, the opening of new markets have resulted in various shifts in the division of labor. Whereas in the beginning of colonial rule these factors, combined in some regions with heavy labor migrancy, had led to an increased burden being placed on women, the development in later times of cash crop farming, plantations, hired labor has yielded new opportunities for women. Men have increasingly participated in agricultural work, particularly that one relating to cash crop farming; women have shared in the selling profits; women have been enabled to become food-sellers instead of being mere food-growers, to engage in trading and commerce instead of only being farmers. Educational opportunities, particularly in urban areas, have permitted them - though in small numbers - to become involved in wage-labor, clerical and professional work.

The educational factor has also been a new source of prestige for them. Thus in certain areas of Africa the amount of marriage payments to be given for marrying a wife became greater, when it concerned an educated women (50). The status of women in marriage has deeply altered, and this alteration is essentially linked to the weakening of the traditionally very strong control exercised by the kinship group. Choice factors in marriage have become dominant, betrothal marriages have largely disappeared, and women have been able to resist better against the pressures exercised by the family groupings. The always possible escape to town has also contributed to this improvement of their social status. Whether this has led to greater sexual freedom or to greater instability in marriage is hard to ascertain, since the interconnections of various factors are so numerous in this sphere. One thing is sure, the improvement of women's social status has led to a redistribution of work and authority in the family, particularly in towns, where the pressure of the kinship group is less strong and where the husband is away from home. In this process of change, women have not only acquired new status; they have often developed a new mental outlook both with regard to themselves and to their situation. F. Agblemagnon has indicated that this new outlook may give rise to an inferiority complex or to a desire to dominate, to a feeling of frustration or to the awareness of a lag which must be caught up (51). New characteristics have been attributed to women in the value system. But nonetheless

some fundamental traits concerning women have been fully preserved. Great sexual liberty before marriage, provided it be used discretely, is still, as it was traditionally, in most regions accorded to women.

Married women continue to show great attachment to their original families, whereas the husband's family continues for a long period to be strange and hostile to her. Primacy is still, and perhaps even more, given to the mother as the central personality in the family structure. Marriage continues to be looked upon as an imperfect but necessary means for concluding alliances and ensuring the survival of the group and the procreation of legitimate children (52). Many traditional attitudes have changed in the sex code; segregation and avoidance behavior are less common. But some vital attitudes with regard to pregnancy and breast-feeding taboos have remained unaltered. Women - whether as widows or as daughters - now play a greater role in the inheritance system; they may share in part of the inheritance of household property, gardens, cattle, etc.

Modern possibilities for personal achievement have permitted women to acquire greater independence from males and kinship groupings. Under urban conditions, moreover, the biological family has largely become isolated from the extended family and the lineage. These two sets of conditions have produced the major alterations in women's social position. In the new legal systems, particularly in the new types of statutory and Christian marriage, women have found greater security

and possibilities for an improved social position (53). The new religious teachings also have deeply influenced women's outlook and status. Community development programs have in recent years had a direct effect on women's position: new amenities in village life (water supplies, better communication systems, maternities, dispensaries, etc.) have provided women with more leisure and greater security (54). New women's associations - such as those of market women in west Africa - have permitted women to take a more active part in wider community affairs, which fall outside the scope of their traditional domestic life.

b. Marriage patterns.

Before we make any general statements about the process of change at work in marriage systems, let us examine what some authorities have to say on the trends of change in the marriage institutions of particular tribes. Among the Tonga of Northern Rhodesia, E. Colson has noted the following trends (55):

- marriage is increasingly an association between husband and wife; it is less and less an alliance between kinship groupings; with this goes together a trend toward development of independent, largely secularized, family units;
- the traditional marriage rituals are reduced in scope, and some are abandoned altogether;
- there is a decrease in the rate of preferential cross-cousin marriage;
- marriage payments are still considered as a means through which a man can acquire overriding rights in his wife and children; but various portions of bridewealth have been amalgamated into a single lump transaction;
- the divorce rate is high; some factors accounting for it are recent, such as the tensions aroused by differences in religion, or the degree of sophistication in western ways, or the introduction of heritable property, or the greater opportunities for geographical mobility, or the greater freedom that the young enjoy in choosing their own mates. But there are other new influences too--such as independence in the choice of a spouse or schooling or religious and wealth-influ-

ences, - which may also work toward greater stability;
--there are changes too in the pattern of widow inheritance;
women are more likely to consult their own preferences in
this matter, particularly because there is less fear of
spirits and less reliance upon a wider kinship group.

Among the Tswana tribes of South Africa, I. Schapera
noticed that the combined effect of the introduction of
Christianity, the spread of school education, the development
of migrant labor, the policy of the British Government in
Bechuanaland protectorate, and the legislative activity of
the chiefs had yielded following fairly universal features in
the marriage system of these tribes (56):

- child betrothal has disappeared; personal choice of one's
own mate is now the rule, but the boy's family must still
formally approach the girl's group on his behalf;
- the practice of sororate (substitution of a dead wife by one
of her sisters) has ceased to exist;
- widows are now as a rule free to marry outside their late
husband's family, and often do so; but men do occasionally
still raise seed for their dead brothers;
- a man may not any longer divorce his wife for barrenness; a
woman may now divorce her husband for adultery;
- polygyny, though forbidden by tribal law only among one of
the Tswana tribes - has declined to a great extent; thus the
patterns of inheritance of household property have become
much simpler and widows and daughters may now share in the
inheritance of cattle, - although their shares are still much

smaller than those of sons.

Some changes, on the other hand, are restricted to certain Tswana tribes. Thus e. g. concubinage has become a penal offence among the Tswana. Marriage payments have been abolished among the Ngwato and Tswana; they have been abandoned by many Christians in other tribes; but they have been made compulsory, even for Christians, among the Ngwaketse. Polygyny has become illegal only among the Ngwaketse; but if the wife is barren, an exception may be made to this law, provided special permission is received from the chief. Among the Rolong, either spouse can divorce the other for incurable disease, insanity, habitual drunkenness, imprisonment for 15 or more years.

Thus both examples of the Tonga and the Tswana make it clear that developments in the marriage institution are extremely diverse, and that they are influenced by many inter-linked variables. A few very general trends can, however, be indicated, each of which has of course to be fully documented through highly detailed tribal and urban studies.

1. Polygyny: there is less large-scale polygyny, but the pattern of small-scale polygyny is still clearly observable in rural areas, and to some extent also in towns. Polygyny is, of course, less common among Christians than among non-Christians; it is more common among Moslems than among Christians; and there are wide-sweeping differences in tribal attitudes to it. But, notwithstanding the institutional changes, the ideal of polygyny, linked to that of fertility in marriage and to the values attached

to children in marriage, still is very prominent in Africa.

2. Preferential marriages (e. g. between cross-cousins, or between members of alternate generations) are dying out. This also applies to substitution marriages, whereby the late wife is replaced by her sister or by her brother's daughter. In other words, there is less stress on the structural aspects of marriage and more insistence on the personally-oriented decisional element.
3. Widow inheritance, wherever it occurred, is less strict. The greater economic independence of women, geographical mobility, the weakening of strong kinship influences, give more leeway to women, so that re-marriage outside the late husband's kinship unit, or total rejection or re-marriage, becomes more and more established practice.
4. Rules of exogamy. In towns, tribal marriage is no longer respected as a principle; intertribal marriages are more and more common, although there are considerable differences from town to town, in relation with tribal affiliation, socio-professional categories, education, religion, etc. However, it may be said that the greater part of intertribal marriages occur between members of more or less historically and culturally related tribes, or if not, between second-generation city-dwellers who have lost many of the characteristics of tribal affiliation.

In rural areas, the ideals and expectations are still very much in favor of tribal marriage, although in the presence of tribal heterogeneity that occurs in some

regions of Africa, marriages between members of closely related or territorially intermixed tribes have always been current. It may be said that, for townsmen as well as for rural inhabitants, respect for traditional exogamous kinship units is still very much the rule.

5. Residential rules. Patrilocal residence systems have always by far been the more numerous ones in Africa, and they are still very important in most of Africa. Neolocal residence systems, which were traditionally restricted to a few areas, have become increasingly important under conditions of urbanism, geographical mobility, labor-migration. The less common residence rules - duolocal, uxori-local, uxori-virilocal - tend to be replaced by the former types. In traditionally avunculocal systems e.g., children tend to stay with their fathers - or to move out to towns - instead of joining their mother's brothers' residential unit.
6. Marriage payments. The amount of the payments has steadily been increasing; cash payments have been substituted for former traditional valuables, or a substantial cash payment has been added to, or has replaced part of these valuables. Many of the ways in which payments were traditionally accumulated (e.g. through kinship solidarity) have now changed; because of greater individual economic independence, young people - particularly in towns - are now able to bring the cash money together through personal labor and loans, rather than through the cooperation of their kinsmen. In rural areas, marriage payments have retained their original func-

tions of establishing rights in women and their legal offspring and of creating wider solidarities between different kinship units; in towns, new or additional functions have been developed; the payments have, as Cl. Mitchell pointed out, become an index of social prestige.

7. Age at marriage. It has always been the rule in Africa for men to marry much later than women. Men, before they could get married, had to perform certain duties or frustrations; they had to wait until marriage payments became available or until a widow could be inherited. Men can now get married more rapidly and more easily, because of personal assets which they may acquire through their own labor, or through the cooperation of members of one of their voluntary associations - although, in some areas at least, great strains are being placed on them because of the high amount of marriage payments needed. Women were married out while still very young; child betrothal was very common. Women, who have now more possibilities through independent economic activities, through cash-crop farming, through education, religion, etc. have generally tried to improve their social status by marrying later, so as to be better able to resist against pressures from family groups. Much direct legislation - by colonial administrations, local chiefs, etc. - have had a considerably influence in this sphere.
8. Divorce and Concubinage. It is hard to say whether or not the rate or frequency of divorce is higher than it used

to be. Numerical data on what it used to be are absent, and there are in this respect, as Cl. Mitchell has indicated, great differences e. g. between matrilineal and patrilineal societies. The precise influences on marriage stability exercised by such factors as wealth, status, education are, as A. Southall pointed out, still very imperfectly understood. But divorce is frequent, and many Africans tend to think that it occurs more often and in greater numbers than it used to. Special developments with regard to children's status in divorce have been noted; in some societies arrangements have been devised whereby the sons are attributed to the father, and the daughters to the mothers.

Concubinage, particularly in towns, has increased; the phenomenon is directly linked to the presence of many wifeless migrants and to the persistence of various sexual taboos during pregnancy, to conflicts between European and African conceptions of marriage law, to the weakening of kinship bonds.

Although many changes have occurred in the field of African marriage, it is fair to say that many of the ideals and key practices in marriage - such as polygyny, marriage payments, rules of exogamy - have been fully retained, and that the traditional marriage pattern still has primacy, notwithstanding the introduction of statutory and Christian marriage systems.

c. Family and kinship.

Great differences can again be observed from tribe to tribe, from town to town, from social category to social category, from situation to situation. Some general trends can, however, be indicated, the details of which have to be analyzed for particular cases and substantiated by numerical data.

It can be said with certainty: first that, notwithstanding the many changes in kinship structure and kinship functions, the values attached to solidarity and cooperation between kinsmen are still strongly sanctioned by African public opinion. Secondly, that there are wide differences in the process which takes place in towns, where the new conditions do not favor the existence of corporate kin groups, and that which occurs in tribal areas, where in most spheres of life the situations have not militated against the persistence of local corporately-acting kinship units. In most of rural Africa, the kinship principles represent still today the crucial factor in the constitution of residential and territorial groupings, in the exercise of land rights, in matters of marriage regulations, in the early socialization process of individuals, etc. But the range over which these principles work there is steadily reduced; kinship groupings are narrowed in size and extent; they are reduced in depth. This phenomenon is apparent in matters of land control, of economic cooperation, solidarity relationships, marriage functions. The widely accepted principle of unilineal descent

is still basic in the maintenance and composition of these kinship groupings, as are the rules relating to residence of members of such groupings. In societies, however, with matrilineal descent systems, there is a growing bias in favor of patrilineal conceptions.

In towns, where there is high mobility, where individuals can rely on personal labor, where necessarily, as A. Southall has pointed out, many key positions in the kinship system are vacant (e. g. absence of brothers, or uncles, or aunts, etc.), kinship has not died out; it works in another context, the rights and expectations being less oppressive, the number of kinsmen present being reduced. personally oriented kinship relationships, which may include close and distant relatives, replace the old kinship bonds; bilateral kinship links also become more significant to them. But there is also a tendency to include in the kinship pattern many people with whom no actual kinship can be traced, but who simply come e. g. from the same tribe and happen to be in close relationship in the town.

The fact of the widespread continuity of socially efficient larger kinship units in rural areas, does not mean that these groupings would have retained all their former functions and attributes. Kinship units are losing, or have lost in some areas, several of their traditional functions. Thus e. g. their educational functions have been taken over to a large extent, by schools; many of their religious functions are now held by churches, various associations, etc.; their economic functions

are increasingly weakened, because of wage-labor, cash-cropping, greater individual enterprise and freedom; their functions as land-controlling units are everywhere still extremely strong, as are some of their local political and legal functions; in domestic affairs too, the strength of kinship units is very great. But protection, aid, monetary assistance, solidarity, etc., are not exclusively to be found any more in the kinship groups; voluntary associations of new type, but fulfilling these and other functions, have arisen everywhere, more in towns though than in tribal areas; there are, as K. Little showed, tribal unions, church groups, occupational associations, friendly societies, mutual benefit groups, social clubs, savings groups, recreational associations, which have these objectives of cooperation, fraternity and sociability. In some rural areas, there are separatist church and nativistic movements which fulfill in a new context these solidarity requirements.

The patterns of inheritance of property and succession to various offices, prevalent in families and kinship units, have undergone major alterations; in matrilineal societies, there is an increasing bias in favor of filial as against adelphic or sororal inheritance; women have acquired and are acquiring inheritance rights, even with regard to gardens or cattle; all societies tend to emphasize the direct line of descent or to restrict in any way claims to a very small kinship unit (say an extended family group). There is growing importance attached to the conjugal bond and the domestic group. However, relationships between parents and children have altered considerably; children have acquired, through education and labor, greater

independence, and are much more away from home; women have acquired a new and better status in the family unit, and exercise an increasingly greater authority in it. There are major changes, too, in the structure of the households as residential units; in many rural areas, women and their younger children have been left alone, for longer or shorter periods, intermittently or consecutively, their husbands and fathers being at work in towns, mines, plantations, etc.; young boys, less so young girls, are away for shorter or longer periods to schools; young adults are away at work; hired labor has been added to the household. In towns, households may now include people of different lineage, and even of different tribal affiliation.

Kinship is still a crucial factor in African social structure. But the demands of kinship are less oppressive now, since there are many new institutions which perform functions formerly exclusively held by kinship groupings. Values attached to kinship solidarity remain strong, as does the sense of lineage cohesion. Kinship groupings retain primary functions in matters of land control, and in domestic affairs; but they also still serve as bases for the selection of chiefs, headmen and many other local authorities. The family, on the other hand, is less and less subordinate to the larger kin group.

G. Balandier has suggested that the weakening of kinship ties tends to undermine the entire social structure. Less and less, particularly in the new urban environments, is the

social structure kinship-oriented. Wealth, schooling, status are now essential criteria in the establishment of social categories, which tend to supersede or at least to compete with the kinship criteria. In other words, as K. Little has shown, there is now a growing tendency for individual status and role to be ascertained with reference to the society as a whole, rather than to be conceived in terms of the particular kinship categories or kin groups to which individuals belong. Furthermore, whereas associations were traditionally kinship-oriented, the new associational groupings now follow new criteria, such as tribal identity, common belief and ritual, welfare needs, common political interests, etc., and ensure in turn many of the former functions exercised by kin groupings.

Notes

1. Fortes, Meyer, 1958, p. 1.
2. Nadel, S. F., 1952, p. 101.
3. Beattie, John, 1961, p. 165.
4. Beattie, John, 1961, p. 165.
5. This point is heavily stressed in Herskovits, Melville, 1962, p.
6. This point was repeatedly stressed by various students of African society. Cfr. Little, Kenneth, 1953, p. 280; Coleman, James, 1960, p. 270; Balandier, Georges, 1955, p. 55 sq.
7. Firth, Raymond, 1959, pp. 340-342.
8. Firth, Raymond, 1952, p. 28; Nadel, S. F., 1952, p. 83.
9. Beattie, John, 1961, p. 170.
10. Firth, Raymond, 1959, p. 340.
11. Firth, Raymond, 1959, p. 341.
12. Firth, Raymond, 1959, p. 340.
13. Firth, Raymond, 1952, p. 84.
14. Beattie, John, 1961, p. 166.
15. Keesing, Felix, 1953, p. 70: "Change.....tends to push into the background the equally significant dimension of nonchange, or deliberate resistance to change."
16. Herskovits, Melville, 1962, p. 2.
17. Honigsmann, John, 1959, ch. XIII
18. Cfr. Mitchell, Clyde, 1953, The Kilela Dance, Manchester University Press.
19. Balandier, Georges, 1960, p. 13.
20. This aspect is clearly brought to the fore by the work of M. Gluckman, Cl. Mitchell, A. L. Epstein, K. Little.

21. Cfr. Mitchell, Clyde, 1960, p. 168; Little, Kenneth, 1953, p. 280 has e. g. shown how in West Africa, in some cases many new forms of social organization have arisen directly out of the old, and how, in other cases, the new organization in superseding the older one has retained its aims and objectives.
22. Epstein, A. L., 1958, p. 46.
23. Gluckman, Max, 1961, p. 15.
24. Middleton, John, 1960, p. 264.
25. Epstein, A. L., 1958, p. 46.
26. Lystad, A., 1955, p. 85.
27. Balandier, Georges, 1955, p. 63.
28. Firth, Raymond, 1959, p. 342.
29. Honigman, John, 1959, p. 251.
30. Several of the factors mentioned are discussed by Southall, Aiden, 1961, p. 6 sq. Cfr. Lebeuf, J. P., 1953; Mercier, P., 1960; and the work by the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute.
31. Cfr. Steward, Julian, 1959, pp. 5-7.
32. Cfd. Bennett, J.W., 1959, pp. 2-4.
33. Terminology borrowed from Bennett, J. W., 1953, pp. 2-4.
34. Schapera, I., 1955, pp. xiv-xvii, and passim.
35. Richards, Audrey, 1959, p. 345.
36. Watson, William, 1958, p. 226.
37. Mercier, Paul, 1960, pp. 35-36.
38. Parrinder, Geoffrey, 1953, passim.
39. Wilson, G. and M., 1945, p. 126.
40. Watson, William, 1958, p. 196.
41. Lebeuf, J. P., 1953, p. 285.

42. Gluckman, Max, 1961, p. 80.
43. Southall, Aiden, 1961, p. 17.
44. Balandier, Georges, 1960, p. 13.
45. Agblemagnon, F., 1962, p. 153.
46. Paulme, Denise, 1960, p. 20.
47. White, Charles, 1953, p. 15.
48. Agblemagnon, F., 1962, p. 154.
49. Olignet, R., 1962, p. 145.
50. Smith, M. G., 1960, p. 146, writes that among the Kagoro of Nigeria, village councils accepted the principle that marriage payments had to be higher for girls having completed standard 4 in primary schools than for girls not fulfilling this condition.
51. Agblemagnon, F., 1962, p. 154.
52. Paulme, Denise, 1960, pp. 11-12.
53. Baker, Tanya-Bird, Mary, 1953, pp. 118-120.
54. Read, Margaret, 1955, p. 178.
55. Colson, Elizabeth, 1960, pp. 13; 25-27; 41-43; 175-176; 216; 309; 347.
56. Schapera, I., 1955, pp. xiv-xvii.

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